

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01741 4639

GENEALOGY
976.4
S08
1923-1924



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXVII
JULY, 1923, TO APRIL, 1924

EDITORS

EUGENE C. BARKER

HERBERT E. BOLTON

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL

E. W. WINKLER

CHARLES W. HACKETT

MANAGING EDITOR

EUGENE C. BARKER

THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
AUSTIN, TEXAS
1924

Reprinted with the permission of the Texas State Historical Society

JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LTD.
Berkeley Square House, London, W.1

The Texas State Historical Association

Organized 1897

PRESIDENT:

MRS. ADELE B. LOOSCAN

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

ALEX. DIENST,
GEORGE W. TYLER,

T. F. HARWOOD,
A. J. HOUSTON.

RECORDING SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN:

EUGENE C. BARKER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

ALEX. DIENST,
T. F. HARWOOD,
MRS. ADELE B. LOOSCAN,
EUGENE C. BARKER,
CHARLES W. RAMSDELL,
E. W. WINKLER,
MRS. MATTIE AUSTIN HATCHER,

S. H. MOORE,
ADINA DE ZAVALA,
E. T. MILLER,
HARBERT DAVENPORT,
MRS. PEARL CASHELL JACKSON.
SAMUEL E. ASBURY.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE:

MRS. ADELE B. LOOSCAN,
EUGENE C. BARKER,
HERBERT E. BOLTON,

E. W. WINKLER,
CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

First reprinting, 1967, Johnson Reprint Corporation

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

X 692573

NUMBER 1: JULY, 1923

THE NEGOTIATION OF THE GADSDEN TREATY - J. Fred Rippy - -	1
MEMOIRS OF MAJOR GEORGE BERNARD ERATH, III - - - - - Lucy A. Erath - -	27
THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE, VIII - - - - - Edited by E. W. Winkler - -	52
A PLEA FOR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES - - - - -	74
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES: Bell, <i>Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846</i> - - - - -	77
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION - - - - -	82
ZACHARY TAYLOR FULMORE - - - - -	84

NUMBER 2: OCTOBER, 1923

NEW MEXICO AND THE TEXAS SANTA FE EXPEDITION - - - - - William Campbell Binkley - -	85
NOTES ON THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS - - Eugene C. Barker - -	108
THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ, By Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo y Valdez - - - - - Edited by Harbert Davenport - -	120
MEMOIRS OF MAJOR GEORGE BERNARD ERATH, IV - - - - - Lucy A. Erath - -	140
THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE, IX - - - - - Edited by E. W. Winkler - -	164
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS: <i>Historical Materials in the Rosenberg Library</i> - - - - -	168
NEWS ITEMS - - - - -	169

NUMBER 3: JANUARY, 1924

THE LOCATION OF LA SALLE'S COLONY ON THE GULF OF MEXICO - - - - - Herbert E. Bolton - -	171
ST. DENIS' SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE RIO GRANDE, 1716-1719 - - - - - Charmion Clair Shelby - -	190
THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ, By Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo y Valdez - - - - - Edited by Harbert Davenport - -	217
THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE, X - - - - - Edited by E. W. Winkler - -	242
NEWS ITEMS - - - - -	251

NUMBER 4: APRIL, 1924

THE TEXAS STATE MILITARY BOARD, 1862-1865 - - - - - Chas. W. Ramsdell - -	253
THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ, By Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo y Valdez - - - - - Edited by Harbert Davenport - -	276
THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE, XI - - - - - Edited by E. W. Winkler - -	305
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES: Hackett, <i>Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, etc.</i> - - - - -	329
NEWS ITEMS - - - - -	334
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION - - - - -	336
INDEX - - - - -	337

FELLOWS AND LIFE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The constitution of the Association provides that "Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Thirteen Fellows shall be elected by the Association when first organized, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed fifty."

The present list of Fellows is as follows:

ADAMS, PROF. E. D.
BARKER, PROF. EUGENE C.
BATTS, JUDGE R. L.
BOLTON, PROF. HERBERT EUGENE
BUCKLEY, MISS ELEANOR C.
CASIS, PROF. LILIA M.
CHAPMAN, PROF. CHAS. E.
CHRISTIAN, DR. A. K.
CLARK, PROF. ROBERT CARLTON
COOPER, PRESIDENT O. H.
COX, PROF. I. J.
CUNNINGHAM, PROF. CHAS. H.
DIENST, DR. ALEX
DUNN, DR. WILLIAM EDWARD
ESTILL, PROF. H. F.
HACKETT, DR. CHAS. W.
HATCHER, MRS. MATTIE AUSTIN
LOOSCAN, MRS. ADELE B.
MANNING, DR. WILLIAM RAY

MARSHALL, PROF. THOMAS MAITLAND
MCCALEB, DR. W. F.
MILLER, PROF. E. T.
NEU, MR. C. T.
RAMSDELL, PROF. CHAS. W.
ROBERTS, MR. INGHAM S.
SMITH, PROF. W. ROY
SMITHER, MISS HARRIET
TOWNES, PROF. JOHN C.
TUCKER, MR. PHILIP C. 3rd
TYLER, JUDGE GEORGE W.
VILLAVASO, MRS. ETHEL RATHER
WEBB, PROF. W. P.
WEST, MISS ELIZABETH H.
WILLIAMS, JUDGE O. W.
WINKLER, MR. ERNEST WM.
WORLEY, MR. J. L.
ZAVALA, MISS ADINA DE

The constitution provides also that "Such benefactors of the Association as shall pay into its treasury at any one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Association an equivalent in books, MSS., or other acceptable matter, shall be classed as Life Members."

The Life Members at present are:

ALLEN, MR. WILBUR P.
ARMSTRONG, MR. B. W.
ARNOLD, M. L.
AYER, MR. EDWARD EVERETT
BAKER, MR. R. H.
BEAZLEY, MISS JULIA
BENEDICT, PROF. H. Y.
BUNDY, MR. Z. T.
CLAYTON, MR. W. L.
COCHRANE, MR. SAM P.
COURCHESNE, MR. A.
CRANE, MR. R. C.
DAVIDSON, MR. W. S.
DEALEY, MR. GEORGE B.
DILWORTH, MR. THOS. G.
DONALDSON, MRS. NANA SMITHWICK
EVANS, MRS. IRA H.
FARRISH, MR. W. S.
FORTMAN, HENRY F.
GILBERT, MR. JOHN N.
GLEASON, REV. JOSEPH M.
GUNNELL, MR. W. N.
HANRICK, MR. R. A.
HARWOOD, T. F.
HEFLEY, MR. W. T.
HOGG, MR. WILL C.
HOUGHTON, MISS KATE.
HOUSE, MR. E. M.
HYDE, MR. JAMES H.
JONES, MR. ROLAND
KENEDY, MR. JNO. G.

KIRBY, MR. JNO. H.
MCFADDEN, MR. W. P. H.
MILBY, MRS. C. H.
MINOR, MR. F. D.
MOODY, COL. W. L.
MOORE, MRS. JOHN W.
MOREHEAD, MR. C. R.
NEALE, MR. WM. J.
PARKER, MRS. EDWARD W.
PEARCE, PROF. J. E.
PEDEN, E. A.
PERRY, MRS. EMMETT L.
RADFORD, MR. J. M.
RICE, MR. J. S.
RICE, HON. W. M.
ROTAN, MRS. EDWARD
RUGELEY, MR. HENRY
SCHMIDT, MR. JOHN
SCHREINER, MR. CHARLES
SEVIER, MRS. CLARA D.
SINCLAIR, MR. J. L.
STARK, MR. H. J. L.
TERRY, MR. WHARTON
THOMPSON, MR. BROOKS
TODD, MR. CHARLES S.
VAN ZANDT, MAJ. K. M.
WALKER, MR. J. A.
WASHER, MR. NAT M.
WEBB, MR. MACK
WILLACY, HON. JOHN G.
WILLIAMS, JUDGE O. W.

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOL. XXVII

JULY, 1923

No. 1

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY

THE NEGOTIATION OF THE GADSDEN TREATY

J. FRED RIPPY

The relations of the United States and Mexico appeared to be approaching another crisis in the spring and summer of 1853. Raids of Indians from the northern side of the international boundary were daily growing more destructive and Mexico was persistently clamoring for the fulfillment of treaty obligations and indemnity for the depredations which the savages were committing, while the government of the United States was urging that its inability to cope adequately with the Indian difficulty was largely due to Mexico's failure to furnish effective frontier defence, and maintaining that it was not bound by the treaty of 1848 to pay indemnity for the spoliations of these Indians. The old question of claims, which had been a source of difficulty since the administration of Andrew Jackson and constituted one of the causes of the recent war, was coming once more into prominence. Difficulties confronted in surveying the boundary laid down by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had culminated in a grave dispute regarding the southern limits of New Mexico—a dispute rendered critical on account of the attitude of the settlers and the authorities on the frontier and the possibility that the loss of the contested area by the United States would mean the loss of a feasible route for a southern Pacific railway. Control of another route was being interfered with, and the construction of the communication apparently delayed, by Mexico's nullification of the Garay grant in Tehuantepec, now in the possession of American citizens who were loudly demanding the protection of their alleged

rights. That party which had fought the war of 1846-1848, but had not been fully satisfied with the territorial gains it had brought, was once more in power with a two-thirds majority in the House and thirty-seven out of sixty senators. Noisy proclamations of manifest destiny were to be heard on every hand, and the more impetuous of the expansionists, filibusters on a far flung battle line, were girding their loins and putting on their armor in Texas and California. Mexican troops were advancing along the northern frontier, the United States was re-enforcing its army in the southwest, and the newspapers of both countries were discussing the possibility of another war. The situation was extremely critical. Would war actually result?

There were several factors which tended to induce both countries at least to attempt a peaceful settlement of the points at issue. The officials at the head of the Mexican government, no matter how much they talked of going to war, must have known that they were without funds and without equipment, and possibly with no better prospects for European allies than they had in 1841.¹ Moreover, the storm of protest and opposition aroused in the United States by the recent war with Mexico surely had not been entirely forgotten by American statesmen. The Pierce administration and the editors of the expansionist organs of Democracy, even if they had been in favor of a resort to arms, must have known that another conflict with Mexico, the expenses of which could only be collected in territory, would not only endanger the solidarity of their party, but even imperil the Union itself. Undoubtedly a pacific settlement could be calculated to commend itself both to Mexico and to the United States.

Moreover, why should the Pierce administration go to war when there was a reasonable prospect of obtaining everything it desired by purchase. Was not purchase good democratic procedure, and was not Santa Anna, that unscrupulous soldier of fortune, now at the helm in Mexico and much in need of funds to sustain his government? If he could be convinced that a treaty would serve to strengthen his position, might he not be expected to assume dictatorial powers in order to effect it?

With the view of pursuing this line of action, the administra-

¹It will be recalled that in the summer of 1853 the question of the Near East was threatening to convulse Europe.

tion sent James Gadsden to Mexico in July, 1853. Gadsden was perhaps not a bad choice for the mission. True, he had graduated from Yale without imbibing the first principles of diction or style and he persistently and uniformly employed high-sounding and redundant phrases whose meaning he did not fully comprehend; but he had gained some little practical experience as a land speculator and a promoter of southern railways; he had been a Nullifier in 1829 and a Secessionist in 1850; and he was a friend of Jefferson Davis, sharing all this great Southerner's eagerness for a southern Pacific railway and the southward flight of the American eagle. Moreover, he was a man of considerable energy and persistency, with a fair amount of acumen and with few scruples as to the means of attaining the particular ends he had in view.²

Gadsden's instructions were much more moderate than might have been expected under the circumstances. After assuring the newly appointed envoy that his government earnestly desired a pacific settlement of the outstanding difficulties with Mexico, Marcy dwelt upon the rights of the citizens of the United States in Tehuantepec; the southern boundary of New Mexico and the acquisition of a practicable route for a Pacific railroad; release from responsibility for Indian depredations; mutual claims; and means of improving the commercial intercourse of the two countries.

The main portion of the instructions was devoted to the boundary difficulty, the railway, and release from Article XI of the treaty of 1848. With reference to the boundary, Marcy maintained that the line surveyed and agreed upon by the commissioners of the governments concerned, was not final because it did not have the concurrence of the surveyor of the United States. Lieutenant Whipple, who had acted as surveyor *ad interim* while the line was being run, had been appointed without authority by the American commissioner. The fact that the survey had received the approval of the secretaries of state and of interior in no way affected the matter. If the line had been run in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of 1848, their approval would not be neces-

²For this characterization I am partially indebted to Mr. Paul N. Garber, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is collecting data for a life of Gadsden.

sary to its validity. In case it had been erroneously surveyed, no amount of approval could serve to correct the error. Gadsden was therefore to take the stand that the southern boundary of New Mexico had not been established in accordance with the treaty, and to inform Mexico that the United States expected each party to "abstain from taking possession of the district in question or doing any act which indicates [would indicate] an exclusive appropriation thereof to itself." Although the late governor of New Mexico had apparently contemplated the occupation of the region and announced his purpose in a proclamation, he had acted without authority from the federal government. "His intention was never executed, his purpose was disapproved," and Mexico had already been notified that the United States would not attempt to take possession of the disputed area. The latter government expected, therefore, that Mexico would "take the same course," and it was Gadsden's duty to urge upon Mexico the "propriety and reasonableness" of the proposal.

Marcy declared that the Government of the United States was more interested in acquiring a new boundary embracing territory adapted to the construction of a railroad than in establishing its claim to the territory in dispute. He hoped and expected that the most expedient mode of settling the question would be found to be the merging of the boundary issue in the "negotiation for the alteration of the boundary," with the view of acquiring the contemplated route. In consideration of the many advantages which Mexico would secure from the construction of a railway along the international frontier Marcy presumed that "she would readily accept of a proposition to alter the boundary along that part of the line," ceding to the United States the strip of territory necessary for the proposed improvement.

While admitting that it would be difficult to ascertain without actual survey "the extent of alteration required for such a purpose," Marcy ventured two suggestions:

It would be important particularly to the interests of Mexico that such a railroad should connect with the navigable waters of the Gulf of California. For this purpose it is desirable that the true line—as we contend—the line commencing along the Rio Grande a few miles north of El Paso—should be continued for a considerable distance west beyond the treaty line, then run south

about 30' and then again west to the Gulf. Should Mexico be unwilling to make such a large cession of country as such a line would require she might agree to have the line on the southern border of New Mexico continued until it shall strike the River San Pedro and thence down that river to its junction with the Gila.

With the negotiations for the alteration of the boundary Marcy suggested that it might be proper to embrace a settlement of mutual claims. In regard to Mexican claims for indemnity under the eleventh article of the treaty of 1848, however, Marcy contended that the government of the United States could not admit of any responsibility. It had fulfilled its obligations to restrain the Indian incursions "in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions" had been "committed within its own territory, against its own citizens." Since 1848, the United States had kept a large portion of its military forces stationed in the vicinity of the international boundary for the purpose of "keeping the Indians in order and restraining incursions into Mexican territory." Better results had not attended their efforts largely because Mexico had left her border in an almost unprotected state. "It would be singular indeed," said Marcy, "if the United States could be held liable to indemnify Mexico or her citizens for injuries which she invited or at least might have prevented, and in virtue of being a government was bound to her citizens to prevent." Nevertheless, while denying the justice of these claims, Marcy realized that the offer on previous occasions of several millions for release from the obligations stipulated by the article in question put his government in a somewhat embarrassing position, from which he admitted that he would like to find a way of escape.

Marcy assured Gadsden that the government of the United States was willing to "pay liberally" for these three important considerations, but he did not state definite figures. Moreover, he left the subject of the concessions of citizens of the United States in Tehuantepec open for further instructions, and promised later advice concerning the subject of claims in general.

The concluding paragraph of Gadsden's instructions dealt with the commercial relations of the neighboring republics, describing the situation in a few brief sentences:

The unsettled condition of affairs in Mexico for many years

past has very much diminished our trade with the country. The constantly occurring political revolutions there rendered commercial intercourse unsafe; the frequent changes in her tariff and the severe penalties for the non-compliance with it,—even when imperfectly promulgated—was vexatious and often ruinous to our merchants. . . . You will make known to Mexico the desire of the United States to establish with her intimate commercial relations on liberal terms. Such relations would in every respect, be advantageous to both countries.³

Whether the moderate views set forth in these instructions constituted a true representation of Marcy's attitude in mid-summer, 1853, it is difficult to say. They certainly did not satisfy the ambitions of the agent to whom they were addressed, and who, perhaps disposed to conform to the desires of the secretary of war, appears to have had little notion of confining himself to the modest aims set forth therein.⁴ On two occasions before leaving the United States Gadsden urged that A. B. Gray, who had been connected with the boundary survey, be employed to explore not only the section in the vicinity of the disputed area, but also the Gulf of California and adjacent regions; for, said Gadsden, "any settlement of the boundary question which may involve a change from that defined (or rather so undefined) in the Treaty of Guadalupe; should be made so discreetly and advisably as to preclude the necessity of a revisal hereafter. We must settle on a *Zone* which will give satisfaction to both parties; preclude neighborhood feuds by securing to the State what she requires, and as you probably know she will have."⁵

³Marcy to Gadsden, No. 3, July 15, 1853, Mex. Inst., Vol. 6 (Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives).

⁴Jefferson Davis seems to have been the dominating figure in Pierce's Cabinet. His views with reference to Mexico may be judged from the fact that he was not satisfied with the territory acquired in 1848, that he proposed a mountain and desert boundary far south of the Rio Grande, and that he was in favor of occupying Yucatán in the spring of 1848. He was the first to notify Gadsden of his appointment to the Mexican post, Gadsden corresponded with him while in Mexico, and the ideas expressed by the minister with reference to a natural boundary lead one to suspect that Davis is speaking through him. On this point see Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, chapter on the cabinet, and "The West and the Mexican War," in Trans. of the Ill. State Historical Soc. (1912), pp. 19-23; Gadsden to Marcy, May 19, 1853; *Senate Ex. Journal*, VII, 322-323.

⁵Despatches of July 12 and 19, Mex. Desp., Vol. 18. Unless otherwise indicated all of Gadsden's correspondence referred to in this paper will be found in this volume, in the State Department.

By the beginning of September, after having been in Mexico City only three weeks, he had evolved a philosophy of Mexican revolutions, reached a definite conviction regarding the motives which uniformly actuated Mexican statesmen, and begun a series of urgent appeals for more complete and liberal instructions with reference to the amount of territory to be acquired. The wars of independence at the beginning of the century had not achieved liberty or democracy, he said; they had merely achieved independence from Spain by an alliance between the church, the native Spaniards, and the Creoles, none of whom cared anything about freedom, equality, or popular government. They had been interested in the people solely as objects of plunder and exploitation, and they had soon fallen upon each other because the spoils had not been sufficient to satisfy the greed of all. Thus the army came to be employed as an instrument of tyranny: thus despotism, sustained by a military force which remained loyal only so long as it was well paid and well fed, sprang into existence. All of this had a very direct bearing upon Gadsden's mission; and the early days of September found him far from pessimistic as to the outcome. The Mexican treasury had shown a seventeen million dollar deficit during the last fiscal year; the people who possessed ready cash were shipping it out of the country; there was little prospect of borrowing on the credit of the church; rents and internal revenues would come in too slowly to meet an emergency; and yet there were numerous signs of an approaching revolution, and Santa Anna's army must be paid or lost. Would not these factors appear to justify the acquisition of more territory than originally contemplated—the five frontier states, for instance? If Santa Anna's immediate necessities should become extremely pressing, would it not be wise to place at once into the hands of the despot a portion of the sum to be offered? How large was the contingent fund of President Pierce? How much money would the United States be willing to offer for these frontier states? These were some of the questions propounded by the enthusiastic agent of manifest destiny.

Moreover, in his most sanguine moments Gadsden rejoiced at another possibility. Santa Anna might be overthrown by the Moderates, and this group would perhaps "tender . . . the whole Country, to be annexed hereafter under our Constitutional require-

ments as states of our Federation. . . . At the Crisis how should your minister act? His instinct is to receive and protect.”⁶

Such was the situation as Gadsden saw it soon after his arrival. In succeeding despatches he reiterated most of the opinions expressed in this private memorandum and gradually unfolded his plans and the methods he proposed to pursue in order to consummate them. While confessing his repugnance to despotism, he was not averse to lending it financial support provided his ends could be gained thereby. He condemned bribery on general principles, but when it was clearly the only means of accomplishing a specific object he was willing to make use of such “appliances,” to resort to the “Antient Franchise,” to apply the “oil” to the “axle,” covering the action of his government by working through the medium of the agents of Sloo or Garay (rivals in Tehuantepec), for instance. He believed also in the efficacy of intimidation, urging repeatedly that the troops of the United States on the frontier be augmented and that vessels of war be sent to the coasts of Mexico. But his stock argument was of course that of manifest destiny.

An adequate conception of the difficulties and vexations which this apostle of expansion confronted and of the methods which he employed cannot be had without a somewhat detailed study of his despatches. These will show the philosophy of Young America at its most aggressive stage, while they will reveal, at the same time, some of the fundamental problems of the period.

On August 31, Gadsden complained that the exaggerations of the American consul at Acapulco with reference to alleged outrages committed upon the captain and crew of the Schooner *B. I. Allen*, had involved him in an unnecessary correspondence with the Mexican government. He referred, at the same time, to the “increasing disposition on the part of lawless Trespassers to disturb the tranquility” of the frontier, and concluded his despatch by deprecating the practice followed by his predecessors of interposing diplomatically in the interest of private claimants prior to the consideration of each case by a competent tribunal.

On September 2, while advising Marcy with reference to the choice of consuls for Mexican posts, he declared that it would be

⁶Private, of September 5, 1853.

better for the commercial relations of the two countries to "dispense with all consular appointments unless Americans of . . . character and capacity; well informed on the obligations imposed by their commissions, can [could] be secured." He said that the high duties and prohibitions imposed by the Mexican government tended to foment smuggling and contraband trade, in which Americans frequently participated; and when they became involved in difficulties with the Mexican authorities, they invariably sought the protection of their government. Unless American consuls exercised firmness and discretion in such cases, they were likely to commit their government against the law instead of in its support.

Two weeks later, Gadsden went still further and indicted the entire consular system of the United States as applied to Mexico. He charged many consuls with being ignorant of the Mexican code and of Mexican port regulations. He said that they "too often combine with and become the partisans of those who have incurred responsibilities in the violations" of this code and these regulations, "more than nine tenths of the issues on private claims" arising from "palpable disrespect" of the law.⁷

The diplomatic contest in which Gadsden was for several months to be a not unwilling participant, began in the latter days of August, when a complaint from the Mexican minister of foreign relations, Manuel Díaz de Bonilla, with reference to excesses committed by Americans on the Chihuahuan frontier presented an opportunity, perhaps in line with his policy of intimidation, for conveying the information that the recently appointed governor of New Mexico had been accompanied to his post by a military force sufficient to cope with the problems in the region. This note and rumors to the effect that two thousand American troops had been sent to New Mexico led Bonilla to make an uneasy inquiry as to the significance of the movement. Whereupon Gadsden responded with the assertion that they had been despatched for the purpose of assisting the governor "to preserve order on the Frontier."⁸

Meantime, something of the tactics of Gadsden's protagonists

⁷No. 5, September 17, 1853.

⁸Bonilla to Gadsden August 20, 30, and 31, 1853; and Gadsden to Bonilla, August 22 and 31, and September 1, 1853.

might be gathered from the busy circulation of exaggerated reports of Indian depredations in Sonora and Chihuahua in such a fashion that they could not escape the notice of the American minister, as well as from a note of Bonilla's with reference to the fulfillment of Article XI. of the treaty of 1848. In this communication the Mexican minister said:

The incessant incursions of savage Indians which are daily becoming more destructive and of which those states of this Republic bordering upon the frontier of North America are the victim, have compelled the President to direct the undersigned . . . to address this note to Mr. Gadsden . . . in order to call his attention to this subject which so deeply concerns the welfare of this nation and the . . . good name of the American Union, pledged as the latter is to the most exact fulfillment of compacts which on account of their transcendent importance, are deemed sacred among nations. . . .

In the various periodicals that are published, and, among them, in the official journal, . . . Mr. Gadsden will have seen since he has been in Mexico, reference made to a part of these incursions, both more destructive and more numerous than any that have occurred subsequent to 1848. It can be proved by means of documents bearing evidence of the fact, that during the short period of time which has elapsed since the peace of Guadalupe these incursions have been attended with less risk to the savages and more frequent and destructive to the aforesaid frontier states than they were a century ago, in consequence of these savages not having been restrained in American territory, as they should have been, and the facility with which they obtain shelter in American territory as soon as they are pursued by Mexico. . . . The natural and unavoidable result of this state of things is the increased energy with which the savages repeat their serious depredations, having on some occasions penetrated into the very heart of the Republic; the assassination or captivity of all who have the misfortune of falling into their hands, without distinction of age or sex; the robbery and pillage of cattle and whatever property they come upon; the prostration of villages and valuable plantations now laid waste and deserted; and the continuous decay of said states, once so flourishing [!], but now hardly able to sustain themselves because of their rapid depopulation and the consequent abandonment of their agriculture, commerce, and other sources of prosperity. . . .

Such deplorable events, which affect private individuals at the same time that they undermine the foundations of power and public wealth, are the result, and the undersigned is very sorry to

say it, of the non-fulfillment of those engagements which the United States contracted with Mexico by the eleventh article of the Treaty of Guadalupe, and they proceed from the fact that the frontier has not been provided with a sufficient number of troops and that all other measures to which it is pledged for the purpose of restraining, pursuing, and chastizing the savages have not been adopted. Therefore, Mexico has preferred her complaints to the government of the United States, both . . . through the American legation here and through her own at Washington. . . . General Almonte has been especially instructed to . . . present several of the many and numerous claims which have been submitted to this department by citizens who have sustained the disasters herein deplored, and those of other citizens will be forwarded from time to time . . . for the same object, as well as those which it behooves the nation to prefer on its own account. . . . But inasmuch as . . . those devastating incursions are being repeated without intermission and as nothing can compensate for the loss of good and peaceful citizens and the desolation and extermination of families, the undersigned . . . has the honor of addressing himself to . . . the Envoy of the United States, begging that he will be pleased to communicate the contents of this note, together with the public and notorious facts which have been the cause of it, to his government, in order that, fully appreciating the immense importance of this subject, it may be pleased to render effective the stipulations of the Treaty of Guadalupe in regard to it by adopting all such measures as may be necessary for affording complete redress for all the injuries that have been incurred and for punishing and restraining the savages as the sacred obligations . . . of said treaty and the equally sacred rights of Humanity demand.⁹

Gadsden feigned great surprise at this stand on the part of the Mexican minister. He declared he had supposed that the ghost of Indian indemnities had already been slain by his predecessors; quoted such so-called maxims of international law as: every interpretation of a treaty which deduces from it obligations morally and physically impossible is absurd and may be rejected, every agreement imposing burdens which are not mutual is odious, and equality in international contracts alone can justify respect for the obligations incurred; and maintained that the United States government had done everything within its power to protect the inhabitants of Mexico from the incursions of the Indians. It had

⁹Note of August 30, 1853.

defended Mexican citizens as diligently and as effectively as its own—which accorded exactly with the obligations imposed by Article XI. Since it was not accustomed to indemnify its own citizens for losses occasioned by Indian raids, Mexico and its frontier inhabitants need not expect indemnity. The government of Mexico had in large measure prevented the effective management of this whole Indian problem by disarming its frontier population, insisting on a preposterous boundary, and objecting to the pursuit of the savages across the international line, as well as to the movement of American troops across, or stationing them within, the disputed area. He did not deem it appropriate for the government of the United States which had not originated these difficulties, which, in fact, had uniformly manifested a desire to avoid and terminate them, to suggest a mode of settlement, but he would nevertheless entertain any propositions looking to this end which Bonilla cared to submit.¹⁰

On September 18, in an official despatch to Marcy, Gadsden expressed the belief that Bonilla was on the point of presenting such proposals as would lead to the settlement of all outstanding difficulties. He felt sure that territory could be acquired, though the price demanded might be exorbitant; and he asserted emphatically that no latitude north of 31° would be at all satisfactory, while he urged that a natural line further south would “better subserve the objects of *restraining Indian incursions* . . . and promoting the *harmony of border neighborhood*.”

In a private communication of the same date he called attention to the sensitiveness manifested in Mexico on account of the increase of the forces of the United States on the southwestern frontier and dwelt upon his favorite idea of intimidation. He was convinced, he said, that the augmentation of the “rank and file on the whole line of the Rio Bravo will [would] operate advantageously—so on the ocean.” “We should show on all occasions the sword, however covered by the Olive.” This policy was urged again on October 3, when he suggested that in case his mission had not attained a successful issue by the end of the year, a trip to Washington “for a private and confidential conference with the President,” and simultaneous “preparations on the frontier”

¹⁰Note of September 9.

would have "the most decided influence" on the adjustment of outstanding difficulties; and on the 18th of the same month, when he advocated stationing war vessels in both the Gulf and the Pacific and advancing an increased military force to the very banks of the Rio Grande, although in the latter despatch protection of American interests in Mexico was given as one motive for such procedure.

Preliminary conferences were held with the Mexican president on September 25 and on October 2. At last the negotiations seemed to be fully under way. During the course of these conferences Gadsden had recourse to his favorite argument of manifest destiny (or should one say geographical predestination?). Urging the sale of a much larger strip of territory than the boundary adjustment and the Pacific railway would require, he declared:

No power can prevent in time the whole valley of the Rio Grande from being under the same Government. All the sympathies of the Mexican States west of that river must and will be with the State or States east. And either Western Texas must come back to the Mexican Government or the States of Tamaulipas, New Leon; Coahula [sic] and Chihuahua, will by successive revolutions or purchases become united with Texas. These are solemn political truths—which no one can be blind to. It is for the consideration therefore of the two Powers claiming opposing jurisdiction to determine (where fate seems to have decreed) whether it is not in harmony with good neighborhood to the advantage of both Republics to sell and to purchase; and thus anticipate a union of States naturally bound to each other. . . .

During these interviews it was agreed that the territory in dispute should remain in *statu quo*, the military commanders of both governments on the frontier immediately to be informed of this fact; and, although Santa Anna refused to consent to the alienation of more territory than the amount absolutely indispensable to the proposed railroad and the settlement of the boundary dispute, Gadsden still hoped for a larger cession as he awaited the supplementary instructions which had been promised him when he set out on his mission.¹¹

Several busy and somewhat anxious weeks intervened, however, before these arrived. In the meantime, he occupied himself with

¹¹See Gadsden to Marcy, No. 6, October 3, 1853, and accompanying "memoranda."

the composition of extensive confidential speculations regarding the character and the fate of the Santa Anna regime, with the complaints of American citizens, the conjuration of Mexican suspicions, the appeasing of Mexican wrath, and the defeat of corrupt schemers who sought to convert the negotiations into a bag of gold for themselves. On October 12, he sought to allay the apprehensions of Bonilla with reference to the dangers lurking in a permit for American engineers to explore the region immediately south of the international boundary in search of the most practicable route for a Pacific railway. In a confidential note of October 18, he made a sweeping charge of universal corruption among high officials in Mexico and accused some of his own countrymen of an incontinent desire to share in the graft. On October 30, apparently for the purpose of continuing his policy of intimidation, he felt called upon to answer Bonilla's note safeguarding the *status quo* agreement against a construction unfavorable to the claims of Mexico, by the not altogether reassuring declaration that, since the Mexican government felt indisposed to acknowledge the agreement, the United States "must feel relieved from any recognition of a similar obligation, and at liberty to be governed as necessity or policy may [might] impose." During the next two weeks his time was mainly occupied with the refutation of Bonilla's extensive arguments in support of the right to demand indemnity for Indian depredations and in an earnest effort to convince Mexico that the federal authorities of the United States were acting in good faith with reference to the California filibusters.

At length, about the middle of November, the long-expected supplementary instructions arrived. Although bearing the date of October 22, and apparently written after Marcy had received Gadsden's report of the conferences of September 25 and October 2,¹² they seem to have been based upon the sanguine confidential despatches of September 5 and October 3. They were brought with great secrecy by Christopher L. Ward, a Pennsylvania lawyer, apparently interested in the Garay grant, who had been solemnly

¹²Carlos Butterfield left Mexico with despatches from Gadsden on October 3, and he presented these to Marcy on October 19. See Butterfield to Marcy, October 20, 1853, Marcy Papers, Vol. 43. (Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.)

enjoined not to enter Mexico with the written instructions, but to communicate their contents orally to the minister. Marcy later gave the following explanation for this procedure:

It was thought that there was at the time he [Ward] was sent out a very critical state of things in regard to the ruling power in that country, and that immediate pecuniary means would be indispensable for its maintenance; and to provide these means in the apprehended emergency a liberal concession of territory might be readily made. But at the same time it was suggested that should it in any way become publicly known that such a cession was contemplated that fact would not only defeat the object but overturn the existing government. . . . It was also apprehended . . . that the very unlimited power of General Santa Anna might soon be circumscribed and he would not at a future period be able to do what his necessities would then incline him to do in order to get the means to strengthen his doubtful rule.¹³

Thus the government of the colossal and Heaven-favored American Democracy, which had wept over the oppression of the Greeks, received Kossuth with open arms, contemplated striking the chains from Canada, and posed as the mighty champion of liberalism everywhere, admitted its disposition to prolong the rule of a tyrant over a neighboring people and to offer him what amounted, in effect, to a liberal bribe, in order to induce him to dispose of a portion of the birthright of the Mexican nation.

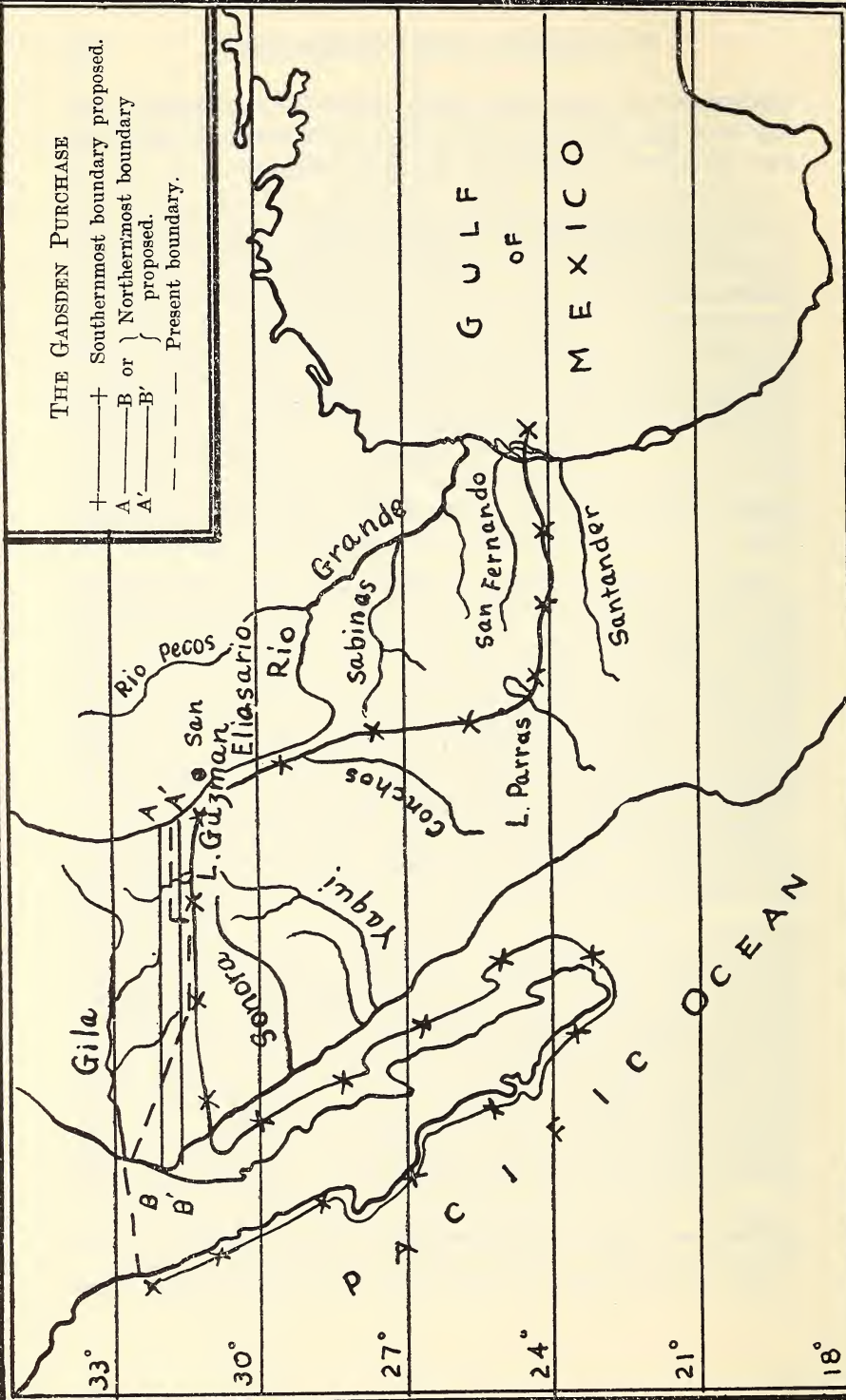
Through Ward, Gadsden was instructed to direct his negotiations toward the achievement of three objects—(1) release from the eleventh article of the treaty of 1848, (2) the settlement of reciprocal claims, (3) the acquisition of a new boundary—all of which should be embraced in one treaty. With reference to the boundary, the centre and heart of the negotiations, five possibilities were suggested. The most southern boundary secured a mountain-desert barrier and involved the cession to the United States of a large portion of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and all of Lower California. The most northern procured only what was believed to be sufficient area for the contemplated Pacific railway route.¹⁴ The maximum which

¹³Marcy to Gadsden, No. 20, Confidential, January 6, 1854, Mex. Inst., Vol. 6.

¹⁴For these two proposed boundaries, see accompanying map. The five

THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

- + Southernmost boundary proposed.
- A — B or } Northernmost boundary proposed.
- A' — B' }
- Present boundary.



Gadsden was authorized to offer for the largest area was fifty million dollars; the maximum for the smallest area was fifteen million dollars, it being understood in all the proposals that the sums stipulated were to secure, also, the release of the United States from the obligations imposed by Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and from all claims of the Mexican government and people against the United States. In each of the offers an attractive cash payment was provided, and the remaining in-

boundaries suggested were described as follows: (See memorandum of instructions to Ward, October 22, 1853, Mexico, Special Missions, Vol. 3.)

No. 1

From a point on the Gulf of Mexico midway between the Boquillas Cerradas and the Barra de Santander westward along the ridge dividing the waters which flow into the river San Fernando from those which flow into the river Santander to the Coast range of mountains. Thence obliquely across that range on the South side of the Pass of Linares and along the heights which border the plains of Durango to a point South of the Lakes de Alamo and Parras. Thence along the highlands on the west side of the said Lakes following the principle ridge which divides the waters flowing into the Rio Conchos and Rio Sabinas up to the mountain ridge contiguous to the Rio Grande. Thence along said ridge and across the Conchos river up to the parallel of San Eliasario and thence westwardly passing on the South side of Lake Guzman along the highlands or the middle of the plains which divide the waters flowing into the Gulf of California from those flowing into the Rios Grande and Gila until the line so traced shall intersect the 111th degree of longitude west of Greenwich,—and thence in a direct course to the Gulf of California at the 31st degree of North latitude. Thence down the middle of said Gulf to its Southern extremity and around the Southernmost point of the Cape of Lower California and along its western coast, including all adjacent islands to the termination of the U. S. Boundary on the Pacific.

No. 2

From a point on the Gulf of Mexico midway between the Rio Grande, and the Rio San Fernando, westwardly through the middle of the plain, which divides the waters flowing into the Rio Grande and the Rio San Fernando, until the line so drawn shall reach the highlands and thence along said highlands, so as to include the waters flowing into the Rio Grande to the Pass of *Los Muertos*, thence northwestwardly along the highlands, including the waters of the Rio Grande, to a point on said river between the mouth of the Rio Pecos and the Presidio del Norte, where the highlands thus defined are intersected by the Rio Grande. Thence along said river to the 31st degree of North latitude—thence from the Cañon of the Rio Grande below San Eliasario, North latitude thirty-one along the mountain ridge which is contiguous to the Rio Grande, up to the parallel of the Presidio San Eliasario. . . . [Thence as in No. 1 to the middle of the Gulf of California.] Thence up the centre of said Gulf and the channel of the Rio Colorado to the present boundary of the United States.

No. 3

From the Cañon of the Rio Grande below San Eliasario . . . [as in No. 2 to the middle of the Gulf of California, thence as in No. 1 to the boundary of the United States on the Pacific.]

debtedness was to be rapidly extinguished by large monthly installments. What better bribe could have been desired by a despot without disposition to distinguish between public and private funds?¹⁵

When Ward arrived in Mexico City he evinced, as it appeared to Gadsden, undue concern with reference to the claims of the holders of the Garay grant. The minister therefore refused to act upon his new instructions until Ward had reduced them to writing. Thus reduced, they coincided with the original, except for the confessed addition of a section urging the protection of the Garay concessionaries. In this portion of his communication, Ward alleged that the President of the United States, far from any idea of abandoning the Garay group, "was determined to support those claims in every proper form short of a declaration of war in regard to them alone" and to repudiate the Conkling treaty. The president's failure to give specific instructions on all the points at issue did not signify the intention on his part of precluding Gadsden from the "exercise of reasonable discretion." He had not given specific directions with reference to the Garay claimants because of haste and the fear that they might protract

No. 4

[Same as No. 3 to the middle of the Gulf of California, thence as No. 2.]

No. 5

[(1)] Frontera on the Rio Grande is accurately ascertained to be in Latitude 31° 48' and some seconds. A line from that point of Latitude due West to the Gulf of California would throw within the limits of the United States a very good . . . route for . . . a rail road. [(2)] . . . A Line on the 32° parallel of latitude would give the United States a good route for a Rail Road from the Rio Grande to the Gulf, but neither a line from Frontera or on the 32d parallel would be a good boundary. . . .

¹⁵In reply to Gadsden's suggestion that bribery might be necessary to accomplish the objects of his mission, Marcy wrote:

"You intimate in your communications that possibly there may be money to a considerable amount which the president might use in order to facilitate a difficult negotiation, but it is not so. The secret service fund at the control of the President is small. The amount annually appropriated does not exceed \$40,000, and the appropriation for the present fiscal year has been in part expended. Should the President make application for an immediate increase of it to a large amount, it would be necessary to explain to Congress the particular use to be made of it. The subject would of necessity go before both Houses and undergo much debate. It would be impossible to preserve secrecy as to the object to which it was intended to apply it. I cannot promise, therefore, that anything can be done in this way to facilitate your present negotiation." (Marcy to Gadsden, No. 19, December 22, 1853, Mex. Inst., Vol. 6.)

the negotiations; but if there was a reasonable prospect of arranging this important affair, the president would be in favor of such a step. A treaty securing territory, or a railway route which would be sure to have its rivals in the United States, while leaving "unnoticed and unredressed . . . long-pending and real injuries of individuals," would reflect glory neither upon the American minister in Mexico, nor upon the government which he represented. Ward, therefore, urged Gadsden to consider the wisdom of "arranging in one treaty, and at once, *all* the points of difference between the United States and the Mexican Republic, if the question of boundary should not thus be greatly delayed."¹⁶

This addendum to the original instructions does not seem to be a very grave departure from the views and desires of Pierce, but the verbal advices, the exaggerated pretensions, and the general attitude of Ward while in Mexico offended Gadsden, eliciting from him a long protest.¹⁷ Nevertheless, he proceeded to include the Garay concessions in the project for a treaty which he submitted and pressed them with no little pertinacity.

Soon after the arrival of his new instructions, Gadsden had an extended and fervent interview with Santa Anna, at the close of which he was informed of the dictator's intention to appoint a commission to confer with him with reference to the settlement of all pending issues. Before formal announcement of the personnel of the commission had been made, however, Gadsden suspected that European interference had taken place "in the private parlors of the Palace." He accordingly proceeded, as he informed Marcy, to "read" Bonilla "a Chapter from President Monroe's Manifesto." What he did, in reality, was to sing a paean to a type of manifest destiny very closely allied to the idea of geographical predetermination. He contended, in brief, that the inevitable result of the march of the age would be the absorption of a large part of Northern Mexico—"a repetition of Texan history in the six border States, including South [Lower] California";

¹⁶Ward to Gadsden, November 14, 1853, Mex. Special Agents.

¹⁷Gadsden urged that the Mexican government could hardly be expected to recognize a grant which it had repeatedly repudiated; that the deduction of five millions for the "Cormorant appetite of Ward and Co." and three millions for private claims would render the financial consideration inadequate to meet the needs of Santa Anna, and thus endanger the success of the negotiations. Gadsden to Marcy, Private of Nov. 20, 1853.

that European meddling and appeals to Europe for support, as he had reason to think Mexico had recently made, would serve only to hasten this consummation; and that it would therefore be wise for the Mexican government to anticipate the inexorable by the sale of the region in question. By this simple process it would secure a "natural Territorial boundary, imposing in its Mountain and Desert outlines," check further desire for expansion on the part of citizens of the United States, remove the provocation for border feuds, lay aside the burden of protecting people who really preferred to be transferred to another jurisdiction, and, in a word, usher in the millennium in North America!¹⁸

This preamble delivered, Gadsden was ready to settle down to the negotiations proper. These were brought to a conclusion after six sessions extending from December 10 to 30, for each of which brief "protocols" were kept. These protocols, together with a despatch to Marcy, written while in the midst of his work, furnish a very satisfactory account of the difficulties Gadsden confronted and the contest he waged during the last days of his special mission.

From Gadsden's letter to Marcy, dated December 16, it appears that after the close of the second formal conference, the American minister was on the point of giving up in despair. The meddling of speculators interested in the Indian spoliation claims and the Tehuantepec concessions, the presence of William Walker and his filibusters on Mexican soil, the attempt of the Mexican negotiators to transfer a portion of the issues to Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, the extravagant demands of Mexico, "prompted me," said Gadsden, "to close all negotiations." When the diplomats of the Aztec nation observed his state of mind they asked for another conference, and Gadsden decided to make one more effort to accomplish the objects of his mission. Since, however, Gadsden persistently urged the cession of a large area of territory

¹⁸Gadsden to Bonilla, November 29, 1853. The commissioners appointed by the Mexican government were Bonilla himself, J. Mariano Monterde, and José Salazar y Larregui.

Gadsden's suspicions regarding European opposition to his negotiations were well-founded. See Doyle (British minister in Mexico) to British Secy. of State, No. 120, Dec. 18, 1853, F. O. 50, Vol. 261. For Santa Anna's appeal to Europe, see Bolton, *Guide to . . . the Principle Archives of Mexico*, p. 230.

in spite of the refusal of the Mexican commissioners to consent to the alienation of more than the minimum required for the projected railway, one suspects that unreasonable demands were not entirely confined to the agents of Mexico.

At length, after the greater part of four conferences had been consumed, Gadsden reluctantly consented to accept the contention of the Mexican commissioners with respect to the territorial feature. They then turned to the question of Indian indemnities, which evoked prolonged discussion. Bonilla demanded as a consideration for releasing the United States from Article XI., compensation both "for the losses which her Government and Citizens had suffered in the past, and for the responsibilities and obligations of which the U. States in the future would be relieved," insisting that eight million dollars be set aside in the proposed treaty specifically for this purpose. Gadsden refused either to admit the responsibility of his government for the Indian depredations or to itemize the compensation he proposed to offer for the various concessions sought.

The fifth conference opened with an attempt on the part of Gadsden to secure recognition of the Garay grant. This the Mexican commission refused to concede on the ground that such a step would permit an undue interference in what was purely a domestic and administrative matter; and they persisted in this view of the matter even when Gadsden offered three million dollars for this consideration alone. When Bonilla suggested that the only proper method of disposing of the claims under the grant was to include it among the number the United States proposed to assume, Gadsden objected that his government was unwilling to expend more than five millions for this purpose, but that the Garay claimants were demanding that much for themselves, and pressed the matter of the revalidation of the concession until Bonilla finally informed him that further discussion was useless, as "he never would assent to anything that in the slightest degree could affect the honor of his country or infringe upon her sovereignty." Gadsden, convinced that further efforts would prove unavailing, once more gave way; and the commissioners took up the question of compensation for the concessions which Mexico had signified her willingness to grant.

At first Gadsden offered seventeen millions, five millions to be

retained for the satisfaction of American claims against Mexico, and twelve millions to be paid for the "other things agreed upon." The Mexican commissioners insisted upon a larger amount, and after considerable discussion, "it was finally decided that the U. States should Pay \$15,000,000 for all other concessions and \$5,000,000 to be devoted for the satisfaction of private claims."¹⁰ Of the former sum, one-fifth was to be paid on the exchange of ratifications and the remaining four-fifths in monthly installments of three millions each—an arrangement which must have made the wily dictator chuckle! Nothing now remained but the signing of the completed document. This took place on December 30, and Gadsden set out immediately for Washington.

The account of the Gadsden negotiations cannot be considered as complete, however, until Santa Anna's version of the matter has been briefly examined. When news of his sale of the national domain aroused a storm of protest in Mexico, the dictator and his friends, profiting by the rumors of a threatened outbreak of hostilities with the United States in the summer and fall of 1853, endeavored to excuse his action by the allegation that the Yankees would have taken the territory by force had he not consented to its sale. This story was not sufficiently convincing to stem the tide of opposition which soon led to his overthrow, however, and on two subsequent occasions he referred to the affair, along with other matters, in an attempt to restore himself to the good graces of the Mexican people. These two accounts, one contained in a *pronunciamento* issued from his place of exile in 1858, and the other in his memoirs written some ten years later, agree in essentials. In the first, he said, in substance, that the government of the United States, with the view of stirring up trouble, had despatched a large force to threaten the department of Chihuahua; that the Mexicans "had nothing with which to oppose the invaders arrogantly appearing along the frontier but the sad spectacle . . . of exceeding weakness"; that, during the progress of the negotiations, Gadsden gave the Mexican officials to understand that the territory in question was absolutely essential to the development of the United States and Mexico had better sell for a reasonable price what "imperious necessity" would sooner or later compel the Washington government to seize. In the second state-

¹⁰The six protocols were inclosed with Gadsden to Marcy, March 20, 1854.

ment, Santa Anna asserted that the government of the United States, "with knife in hand, was attempting to cut another piece from the body it had just mutilated"; and that "an American division was already treading upon the State of Chihuahua." He then proceeded to describe the diplomatic conferences in detail. Although in the first account Santa Anna had said that Gadsden made proposals regarding "Baja California, part of Chihuahua and Sonora," in the later version he added Sinaloa and part of Durango. He remarked here, also, that Gadsden's threat to the effect that his government would resort to force in case Mexico should persist in refusing to part with territory, was made at a moment when the envoy was angry because of the pertinacity with which the Mexican negotiators supported their contentions.²⁰

It will be noted that, according to this view, Gadsden is accused of bluster and intimidation and the government of the United States is charged (1) with the occupation of the territory in dispute prior to Santa Anna's decision to sell it, and (2) with the concentration of troops on the Rio Grande for the purpose of intimidating Mexico into a territorial cession. The accusation against Gadsden, as will appear from the foregoing analysis of his correspondence, is essentially true. The first charge preferred against the United States, however, is false. Reference has been made elsewhere²¹ to the fact that, in the spring of 1853, Marcy notified the Mexican government that the United States had no idea of departing from the *status quo* principle usually observed in such disputes. It has been seen, also, that the region in question had not been occupied before Governor Lane's removal from office; that Governor Meriwether was instructed not to take any steps toward occupying the territory, even if upon his arrival he should find Mexican troops on the ground; and that General Garland, who superseded General Sumner as commander of the forces

²⁰I have published a translation of Santa Anna's statements in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (January, 1921), 235ff.

This version of the Gadsden Treaty has been accepted by the leading historians of Mexico. See, for instance, Vicente Riva Palacio, *México a través de los Siglos*, IV, 812, 916; Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de Mejico*, XIII, 663, 916; Francisco de Paula de Arrangois y Berzábal, *México desde 1808 hasta 1867*, II, 334; Ignacio Alvarez, *Estudios sobre la Historia de Mexico*, VI, 75-76.

²¹See "The Boundary of New Mexico and the Gadsden Treaty," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV (Nov., 1921), 732.

of the United States in the department of New Mexico, was given a copy of Meriwether's instructions for his guidance.²² These facts seem to indicate the absence of any intention on the part of the United States immediately to occupy the disputed section; and apparently there was no change of purpose prior to the completion of the negotiations which resulted in the Gadsden Treaty. In the first letter written from his post of duty, Meriwether remarked that there were about thirty Mexican soldiers at Mesilla and that it was rumored that many more were on their way, but he made no reference whatever to United States troops being stationed there.²³ In his despatch of August 31, he confirmed his previous view of the situation, but maintained the same significant silence regarding the forces of the United States.²⁴ Gadsden's communication of October 8, to the military officer commanding in New Mexico, in which he informed him that an agreement to leave the area in *statu quo* had been made but gave no direction as to removal of troops, appears to be conclusive evidence that no news regarding an occupation on the part of the army of the United States had reached the American minister up to this time.²⁵ A letter from Meriwether to Marcy, dated November 14, indicates that such action had not yet been taken. Meriwether asked for instructions regarding a criminal who had escaped to the disputed region. He said he feared that if he asked the Governor of Chihuahua for the culprit, such request might be construed into an acknowledgment of the possession of the section by that state, while an attempt at forcible seizure might "precipitate matters more than it is [was] desirable to the government at Washington."²⁶ Lastly, a very careful examination of the archives of the War Department at Washington has failed to reveal any evidence indicating the presence of troops of the United States in the disputed territory prior to December 30, 1853, when the Gadsden pact was signed. Therefore, the conclusion that the first charge preferred by Santa Anna against the United States is false seems warranted.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 728, *passim*.

²³Meriwether to Marcy, August 13, 1853, State Department, B. I. A., Misc. Let.

²⁴*Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁵H. E. Bolton, Transcripts from the Archives of Mexico.

²⁶Misc. Let.

The second charge, however, apparently rests upon a firmer basis. During the summer and fall of 1853, some three hundred recruits were sent to New Mexico and preparations were made to establish a new post opposite El Paso.²⁷ At the same time, recruits for the Fifth Infantry were despatched to Texas, along with four additional companies of Artillery; and General Persifer F. Smith was ordered to concentrate the troops of the Eighth Department (Texas) on the Rio Grande and to erect "field works."²⁸ It is quite possible that these preparations might have been represented by Gadsden as the expression of an intention on the part of the United States to accomplish its purposes by force in the event that negotiations proved unavailing. But so far as the Washington government itself is concerned, only three bits of evidence have been found which can possibly be construed as indicating that the concentration of troops on the frontier signified the determination to appeal to the sword when other measures failed to secure the coveted territory. These are as follows: In the concluding paragraph of his letter of November 14, 1853, Meriwether said, ". . . there is no military force in the disputed territory the Mexicans having removed their small force some time since and should the general government desire to precipitate matters this will afford an opportunity [sic] of so doing."²⁹ On October 28, 1853, General Garland reported that there were "no troops at all at the Mesilla"; that there was "not much friendly feeling towards" the United States "on the other side [of the international boundary]"; and that he was "preparing to move down to that quarter at short notice."³⁰ On the 27th of

²⁷Adjutant-General to Brigadier-General Clark, April 23, 1853, Headquarters of the Army, Letter Book, Vol. 8; Garland to the Adjutant-General, August 3, 1853, War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, Old Files; Adjutant-General to Persifer F. Smith, September 15, 1853, Adjutant-General's Office, Letters Sent, Vol. 28; Garland to Adjutant-General, November 27, 1853, and January 24, 1854, Adjutant-General's Office, Old Files.

²⁸Major-General Scott to the Chief of the Recruiting Service, April 15, 1853, and to Colonel Plympton, May 26, 1853, Headquarters of the Army, Letter Book, Vol. 8; Adjutant-General to Persifer F. Smith, July 30, 1853, Adjutant-General's Office, Letters Sent, Vol. 28. See also the returns from the military departments of Texas and New Mexico, Adjutant-General's Office, Returns Division.

²⁹State Department, B. I. A., Misc. Let.

³⁰Adjutant-General's Office, Old Files.

the following December, this same commander wrote Gadsden that his "dispositions" were "so made" that he was "ready to *attack*, or *repel*, whichever may become necessary."³¹ The fact that troops had been mobilized on the frontier, and that the governor of New Mexico and the commander of the federal troops in that department appeared to anticipate aggressive action, would not, however, necessarily imply the intention of the United States to resort to force if negotiations should fail; mobilization may have been ordered as a precaution and counter move against the concentration of Mexican troops along the Rio Grande and the southern boundary of New Mexico, as well as for the purpose of dealing with Indian problems which were particularly grave at the time. A perusal of the correspondence of the War Department furnishes much to justify this view of the matter.³²

³¹The American commanders of the military posts on the southwestern frontier kept the War Department fully informed regarding the apparently hostile movements of Mexico. See despatches of D. S. Miles (commanding at Ft. Fillmore, N. M.) dated March 20 and 22, 1853, and of P. F. Smith (commanding Eighth Department, Texas), dated July 2 and July 7, 1853, and enclosures, Adjutant-General's Office, Old Files.

³²The Indian situation was critical in New Mexico. See General Garland's reports from August 9 to November 27, 1853, *loc. cit.*

In his instructions to Garland, Secretary Davis said: ". . . It is expected that you will avoid, as far as you consistently can, any collision with the troops or civil authorities of the Republic of Mexico or the State of Chihuahua." (Instructions of June 2, 1853, Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Vol. 34.) Ordering Smith to mobilize his forces on the Rio Grande, the Adjutant-General remarked: "While the Department is disposed to rely on the good faith of the authorities of Mexico . . . it considers that it would only be a measure of prudence, induced by the information communicated in your letters, to be prepared for any aggression which might be attempted from the quarter referred to."

MEMOIRS OF MAJOR GEORGE BERNARD ERATH

LUCY A. ERATH

III

8. Surveying and Indian Fighting Resumed, 1838-1842

It was perhaps true in a measure that armed parties out on surveying expeditions answered as rangers for protection of the frontier, but as soon as the territory adjacent to settlements was surveyed the attacks on and killing of such parties by Indians modified the surveying business. As I took part in the surveying business of the time, remained in it, and went far out beyond the settlements to carry it on in the intervals between military service, it may be well for me to explain something about the nature of it.

Not pausing to consider the land law as to grants and issuing of certificates, I will speak only of the law in relation to surveying. A county surveyor was elected by congress for every county, but he was not really to practice in the field. He was the recorder of field notes, keeper of maps, reporter of what was done, but, under the first principles of the land law, was not expected to survey, except in the smaller interior counties where there was little business. Deputies did the field work; they were appointed by him, but were independent of him; they were distinct officers, giving bond and security to the president and after annexation to the governor. A county surveyor, when he did actual business in the field in the smaller counties, had to give additional bond as deputy for surveying. Application for surveys could be made directly to the deputy, and if the applicant distinctly pointed out the land himself, or through his agent, it had preference over the application made to the county surveyor. I am citing for the most part transactions in Milam County, Central Texas.

The constitution of the Republic did not require that a man should be a citizen of Texas for any specified time before election to office, provided he was a citizen when he went into office. Congress met on the first Monday in December; the elections were held on the first Monday in September. As a man was a

citizen after six months' residence, he could come into the country the last day of May, be elected in September, and hold office in December.

Milam County at the outset embraced an immense territory; the southern portion was most accessible. Applications for the position of deputy surveyor were made by men who had never been in the county, and they were favored by our representatives, who in a manner had the control.¹² Because I was a soldier and could act as guard without any extra compensation, these same congressmen and some of the people thought it the proper thing for me to be appointed deputy surveyor to the most exposed district on the frontier. I was averse to hiring hands and paying out of my own pocket a high price to get fighting characters to maneuver against and chase Indians. Because I was considered of some service as a soldier, and was an older citizen, I thought I should have had the preference over new men. So I concluded to have no district at all to survey, and went to San Antonio, where I ran a compass for a surveyor two or three months. A little indignation then shown in my behalf ended with the resignation of the county surveyor who had made the appointments. His successor, James Howlet, was a man just arrived from Virginia but being a very good scholar he was well fitted to keep the office—not going into the woods at all—and he did keep the office for twelve years. He promised the people to appoint me at once, but I delayed returning until the first of August, 1838. By that time five or six surveyors had surveyed up all the country near the settlements less subject to danger, excepting irregular fractions, or poor land not in demand.

A larger number of chain carriers and other help was required for operating in the frontier districts. Unless such persons had lands of their own to locate, or were interested in locating land for others on shares, or received extra pay in money, it was almost impossible to secure such assistants. The surveyor himself was precluded by heavy penalties from taking any interest in lands he surveyed or receiving extra pay. It was also customary to allow hands pay from the time they started till they returned,

¹²Thomas A. Graves was elected first surveyor of Milam County, December 15, 1837.

the surveyor paying for all the traveling and time wasted watching Indians. Thus it can easily be seen that the business was not very profitable. Payment was tendered in Texas money and often not paid for a year or two; so a fee made in 1838 when Texas money rated two for one and paid in 1840 when it rated four for one was a still greater loss. And up to that time it was considered all right by people of the frontier for a man to do work and wait two years or more for his pay. I may add, too, that such a thing as interest was unheard of in those days.

Although I was out several times with small parties I had little trouble from Indians in 1838. Stilman S. Curtis was killed that year. He was with me locating lands, got sick, and undertook to go alone to the settlement at Nashville forty miles away. Indians killed him near the crossing on Little River; his body was never found; but the Indians, only four in number, passed where we were at work, leading Curtis's horse. Our party consisted of ten men, but only five of us were at the place when we saw the Indians. Three of my men mounted and gave chase, but did not overtake the Indians.

The year 1839 was marked particularly by Indian depredations. The Morgan fight came off in January, and the resettlement of that place was attempted without success. I was out continually, but more often on scouts than surveying. In the latter part of February President Lamar issued an order for every county to raise a company of troops. I was elected captain of the Milam County company at its organization on the eighth of March. I was in no fight of importance; the operations of the next three months have already been mentioned by me in talking of Indian affairs and in my account of the Bird Creek fight from what I had heard of it.¹³

After the expiration of the three months for which the company was enlisted, I made four surveying expeditions through the rest of the year; none of them exceeded twenty days' absence or six days actual surveying at a time. In one of them, in October, I succeeded in capturing a prize of twenty-seven horses from the Indians. We were fourteen men, and about one hundred and fifty miles out from the settlements.

¹³The pages dealing with Indian affairs and the Bird Creek fight are missing from the manuscript.—L. A. E.

The settlement of the county was retarded so that in the fall of 1839 only about twenty-five families, in four settlements, including the town of Nashville, remained in the southeast corner of the county. Counting a number of young men, there were only fifty voters at the fall election in the whole county.

No one would hire to go surveying. The persons who accompanied me were generally young men with lands to locate either for themselves or for others on shares or on extra pay. The holders of the land certificates very often lived a long way off and were not disposed to venture into danger. I did not locate for others, and only received the surveying fees, at three dollars per mile in Texas money, then depreciated to three for one. It had now become a practice all over the frontier region not to run clear around the surveys, but to make two or three corners, as most convenient, and give the distance to the watercourses. Every man having lands to locate was glad to get even that much done to have his claims located. Locaters out in the woods were most anxious, not from a disposition against too much work, but from the danger encountered while at it.

In 1840 some changes in this respect took place. Some of those who had been with me were weary of the business, although the Indians for a time gave less trouble—almost none the first five months of the year. The two expeditions I made up to the first of May were more profitable than any before, notwithstanding I had employed for extra guard about double the hands needed. The contracts I had made were with New Orleans land-owners, who were willing to pay good money for surveying. Texas money was taken at its value in New Orleans, where all goods imported to Texas were bought. I saw nothing of Indians during these two expeditions, although a hundred miles out from the settlements. But in June, with only ten men, I found myself forced to return on account of Indians. Hostilities again became general and I rejoined the service.

In January and February, 1841, I was with the Morehouse expedition which went up the Brazos above Comanche Peak, from there to the Trinity, and then back to the Brazos. There were about one hundred and twenty-five whites in the party, a hundred Tonks and fifteen Lipans. I had charge of the Indians and about twenty white men for spies. During the expedition

the Indians killed two hostiles—all that were seen on the whole trip; no one on our side was hurt. The expedition was the mistake of military characters, newly arrived in Texas. They were of the opinion that Indians could be exterminated by carrying the war into their own country in the winter season, by finding their winter villages, destroying their provisions, and starving them out. Experience had already taught the Texas rangers that the Indians were quartered in their villages in the summer time only, eating what little agricultural produce they made, and that in cold weather they scattered to hunt and feast on bear and other wild animals.

Congress passed a law providing for the organization in every frontier county of a company of minutemen; five men were to serve as scouts, the balance to remain at home and serve when called out on occasion of Indian invasion, getting pay accordingly. On the eighth of March, 1841, I was again elected captain of the Milam County men, and was for the greater part of the year in active service.

In the summer the Milam and Robertson County companies, and part of the Travis County company made an expedition up the Brazos. The celebrated chief José Maria was wounded and one Indian was killed in an encounter with one of our parties; our side lost one man. No supplies except what could be carried on our horses had been taken along, and we were too many to live on game alone, so we soon returned. Other scouts during the year were without much success, but the Indians were now giving less trouble, and had made known a desire for peace. The declaration of President Lamar to carry on a war of extermination against them they knew well; also that General Houston, who was now again a candidate and elected, had commenced to treat with them before his first term was out.

Financial pressure set in. Texas money depreciated to six and eight for one; the government had to pay it out at this rate for supplies. With few exceptions the soldiers were not paid at all, as there was nothing else to pay them with for the next ten years. As we had nothing but Texas money to exchange for goods and necessities, and since everything we bought came from New Orleans, the money all went there, too. It became expedient to

start a self-supporting system at home. The women turned to spinning and weaving, the men to tanning leather and to making whatever could be made in the country. The only articles we could not do without were iron, salt, medicine, and ammunition. Coffee was only eight cents a pound at Houston and on the coast, but we could substitute corn, okra, and rye for it. Sugar was beyond us except near the coast.

Trade with Santa Fé in certain articles of merchandise was said to be immensely profitable, and several wagon loads of such goods were taken along by the Santa Fé expedition. That expedition was commanded by Colonel William G. Cooke and was composed of about four hundred men. It was accompanied by commissioners to treat with the people of Santa Fé who, it was said, were willing to come under our government. Many of the party, newcomers from the States and old Texans, too, were in search of romance and adventure. The expedition was never authorized by Congress, and money not appropriated for it was paid out with much effect on our finances. Starting from Austin, it proceeded northeast, crossed Little River at the Three Forks, came within five miles of the Brazos near Waco, crossed the Bosque at what is now known as the Santa Fé Crossing, pushed on parallel with the Brazos to the mouth of the Paluxy, and then passed east of the Comanche Peak, making toward the waters of the Trinity. I struck the trail of it repeatedly in my scouting for Indians. It traversed an entirely unsettled country, and I last saw the track somewhere near the present site of Weatherford, going northward.

The guides were old hunters and trappers; some of them had been engaged in the Santa Fé trade, and knew well the country north of Red River to Santa Fé. I myself had considerable acquaintance with such men before that time in the frontier service. I had often heard them speak of the trail from Natchitoches to Santa Fé. This trail lay on the north side of Red River, close to the stream for water, and clear out by its head. It was the oldest trading route from New Orleans to Santa Fé, having been established when Louisiana as well as Mexico belonged to Spain. It was abandoned after St. Louis became a city, and trade opened from there with Santa Fé. This was the

trail that the pilots of the Santa Fé expedition expected to strike.

From the hunters I knew I never heard but one prong of Red River mentioned—the one next to the trail, now called the northern prong. It was said that the commissioners, who negotiated and adopted the boundary between the United States and Spain in the year 1819, traveled on that trail to the 100th degree of longitude, and adopted the Red River next to it—the only river of the name then known—as the boundary. The Prairie Dog Fork of Red River was known to the Comanches as Prairie Dog River. It was spoken of by the hunters as a boggy slough or sink a mile wide, all quicksand at the bottom, where water would rise at night and in cloudy times, and difficult to cross. To strike that trail from the point where I last saw the track of it, the Santa Fé expedition would have had to cross the Prairie Dog River and pass through the disputed territory now known as Greer County. I maintain that by such passage through it we obtained the first military possession of the country. No force of the United States had ever entered it or claimed it. There was but one Red River known—the northern fork. The same territory was traversed two years later by our Snively expedition.

Many changes in political affairs took place in 1842. With the exception of a few men left under Hays to watch Mexican movements, the soldiers had been discharged, and being without pay they were needy and eager to go to work, but could find little employment. The people, much discouraged, had no particular faith in the coming Indian treaties. But the frontier had advanced to some degree on the Brazos and east. In the west it remained about the same. President Houston's attempt to move the seat of government from Austin added to the discouragement. A new financial theory was adopted. The old Texas money, now depreciated to eight or ten for one, was entirely set aside and a new issue made. Its value was to be based on revenue from tariff and taxation, which were to be paid in specie or good money, but exchequer bills, too, were taken at par. With this new money Houston expected to be very economical and he succeeded. The salaries and fees of officers were greatly reduced, many offices were abolished, and the duties of remaining ones were increased. The War and Navy departments were merged, likewise the State and Postoffice departments. With

salaries very low, and the practice of rigid economy, the finances of Texas rose to a healthy state. The very attempt of moving the government was made a pretext to keep from paying out money; with the offices away from Austin and the records and archives at Austin Houston could avoid settlements by the excuse that the departments were separated from their books. Money was scarce; there was no circulating medium in the country. Commerce and trade was by way of exchange of produce, goods, and chattels. A note for ten dollars had to have expressed in it that property could be received instead.

I had but little surveying to do, so I opened a farm on some land I owned on Little River. I engaged men, to be paid in property, who were to live with me and work; they were young men and soon tired of a life with no neighbors, and left after we had got in a field and planted some corn. It was a very dry year and the corn made little. I, too, deserted the farm the greater part of the time. Later I got a family to come and stay who remained for three years, and the place was much improved. With my stock collected on the farm, I later settled on it as my home.

The president succeeded in making treaties with the more formidable tribes of Indians, and at last with all. Those treaties were of great benefit to Texas, and highly creditable to Sam Houston's policy. But small parties of renegades, or outlaws from tribes, still committed depredations now and then. That fall four Indians stole some horses from Monroe's settlement, six miles from my farm, and being more careless than usual in getting away they were easily overtaken by ten or twelve whites. The fight took place during a big gust of rain, which prevented the Indians seeing the men approach until they were right on them. They rushed for their horses but these were beyond control in the storm so they rallied around two mesquite trees and, having no guns, they drew their bows and arrows. Their bow-strings were wet and could not be used to advantage. Neither would the guns of the whites fire, so they used them as clubs, beating the Indians to death.

9. *The Expedition to the Rio Grande under General Somervell and the Battle of Mier, 1842* ¹⁴

Notwithstanding our financial depression and inability to keep a regular army, our independence was acknowledged by the leading powers of Europe and by the United States. As early as 1836 we made a proposition to annex ourselves to the United States, but that government, at that time and up to the times of which I now speak, rejected us and showed no partiality for us. England and France (perhaps the intrigue was more British) took advantage of the indifference of the United States and of their influence over Mexico to demand the recognition of our independence.

At the formation of our government we declared the Rio Grande from its mouth to its head our western boundary. The European governments in their intercessions in our behalf supported our claims, which we continued to keep prominently before the world. Santa Anna appeared not unwilling to enter into negotiations, but asserted that we had no right to a great part of the territory claimed—that we could not possibly claim farther west than the San Antonio River, and to make a show in the case sent General Vasquez with five hundred men to take possession of San Antonio in March, 1842.

It was in reality a plundering or guerrilla party. Vasquez could stay no time, as we could within a few days without a general call on the country have a sufficient force there to capture him, but it took the people by surprise that a robbing party of that size could start secretly from Mexico upon an expedition of eight or ten days and we know nothing about it whatever in time to make counter preparations. Such a clamor was made that Houston called Congress together and even recommended a bill for defensive operations. Congress hastily convened, passed a bill leaving it to General Houston to determine the number of men and the extent of offensive operations to be adopted, and for the whole of it appropriated fifty thousand dollars with no money in the treasury, except the exchequer bills which would at once have depreciated more than the old-fashioned Texas

¹⁴This account should be compared with the other narratives cited in THE QUARTERLY, XXIII, 112-140. There are many discrepancies.

money. General Houston was not to blame, it can easily be seen, but he was more censured that year for not complying with the passions of the people than at any other time.

Captain Eliot, the British minister to our government, was ever close about the president, watching all that went on, and, as fast as communication could be made in that slow-moving time, reporting to his government. Apart from British interest, I believe, he was really friendly to Texas and gave no credit to Santa Anna for his plundering expedition. The latter was urged the more to enter into negotiations. But to make a better show, he started another expedition. On the first of September General Woll with a thousand men of the regular army and one piece of artillery entered San Antonio, respecting the rights of property according to civilized warfare, but missing it with the rights of persons, for he took the judge and court, then in session, with every lawyer and prominent man he could find—which means every American—and sent them without delay prisoners to the City of Mexico.

The news went like wildfire over the country. Within a few days the people from the west gathered on the Salado, four miles from San Antonio, under Colonel Caldwell, only waiting for more men to take the offensive. Woll had no such incentive to wait, attacked the Texans immediately before they should gain more men, and was badly defeated—not, however, before he had shown his Mexican proclivities, for a company of twenty Texans who attempted to join Caldwell were massacred by him, only two escaping. He retreated to San Antonio, and early next morning started back to Mexico. The Texans pursued, and late in the evening came in sight of the Mexicans on the Rio Hondo. Line of battle was formed, Hays, in command of a company, was about to charge, when Colonel Moore, the commander, ordered a halt, and retired a short distance to await reinforcements. During the night the Mexicans went on by a forced march, and as the Texans had gathered in haste, without preparation for a campaign, they could not follow them far.

There was now furious excitement, and everybody was calling for war. Companies formed throughout the central and western part of the country; but in the east and in the frontier counties the people were slower to organize, though just as incensed about

matters. The latter had settled down to peace from Indian fighting, and wanted to continue their farming and other occupations. But as the president showed no sign of supporting a campaign he was denounced by all. Organization proceeded; chance was depended on for supplies.

There were few volunteers from Milam County, but about the first of October I set out in company with a young man by the name of Wiley Jones to join the expedition at San Antonio. After a drouth which had lasted all summer and caused crop failure, the weather changed to an extreme of rain. We were delayed at Austin by the rains, but swam our horses across the Colorado by the side of a little canoe, the ferryboat having been washed away. We reached San Antonio about the first of November. There was then not a house on our road between Austin and San Antonio.

Six or seven hundred men were gathered at San Antonio, and in two weeks the number increased to twelve hundred, but about two hundred left again. Many prominent military characters were there, among the rest General Burleson. While it is a fact that the movement was entirely Texan—few from Louisiana and Arkansas being able to reach us in time; still it was apparent that a great portion of the men had never been in service before. The older officers, especially those from central and eastern Texas, were few. I believe there was a keg or two of powder divided out among us and some lead. Breadstuffs were out of the question, and so was everything else in the way of provisions except beef. San Antonio and the scant settlements around had been plundered by the Mexicans as well as drained by former Texas troops that rallied there. We collected with difficulty about two hundred beeves whose owners, I suppose, received pay for them some ten years later when we had money.

One may suppose that General Houston looked on all this with amazement. As for his foreign policy it was a diplomatic secret; some of his intimate confidential friends may have known it. It was one of his characteristics to be reticent about his plans, and in this instance there was the seal of secrecy proper in international affairs to make him withhold information from the public. At the time I knew no more about it than any other

Texan and joined with the mass in the outcry against him, but a year later I found sufficient apology for him.

As he could not prevent our march he concluded to take charge of it, at least so far as to legalize the expedition, and so keep us from being pronounced filibusters and pirates in case of disaster. Brigadier-general Somervell, who had not long before been elected for the militia, was appointed our commander. We had expected and favored Burleson, but as he was willing to retire, and as Somervell had been a lieutenant-colonel under Burleson at San Jacinto and was an old officer, the appointment gave satisfaction.

An organization had taken place with all who, like myself, came unattached. I found some eight or ten men from Milam County, some of whom had been in my command of minutemen. Four or five other Milam County men had attached themselves to a Washington County company. Captain Pearson, who had been surveyor in Milam County before the revolution, but who now lived in Montgomery County, wanted a captaincy. Including the mess of Milam County men which I had made up and which Captain Pearson had joined, I was able to get together twenty men, and so we organized with this number and elected him captain. We had no lieutenant and no regular sergeant. There were several other squads of that kind called companies. Captain Eastland, an old frontiersman and captain in the service, had about twenty men from the vicinity of La Grange. The company I was in was called the Milam County company; it and Captain Eastland's company kept close together. The two would not have made a full company.

Colonel James R. Cook from Washington County was elected colonel. Washington County had four distinct companies, or about a hundred and twenty-five men in the field. As there were about twenty-five companies, numbering in all nearly a thousand men, we divided the forces on the evening of the first day from San Antonio, while camped on the Medina, and elected Joseph L. Bennett colonel of the second regiment. From what I remember it seems to me that General Somervell had no regular staff but that different officers at different times served in that capacity during that short campaign.

According to military rules General Houston's instructions

were not made known at the time; perhaps not even to the most intimate staff officer. I heard of them from Hosuton himself next year when in Congress. In substance they were: to proceed with extreme caution to the Rio Grande, to cross it only when there was no possibility of an obstruction to recrossing, and to venture no general or partial action unless victory was certain in advance. The intention was to make a demonstration—to show the world we could occupy the country we claimed and beyond it, and to maintain our occupation longer than the Mexicans could occupy our own soil. To this was added a comment in substance that should the fate of war be against us in defeat and loss, with the army under the government's control, the consequences would be self-apparent; and if we were successful still the future must be uncertain, especially if a quantity of property were thrown on our hands. The people of Texas had just been pacified and quieted sufficiently to go to work and rise by industry and economy, leaving the Mexicans to Providence; but with military success—the greater the worse for us—the people would abandon the plow, turn to adventurers and guerrillas, and the final would be, if not in the end defeat, at least a loss in character and honor with no real profit. As I review the past in maturer age, my conviction is that it was a sensible and statesmanlike view of the situation. At that time, however, I went with the mass of my companions in condemning Houston.

It was about the 19th of November while we camped on the Medina at the crossing of the road to Presidio that the final organization took place. Next morning we were ordered to abandon that road, and strike across to the Laredo road. The object was to deceive the Mexicans—that their spies might announce our coming on the first mentioned road, and the watch on the other be abandoned. Not an hour after we started on the march, it began raining and continued to do so for three days. By the course we took it was thirty miles to the Laredo road through a sandy post oak country. The route became very boggy, so that half a dozen horses could not follow each other without the rear one sinking down. In the three days it took us to make that distance we wearied our horses immensely. We had no wagon and very few pack animals. The beeves we were driving along

for food had to be scattered and driven abreast. After reaching solid ground the road was comparatively good.

We reached the Nueces in the latter part of November, and delayed there three days to build a bridge on which we could cross our horses, as the stream was about fifteen feet deep and very boggy even on the sides of extraordinarily steep banks. The construction of this bridge certainly displayed some military backwoods genius.

We were fairly on the other side about the first of December, and within fifty miles of Laredo, which we expected to reach by a forced march in two days. Hays's company captured two Mexican spies, who had been sent out to verify some rumor that we had changed our course. After marching about thirty miles, we camped about thirty miles from Laredo. That night the two Mexicans made their escape and informed the Mexican garrison at New Laredo of our approach.

We marched on the next day, and at nightfall were ten or twelve miles from the town. At daylight we were drawn up in front of it, on its outer edge. I need not describe the different maneuvers undertaken in the night to get a part of our men on the other side of the river, as we did not need to get them there for the reason that the news reached us some time before day that the Mexican garrison had fled. After daylight Colonel Bell went into town with a flag of truce. In a very little while he returned with the alcalde and two leading men by his side, who with great politeness and submission tendered the surrender of the town, intimating at the same time that they asked protection, as they were on the territory we claimed, and could not help submitting to the Mexicans when we neglected to occupy the place.

We immediately went to camp, at first about two miles above the town in a field near the river; but finding neither grass nor forage, we moved in the afternoon about two miles below the town where there was some short grass for our horses. The usual orders had been given to keep in line, to observe the customary discipline, not to leave the ranks unless by special permission, and particularly not to trespass in any way on the citizens. In spite of this precaution several hundred men found their way into town—perhaps, not all together, and, I regret to say, col-

lected quite a quantity of all kinds of articles, especially of light weight; nor should I like to give a description of some of these articles collected. It created a dissatisfaction and considerable difference among us. All the older soldiers, those who had done the most service and especially those who as prisoners had experienced the kindness of Mexican women, were much excited on the subject.

When we were established in our last camp, between four and five o'clock of the day, the alcalde with men and women appealed to General Somervell for the return of the plundered articles; the result was that all were ordered brought together to be returned the next morning to the Mexicans. Although the majority of our men had been opposed to the course of those who had gone into town, still many, themselves incapable of such conduct, now wanted to justify it on the ground of the right to retaliate for Mexican outrages on our border. This created a sensation about which perhaps it is as well to say little, but the next morning four hundred dissatisfied men, some of them organized in companies, left us and returned home. Colonel Cook, the commander of the first regiment, and a number of officers of earlier prominence went with them. As to other causes for this departure, it may be said that there was no appearance of a Mexican army; General Woll with about a thousand men was above Presidio, General Ampudia with a still larger but scattered force was near Matamoros, and it may have been known to some of the men that General Somervell expected to remain only a few days longer on the Rio Grande and anticipated no fight. In view of such prospects they thought they might as well leave at once. It left us about six hundred men.

The town of Guerrero is located thirty-five miles below Laredo, on the west side and two miles from the Rio Grande. It is on the Salado River, a deep stream that is not fordable, and joins the Rio Grande a short distance below the town. We reached a point opposite the town on Saturday, the 10th of December, after a three days' march from Laredo. At Laredo we had obtained about two hundred pounds of flour, which had been divided out immediately, two pounds to a man, and we had also collected a few beeves. On our way to the point named we passed a ranch

every few miles, and each night camped in a field where we found good corn cut down and shocked up. There were numbers of sheep, too, about the ranches, and we had plenty of mutton. Horses and men fared well for the time.

Arrived at the point opposite Guerrero, we effected a crossing with three canoes, obtained in our advance. Half of the men of a company would go over at a time, and stand to catch the horses driven in the river by the other half, who in turn then crossed. It took us till after dark to get through and camp in a field of corn. Early the next morning a flag of truce, under an escort, was sent to town to demand a contribution of five thousand dollars in specie, less perhaps the price of some flour and coffee mentioned. We passed the day until the middle of the afternoon. I think the flour and coffee were delivered to us early. About four o'clock the alcalde and a committee from the town were announced outside our lines. Their conference with the general and a number of officers was near our camp. I may not have heard all that was said, but the alcalde stated that all the moneyed men with the precious metal whether in money or jewelry had left before our arrival, only poor folks were there, and he could not raise more than two hundred dollars, which he held up tied in a handkerchief. When this was announced to the whole force, the cry was to march at once to the town and enforce our demands. Horses were gathered up and saddled without waiting for any command, and no time was lost till we were in line.

It had already begun thundering and lightning, and just as our front arrived at the entrance to the town the rain poured. The storm continued and was such that we were forced to turn to the banks of the Salado on our left and dismount and wait. We waited the whole night while it stormed. After daylight, during a short cessation of the rain, we were ordered to mount and return to camp. This we did, all wet and our guns wet, and we had considerable trouble after returning to camp setting the fences on fire to warm and dry by. It continued to rain the whole day, the next night, and part of the next day.

When the rain ceased half a dozen nicely painted flatboats, each one capable of carrying from eight to ten horses, were brought

from the Rio Grande up the Salado in front of our camp, and we were ordered to recross and make our camp on the opposite side. It took until Friday, the sixteenth, fully to accomplish this, and on that day General Somervell issued a general order for us to take up the line of march to some point eastward, on the return route to San Antonio.

The rain was certainly a providential interference in behalf of the people of Guerrero. I could have joined them myself in a *Te Deum* for their delivery. And it seems that all the men were satisfied, not saying anything more about troubling the town. But when the order to return was issued a new outcry came forth; men declared that they had not had satisfaction, that they could at least remain a week longer, go down to Mier and enforce a contribution, or at least collect a thousand horses to take back with cattle and sheep. To this I myself had no objection; that kind of property belonged to rich men not living there, and I had looked for nothing less than to get at least one good Spanish horse in compensation for this and former service not paid for.

The general said nothing, and the agitation continued during the night. It appeared that the men were nearly equally divided—one party chose to obey orders, the other preferred to remain on the river, go down as far as Mier, collect all the horses we could on both sides by taking all the boats down with us, and levying a contribution on Mier, taking it out in supplies, clothing, and portable property of any kind. The general made no remonstrance, and by nine o'clock the portion of the force in favor of returning commenced to leave, the more prominent men, such as Colonel Bell, Captain Hays, and others, going with it.

We who remained moved camp only a short distance to dryer ground and grass, and stopped to reorganize and count. There were a few over three hundred men who remained. The reorganization consisted in merging some fractions of companies into one, and in electing Captain Fisher major and commander. He had commanded a company at San Jacinto, had been secretary of war during Houston's first administration, and was now in command of a company from Fort Bend. He had become a strong opponent of General Houston and, to review the party, most all the leading men were opponents of Houston; perhaps

he had no personal or political friend left among us. There were many in the party who positively believed that no Mexican force could be got together strong enough to defeat us, or even to damage us much. A bitterness against the Mexicans was expressed that I never heard equalled before or since. Young men just grown up and newcomers were equally swayed in the matter. The Milam County company, my messmates and nearest companions, were at one with the rest in feeling and eager to go on. I would have been rather glad to go back with Somervell, but had not the courage to express myself.

We moved that same day a short distance down the river to a ranch where we could camp in another cornfield. We took with us all the boats; they were maneuvered by a number of men in charge of General Thomas Jefferson Green, flew the Texas flag, and were called our navy. At the ranch where we camped the first night we found a tribe of Karankua Indians, not above forty in all. We took the warriors prisoners, disarmed a dozen of them and put them on the boats, and left the rest where we found them; but the next day we set free the ones we had taken with us, and returned them their bows and arrows. We marched that day ten or twelve miles and camped. We marched very slowly, camping at night in fields, and with scouts out gathering horses on both sides of the river.

On the 22nd of December we reached a point three miles from Mier. The next morning a guard of fifty men was left behind with the horses. Accompanied by fifteen mounted men, we marched on foot to Mier. We entered the town unopposed, marched to the square, halted, and learned that Canales with two hundred men had been there the night before. So far as I know no intelligence of the movement of the Mexican forces was obtained. A requisition for flour, coffee, and other supplies such as shoes and clothing was made out at once. The Mexicans brought the things from cellars; some had to be dug up from where they had been buried, and all were not produced by three o'clock in the afternoon. Owners of the goods and all men of means had left the town. The next difficulty was to get the things to camp. The Mexicans declared their teams and animals were out and could not be obtained that day. We could neither

carry them to camp nor divide them there; an agreement was made with the Mexicans that, under penalty of having their town destroyed, they should bring the goods to the bank of the Rio Grande by Saturday. It was understood that they were to be brought to a point lower down and nearer town than our camp.

We returned and marched slowly down the river to the point designated. There was a big bend in the river, and some of our scouts who were out for horses failed to get in on the night of the 23rd, so we did not camp at the place designated until the afternoon of the 24th. The alcalde with other Mexicans of note had arrived with the army from Matamoros. He invited us to come and get the articles, since he was not allowed to bring them. The officers had little say in the excitement that followed. The men were the grand movers, and prepared at once and without any caution to cross the river and go back to town.

The day had been cloudy and rain commenced just as the force got over the river; a slow drizzle continued for more than twenty-four hours. The horses were left on this side the river under a guard of fifty men. Twelve or fifteen men were allowed to go along on horseback as scouts. I asked permission of Fisher to be allowed to ride, as I was lame. Five or six days before I had come in conflict with a prickly pear bush and a long thorn had entered my knee, giving me much trouble. The wound had been much aggravated by my walk to town two days before. Fisher said there were already too many on horseback, that they would have to dismount before reaching town. He advised me to remain in camp with the guard, and I did. It was sundown and getting dusk as they left the bank of the river. They numbered two hundred and fifty-eight men. Within the next thirty-six hours four returned; of the others a few over a hundred got back after having been kept prisoners eighteen months under immense hardships and suffering; the rest were killed or died.

It was not an hour before rifles and musketry were heard and, soon after, the noise of Mexican cannon. It seems that with but faint opposition they were allowed to march to the center of the town, and to take possession of a block on the square where they maintained themselves all night. The Mexican cannon and the guns on our side we heard at intervals all night. During the

morning the firing increased. Two men, one on foot and one on horseback, came into camp. They had not been together during the night, and neither could give much information. One described the Mexican force as very large.

We watered and fed the horses; there were over three hundred captured ones to be looked after, but corn was plentiful.

About ten o'clock I and George Hancock, late a resident of Austin, went to a high bluff up the river about half a mile from camp. We could see the smoke of firearms and masses of Mexicans outside of the town moving about, but nothing more definite. The rain was less and the clouds higher. For some ten minutes about twelve we heard exceedingly heavy firing, the rifles predominating. The Mexicans then seemed to cease firing, and in a little while there was no more on either side. A considerable smoke arose. We imagined our side had perhaps carried the day, went back to camp to report, and there waited till three o'clock for news. Then we two went down the river to a higher bluff still nearer town, but could see nothing, and returned to camp. The outlook was gloomy.

Buckman, a lieutenant with whom I had been frequently associated in frontier service, was captain of the guard. He urged me to take command, but I refused as the guard was a mixture from companies of men from all over the Republic and unknown to me. When he next asked my advice, I said to remain in camp till after night, move off in the dark a mile or so, but return in the morning. They would perhaps have followed this advice, but Captain Bonnell, who had been more or less in Texas service but who at this time had no command, was one of those who could not believe that disaster really might overtake Texans; he declared that he thought there could be no danger in remaining, that our men were not whipped but only delayed by some accident. However, all except Bonnell and four or five with him prepared to leave at a moment's notice.

The rain had ceased and, although it was a cloudy night, the moon gave a little light. Some time after dark we distinctly heard the words "Bring over the boat, bring over the boat!" coming from over the river. Buckman and several of us ran down to the river, but no reply came to our challenge. Some said

we had imagined the call. Bonnell declared he had been listening intently and had not heard it. Just then the words came again and Bonnell did hear. But still we could get no other words to our questioning. Bonnell returned to his belief that we had heard nothing. Buckman said he had heard enough, and thought it time to leave camp. He called for all who wanted to go with him, and mustered about twenty, each having from one to two extra horses; one man went off leading five with their heads and tails tied together.

Probably twenty-two or twenty-three of us still remained in camp. I prepared to go, and there were thirteen with me. Each had a led horse with saddle, saddle bags, baggage, and provisions, but in general the horses were those of our messmates who had gone into Mier. I brought home to his family the horse of Wiley Jones, who started out with me. The rain had again commenced. After going about a mile and a half, hardly knowing where, as we had left the river, we heard the sound of a gun some distance off. It was after midnight; we camped. At daylight we mounted again to start back to the river, but halted for a council to determine which way the river lay. The rain had ceased, but it was very cloudy. We were at an open place on a trail. One of the men, Pierce from Washington County, being well mounted, volunteered to go back and look about the camp we had left to find out if those remaining there were still safe and if any more news had been heard from Mier. I lent him my pistol, and he started, accompanied by another of the party whose name I cannot remember. We were to wait for them till nine o'clock; then, if they had not returned, to go on without them. At nine the men became anxious to go on. I went back to hunt Pierce, knowing that the men would not go far without me. I had not gone over three hundred yards before I heard talking in the brush on my left. I turned thither and found about a dozen of the men we had left in camp the night before, and with them two of my messmates escaped out of Mier, Chalk and St. Clair. We all returned to my party of men, and delayed for Chalk and St. Clair to eat something; they had been long without food. By that time Pierce and his companion had got back. They reported that they had found the camp deserted by all except Bonnell and Hicks, who were at

the river bank talking to Mexicans on the other side; the Mexicans had with them one of our men, a prisoner, to explain the situation.

Chalk and St. Clair told me that about the time the firing ceased at noon the day before the Mexicans sent a flag of truce to our men, offering to allow them to capitulate, and promising to treat them as prisoners of war—not to march them to Mexico City, but to keep them in the valley of the Rio Grande—subject, however, to ratification by the government and Santa Anna. Our men were divided as to what they should do. Half of them were tired of fighting; ten or twelve had been killed and fifteen to twenty were wounded. The others declared they would not surrender and wanted to fight their way out. The leaders of the latter called for a hundred men, but did not get the response expected; they called for fifty, but got only about half that number; then they gave up. The Mexicans talked flatteringly; among other things they declared that they would not keep them long, as peace negotiations were then on foot. This was news; the Texans knew nothing of such negotiations.

St. Clair was one of those who wanted to fight his way out, and he determined to escape somehow. He induced Chalk to hide with him behind a bunch of cane stacked in a corner of a room where they with others were confined. After nightfall they slipped out of the town. In jumping a wall St. Clair sprained his ankle, and was badly lamed. He had already lost one boot; it had been pulled off by a Mexican as he got over a fence going into Mier. They finally reached our camp on the river at daylight. The men took a boat over to them, and then all the men in camp, except Bonnell and Hicks left, each with two horses. They came up with us as I have already described.

We learned later that Bonnell and Hicks, after talking with the Mexicans across the river, returned to camp and also started off with two horses apiece, but missed our trail, got lost in a chaparral thicket, remained lost till late the next day, and then struck our trail again. In the meantime the Mexicans must have passed beyond them in pursuit; for a hundred men had been crossed over to our camp in our boats. These men mounted our remaining horses and set out in pursuit of Bonnell, Hicks, and the rest of us. They must have been nearly up with us the first night

after we all got together and went on; but they then turned back, found Bonnell and Hicks, who had at last struck our trail, behind them. They carried the two men back and, while busy plundering our camp, sent Bonnell under guard into a boat. Hicks was told to push the boat from shore and to jump in. He obeyed, pushing the boat from shore, but jumped in the other direction and made for the bank of the river. Guns were fired after him but he escaped, and he, without so much as a pocketknife for a weapon, walked all the way to Victoria, swimming streams and sustaining life in a manner hard to conjecture. It is supposed the Mexican guard, exasperated at Hicks's escape, shot Bonnell in cold blood, as that was the last heard of him.

We had a very good open route during the first day, but in attempting to travel at night, got retarded, and at ten o'clock found ourselves at the same place that we had been at dark. We proceeded at daylight and that evening arrived at a watering spot known as the Palo Blanco, on a trail leading to San Patricio. The place was only sixty miles from Mier.

Buckman and his party, who were ahead of us, also got lost on their way from the Rio Grande, and we fell in with them in a few days, but did not remain with them. After we reached and crossed the Nueces we separated into small parties, the better to find game, which was scarce except for wild horse. Chalk, St. Clair, and a young man named Oldham remained with me, and we four were the first to arrive at the San Antonio River, at Goliad, then unoccupied. The river was swimming. We saw six men over on the other side who had just crossed on a raft of logs and doors drifted down from houses above. They offered it to us, if one of us would swim over for it. In response to our questions concerning something to eat, they said they had just killed a fat wild horse and if we joined them at their intended camping place some six miles further on we could share it with them. They camped on the trail to Lockhart's house on the Guadalupe. We hurried on and found them waiting for us with plenty of broiling horse meat stuck on sticks. Those six men were Tom Green, Henry and Ben McCulloch, Captain Gillespie, Katy, and the name of the sixth I have forgotten.¹⁵ With the first three I

¹⁵Probably Dr. Edmund J. Felder.—L. A. E.

was well acquainted. 'They told me they had left the Rio Grande on the morning of the day of the battle at Mier. 'They had not been missed. I knew they had been the chief scouts up to that time. 'They said they had found out that the Mexicans were massing, and that they had come to the conclusion that there was very little prospect for our success without more rule and discipline among us. 'They could not make any of the leading men believe in the danger; Fisher himself had declared he had no control of us; and so they thought they would leave in time before disaster should overtake us.

'The final was exactly as they, with their not inconsiderable military experience, had foreseen. Doubtless there were others among us whose experience should have been of equal service to them. But it was not the officers who precipitated the attack; it was a party of leading men who declared they would go at once at night-fall in the rain without maneuver or reconnoissance; and that hasty action decided against them. After they found what they were in for, they still believed they could fight out, and there are survivors who to this day believe they could have done so.

'The Mexican promises, as is well known, were not kept. Of course, there was the pretext that the capitulation was subject to Santa Anna's ratification and that he would not ratify it. They must have had spies among us at Guerrero, and before we separated from the party under Semervell, for they were well informed of the separation at the time of the surrender, that we were acting on our own account, contrary to orders of General Somervell, and, therefore, not a legalized body of men according to rules of war, and so not entitled to the treatment and privileges of prisoners of war.

'The news of the defeat had not the bad effect on the country which might have been expected. The Mexicans, overjoyed at their victory, did not attempt another invasion. When the subject of our independence later came up in Mexico and Santa Anna boasted that he had defeated us, the English and French ministers countered him by using the very plea he had used as an excuse for mistreating our prisoners, namely, that we were no legitimate force by rules of war, to show that, therefore, he had *not* defeated a 'Texas force.

We all reached Lockhart's house the next afternoon, obtained supplies of eatables, crossed the Guadalupe River the next day in a canoe, swimming our horses, and separated. Chalk,¹⁸ Tom Oldham, and I crossed the Colorado at La Grange, bringing to that place the first news of the defeat, and reached home on the 19th of January, 1843.

¹⁸"Whitfield Chalk was a well known citizen of Bell County, whom I knew personally. He escaped from the Mexicans after the surrender at Mier, returned to Texas, and was not 'confined in the Castle of Perote.' This fact technically excluded him from the benefit of the pension act, and while I was in the State Senate I obtained his pension for him by an amendment to the general appropriation bill (see Gen. Laws, 21st Legislature, p. 77)."—Letter from the Hon. Geo. W. Tyler, of Belton, to the Editor.

THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY E. W. WINKLER

VIII

BRYAN TO HAYES

(Private and Confidential)

Galveston, Dec. 30th, 1876.

Dear Rud:

Since writing to you in reply to your last, I have seen what Senator Sherman has said in the Senate as to what would be your course—if after investigation, it clearly appears that you did not receive the votes of the people, of the doubtful States, then you would not have the office, or to that effect. Now, the great difficulty will be for the Parties to come to that *conclusion*, or to see *clearly*. *In that event*, I make this suggestion, that *you* propose to Tilden, that you and he meet, revise the facts and determine which of you are entitled to the position, and then throw the weight of your influence with your respective parties to bring them to your conclusion. Do this for the love of country, and for the sake of peace now and hereafter. I have written Maxey (Senator from this State) to that effect, and said to him I know that you are chivalrous, patriotic and noble, and that if *Tilden as a man is your equal* in this way the difficulty could be settled, *provided party spirit* would not permit the settlement otherwise. Such a proposition from you to Tilden would show your independence of forms and would give you a great hold on the confidence and affections of the good men of all parties, and be of infinite service to you hereafter. Of course *much depends on words and the way the proposition is made*; if you make this proposition let it be made so that it shall appear clearly that you do not propose that Tilden and you have *any right to dispose of the office*, but simply look into the facts for *yourselves*, review the situation, and then give your moral influence with your parties to declare the office to the one entitled to it, etc. I do not expect you at first to think well of this proposition, but after thought I hope you will regard it favorably. There is no doubt my friend that the

South thinks Tilden is elected. It is now not so much a question as to the men, as *who is elected*; a great principle is now involved—to *inaugurate the one chosen*. I believe *you* can rise above self, above mere party, and place yourself alongside of the *patriots* of the revolution. Again, in making the proposition it should be made in a way so delicate, so direct and so unobjectionable in every way that there could be no mistake or misconception given to the proposition. I would say from my point of view, if I were you I would go and see Mr. Tilden myself, at a point agreed upon.

Sincerely your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. The course pursued by all parties representing the federal government in the States of La., S. C., Fla., Miss., Ala., Georgia, N. C., Texas, Va., Ark., and other States of late years, and especially this year in regard to the State governments in the "doubtful States," and the election of President, must bring our whole system of government into disrepute, if not contempt. The Northern people think that if the blacks are not intimidated by the whites that they would certainly vote for the Republicans. Why? Because of their previous training by those who have had control of them and the government of the Southern States? Now, they can be controlled as the ignorant and careless can be controlled in Northern States and everywhere by electioneering influences usually resorted to in times of exciting elections, and the time will come when the negro vote will go with the Southern white people, as a large vote of that class did go at the recent elections. At the poll I voted on the 7th of Nov. last I know that this was so, and I was never at a more quiet election in my life. The great mistake made in relation to the negro is, that most whites judge of and treat him in accordance with the standard of morals and intelligence they (the whites) have, whereas he should be judged by his own standard and by comparison with his own fellows. I have been dealing with them a great deal, and I have learned this only after close attention, earnestly trying for their good and mine to get along with them in the best way on my plantation. Their intelligence is small and their morals very low. That they may be improved I doubt not but it

will be slowly, very slowly, so slow that teachers and especially politicians will become disgusted, and this disgust will be eventually strongest with Northern people. The true solution of this question in my humble judgment is, to leave the negro with the whites of the South, who have all the responsibility and consequences of his conduct good or bad upon them. I know as well as I know anything that the character of the negro South is not known by the Northern people. You cannot form an opinion from the few raised and educated among you.

G. M. B.

(Enclosure: Bryan to Maxey, undated)

Hon. S. B. Maxey

My dear Sir

I have seen this morning in a leader of the News reference to your hearty response to the declaration made by Senator Sherman in regard to the course that would be pursued by Gov Hayes when it was clearly ascertained how the people of the States of La., S. C. & Florida had truly cast their votes. This is the only course for the settlement of the Presidential trouble, & a safe passage through the grave crisis & trial to our form of government. Any other is attendant with danger now & greater danger hereafter.

I thank you for this cordial response, to the utterances of the personal friend of Hayes, & to the Senator from Ohio. *Party* now should be subservient to the true interests of the Country & to the perpetuity of the government made by our fathers.

Hayes & I have been intimate friends from our youth, have corresponded as such from that time to *this*. If he does not *now* act manly, honorably & patriotically he will act contrary to his nature & to all his past record with me. I have received many letters from him since he was nominated for Governor against Allen. He knows well my position—that while I am true to our friendship I am true to my party principles, to my section & to my country, that while I was glad he was nominated for the Presidency that he might be distinguished, & if successful believe him the best man *in his party* for the South and country, yet that I voted for and desired the election of Mr. Tilden, because I believed in him the weary, worried & wasted South would have the best chance for relief, and the country the best opportunities of recovering what it had departed from, government under the Constitution.

I believe Hayes & Tilden could settle this question themselves if it becomes more difficult of solution from party feeling, provided that *Tilden as a man is the equal of Hayes*. I know the

latter to be patriotic, chivalrous, noble & good. I write this in confidence but if you think it will do any good you may show it to Sherman, also to Lamar. I served with both in Congress but my acquaintance with the former was slight.

Your friend &c

HAYES TO BRYAN

Columbus, O.

4 Jan'y 1877

My dear Guy:

Do you know the enclosed? What year was it taken?

A good man, of business capacity and energy, thinks a considerable emigration can be started from this State to Texas. He wants an appointment as agent of R. R.s of the State interested in Texas lands. He has a wide and good acquaintance. Name Theodore Tallmadge, Columbus, O. He thinks of settling in Texas.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely

R B Hayes

HAYES TO BRYAN

Columbus, O.

6 Jan'y 1877

My dear Guy:

Your suggestions are in a good spirit, and with the light you have are timely and wise. But one fact, not known to you, puts it completely out of the question. Whatever the result I will some day, when we meet, name it to you. I *know* you will regard it as I do.

I do not anticipate great trouble. Of course the situation is grave, and the possibilities should make us all considerate and temperate in word and deed.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, Jan. 11th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I am in receipt of yours of the 4th and 6th inst. I thank you for the photographs. Yours by last letter I think very good and

I prize it. Yours and mine taken I suppose in '56 (wasn't it) were good then I suppose but unlike us now. I will send you mine when I have it taken. I am glad you have the last, it represents us as I hope we shall ever be side by side in our friendship, with the arm of each around the other. I recognized the likeness at once. I am obliged for the letter in regard to emigration from Ohio to Texas. I would like to see all the good people who leave Ohio come to Texas. We need them, and they need our good lands and genial climate. Indeed I should like to connect myself with such a movement very much. If the gentleman you name has *your confidence* and you will so indorse him by letter to me so that I can put faith in him, and he will come directly on here to me, I think we can organize a plan of emigration that will be advantageous to all concerned, provided he has or can get money, that must come from Ohio. My plan is to organize *Colonies* in Ohio so that they can come out and settle together, having their own society, schools, churches, etc., etc., among themselves. They need fear no opposition from our people, from them they will receive kindness and a cordial reception. We are only opposed to *Carpet-baggers* who come to prey upon us and teach the negro to hate us and use the simple minded creatures for their own purposes and for his detriment.

Brazoria Co. and adjoining counties where lands were worth from \$15 to \$100 an acre the richest and the best in the State can now be had from \$2 to \$10 per acre. If Mr. Tallmadge will come here to me endorsed by you, keep his own counsel, and be advised by me, various tracts of land from 4000 acres in a body to 20,000 can be purchased at low figures. These lands can be obtained within the gulf breezes the healthiest and *richest* lands in the State. My idea would be to get the money from Capitalists in Ohio who would be willing to invest and also to obtain a colony fund for the same purpose from the colonists that wish to emigrate and settle here. I have seen the Vice Pres. of a R. R. who says if you and I endorse Mr. T. he will appoint him an agent etc. We have no State Immigration Bureau but my idea is that the other is the best plan for him and the immigrants and the State and for myself. I cannot say more now but will

favor the movement in any way that will bring good people to my State.

Write me.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. The Oyster Creek Country is where my brother Austin lived when you were here. I can get there and in that vicinity for two, three and five dollars per acre, 20,000 and more in a body, a splendid locality for a colony, 40 miles from Galveston with direct water communication to this city—five or six miles from the coast and healthful and free from yellow fever, plenty of timber and prairie and rich land—*none better*. But to effect this requires judgment and money—and the people must be industrious, willing to adapt themselves to the changes from an old to a comparatively new country and new climate. If Mr. Talmadge has tact, business capacity and the other requisites, he can here build up a colony of which he will be proud and I will help him with my advice.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, Jan 26th '77.

Dear Rud:

Col. H. B. Andrews "Vice President, & Gen'l Manager of the Galveston, Colorado & San Antonio Rail Road"; (a road now completed to *San Antonio*, connecting at Houston with all the roads of the U. S.) has promised me to give Mr Talmadge the appointment of immigration agent for said road upon presenting to him recommendations from you.

I would prefer the course I indicated in my last letter to you if acceptable & practicable, viz. to purchase lands in the country on the lower Brazos & Colorado, & settle thereon colonies of 10, 15, 20 or more families. The advantage of this mode of settlement would be to give the persons immigrating *society* and *associations* that would *satisfy* them until they could become acquainted &c. I do not mean by this that they would not be friendly received &c by the present settlers, but being *strangers* they would not feel as comfortable or satisfied as they would if they had old acquaintances of similar habits, thoughts & feelings around them. This road to San Antonio runs through Fort Bend,

Wharton & Colorado counties on Brazos & Colorado rivers, & has a rail road connection at Houston with Columbia, Brazoria County, &c. All of which can be seen by reference to a railroad map of our State. I am very much interested in this movement for immigrants from Ohio. Texas needs such people. They will come to better their condition & improve ours, by tilling the soil & working—to all such Texas gives a hearty welcome & will never ask about their party politics. All that we desire is that they may be good citizens, voting & holding their political views honestly & according us the same right.

I asked Col Andrews if it was necessary that Mr Tallmadge should report in person to him. He said no, that this would be agreeable & perhaps better, but that the appointment could be given on sufficient recommendation &c. But it appears to me that he should know personally of the country to properly represent it to the immigrants. I have in response to your last letter written you fully my views in regard to colonization & I need not repeat [them] here.

Your friend &c

Guy M. Bryan

P. S. Col Andrews' P. O. is Harrisburgh, Harris Co., Texas. Let me hear from you.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, March 3rd, 1877.

Dear Rud:

Congress has counted the vote, and you have been declared elected, and you will be inaugurated. You have passed through one act of a severe ordeal, and you now begin the *Second*. Through the first from all I hear I think you bore yourself with dignity. The greatest trial however lies before you. My faith in you is strong. I believe that you will ascertain and pursue the right, in regard to the South.

When we went down Gambier Hill together leaving the old college in the fall of '42, neither of us looked forward to such an event as will happen on the *Fourth*. Our hearts then united in friendship have never been divided in affection. Because I believe you have faith in my disinterested friendship, and love of truth, and sincere desire for *good government* to the States of

the South, I venture to suggest: Be firm and true to your convictions (as expressed to me) and generous feelings in regard to these States. Let nothing change you. It is only in this way that you can bring about the "era of good feeling," and make the people of both sections forget the incidents of the election.

I congratulate you my friend in being thus distinguished, and with having the opportunity of doing so much good to your country, and transmitting your name to posterity along side of that of Washington as patriot and sage, loving country more than party.

My last letter from you enclosed your photograph, and spoke of emigration from Ohio to Texas, since then I have not heard from you. Now, of course your time will be so much occupied that longer intervals than ever must occur. I am prepared for this. I only wish to know from you whether letters from *me* will reach you as readily as heretofore?

As ever sincerely, your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, March 7, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I have read your Inaugural. It is in the spirit of '76, and is what the *Union* required. I expected such sentiments from you. God grant his aid to enable you to carry them out. I send you enclosed the opinion of the *News*, one of the leading papers South, and which warmly supported Tilden.

No one unless blinded by party can fail to see the great crisis we have reached in our national history; and that continued misgovernment of one-half of the federal states by aliens, and by an alienated central power, cannot prevail without involving all in one common ruin.

Recognizing these as facts, and that intelligence, virtue, public honor and honesty are the only basis on which good government can rest, your administration "can only end in failure by hesitancy and mistrust," for the people will be with and sustain you, if you let the country understand and feel thoroughly that you rely on *the people*, and not on party merely, for then the people will control their servants, politicians will be forced to follow, and

patriotic statesmen irrespective of party will gladly support you. Let *Southern Congressmen* and especially *Senators* know that you want their cordial aid in bringing about the changes so much needed for good government, and so much desired by the whole country and especially their section. Pardon me for saying what I have said for I did not intend to say so much.

Sincerely as ever, your friend, etc.,

Guy M. Bryan.

(Enclosure: Editorial of the *Galveston News*, March 6, 1877.)

The New President's Inaugural

Were the *News* more concerned for party than for country, it would feel chagrined, disconcerted and almost dismayed at the spirit and tenor of the new President's inaugural. In felicity of phrase, pertinency of remark and liberality of utterance, the present address has rarely been equaled in the series of our presidential speeches, and will not even suffer by comparison with the famous inaugural of Thomas Jefferson on the 4th of March, 1801. A large portion of the address is occupied with a restatement of the views and a reannouncement of the pledges contained in Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance when nominated for President. Two questions he discusses with especial emphasis—the South and civil service reform. For the South he insists on honest, effective and beneficial local self-government. He trusts that party ties and race prejudices will give way to the work of restoring the South on this basis. It is a question, he conceives, of government or no government, of a social order or a return to barbarism. "It is a question," he says, "in which every citizen of the nation is deeply interested, and with respect to which we ought not to be, in a partisan sense, either Republicans or Democrats, but fellow citizens and fellow men, to whom the interests of a common country and a common humanity are dear." Regarding civil service reform, the new President could not be more explicit and decided in maintaining the doctrine that partisan service should not be expected of public officers, that public officers owe their whole service to the government and the people, and that appointments should not be bestowed as rewards for partisan service or controlled by Congressmen as personal perquisites. As both parties committed themselves to this doctrine in the presidential canvass, the inference is that its enforcement is demanded by the united voice and will of the whole country. President Hayes, therefore, may feel emboldened not only to reassert it in declaration but to exemplify [it] in his future practice. He indicates the relations which he proposes to hold towards the party to which he owes his

election by saying that a President should remember that "he serves his party best who serves his country best." Too often the proposition has been transposed to read, "he serves his country best who serves his party best," and the new President must prove to be a man of great mind, indeed, and of marvelous courage and firmness, if he does not allow his practice, under the pressure of party, to lapse into such a transposition. The last part of the inaugural refers to the circumstances and method of the adjudication of the presidency to Mr. Hayes. Seldom has a delicate and unpleasant subject been touched with greater tact and in better temper. As the arbitrating commission declined to go behind the returns, the President made by its findings does not presume to go behind the arbitration. The decisions of the commission "having been patiently waited for and accepted as legally conclusive by the general judgment of the public," he accepts the result in common with the public, without venturing an opinion as to the wisdom of the process by which it was reached and as to the facts and the law touching the matter in dispute. All good citizens will unite with him in the congratulation that the country, in the peaceable settlement of the late controversy, has given the world the first example in history of a great republic, in the midst of parties contending for power, compelling party tumults to yield the issue to adjustment according to the forms of law. For the rest, let us take the new President at his word until he belies it by his acts, hoping, for the sake of the country, that he will be faithful to his pledges and will make a salutary administration.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Private.

Galveston, March 13, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I have been beset for recommendations to you for office. I have declined recommending any one. But I wish to give you information upon which you can act or not as you see proper.

When you visited Texas you recollect I introduced you to Robert Mills, living in the town of Brazoria (at his home we met Victor, the crazy man). Mr. Mills then was wealthy, and not long after you saw him removed to this city, and became the largest and most influential merchant in the State, and so continued up to the war. He was largely interested in sugar and cotton plantations and had about 800 negroes emancipated. He struggled on in this business until a few years since when he gave up everything to his creditors and now is *very poor*, working like a clerk for his daily bread. He was opposed to secession, a Union man,

an old line Whig and a Kentuckian. He is also a Texian Veteran; for intelligence, experience, cultivation and intellect as a merchant he has not his superior in the State. Now he is old and needy, and it would electrify this city, and send a thrill of pleasure and confidence throughout Texas if you would give this able, good old man the office of Collector of Customs for this place. He does not dream of what I write nor does any one. If you would send in his name with a little message saying, you know the name and his fitness for the office, and therefore you appoint him as an old Texian, an old Whig, an old lover of the Union and as one of the most capable men in Texas, you would do a good thing and please the best people of the South. Mr. Mills was a Union man until Texas declared her position, he then went with his State, in feeling, but was absent most of the time in Europe.

I write this for your information. I do not wish however to embarrass you in such matters.

Let me my friend urge upon you for the sake of civilization, humanity and good of the country an early recognition of the Nicholls and Hampton governments in the States of La. and S. C.

Sincerely your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Your Uncle Birchard liked Mills very much and sent him a kindly message by me when I last parted with him in 1871. Mills visited him at Fremont after your visit to Texas—You may recollect the circumstances.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Washington, 13 March 1877

My dear Guy:

I have your letter of the 7th, and am glad you approve so far. I have no time to write fully. The haste with which appointments must now be made so as not to detain the Senate unreasonably will lead to mistakes. To avoid these we shall go slowly and do very little.

The family like the new home. We have room enough for a few friends, and nothing would please me more than to have you visit us. If you could spend a few weeks with me, it would be

agreeable to both of us I know, and would aid me in public affairs. Think of it.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, April 2nd, 1877.

Dear Rud:

Domestic affairs have prevented me from accepting your kind invitation to visit you. The press and friends in this State have been discussing my name in connection with office under you. I wish you to know that this has been done without any agency of mine.

The last office named is that of Minister to Mexico.³⁷ There is peculiar fitness in Texas having this appointment. Could you properly tender this to me, permitting me to name the Secretary

³⁷The following letter from Senator Maxey shows why Texans were interested in his appointment:

Austin, Texas, April 6th, 1877.

His Excellency Rutherford B. Hayes, President,

Washington, D. C.

I am here in attendance on the State Supreme Court, now attended by many of the able and influential men of the State, with whom I have conferred freely, and although a Democrat I trust you will not deem it obtrusive if I suggest for your most favorable consideration the name of one of my personal and political friends and constituents who has been highly and justly honored by the people of Texas, Hon. Guy M. Bryan, for Minister to Mexico. It is in my judgment an appointment eminently fit to be made, and which I beg to say I do recommend of my own motion, and not at his suggestion. The State of Texas has a common interest with the other States of the Union in a good selection. More than this, she is the only State whose territory is contiguous to Mexico. The Rio Grande problem is the most complicated and difficult of solution of any with Mexico. I beg to refer you on this point to the Message of your predecessor to the 1st Sess., 44th Cong.

Col. Bryan has spent his life from childhood to mature manhood in Texas. He is intimately acquainted with this complicated question. The Zona Libre in my judgment is a harbor for the worst elements. If this can be removed I am sure it will require skill, and he could greatly aid.

I need not remind you that his illustrious uncle, Stephen F. Austin, whose name is so dear to every Texan,—the founder of the Lone Star Republic,—so demeaned himself in all his most important transactions as to deserve and secure their confidence and esteem. Col. Bryan was Speaker of the House of our Legislature, and was one of my supporters when I was elected. I have personal knowledge of his punctilious honor, as well as his steadfastness of friendship. It is needless to add to what I have said. More than by culture, life long association with good people and large experience, he is, if appointed, the right man for the place.

Most Respy,

S. B. Maxey.

of Legation, I would be strongly tempted to take it. I could not say this much to you, however, had you not said "I could aid you in public affairs."

Sincerely your friend, etc.

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. May I ask you not to commit yourself in regard to filling the vacancy on Supreme Bench until I see you.

[Colonel Bryan accepted President Hayes's invitation, and was a guest and adviser at the White House for two weeks during the latter part of April, 1877.]

BRYAN TO MRS. HAYES

Cincinnati, May 4th, 1877.

Mrs. Hayes:

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance and kindly consideration my friend Mrs. Stevens, at present of Washington City. She is the sister-in-law of E. T. Austin, Esq., of Galveston, formerly a classmate of your husband at Kenyon College. You will please present her to your husband as such, and as one of my friends, and oblige.

Most respectfully, your friend

Guy M. Bryan.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Cincinnati, May 5th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

When I came here I expected to remain only two days. I shall leave on next Monday for St. Louis and thence home. George [Jones] and family have been all kindness. George reminds me constantly of himself as I knew and loved him; he, to me, has not changed in heart or disposition. My intercourse with him is delightful and full of warmth. I saw Matthews on eve of his departure for Columbus. Today I will see Pendleton (we sat together in Congress). Postponement of session of Congress in my judgment *wise* and patriotic. I continue and shall persevere in doing you all the good in my power.

To your true and noble hearted wife and yourself I present my sincere thanks for your hospitality to me when in Washington.

Remember me to your family, the young ladies, and to Mr. Rogers (you are fortunate in having the latter with you)

Sincerely yours, etc.

Guy M. Bryan.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, May 22nd, 1877.

Dear Rud:

What I have said in the enclosed³⁸ was for your good; it will benefit you greatly. You will carry with you by steady adherence to your policy *the South*, whose members I believe will stand by your administration in Congress. I know you are growing rapidly in their confidence and affection. *My brothers are your warm supporters*, and thousands whom I met at the State Fair last week commend and support you. [John H.] Reagan stands by you, and [Roger Q.] Mills told me he would cheerfully support you except when he thought you were not right. (He was the member from Texas who "fillibustered in the Count.")

I enclose you a letter to me from my friend in N. Orleans from whose letter I extracted before your inauguration saying that he had no confidence in you as Executive, etc. You will recollect it. You cannot tell how gratified I am at the change. Please return the letter unless you wish to keep it.

Present me affectionately to Mrs. Hayes; as soon as I learn about the lady at Austin I will write her.

As ever yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I tell my friends Morton and Blaine will not induce you to swerve.

(Enclosure: Axson to Bryan, April 21, 1877.)

New Orleans, April 21, '77.

Hon. G. M. Bryan:

My dear friend: The date of this recalls the fact of its being the anniversary of your signal victory 41 years ago over the myrmidons of Santa-Anna. It is the birthday of your great and prosperous State. You doubtless will feel all the proud and inspiring associations of the occasion. What momentous events fill up these 41 years and how sadly they point to the follies and infatuations which blot one of the proudest incidents of the struggles and efforts

³⁸The enclosure was, perhaps, a clipping from a newspaper; it has not been identified.

of the Anglo-American to diffuse and perpetuate free and liberal institutions. Your people were wise in making this a solemn State pageant. But for the handful of hardy men who followed the fortunes of the Austins into the wilderness and struggled with savage foes to people your fair land and to plant the seeds of a nobler civilization, who will be bold enough to say what would have been the destiny of the American Republic. Looking at it now in all its splendor, spanning a continent, with tributes from both oceans, of the whole world's productions, is it too much to affirm that to the wisdom, the fortitude, the self-reliance of the Spartan band of Stephen F. Austin's 300 the Grand Republic stands today your great debtor for much of the grandeur and prosperity. I wish you joy and success in your celebration of today.

It was not my chief purpose in commencing this to revert to the memories of the day. The coincidence was wholly accidental. I had been thinking for weeks past to extend to you my congratulations for your firm faith in Hayes' fidelity to honor, to truth and the noblest sentiments of American patriotism. Let his claims rest on no higher titles than his achievements in Louisiana and Carolina and he stands today on a pinnacle as glorious, in view of the past, as those who founded the Republic. He has sunk Party in the general good of the whole country, and by offering himself as the sacrifice will become the pivot on which the Government will turn into a new Epoch. I know you must feel great satisfaction in your trust in the virtues of your friend.

I again find myself wandering away from my purpose in writing this.

It is simply to ask a favor, unusual and unprecedented perhaps, but it is to solicit in your correspondence with Hayes a consideration, in distributing Federal patronage, for Judge Gayarre, the historiographer of Louisiana. The Judge has ever been a Democrat in political faith, but never a partisan. He has always exercised the right of private judgment and would only sanction the actions of his party, when in his opinion it was right. For this spirit of independence he lost his position, I am sorry to say, as Reporter to the Supreme Court of the State under the Nicholls administration. He is poor, having spent the greater portion of his patrimony abroad, while investigating the French and Spanish archives, in the composition of his History. The work is creditable to his scholarship and has been welcomed by Bancroft as a meritorious contribution to our historical literature.

Having heard thro myself of your confiding trust in Hayes' character as a man whom the American people will honor before the close of his term, he sent to ask me thro his wife, if any opportunity should occur for the mentioning of his name as an old

and honored citizen of the State of Louisiana, that you would simply refer to him as the Historian of the State and a friend of Bancroft, and one like himself who has incurred party resentment for maintaining his right of private judgment. He will be an applicant for the position of naval officer at this Port. He has the strong recommendation of General [Randall L.] Gibson and Mr. [E. John] Ellis, the two Representatives from the City. I advised his wife to get him to send Hayes a copy of his work and to go in person to Washington. She asked me if I thought it improper to solicit at your hands a commendation on my judgment of her husband's fitness for the position and his integrity and rectitude as a man. Upon this request this letter is written. I am aware of your delicacy of feeling in matters of this nature, but you may depend on all I have said of Judge Gayarre as strictly his due.

You will learn thro the mail, that will carry this, of the issuance of orders to remove the bayonets from the Seat of Government. This will make memorable the opening of the Second Century of our national life and give to Hayes' administration an eclat unrivalled save by that of Washington.

Remember me with kindness to the Jacks and Ballingers. Adieu.
Yr. friend,

A. F. Axson.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE MAN³⁹

Hayes Sincere and Inflexible in a Patriotic Policy—Interview with Hon. Guy M. Bryan Since His Visit to the White House

It being understood that Hon. Guy M. Bryan, on his return from his late visit to the White House as the guest of the President and his family, had indicated in private conversation that he had been very deeply and favorably impressed with the statesmanship, patriotism, sincerity and purity of Mr. Hayes, a News reporter was sent to Mr. Bryan in order to obtain from him for publication such facts and conclusions in this connection as might be of public interest. For the sake of convenience and perspicuity, the colloquy which ensued is reduced to the somewhat formal shape of a series of questions and answers.

Reporter: You are credited, Col. Bryan, with a confirmed conviction of the sincerity and disinterestedness in what is commonly called his "Southern policy." Have you any special reasons, not generally known, for this conviction? Do you believe that the leading features of the policy were predetermined in the settled views and sentiments of Mr. Hayes before he was President, or even a presidential candidate, and that they could not possibly

³⁹*Galveston News*, May 27, 1877.

have been the outgrowth of any understanding or "bargain" implied in the assurances of Messrs. Matthews and Foster to Southern Congressmen, Lamar and others.

Col. Bryan: More than a year ago, in a letter to Hon. A. B. Norton, I said that if Mr. Hayes was elected he would be the President of this whole country and not of a section; and that he would gain the confidence of the South as well as of the North; and that if any one in the Republican party could bring about an era of good feeling in politics it was R. B. Hayes. These opinions were based on my personal knowledge of his character, and from his sentiments expressed to me at his house in Columbus, Ohio, in the summer of 1871, and again and again in his private letters to me long before he thought of becoming a candidate for the presidency. He said to me by letter, when he was nominated for Governor of Ohio the third time, that he should conduct the canvass free from sectional agitation, and that it would be his earnest effort to get rid entirely of such agitation, for we were now citizens of a common country, and should know no North and no South, and that he should so act as to influence doing away with the bitterness and heart-burning consequent upon the war. My recent visit to Mr. Hayes has confirmed me in the views I then expressed, and in my confidence in him; for I am convinced he meant what he said to me. What he said in his letter of acceptance and in his inaugural in regard to the South—they were not empty platitudes. He is sincere, firm, conscientious, and is determined to carry out his Southern policy because he thinks it is right, and that it is for the good of both races and the good of the country. He believes, too, that the history of Great Britain furnishes an example that should teach the statesmen of this country a practical lesson that they should profit by; for notwithstanding the wars and hatred between the English and Scotch, after receiving the treatment of justice and equality from the English, the Scotch have become the most loyal subjects of the British crown. Not so, however, with the Irish, who were governed by the bayonet and aliens in office (growing out of fears, on the part of the English, similar to those expressed by Morton, Blaine and Butler of the Southern people), and today the Irish hate the English and their government. Mr. Hayes has all the courage, determination and ability to achieve success; he will persevere, because he knows he is right, and is free from temptation, for he voluntarily declared he would not be a candidate for re-election, in order that he might be free and independent to discharge his whole duty. But I do not believe that President Hayes intends to destroy the Republican party and attempt the erection of a new one on its ruins. I believe in his patriotism and high integrity, in his undivided purpose to make the administration a benefit to the

country—the *whole* country. I believe him sagacious as well as patriotic; and he knows that parties are not made or destroyed in a day; that they are founded on questions and exigencies that arise out of the interests, feelings and prejudices of the people; and that the people align themselves according to the circumstances surrounding and influencing them, and that as President of the country and not of a party he will serve the people of all parties best by serving his country best. And in this effort I hope he will receive the support of the united South; for I know that he is sincere, and that his course in behalf of the South does not arise from the presidential election trouble (for he is carrying out views entertained by him long ago), or from any pledges made by his friends at the time of that trouble.

My college friend, Hon. Stanly Matthews (in response to my direct questions) recently assured me, at his home near Cincinnati, that his efforts with Southern members of Congress to induce them to support the decision of the Electoral Commission was entirely on his own responsibility, without the authority of Mr. Hayes, and that his assurances then given said members were based entirely on his general knowledge of Hayes and his views, without any authority from Hayes or intention on his part to bind him by these assurances (no more than Mr. Hayes is now bound by what I say to you).

I am satisfied that Hayes in that matter, as well as during the whole presidential canvass, pursued a dignified, manly course, leaving the management of the canvass and count entirely to those to whom it belonged or who assumed control of it, without any interference on his part, he having made up his mind to accept the result, whatever it might be, and to act his part in a becoming manner. When Congress decided that Mr. Hayes was President, then, and not till then, did he step forward to the front. His admirable inaugural was his first act. Since then right nobly has he borne himself, carrying with him the approval and the hearts of many of the best people, North and South, in his lofty patriotism and statesmanship. I believe he can do, and will do, the South more good than Mr. Tilden could have done in his place, for he will carry with him and receive the support of the reasonable sentiment of his own and the Democratic party. Whereas Mr. Tilden would have consolidated the Republican party against the South, as well as against his administration, and kept up sectional agitation preparatory to the next presidential election.

Reporter: It is said that a great change is perceptible in the moral, social and domestic atmosphere of the White House. Is this borne out by your recent observations, and do you think that the change is auspicious of an improved tone in the general management of national affairs?

Col. Bryan: The domestic scenes of the family are sacred and should not be held up to the public view, and I am not willing to discuss them. I will say, however, that for intelligence, purity, truthful simplicity, genuine refinement, unaffected cordiality and American courtesy, no family in the best days of the Republic has surpassed the present occupants of the White House.

Reporter: From what you know or believe regarding the President's purposes and motives, and regarding the exigencies of his administration with respect to congressional support, under the threatened opposition of a large disaffected element of the Republican party, what do you think should be the attitude of the Southern people and their representatives in Congress? What about election of speaker?

Col. Bryan: I think that the attitude of the Southern people should be most friendly to the President, and on all proper occasions and in suitable ways they should make it manifest.

I think the Southern Congressmen on all questions where the President is right should sustain him heartily, and that they should without delay so advise him, through mail or otherwise. So far as the election of Speaker of the House is concerned, I do not believe the President has had or will have anything to do with it, any more than he has to do with making of new parties. But these remarks and all others previously made are mine; I do not profess to speak for any one but myself.

Reporter: The Mexican is said to be engaging the serious attention of the President and his cabinet. Your name having been urged by many friends for the Mexican mission, you doubtless took occasion to familiarize yourself with the views prevailing at Washington, in relation to Mexico, and especially in relation to the claims and interests of Texas touching frontier protection on the Rio Grande. If compatible with propriety, will you be so good as to speak freely on these topics?

Col. Bryan: I believe that the interests of Texas will be more carefully looked after, better protected, and more summarily dealt with than heretofore. The condition of Mexican affairs would forbid any change in that mission. Diaz has not been recognized by the United States and Lerdo is said to be plotting his overthrow.

Reporter: What impressions have you as to the feeling in administration circles touching aid to internal improvements in the South, and especially aid to the Texas and Pacific Railroad?

Col. Bryan: I think there is a good disposition to favor in a legitimate way works of internal improvement in the South. If the South could unite on a fair plan for a Pacific road, free from jobbery, I think the measure would receive hearty support.

Opposing Theories About the President

[Oliver P.] Morton's theory of the consideration prompting the President's Southern policy though ingenious and plausible is neatly, though only incidentally, traversed by the convictions and assurances embodied in the remarks of Hon. Guy M. Bryan, which are printed herewith. Morton, reasoning from the standpoint of a Northern Republican of the deepest sectional dye, professes not to despair of Hayes's fidelity to orthodox Republicanism. He professes to regard the President as in some sort a captive in the hands of a "solid Confederate South," as represented in Congress, and he proposes to relieve him of responsibility for abandoning Chamberlain and Packard to the overwhelming pressure of their local enemies, by referring the abandonment to necessity, and not to option and premeditation. In short, Morton holds that Hayes found himself, on coming into the Presidency, put under a species of duress by the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, which withheld provisions for the army, and threatened, unless he acceded to its demands, to cripple his executive arm completely. We could scarcely exaggerate the mischief involved in this theory, if it should be generally accepted in both sections or in either. Morton believes its acceptance necessary to his own political salvation, if not to the salvation of the Republican party, and the tenor of his bold and able manifesto evinces clearly enough that he is desperately bent on maintaining a strict sectional alignment of parties. If he can persuade the Northern people that the Southern policy of the present administration, with all its apparent spontaneity, is only a system of concessions wrung from the President by the successful machinations of Southern politicians and their Northern coadjutors, his main point will be secured. He can then proceed with confidence on the work of firing the Northern heart by expatiating on the capture of the President and the triumph of the rebellion, and the era of conciliation and the obliteration of sectional politics will be indefinitely postponed. In that case politics at the North will center in the fanatical thought of rescuing the chief magistrate from his Southern captivity, and a defensive solid South will again be arrayed, by force of logical reciprocity, against an aggressive solid North. The war will be a war of mutual distrust and hatred and recrimination as disastrous to the material prosperity and the moral unity and harmony of the country as the most devastating internecine war of arms could be. But let it be understood in the North and the South alike that the President's Southern policy came neither from an unworthy bargain nor from coercion at the hands of a "solid Confederate South" dominating in the popular branch of Congress, but came from preexisting ideas with regard to the government and the Union and from a mature sense of constitu-

tional obligation and patriotic duty—let it be commonly understood withal that the Southern policy means nothing in the nature of sectional concession and discrimination, but means simple justice and the application of commonly recognized principles of government in the interest of peace and satisfaction for the whole country—and Morton's malignant and subtle scheme for turning this policy to the purpose of reconsolidating his party on a Northern basis for political war upon a weaker section will have the whole ground cut from under it and must experience shame and discomfiture. In this way it is to be hoped that Hon. Guy M. Bryan's important testimony regarding the President's views and sentiments, given from the standpoint of an old and intimate personal friend, though a Southerner and a Democrat, will contribute to the confusion of Morton and all former fomenters of sectional and morbid politics.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, June 6th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

When I said farewell to you at Washington I said I would aid you in every way I could. I have not faltered in that direction. I sent you report of the *Galveston News*, hope you read it, and approved? Let me make to you suggestions—take them in good part, for they are from a *true friend* and not a flatterer. *First*, tender Geo. Jones, of Cincinnati, a situation the first opportunity that offers; he would feel better and so would you. My visit to him made me appreciate him as I should never have done had I not made it. *He is a friend of yours* and an *effective one* and not a *new one*.

My visit to Matthews was pleasant. I saw Pendleton and Groesbeck (they called to see me). I did you justice to them as I did to the Reporter [of the *News*], and they expressed themselves gratified and disposed to do you justice. I have seen it stated that you will not appoint Democrats, South. If such be your action you are wrong. *Appoint as many Democrats as you can well do, the more the better*; for the white material of the Republican party South is so bad and obnoxious to the people on the score of want of integrity. You serve *yourself* and *country* best, by *carefully* appointing *good men*. You can't tell the impure men by the coat and tongue who visit you; their *actions* at home are the best looking-glass and test of character. Adhere to your reso-

lution in regard to Supreme Bench from Texas; the one we spoke of *is your man above all others*. *Hunt is not, is not deserving in character, or right kind of ability*, and I am not *prejudiced* in so saying. Texas is opening her mind and heart to you; no appointment that you could make would commend you more to the judgment of both parties here, than that of Ballinger, not Hancock. If Southern members incline to you, treat them cordially and tie them to you, for the people *will sustain them in sustaining you*. Make the distinction in *sustaining you* and *becoming Republicans*. You must allow for the natural feelings of man, and regard him as *he is*, and *not as he is not*. I know you don't like long letters and mine is already too long. Regards to Rogers and Webb.

Sincerely your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Gov. [E. J.] Davis may visit Washington. He is a *bitter* partisan, but I believe he is an honest man. *Ask him about Ballinger*.

A PLEA FOR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The time has surely come when the people of Texas should take more care in preserving the evidences of their own history. Every day old landmarks are destroyed; every day valuable papers which record the deeds and manner of living of early Texans are swept into the rubbish pile and burned; and every day the newspapers record the passing away of pioneer Texans in whose memory alone was recorded certain valuable information of the days of our fathers and grandfathers. So much is already irretrievably lost that we should bestir ourselves to collect and preserve as much as possible of what is left before it is too late.

To this end the undersigned committee was appointed by the Texas State Historical Association at its meeting in May, 1923, "to formulate an address to the citizens of each county in the State of Texas, urging them to organize in their respective counties a County Historical Society to be affiliated with the Texas State Historical Association."

In conformity with that resolution we wish to outline the advantages of such county organizations formed for the preservation of all historical facts and data relating to the county. The relics, curios, Indian, ethnological, and geological specimens, can form the nucleus for a future local museum; and the historical data can be formulated into interesting and valuable monographs, which will be of value not only to the local investigator and future writer of county histories, but to the student and worker in larger fields of endeavor, as a state history is necessarily made up of the history of smaller units.

An important function of such an organization is to work up papers to be read at the regular gatherings of the society. If, at each meeting, several well prepared papers are presented, each county organization can publish annually a pamphlet containing the most valuable contributions of the year and thus permanently preserve data which will be of inestimable value to the future historian of the county. It goes without saying that the local newspapers in each community will gladly publish any material of value read before the County Historical Society.

There is a movement on foot all over Texas for the establish-

ment of museums, and this museum work can be carried forward by the County Historical Society.

It is not intended that this movement should in any way conflict with any existing local historical society. Where city or regional societies are already well established, such as the Dallas Historical Society, or the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society, and where for local reasons the existing institution seems more desirable than a new county society, no change should be attempted. But it seems highly desirable that these established organizations be brought into a closer relation with the general historical activities over the State, and we urge affiliation and co-operation.

Such patriotic organizations as are limited to certain specific purposes, as the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the Confederate Veterans' Association, the American Legion, etc., should all assist and help the County Historical Society, as they can be mutually helpful to each other, since the County Historical Society may embrace the historical activities of all.

Affiliation with the Texas State Historical Association would be mutually advantageous. The county organization is not required in any way to assist the state organization financially, nor are any of the policies of the county organization to be dictated by the Texas State Historical Association. The latter is willing and anxious to encourage and assist the county organization in every way possible. Where advice and help are requested in organizing or in the literary work of the county organizations, the officers of the state organization will render every assistance possible. Where books and data of local significance are needed and are not available, the University of Texas, the State Library, the Texas State Historical Association Library, will be available for such data, and as far as practicable, books and pamphlets, maps and documents can be sent direct to responsible parties in any county of the state, they simply paying postage for transmission.

The Texas State Historical Association feels that in promoting the organization of county historical societies, it is creating a sentiment for stronger state pride; fostering a love for the perpetuation of the deeds of our pioneer forbears; and making more loyal citizens of those who have emigrated to this State from all over the

world to find a peaceful and prosperous home in Texas—all made possible by the pioneers of Texas.

The Texas State Historical Association therefore particularly requests that each of its members try to confer with others in his county and issue a call in his local paper for the organization of a County Historical Society. Two or three can set a day and place of meeting, elect temporary officers, if the meeting is not largely attended, and set another day for permanent organization. Have several good speakers to outline the splendid results to be achieved by a live, wide-awake organization. Get up a good program outlining the possibilities of distinctly local historical research work in your particular county. You who read this, take it as a special invitation to yourself to sign a call for the organization of a County Historical Society. Upon application, the secretary of the Texas State Historical Association, Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, Austin, Texas, will forward a form for a local society constitution.

ALEX. DIENST,

Temple, Texas.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL,

Austin, Texas.

GEORGE W. TYLER,

Belton, Texas.

ELIZABETH WEST,

State Library, Austin, Texas.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846. A review suggested by James Christy Bell, Jr.'s. book of that title. [New York, 1921. Longmans. p. 209. illus.]

This book of 209 pages published in 1921 was first printed as a doctoral thesis in the University of Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Volume XCVI, number 1 (1920). It is, then, one of the most recent results of Eastern scholarship, interest, and research in Far Western fields. From its very nature of a doctoral thesis thus dignified by a double printing it comes to us bearing not only authority but responsibility; and its authority will be great only as it has acquitted itself well or not of its responsibility.

This thesis does not belong to the type of subject usually chosen by research scholarship east of the Alleghenies. The first thing that it can reveal is the resources that such a locality possesses for such a study. The question must be encountered: Are the data sufficient? Unquestionably Dr. Bell decided that they were or he would never have attempted this work. Moreover, it is due him to quote his statement in the preface, that he had "enjoyed four visits to the Oregon territory" and it is to be assumed that on these occasions he was able to fill bibliographical gaps from the Pacific Coast historical depositories.

It must be confessed, however, that this is not visibly patent from his footnote material. One does not have to go to Portland to obtain the volumes of the Oregon Historical Quarterly, or of the Transactions of the Pioneer Association. A reference to the Bancroft Collection in the University of California would indicate that this storehouse of historiography was known to the author but that he sounded its possibilities is not at all apparent. Its manuscript material, so much of it written by men who had part in opening a highway to the Pacific, is untouched. The reason for this oversight is not hard to guess and Dr. Bell's chief fault is in not having been bigger than the traditional point of view, which is that Southwestern history does not belong to Pacific Coast history until 1849, and that the highway to the Pacific had its southern boundary along the 42 degree parallel.

I find the book disappointing, for the content does not come up to the hopeful promise of its title. With a chance to look down from a mountain peak, the author was content to let himself gaze from a hill. There is penetrating observation in the book, both vigorous and piquant phrasing, a clever, terse, often illuminating style of sentence making. Of the taking of Astoria by the British he remarks dryly that it was done "with an appropriate carouse" (p. 24); and of the service of the American trappers to their country, he says that it, "however incidental to their pursuit of happiness, nevertheless has been immense" (p. 67).

Felicity of style, however, cannot redeem the lost opportunity of presenting a piece of work to be expected from the title. In these days it is bad historiography to ignore that the American emigration to the Pacific Coast in the years 1838 to 1846 was precisely what the name implies, a Pacific Coast movement. Everyone admits that the Oregon country was the main objective during those years and indeed the two following; that the heaviest emigration was to that territory north of 42 degrees and south of 49 degrees. That is just as true as the fact that treads so closely and familiarly, even tritely, on its heels, that after 1848 the current was largely the other way. Nevertheless, the historical current flowed alike throughout the entire region, and it has been an unfortunate tradition that attempts to separate a part from the whole, much as one turns on first the hot water faucet and then the cold.

In his book Dr. Bell has done what is a common practice, for certain purposes, in the movies; he has taken a picture with only half a film. What the other, coincident, half should have received is blank. The American march to the Pacific Coast is one story, much of it was one route. The same fur traders and trappers that did the valiant service Bell accords to them in the Rockies, did the same deeds, opened like trails, ended their lives in the same way in the Sierras. A diplomatic battle of keenest skill was played with the future of the entire coast as the issue. It would have made a brilliant chapter, this unwritten synthesis of American diplomacy, as it concerned the highway to the Pacific Coast for those years 1838 to 1846. French travelers, on what shrewd purpose bent we cannot yet say fully, were openly claiming in the

early forties that California was due to become a possession of the United States and that all American efforts should be made to obtain that far country, for the Oregon territory could never be settled by either England or by the Union, and that in attempting to do so both nations were chasing an *ignis fatuus*. (See both Fedix and du Mofras.) The Oregon Trail as far as Fort Hall served as the wagon track for caravans to the valleys both of the Columbia and the Sacramento; Bidwell's California party of 1841 preceded the first actual emigration for settlement only to Oregon by one year. The superior numbers and importance of the emigrations to the Willamette by 1846 must not allow them to appear as the whole story. As an account of the opening of an American highway to the Oregon country, Dr. Bell's thesis is an excellent little book; as a contribution to Pacific Coast historiography it is inadequate.

In framing a judgment there are two questions to be settled: Shall the book be judged for what it is, just as the author wrote, or is it allowable to judge it for what it should be and is not? I am thinking of the content of Dr. Bell's book. Indubitably he has a right to select his own material, and demand that criticism confine itself to how well he used that. If he has wanted to do a certain thing and has done it ably what more has criticism to say? Truly, that way safety lies, but not inspiration.

The author has taken the interesting and well-sustained thesis that *agrarian discontent was the fundamental cause that drove emigrants on to the Pacific highway*, instead of political unrest or religious zeal. As Dr. Schafer in his excellent and concise review in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* observes, it is a thesis which is "incapable of evidential solution." The statement of the thesis reappears at various places in the book like a *leitmotif*, first in the preface (p. 9) and again, page 81, note 1, and again in the conclusion. Not in response to leadership, he says, "but to forces deep-seated, more persistent and profound than we are apt to realize." These forces were the conscious desire for new grain markets and a climate free from the agues and malarias of the middle west.

We can agree with Dr. Schafer that one should be grateful for thus being given a new interpretation of the beginnings of Pacific

Coast history; and we can agree again as to its soundness in certain particulars, the part that the fur traders had in the emigration movement. But this only makes more evident how much the book would have improved had it been written not after a form almost pedantic in its traditional arrangement. The first chapter on "Discovery and Exploitation, 1785-1813" is not needed so far as it makes any actual contribution to recorded knowledge. The second chapter "Diplomacy Determines the Status of Oregon, 1818-1824" could easily be winnowed of the few fertile grains it contains, and these could readily be planted in chapter three, "British and American Fur Traders, 1813-1840." Chapter four, "Missionary Colonists, 1834-1843," a short essay of twenty-three pages, might well have been greatly condensed. The research on this chapter is well done, but it is not until we have finished it, and have begun at last to get our bearings in chapter five, on the "Spread of the Oregon Fever, 1838-1843," amounting to twenty-five pages, that we finally arrive, more than half way through the book, to the chapter on "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley, 1840-1845." This, to the reader's amaze is one of the shortest in the book, sixteen pages, and our regret is but slightly lessened at the author's frank statement that "The sources for chapter six, which deals with the economic aspect of farming in the Mississippi Valley States, following the financial panic of 1837-39, are very inadequate" (p. 205). Chapter seven, "The Journey to the Western Coast, 1843-1846," is described in twenty colorful pages, and chapter nine, "Settlement in the Willamette Valley, 1840-1846," has almost thirty. The book ends with about twenty pages of philosophical conclusions on the interplay of sentimental and economic forces.

This quantitative analysis carries me back to a question I raised at the beginning, as to the existence of data for the writing of such a thesis. It is my belief that Dr. Bell should never have opened his highway to the Pacific farther than Independence, Missouri. Western historians will welcome the contribution that Eastern scholars can make to their historiography. Such scholars have peculiar advantages, limitations, and a vast amount of material difficult of access to the Far Western writer. It is not in retelling old tales, with whatever charm of pen, or occasional inclusion of

new idea or interpretation, but in careful, thorough collection, sifting, organization and presentation of the materials of Western origins in the East.

Dr. Bell has indicated the possibilities of such research in his well-maintained but unproved thesis. The Eastern end of the far-westward migrations has not been at all satisfactorily worked through by anyone. This little book shows us equally what should be done, as well as one way in which not to do it.

So far as concerns particulars for difference of opinion the present reviewer has little to say. He cannot agree, however, that the results of Lewis and Clark's expedition were so barren as Dr. Bell seems to find them, nor will we accept the easy and slighting way in which Floyd's efforts are mentioned and interpreted. The tribute which is paid to John Quincy Adams in calling him the "Father" of the Oregon country, doubtless does full justice to that statesman, but it reminds one that Oregon has had almost as many "Fathers" as the early church.

Others reviewers, Dr. Schafer in the *Oregon Quarterly* and Charles W. Smith in the *Washington Quarterly* have commented on the excellent documentation of the book. In this regard, there are about three hundred and forty footnote references, taken from over two hundred sources.

GEORGE VERNE BLUE.

University of California.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Texas State Historical Association held its twenty-seventh annual meeting May 10 at the University of Texas. The president, Mrs. Adele B. Looscan, presided. Miss Harriet Smither, graduate student at the University of Texas, read from a life of Dr. Ashbel Smith which she is writing a chapter entitled "Ashbel Smith, Southerner." It reviewed Dr. Smith's career at Yale and his early life as teacher and newspaper editor at Salisbury, North Carolina, before coming to Texas. D. E. McArthur, tutor in history at the University, read a paper on the Texas Cattle Trails. He is the author of a volume (manuscript) on the Cattle Industry of Texas, prior to 1890.

In the business meeting officers were elected for next year as follows: Mrs. Adele B. Looscan, president; A. J. Houston, Laporte, Alex Dienst, Temple, George W. Tyler, Belton, and T. F. Harwood, Gonzales, vice-presidents; Charles W. Ramsdell, Austin, secretary and treasurer; Professor E. T. Miller, Austin, and Samuel E. Asbury, College Station, members of the executive council. Miss Harriet Smither, Judge George W. Tyler, and Professor W. P. Webb were elected fellows of the Association.

A committee was appointed to frame an address urging the organization of county historical societies, and its report appears in this issue, pages 74-76.

The following were elected to membership in the Association:

Mrs. W. S. Banks, Temple; W. J. Bryan, Abilene; F. W. Burford, Belton; John Chapman, Sweetwater; A. K. Christian, Norman, Oklahoma; Lee Clark, Wichita Falls; A. Cowling, Commerce; O. H. Cooper, Abilene; W. M. Crook, Beaumont; Miss A. Curlee, Waxahachie; J. B. Dibrell, Jr., Coleman; H. P. Drought, San Antonio; Senator H. L. Darwin, Paris; E. G. Eberle, Philadelphia, Pa.; F. J. Francis, Enow Valley, Pa.; Mrs. R. M. Green, San Antonio; J. E. Hall, Wichita Falls; J. W. Hill, San Angelo; The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Gabriel, Cal.; S. J. Isaacks, El Paso; J. M. Kirwin, V. T., Laporte; A. J. Long, Fort Worth; C. F. Marshall, Graham; L. B. Miller, Hico; V. S. Monroe, Beaumont; O. T. Nicholson, Shamrock; Mrs. T. O'Connor, Victoria; Rev. J. G. O'Donohoe, Waxahachie; Pocahontas Chapter, D. A. R., San Angelo; Rev. M. Phelan, Childress;

J. M. Presler, Memphis; J. R. Reynolds, Trinity; J. K. Smith, Grand Rapids, Michigan; T. W. Streeter, New York, New York; Thomas F. Turner, Amarillo; W. P. Webb, Austin; P. A. Whaley, Stamford.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY 28, 1919

	<i>Receipts</i>	1922-23	1921-22
Membership dues	\$	844 65	\$1,099 44
Sales of the QUARTERLY		479 51	488 83
Sales of binding		40.25	6 15
Life memberships	110 00
Interest		466 32	363.56
Miscellaneous	5 40
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$	1,830 73	\$2,073 38
	<i>Disbursements</i>		
Printing the QUARTERLY	\$	1,176 55	\$1,519 51
Binding QUARTERLIES	68 00
Clerical help		264 90	325 00
Postage		63 24	62 85
Stationery		24 95	12 00
Purchase of bond		458 86
Miscellaneous		17.69	5.40
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Total disbursements	\$	2,006 19	\$2,005 57
Excess of disbursements over receipts	\$	175 46	
Bills receivable before March (University subscriptions)		300 00	
Total receipts, received and due		2,130 73	
Bills payable (binding and printing QUARTERLY)		765 25	
Total disbursements paid and payable		2,371 44	
Actual expense (deducting for purchase of bond)		1,912 58	
Actual gain for the year (excess of receipts and bills receivable over actual expenses, paid and payable)		218 15	
Balance in Austin National Bank, March 1, 1922		569 80	
Excess of disbursements over receipts		175 46	
		<hr/>	
Balance in Austin National Bank, March 1, 1923	\$	394 34	

ZACHARY TAYLOR FULMORE

Born in Robeson County, N. C., November 11, 1846

Died at Austin, Texas, June 22, 1923

A charter member of the Texas State Historical Association, he served the Association continuously up to the time that he was stricken with ill health, in various capacities as member of the Executive Council, as member of the Publication Committee, as Fellow, for two years as President, and as contributor to the pages of THE QUARTERLY.

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOL. XXVII

OCTOBER, 1923

No. 2

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY

NEW MEXICO AND THE TEXAN SANTA FÉ EXPEDITION

WILLIAM CAMPBELL BINKLEY

What was the attitude of the people of New Mexico toward the expedition which started from Texas in 1841 to establish commercial and political relations with Santa Fé? What preparations, either official or unofficial, were made in New Mexico to receive the expedition? Although recent investigations by students of Texas history have thrown much new light upon various aspects of the Texan Santa Fé expedition, these two questions have not been satisfactorily answered. The first, especially, has been the occasion of much conjecture, and there is still an honest difference of opinion as to whether any considerable part of the population of New Mexico was in sympathy with the plans of the Texans. The failure to answer these questions is due to the fact that the archives of Texas and of New Mexico contain very few documents bearing upon this particular angle of an event which was of grave significance to both groups of people. The most important information which has been available consists of accounts written by participants in the expedition,¹ and these have been justly criticized on the ground that the writers could not formulate a clear estimate of the New Mexican side when they were so deeply involved on the Texan side.

¹Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, is the fullest as well as the best account. Its shortcomings are well known. A good brief account is Falconer, "Notes of a Journey Through Texas and New Mexico," in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, XIII (1844), 199-226.

What seems to be the nearest approach to the material necessary for the correct answer has been inaccessible until recent years because of the fact that it was filed away in various government archives of the Republic of Mexico. Bolton's *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* furnishes a clue,² and among the transcripts which were made under the direction of Professor Bolton during his researches in Mexico, there is a collection of something over a thousand typewritten pages on the Santa Fé expedition. The documents include reports from the governor of New Mexico to the Mexican government concerning conditions in the territory under his jurisdiction; letters from other Mexican frontier officials concerning the activities of the Texans; papers confiscated from the members of the expedition; and instructions from officers in Mexico City concerning the measures to be taken in defense of Santa Fé.³ Even this array of material leaves much to be desired in the way of a definite answer to the above questions, but since it provides information from an angle which has not been reached previously, it seems worthy of consideration.

Because of the nature of the subject, and also because of the shortcomings of the material, the attempt has been made to indicate the process by which conclusions have been reached, in the belief that, although it may prove somewhat tedious, it is essential to draw a distinction between conclusions based on definite evidence on the one hand, and those based on inferences, however logical they may seem, on the other. It has been necessary also to quote documents which have been quoted by others; but this has been done for the sake of fitting such material as has already been used into the thread of the narrative alongside of such new material as is being presented at this time.

Although the story of the expedition itself is familiar, it should be pointed out that the episode was simply the natural result of the expansionist plans of the Republic of Texas, and that its objects were two: primarily to open commercial relations between

²See pages 279-283, 330-331, 455.

³The writer wishes to take this opportunity to express his sincere gratitude to Professor Bolton for his generosity in granting an unrestricted access to this set of transcripts.

Texas and Santa Fé;⁴ secondarily, if it seemed advisable, to establish the political jurisdiction of Texas over a region lying within the statutory boundary of the republic. But this last part was to be undertaken only in case the inhabitants of New Mexico indicated their desire to unite with Texas.⁵ It is certain that the officials in Texas who were responsible for the expedition sincerely believed that the majority of the New Mexican population would welcome the establishment of Texan jurisdiction. This is shown by the small size of the party which was sent to Santa Fé, and is further emphasized in official communications of the period.⁶ In a letter addressed to the people of Santa Fé in April, 1840, President Lamar apparently took it for granted that they desired to accept the government of Texas, and promised to send commissioners in the near future to assist them in making the change.⁷ Then in the instructions to the commissioners who accompanied the expedition, Samuel A. Roberts, the acting secretary of state, made it clear that little opposition to their work was to be expected, and emphasized the fact that force was not to be used unless it was found that the authorities in New Mexico were attempting to thwart the desires of the inhabitants. In this case if they found that the people were willing to support the Texans, they were authorized to use force against the Mexican officials, but under no circumstances were they to attempt to coerce the people themselves.⁸

While these documents furnish evidence concerning the belief of the Texans, they are not satisfactory proof that this belief was well founded. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the information which was available in Texas concerning New Mexico. In the first place, the fact that even among the highest officials of

⁴The best discussion of this phase is Marshall, "Commercial Aspects of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition," in *THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*, XX, 242-259.

⁵Christian, *Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, 102-130, is a thorough discussion of various aspects of the expedition.

⁶Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, I, 15-16, sums up the opinions as expressed by the Texans in conversations.

⁷Lamar to the citizens of Santa Fé, April 14, 1840, MS. in *Santa Fé Papers*, Texas State Library.

⁸Roberts to Cooke, Navarro, Brenham, and Dryden, June 15, 1841, in Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 737-743.

the republic it was thought that Santa Fé was only about five hundred miles from Austin would seem to indicate a peculiar ignorance of the geography of the region. If this was true then a similar ignorance concerning the people might be expected. But it must be remembered that the country between Austin and Santa Fé had not yet been explored, and therefore accurate geographical knowledge was impossible. On the other hand, there had been almost continuous commercial relations for fifteen years between citizens of the United States and the people of Santa Fé. Many of the men who were now in Texas had taken part in the trade over the Santa Fé Trail, and they knew something of the conditions in New Mexico.. In addition to this there were Texans in Santa Fé who were writing to friends in Texas concerning the opportunities there.⁹ These men knew of the boundary claims of the republic, and even though they might not be there in an official capacity, they were almost sure to consider the possibility of the establishment of Texan control. Since all of those who had gone there before 1840 had done so for personal reasons, and had no official connections with the government of Texas, their reports might be considered as unbiased accounts. It must not be forgotten, however, that as former Texans already established in New Mexico they would possess tremendous advantages over others if Texan rule were extended to the region. But the fact remains that, whatever their value, such reports were the chief source of President Lamar's information concerning New Mexico.

The question of possible commercial relations between Texas and Santa Fé was not new even in 1840, but had been suggested by Stephen F. Austin in 1829 and in 1835.¹⁰ In 1837 George S. Park, a Texan who had escaped to Santa Fé after having been captured by the Comanche Indians, wrote that if Texas would

⁹While there is but little direct evidence to support this statement, it is indicated in letters written to Lamar by Texans who favored the sending of an expedition. It is definitely known that Lucius Thruston, a brother of the Texan attorney general, was in Santa Fé at this time. See Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, II, 67.

¹⁰Austin to Henry Austin, August 27, 1829, and Austin to Perry, March 4, 1835, MS. in *Austin Papers*, University of Texas Library. Approximately two centuries earlier Father Alonso Benavides had suggested the establishment of a point on the gulf coast of Texas as a port of entry for supplies from Spain for the settlements in New Mexico. See Benavides, *Memorial of 1630* (Ayer translation), 64-65.

open communications with Santa Fé it would be possible to secure peaceably "that important position in the interior of North America—that key which will unlock to the enterprise of North Americans the valuable country of California on the shores of the Pacific Ocean."¹¹ Such a plan was commented upon favorably in Texas at the time,¹² but a bill providing for the opening of trade "with the northwestern part of the Republic" was defeated in the Texas Congress during the following May.¹³

Park's letter intimated that the New Mexicans would offer no resistance, and early in 1839 new information from the frontier strengthened this belief. William Jefferson Jones, who had been sent to the frontier with an expedition under Colonel Henry Karnes against the Comanches, reported that he had been investigating the possibility of establishing communication between Texas and Santa Fé. He went into details concerning the commercial and political possibilities, and as to the attitude of the people of New Mexico, he said:

The great distance of Santa Fé from the government of Mexico has left that territory entirely dependent upon itself for protection, and the people only feel the authority of the political power thro' the weight of taxation imposed by the central head. They are prepared to unite with us, and this is the favorable moment to cement the friendship they have agreed to reciprocate. The revolutionary spirit is warm in New Mexico, and the people are determined to throw off the despotic yoke of the present government. We should at once demonstrate our sympathies with them.¹⁴

These letters furnish examples of the information which was reaching Texas. But their accuracy is questionable. Park's letter was written while a revolutionary movement was in progress in New Mexico, and it was not possible for him to learn the attitude of the people. Jones wrote purely from hearsay, and apparently did not know that the revolt of 1837 had been suppressed. As a result his statements alone could hardly be accepted as an accurate account of the New Mexican sentiment toward

¹¹*Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 23, 1837.

¹²*Ibid.*, January 27, 1838.

¹³Texas Congress, *House Journal*, 2 Cong., 2 sess., p. 101.

¹⁴Jones to Lamar, February 8, 1839, in Gulick (ed.), *Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, II, 437-440. For a summary of the letter and a statement of its significance, see Christian, *Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, 104-106.

Texas. While the revolt did show that the people of New Mexico were dissatisfied with the particular brand of Mexican rule to which they were subject in 1837, there is little evidence that they planned to declare their independence, or to turn to Texas.¹⁵ But all sorts of rumors were abroad. Josiah Gregg, a Santa Fé trader of long experience who was there during the struggle, reported that the rebels planned to send to Texas for assistance,¹⁶ and it has since been intimated that Texan influences were responsible for the beginning of the revolt.¹⁷ That this point of view is untenable is seen from a statement made at the time by Richard A. Irion, the secretary of state of Texas, that the New Mexicans, apparently unaware of the fact that they were included within the limits of Texas, had appointed commissioners to apply to the United States for admission.¹⁸ This erroneous supposition of Irion's was shared by the Mexican authorities, who professed to see in the revolt another plot of the United States to relieve Mexico of her territory. As a matter of fact no outside influences had any effect upon the New Mexican situation, and the revolt was ended in January, 1838, when Manuel Armijo succeeded in getting control over his fellow conspirators, and was rewarded by the Mexican government with the appointment as governor. Up to this time there was no indication of a desire on the part of the New Mexicans to turn to foreigners for assistance, but when Armijo assumed the authority of a dictator their dissatisfaction began, and during the next three years new possibilities developed.

Armijo seemed continually in fear that some new movement might deprive him of his position, and consequently kept agents on the alert for signs of opposition. That their reports convinced him of hostility to his rule in New Mexico, is evident from the communications which he sent to the central authorities at Mexico City. He realized the necessity of representing this as opposition not merely to himself but to Mexican rule, and as a means

¹⁵The best accounts of this revolt are Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 53-67, and Bloom, "New Mexico Under Mexican Administration," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 19-36, 129-142.

¹⁶Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 135.

¹⁷Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 317.

¹⁸Irion to Henderson, January 5, 1838, in Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 838.

of fixing the responsibility for this attitude, he called attention to the activities of traders from the United States. His complaints were begun in the fall of 1837 when his secretary wrote to the Mexican minister of foreign relations asking that steps be taken to enforce the passport rules in order that illegal trade with the Indians might be stopped.¹⁹ During the next year reports from New Mexico stated that revolutionary movements seemed likely to break out again as a result of the work of traders from the north. These traders were said to be furnishing arms and ammunition to the Apaches, and also acting as officers of the Indian forces.²⁰

The developments of the Texan revolution were, of course, known to the officials in New Mexico, and to Armijo this meant an additional danger. He expressed a belief that the Texans would soon make a move to occupy the upper Rio Grande valley, and saw in the relations between the "North American adventurers" and the Apaches simply a plan to prepare for co-operation with the Texans when their forces should arrive.²¹ Then in 1839 his fears seemed to have been confirmed when he received information concerning the Karnes expedition. Although this was nothing more than an effort of Texas to subdue the Comanches, the account which reached Armijo made of it an expedition to penetrate the territory north of Santa Fé for the purpose of exploration, and with a view to forming a peaceful alliance with the Mexican residents of Santa Fé.²² In transmitting this news to the central government he made his first statement concerning the attitude of the people of New Mexico toward the Texans by expressing a fear that many of them would be glad to assist in the establishment of Texan rule.²³

It is necessary to consider this statement in its relation to Armijo's earlier reports in order to estimate its importance. From

¹⁹Romero to Minister of Foreign Relations, October 31, 1837, in *Bolton Transcripts*. Unless it is otherwise indicated all documents hereinafter cited are in this collection.

²⁰Moran to Minister of Foreign Relations, April 26, 1838.

²¹Armijo to Minister of War, April 28, 1838.

²²Miranda to Armijo, June 28, 1839. Miranda's information was secured from a letter published in the Columbia (Missouri) *Patriot* of April 13, 1839.

²³Armijo to Minister of War, August 18, 1839.

the time of his assumption of the governorship he had indicated his need for additional troops in New Mexico. His story of an impending revolution did not bring the desired result, so he followed it with the danger from the traders and Indians. This also failed, so he has now turned to the possibility of a union between the Texans and the New Mexicans in order to arouse the government to action. In other words, if this hypothesis is carried a step further, the statement was made to secure a result which would be beneficial to him, and therefore, without other evidence to support it, its veracity is open to question.

On receiving this last report the Mexican minister of war replied with a promise of assistance "if the danger becomes imminent,"²⁴ thus apparently implying a doubt as to the seriousness of the situation. It is significant that Armijo made no more reports until March, 1840, and that his accounts from that time up to the arrival of the expedition seem to indicate an effort to send on to Mexico City only such information as could be secured through his agents. And he had now begun to receive evidence which would bear out his statement of the previous summer concerning the attitude of at least a part of the inhabitants of New Mexico.

About the middle of March he received from Pedro Lujan the alarming news that a party of five hundred Texans had just passed through Taos.²⁵ This information was immediately despatched to the minister of war, together with a statement of the difficulty of raising a force to meet them; and a direct appeal for aid was made.²⁶ On the next day after this request was sent he received a correction of Lujan's message concerning the Texans. The revised message stated that Lujan had misunderstood a conversation to the effect that a party of five hundred Texans was supposed to be on the way to Taos.²⁷ In spite of the fact that this revision destroyed the basis of his appeal for immediate assistance, Armijo showed his good faith by sending it on in the wake of the first report.²⁸

²⁴Minister of War to Armijo, October 31, 1839.

²⁵Lujan to Armijo, March 13, 1840.

²⁶Armijo to Minister of War, March 17, 1840.

²⁷Lopez to Armijo, March 16, 1840.

²⁸Armijo to Minister of War, March 18, 1840.

On May 1, after a conference with Manuel Alvarez, the United States consul at Santa Fé, he reported that all the "Americans" were hoping to see the Texan flag placed over both New Mexico and California,²⁹ and soon after this he learned that an American by name of "Nait" had gone to Texas as the agent of the American element in Mora and Taos to confer with the Texans on the question of a union.³⁰ During the next month the attitude of the New Mexicans themselves gave new cause for alarm. By this time Armijo had become convinced that the arrival of the Texans had been delayed until September, and he urged the government to take advantage of the delay by sending troops to meet them when they did come. He now made the definite statement that he could not count upon the people of New Mexico for co-operation against a Texan invasion. He said, "The people will not defend themselves because they have expressed a desire to join the Texans in order that they may secure better conditions, and they are now merely waiting for the proper opportunity."³¹ His next report contained concrete evidence of this attitude, due to the fact that it had become necessary to suppress a revolutionary movement in Taos. The ringleaders had been captured, and they reported that the lower class, which formed a majority of the population, hoped for the arrival of the Texan expedition in order that they might secure a release from Mexican rule and avoid paying their debts. Armijo added to this a statement that with the exception of the priests, the entire population of Taos was favorable to Texas.³² This was used as a basis for a new appeal for aid, and the same information was sent to the governor of Chihuahua, with the warning that the Texans might also be directing their drive against that department.³³ With this two-fold danger to face, Armijo now deemed it advisable to give up a projected campaign against the Navajo Indians, and to make an unfavorable treaty with them.³⁴

²⁹Armijo to Minister of War, May 1, 1840.

³⁰Armijo to Minister of War, May 18, 1840. No other reference to such an individual has been found.

³¹Armijo to Minister of War, June 17, 1840.

³²Armijo to Minister of War, July 12, 1840.

³³Vigil to Condé, July 12, 1840.

³⁴Armijo to Minister of War, July 19 and July 31, 1840.

The failure of the Texans to arrive in 1840 reassured him, but he continued his watchfulness; and in April, 1841, he reported that he was still attempting to organize the troops for the defense of his department.³⁵ In the meantime, however, he had completely overlooked the activities of an individual whose work had a more direct connection with the Texan expedition than any of the developments which he was so carefully watching. This man was William G. Dryden, who had come to New Mexico from the United States as a trader several years earlier. He had made Santa Fé his home; had married a Mexican woman; and in 1839, after having served as a captain in the Mexican army, he was engaged in the caravan trade between Santa Fé and Chihuahua.³⁶ During 1839 he quietly left Santa Fé, going by way of the Santa Fé Trail to the United States. In the spring of 1840 he appeared at Austin with a letter to President Lamar, in which he was introduced as a former officer in the Mexican service who possessed information of a valuable nature, and who knew the attitude of the people of New Mexico toward Texas.³⁷

The question as to why he was in Texas cannot be answered satisfactorily. Two years later, when he was on trial in Chihuahua on the charge of being implicated in the Santa Fé expedition, he testified that in February, 1840, while on the way from the United States to Matamoros, he had been shipwrecked off the coast of Texas, and in an attempt to save his cargo had gone ashore at Velasco. Then in answer to a question as to whom he had met in Texas, he stated that he had had no relations with anyone except a man named Tucker, whom he had previously known in the United States. A search of the Texas newspapers for this period fails to throw any light on the shipwreck, and there is positive evidence that Dryden's relations while in Texas were not limited to his friend Tucker. Why then was it necessary for him to misrepresent his visit to Texas? One is inclined to conclude that he was there for a purpose which could

³⁵Armijo to Minister of War, April 23, 1841.

³⁶This information was brought out when Dryden was on trial at Chihuahua, charged with complicity in the Santa Fé expedition. See Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, II, 76-79. A copy of the testimony in his trial is in the *Bolton Transcripts*.

³⁷Jack to Lamar, April 1, 1840, MS. in *Lamar Papers*, Texas State Library.

not safely be disclosed to Mexican officials, and his activities while there would seem to strengthen such a conclusion. One thing is certain; that is, that even though he may not have gone to Texas for any definite purpose, he left the republic with a definite purpose, and with definite instructions for carrying it out.

His letter of introduction secured for him a conference with Lamar, but there is no record of what took place in that conference. The information which he gave was sufficiently favorable to convince the president that it was time to furnish the New Mexicans with some definite information concerning Texas. Accordingly, on April 14, he addressed to the citizens of Santa Fé a letter in which he sketched the auspicious future which awaited the new republic, and then continued:

We tender to you a full participation in all our blessings. The great River of the North, which you inhabit, is the natural and convenient boundary of our territory, and we shall take great pleasure in hailing you as fellow-citizens, members of our young Republic, and co-aspirants with us for all the glory of establishing a new and happy and free Nation. . . . This communication I trust will be received by you and by your public Authorities, in the same spirit of kindness and sincerity in which it is dictated. And if nothing shall intervene to vary my present intention, I shall dispatch in time for them to arrive in your section of Country about the month of September proximo, one or more Commissioners, gentlemen of worth and confidence, to explain more minutely the condition of our Country, of the Seaboard and the co-relative interests which so emphatically recommend and ought perpetually to cement the perfect union and identity of Santa Fee, and Texas. . . . Until the arrival of these Commissioners I have empowered some of your own Citizens (Capt. Wm. G. Dryden, John Rowland and Wm. Workman, Esqrs.), to whom the views and feelings of the Government have been communicated, to confer with you upon the subject matter of this communication.³⁸

The tone of this letter would seem to indicate that Lamar's informant had given him the impression that the people of New Mexico were simply waiting for the government of Texas to take the initiative in bringing about a union between the two sections. As to whether this was the secret of Dryden's visit to

³⁸Lamar to citizens of Santa Fé, April 14, 1840, MS. in *Santa Fé Papers*, Texas State Library.

Texas, it is at present impossible to determine. In addition to being named as one of the preliminary commissioners, Dryden was made the bearer of Lamar's message to Santa Fé. Rowland and Workman were already in Santa Fé, and Dryden left Galveston as soon as he could, to return to New Mexico by way of New Orleans and St. Louis.³⁹ He carried with him also, a letter from Abner S. Lipscomb, the Texan secretary of state, containing the instructions to be followed by the three commissioners in Santa Fé. Their assistance was asked in explaining to the people the objects of the expedition which, it was then thought, would reach there in August or September. The inhabitants were to be assured of equal protection and equal rights, privileges, and immunities with those of Texas itself, and were to be promised freedom from internal dissension, and security from foreign invasion. The Pueblo Indians were to be promised full rights of citizenship, and it was to be made clear that the restrictions concerning Indians in the Texas constitution applied only to barbarians.⁴⁰

Dryden arrived in Santa Fé on September 17, 1840, but found no opportunity for reporting to Lamar concerning the progress of his work until the following spring. He was apparently busy in the meantime, however, for in March he wrote:

We have been looking for some news from Texas—Because every American, and more than two thirds of the Mexicans, and all the Pueblo Indians, are with us, heart and soul; and whenever they have heard of your sending Troops, there has been a rejoicing. . . . I assured all my friends you would send last fall—I now have pledged myself, this summer; and I shall never lose hope as long as life shall last. I trust, if all things are right, before you receive this, the force will be under march, and near here. It will but be a trip of pleasure. We pledge our lives in this country

³⁹Dryden to Lamar, April 29, 1840, MS. in *Lamar Papers*, Texas State Library.

⁴⁰Lipscomb to Dryden, Rowland and Workman, April 14, 1840. There is no copy of this letter in the Texas archives, and aside from the mention made of it in the instructions to the commissioners appointed in 1841 (see Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 742), it seems to have dropped out of sight. The copy which was sent with the expedition was confiscated by Mexican authorities, and is now in the Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, Mexico. A copy of this copy, in the *Bolton Transcripts*, is dated 1841, but this is evidently a copyist's error, since Lipscomb was not secretary of state of Texas in April, 1841.

on a kind reception. . . . You would also do well to take into consideration the Inhabitants on the north west side of the Rio Grande as there are some ten or twelve small villages; and as we are certain they would be willing to join us; but as the River intervenes you will know what to do. They can receive no assistance from below, nor can they protect themselves.⁴¹

At the same time that this letter was written, he sent the same information to Thomas Blackrode, a friend at Brazoria, with a request that it be forwarded to the president. This was done, he explained, because of a fear that his letter to Lamar might be intercepted, and he wanted to be sure that the report reached its destination.⁴² He pointed out also that the only opposition to be expected would probably come from the influence of the priests, and in such a case "our Mexican Friends" would need ammunition since the supply in Santa Fé was low. He urged haste in sending the proposed expedition, not only because of the kind reception waiting for it, but also because all of the Indians of the region to be crossed would be occupied during the summer in a great peace conference near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River. About a month later he wrote again, urging the need of protective laws for the rich gold mines of the region, stating that there were prospects in New Mexico of more mines than any district in the Mexican Republic. "We are anxiously waiting," he said, "and hope by the last of May to hear from the City of Austin."⁴³

While there may be a question as to how large a group Dryden's "we" included as used in these letters, the contents certainly indicate that activity in the interest of Texas was being organized in Santa Fé during this period. One puzzling feature in the first letter, however, is a statement that he has talked many times with the governor, "and he says he would be glad to see the day of your arrival in this country, as he feels well assured that no aid will be sent from below, as they have no means, and he himself will make no resistance." If Armijo knew of Dryden's ac-

⁴¹Dryden to Lamar, March 10, 1841, MS. in *Santa Fé Papers*, Texas State Library.

⁴²Blackrode to Lamar, July 23, 1841, MS. in *Lamar Papers*, Texas State Library.

⁴³Dryden to Lamar, April 18, 1841, MS. in *Santa Fé Papers*, Texas State Library.

tivities in the interest of Texas, he must have been merely trying to secure all the information possible. It is more probable, however, that since Dryden was well acquainted with the governor, he had simply talked with him about a topic of general interest, and Armijo had expressed his opinions frankly on the basis of his own correspondence with the officials in Mexico City. It would be but human for Dryden to report these remarks to Lamar as he did, in order to convey the impression that he was reaching the high officials of the government in New Mexico. It is reasonably certain that Armijo was not aware of Dryden's connection with the Texan government, because not once in his numerous detailed letters to the Mexican minister of war is Dryden mentioned until after the capture of the expedition in September, 1841, when the names of Dryden, Rowland, and Workman were found in the papers taken from the prisoners. In the meantime Dryden had been allowed to leave Santa Fé for Chihuahua, while Rowland and Workman had gone to California. Dryden later testified that their reason for departure was a desire to get away from New Mexico before the arrival of the Texans in order to avoid becoming implicated in the work of the expedition.

In view of the favorable character of the reports which Dryden was sending to Texas in the spring of 1841, it is somewhat difficult to see why these three men should be leaving New Mexico before the end of the summer for the purpose of avoiding any relations with the Texans, especially when it was definitely known that the expedition was on the way to Santa Fé. The explanation is to be found in the developments of the summer in New Mexico and in Mexico City.

It is especially interesting to find that shortly after Dryden's optimistic reports were sent to the government of Texas, Armijo began a new series of pessimistic reports to the government of Mexico. As a result of communications from the Comanches he learned in May that an expedition was actually being organized in Texas, and that the Navajo Indians had sent agents to the Texans for the purpose of securing an alliance. The Comanches thought that the expedition would come in two groups; one by way of the Pecos River, and the other directly across the country from

the Colorado River.⁴⁴ In transmitting this news to Mexico City, he stated that since 1839 the loyalty of the lower classes in New Mexico had been gradually changing in favor of the foreigners; the Indians were being bribed by the Texans to make peace; his own funds were so low that he could not counteract these bribes; and that he could depend only upon the support of government employees and a few veteran troops. Since a majority of the people were favorable to the Texans, he felt that unless he could receive assistance before the expedition arrived his only recourse would be to flee with the few officials who would remain loyal.⁴⁵

When this report is considered in connection with Dryden's letters to Lamar, it seems evident that if the Texans could have carried out their plans to arrive in Santa Fé in June, 1841, the outcome of the enterprise would have been success instead of the failure which attended their appearance three months later. The two reports agree as to the favorable attitude of an appreciable portion of the New Mexicans toward Texas; and Armijo's account shows clearly that he was not at that time prepared to withstand any organized intrusion. But this condition was soon to be changed as a result of the work of Mexican officials outside of New Mexico. The Mexican government had received so many messages of alarm from Armijo during the past two years that it apparently failed to take his reports seriously until it had begun to receive similar information from other sources.

General Mariano Arista, who was in command of the Mexican forces along the Rio Grande, kept agents in Texas to watch developments, and early in May Santiago Vidaurri, one of these agents, reported fully concerning plans which were being made at Austin for sending an expedition to Santa Fé.⁴⁶ This report was soon verified by two other agents, Antonio de la Garza and Antonio Cortasar, who arrived at Arista's headquarters on May 6 and May 11, respectively, and the information thus secured was speedily despatched to the central government, and to the military officials in Durango, Chihuahua, and New Mexico.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that on the very same day that President

⁴⁴Lovato to Armijo, May 31, 1841.

⁴⁵Armijo to Minister of War, June 3, 1841.

⁴⁶Vidaurri to Arista, May 5, 1841.

⁴⁷Arista to Minister of War, May 11, 1841.

Lamar was bidding farewell to the Santa Fé expedition at Brushy Creek, near Austin, Garcia Condé, the governor of Chihuahua, received Armijo's report on the situation in New Mexico and Arista's communication concerning the preparations in Texas. He at once added his voice to that of Armijo in a plea for assistance from the capital. He reported a need for soldiers, ammunition, and funds, unless Mexico was ready to abandon the northern frontier. In repeating Armijo's statement that neither the citizens nor the Indians of New Mexico could be counted upon for defense, he pointed out the danger that if Armijo should make any attempt just at this time to resist the wishes of the New Mexicans, the situation might grow more serious. In order to encourage the authorities in New Mexico he had promised to send help immediately, and had urged that they do not abandon the region, because it would undoubtedly be easier to hold it until help arrived than to recover it after having given it up. But to fulfill this promise he must have immediate financial aid from Mexico City. As another possibility he suggested that since the government in New Mexico was so weak that it dared not make a move in its own defense, the best way to meet the situation would be for the central government to organize a military force and send it to New Mexico to operate independently of Armijo.⁴⁸

With such information coming from so many sources, the government decided that the time for action had arrived. President Santa Anna expressed his anxiety at the apparent unpatriotic spirit of some of the people of New Mexico, as indicated in their attitude towards the Texans. At the same time he announced his confidence in Armijo and urged him not to abandon New Mexico. To this he added the advice that the governor keep the best part of his forces on the eastern frontier to maintain relations with the Indians.⁴⁹ In the meantime the department of finance had been called upon for funds, and between July 10 and July 13, Canseco, the minister of finance, sent \$10,000 to Armijo, \$6,000 to Condé, and \$6,000 to Heredia, the governor of Durango, with the statement that the money was to be used by each in

⁴⁸Condé to Minister of War, June 21, 1841.

⁴⁹Santa Anna to Armijo, July 12, 1841.

maintaining the integrity of his state against foreign invasion. In addition to this he ordered the collectors of customs at Mazatlan and Guaymas to set aside monthly sums to be used in defending New Mexico.⁵⁰ Condé was informed that aid and ammunition would be sent as speedily as possible, but that pending their arrival he should do what he could to help Armijo.⁵¹ Armijo himself was given definite instructions. He was told that although the report from Arista indicated the purpose of the expedition to be commercial, he was to allow no relations to be established between it and the New Mexicans. It was pointed out that since the attitude of the people was so favorable to the Texans, it was obvious that the expedition would receive help on its arrival; therefore he was to meet it before it could approach near enough to enter into communication with the inhabitants of the department. The minister of war believed, however, that the attitude of the people was due to the fact that Texan intriguers had taken advantage of their ignorance, and he suggested that a timely appeal to their patriotism might turn them against the intruders.⁵²

The instructions to Condé were complied with at once. On July 27 he reported that he had provided \$15,000 for Armijo, and would send troops, arms, and ammunition as soon as possible.⁵³ On the following day he issued a lengthy proclamation in which he characterized the Texans as raiders, wanderers, and traitors, and called the expedition an insult to the national honor of Mexico. The people of Chihuahua were called upon to defend their homes, their religion, and their nation by uniting against the invasion, whether it was directed against them or against New Mexico. Copies of this proclamation were sent to the authorities in New Mexico to be distributed among the people, and other copies to Mexico City to be published in the newspapers for the purpose of arousing public opinion.⁵⁴ As a part of his preparation scouts were sent out along the eastern frontier in order that he might be warned if the expedition should happen

⁵⁰Canseco to Minister of War, July 13, 1841 (four letters).

⁵¹Minister of War to Condé, July 12, 1841.

⁵²Minister of War to Armijo, July 12, 1841.

⁵³Condé to Minister of War, July 27, 1841.

⁵⁴Condé to Minister of War, July 31, 1841. This letter includes a copy of the proclamation.

to approach the Mexican settlements by way of the road between El Paso and Presidio del Norte.⁵⁵

Arista was still keeping in touch with the developments in Texas, and during July he learned definitely of the departure of the expedition from Austin. His informant also stated that a request had been sent from Santa Fé for a copy of the Texan laws in order that the New Mexican commercial provisions might be arranged to fit the Texan regulations.⁵⁶ When this information reached Mexico City Arista was told that plans were already made for meeting the situation, and that it was hoped that the expedition could be broken up before it reached its destination.⁵⁷

In the meantime Armijo had begun to make extensive preparations in New Mexico. Such subordinates as could be trusted were assigned specific tasks in a general plan for carrying out the instructions from the minister of war.⁵⁸ Antonio Sandoval was told to watch for intrigue among the Pueblo Indians, and to see that no one left the department until new instructions were issued.⁵⁹ To Juan Felipe Ortiz, a priest, was delegated the task of working among the people for the purpose of arousing a spirit of opposition to the Texans.⁶⁰ Mariano Chaves was ordered to be ready to take command of part of the troops on short notice.⁶¹ Two scouting parties were sent out to the east. One of these under Santiago Ulivarri was to watch the northern section of the frontier, and to persuade the Indians to oppose the Texans as much as possible by attacking any small party which might leave the main force, and by stealing or burning their supplies.⁶² The other under Damasio Salazar was to guard the approaches by way of the Pecos River, and to secure information concerning other points where the expedition might come.⁶³ Both Ulivarri

⁵⁵Condé to Minister of War, August 3, 1841.

⁵⁶Uribe to Arista, July 25, 1841; Arista to Minister of War, August 1, 1841.

⁵⁷Santa Anna to Arista, August 5, 1841.

⁵⁸Armijo to Minister of War, August 4, 1841.

⁵⁹Miranda to Sandoval, August 1, 1841.

⁶⁰Miranda to Ortiz, August 1, 1841.

⁶¹Armijo to Chaves, August 1, 1841.

⁶²Armijo to Ulivarri, August 1, 1841. For an indication of the effect of these instructions, see Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, I, 195-215.

⁶³Armijo to Salazar, August 2, 1841.

and Salazar were authorized to offer a prize of one hundred dollars to the man who should give the first definite information concerning the approach of the Texans.

Thus through practically the entire period during which the Texans were on the march toward Santa Fé, the machinery of the Mexican military organization was being adjusted to meet the emergency. The knowledge that he could count on help from Chihuahua, and that the central government had begun to consider his requests, seemed to put new assurance into Armijo, for early in August he demanded of Juan A. Archuleta, the prefect of Santa Fé, a statement as to the truth of the reports that the people had taken steps to unite with Texas.⁶⁴ Two weeks later he ordered the arrest of Archuleta and of Felipe Sena, a former prefect, on the charge of sympathizing with the Texans; but they proved their innocence.⁶⁵ Before the end of August Ulivarri reported that he had seen a letter to Ceran St. Vrain, a trader at Bent's Fort, which stated that the Texans would arrive in September. But along with this information was also a statement that unless the lower classes in the northern part of the department were attracted financially rather than politically, they would be ready to join the Texans.⁶⁶ In reporting this to the minister of war, Armijo furnished evidence of his new state of mind by expressing a hope that the Texans would arrive shortly with a large amount of money, in order that the booty might be greater.⁶⁷

Early in September Carlos and Brignoli, who had deserted from the Texan expedition,⁶⁸ arrived in Taos, and the information which they gave concerning the expedition was immediately con-

⁶⁴Armijo to Archuleta, August 2, 1841.

⁶⁵Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 144-145.

⁶⁶Ulivarri to Armijo, August 26, 1841.

⁶⁷Armijo to Minister of War, August 29, 1841.

⁶⁸While Carlos was acting as guide for the expedition early in August, he stated that they were near San Miguel. When this proved to be wrong, the criticism from members of the party led to his desertion. See Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, I, 183-184. Crane, *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston*, 134, intimates that he was in the pay of the Mexican government, while Kendall believed him to have made an honest mistake. There is no evidence that he received pay, but Armijo stated that he was connected with the expedition "for the laudable purpose of giving information." Armijo to Condé, September 22, 1841, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

veyed to Armijo. At about the same time Samuel Howland and two companions, who had been sent forward with a letter to Dryden,⁶⁹ reached San Miguel and were captured. Thus the governor secured possession of communications which had been intended for the Texan advance agent in New Mexico, and at last had definite evidence that the expedition was near. But he was ready to act. He first turned his attention to the citizens of the United States who were in Santa Fé. Because of his suspicion that these people were interested in the success of the Texans, he had already aroused opposition to them among the loyal element of the New Mexicans, and on receipt of the news of the nearness of the expedition, violence against them seemed probable. As a result, on September 14, Manuel Alvarez, the United States consul at Santa Fé, appealed to the governor to take steps toward insuring the protection of American citizens in case of trouble.⁷⁰ He was told that protection could be expected, but that he would be held responsible for any breach of neutrality on the part of the Americans in favor of the Texans,⁷¹ and two days later he was warned that neither himself nor any other foreigners should make an effort to leave New Mexico on any pretext.⁷² On the same day the consul's house was attacked by a group of Mexicans under the leadership of Armijo's nephew, and

⁶⁹Van Ness to Dryden [not dated], in *Bolton Transcripts*. See also Brenham and Cooke to Roberts, November 9, 1841, Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 778. Van Ness, who was secretary to the commissioners, informed Dryden of his appointment as one of the new commissioners, and asked him to meet the other commissioners at San Miguel for the purpose of consulting upon the plan to be followed. Accompanying the letter were six copies of a proclamation from Lamar, printed in Spanish; and these Dryden was to make public at his own discretion. This letter, of course, did not reach Dryden. For an account of the capture and execution of Howland, see Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, I, 301-310. Inasmuch as Kendall's account of this event has been characterized as "one of the many fabrications which the fertile mind of some historians have consigned to history in detriment of truth and justice," it might be well to point out the fact that Armijo's account as given in his letter of September 22, to Condé, verifies Kendall's.

⁷⁰Alvarez to Miranda, September 14, 1841, in Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 145.

⁷¹Miranda to Alvarez, September 14, 1841, in Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, 398.

⁷²Armijo to Alvarez, September 16, 1841, in *ibid.*, 399.

as a result thirteen citizens of the United States drew up a petition to their government to interfere.⁷³

By this time information reached Santa Fé concerning the approach of one division of the Texans, and on September 18, Armijo issued a proclamation which was apparently inspired by the contents of Condé's proclamation of July 28. After telling the people that the object of the Texans was to steal, murder, and burn, he expressed his confidence that the well known lenity of the Mexican government would prevent any treachery on the part of his subjects, and called upon them to prove their patriotism, loyalty, and faithfulness to their government by flocking to the national standard to prevent the loss of their religion, country and possessions.⁷⁴ Before the emotional effect of this appeal had subsided he had set out to meet the Texan "traitors."

It is not necessary here to take up the events connected with the surrender of the Texans,⁷⁵ other than to point out the fact that Armijo's careful obedience to the instructions from the Mexican government had the desired effect. After the capture of the first party of Texans he established his headquarters at Las Vegas to await the appearance of the remainder of the force,⁷⁶ and as a result of his vigilance none of the party got further than San Miguel. He had done his duty as it had been outlined for him by preventing the Texans from getting into communication with the people of Santa Fé. From the side of the Texans his success was insured by three factors: first, the departure of Dryden from Santa Fé; second, the treachery of William P. Lewis, one of the members of the expedition; and third, the instructions which told them not to use force unless they could count on the support of the people against the officials. At the time of their surrender they knew nothing of the attitude of the people, and this was

⁷³Scolly and others to Webster, September 16, 1841, in *ibid.*, 399-400. in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 146-147.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 402-403; Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration,"

⁷⁵For the details, see Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, I, 269-361, which should be used in connection with the report sent by Commissioners Brenham and Cooke to the Texas government. Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 777-783.

⁷⁶Armijo to Condé, September 22, 1841. This letter gives a full account of his work up to that date.

information which Dryden should have been on hand to furnish. The information which Lewis gave was, of course, unfavorable, because he was acting in collusion with Armijo, and since they had no reason at the time to doubt his honesty, they had no other recourse than surrender or withdrawal if they were to follow instructions. In their condition surrender was the only sane course to take.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the question concerning the preparations made in New Mexico for the arrival of the expedition seems to have been definitely answered in the material here presented. As for official preparations, the evidence shows that Mexican authorities in Mexico City and in Chihuahua, as well as in New Mexico, turned their attention to the problem, and worked out a comprehensive plan of action, which Armijo followed almost to the letter, thereby contributing to the failure of the expedition. There is also evidence that the government of Texas realized the necessity of having some sort of preliminary organization in New Mexico as part of the plans for opening communications. This was undertaken officially through the agency of Dryden, and it seemed to be proving successful up to the time when the operation of the Mexican plan rendered it advisable to discontinue the work. As for unofficial plans, there is no acceptable evidence which would lead to a conclusion that the people of New Mexico attempted to organize, either to help or to hinder the Texans.

The answer for the question as to the attitude of the New Mexicans toward Texas is not so easy to give. The most definite result of the new information here presented is the addition of Armijo's testimony to that of Kendall and Dryden. The importance of this lies in the fact that it is a statement from a purely Mexican source; and inasmuch as this account of the attitude of the people of New Mexico agrees in general with the two which have previously been used, it might seem that no doubt should remain as to the answer. But, as has been pointed out, some of the statements of both Dryden and Armijo are open to question, while Kendall's account was obviously based on insufficient knowledge, coupled with a feeling of resentment against Armijo. Leaving Kendall out of consideration, the evidence is

reduced to a questionable statement from a Texan agent, and an equally questionable statement from a New Mexican official, both of whom were actually in a position to ascertain the truth, and both of whom say that a large part of the population of New Mexico was in favor of a union with Texas. But attention should be called here to the fact that those portions of Dryden's story which are obviously open to question are his explanation of his visit to Texas, and his statement of the governor's attitude; and of Armijo's account, while there may be reason for doubting his reports before March, 1840, those made after that date bear the signs of good faith. In other words, the real reason for raising a question as to the veracity of the main points of both accounts lies not in the existence of evidence to the contrary, but in the fact that non-germane statements are doubtful. On the other hand there is apparently no conclusive evidence to the effect that the people expressed in any way their opposition to the Texans. One searches in vain for accounts of meetings, or for petitions from the Mexican inhabitants to the government for protection as the expedition approached, but the only demonstration on record is the one led by the governor's nephew against the American consulate. From this it might be concluded that their passive nature caused them to adopt an attitude of indifference, were it not for the fact that all available information indicates that they did have a point of view. It seems, therefore, that unless definite evidence to the contrary is brought to light, the conclusion which must stand is the one that in 1840-1841 a large part—just how large it is not possible to say—of the people of New Mexico were regarding with favor the possibility of commercial and political relations with Texas.

NOTES ON THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS¹

EUGENE C. BARKER

The colonization of Texas began at an auspicious time. As Professor Turner has so effectively described in his illuminating studies,² the current of population set westward with the establishment of the first English settlement on the Atlantic coast. For a century and a half the movement was necessarily slow, up the rivers beyond tidewater, into the Piedmont. The broad parallel ranges of the Appalachian Mountains served as a dam to hold venturesome frontiersmen back from the country beyond. By the beginning of the American Revolution, however, settlers had begun to trickle across the barrier into Kentucky and Tennessee, and the first census of the United States showed 277,000 people west of the mountains in 1790. The next, in 1800, found 386,000 spread over Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Mississippi. In 1810 the number just topped a million, and the area of settlement had increased to include Michigan, Illinois, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. Ten years later there were 2,218,000 west of the mountains; all of the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the lakes had been admitted to the Union; and there were two states west of the great river.

The lure which drew the people to the west was, of course, the cheap and fertile land that could be bought from the federal government on easy terms. From 1800 to 1820 the minimum price in the public auctions was two dollars an acre, and land once offered at auction could be bought in private sale at the same price. Payment could be made, one-fourth cash with application and the balance in two, three, and four years. Higher prices, but with easier terms, were offered by land companies and individual

¹While this study is for convenience confined to the ten years from 1821 to 1831, and to Austin's grants, I have not found the colonization movement of this period characteristically different from that of the next five years, nor the emigration to Austin's colonies different, except in volume, from that to the grants of other empresarios.

This paper is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1923.

²Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), particularly "the Significance of the Frontier" and "The Old West."

speculators. The credit system naturally stimulated speculation, and after the War of 1812, with wildcat banking unrestrained and paper money abundant, a veritable frenzy swept the country. From 1815 to 1819 the government sales alone were nearly twelve million acres, of which more than five millions were sold in 1819. The evils of the credit system were obvious enough, but the politicians managed to retain it until 1820, when Congress passed a law, effective July 1, reducing the minimum quantity that could be bought to eighty acres and the price to \$1.25 an acre, which must be paid in cash. Partly from the effect of this, sales fell from 5,110,000 acres in 1819 to 1,098,000 in 1820 and to 781,000 in 1821. They did not again reach a million acres until 1829.³ Then, with seventy-two million acres surveyed and on the market, Benton railed at Senator Foot's suggestion of discontinuing surveys as a scheme to limit sales "to the refuse of innumerable pickings," to break and destroy "the magnet which was drawing the people of the Northeast to the blooming regions of the West."⁴ The western states were extremely sensitive to any measure that might check immigration in the slightest degree, and the frontiersman demanded virgin land of well nigh limitless area upon which to fix his location.

Co-operating with the introduction of the cash system to check the sale of public lands, the panic of 1819 carried distress and bankruptcy throughout the west, and coincidentally the inauguration of sound management in the Second United States Bank put an end to wildcat banking and cheap paper money. Even now the monotonous, pitiful story of debt, court judgments, and dispossessions carried by the letters and newspapers of 1820-1825 burdens and depresses a sympathetic reader.⁵

Comments of contemporary newspapers vividly illustrate the

³For this paragraph, see P. J. Treat, *The National Land System, 1783-1820* (New York, 1910), Chapters 5, 14; and A. B. Hart, "Disposition of the Public Lands," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, I, 253.

⁴*Debates in Congress*, VI, Part I, p. 24, 21 Cong., 1 Sess.

⁵Jefferson, for example, writes of Virginia in 1820, "This State is in a condition of unparalleled distress. The sudden reduction of the circulating medium from a plethora to almost annihilation is producing an entire revolution of fortune. In other places I have known lands sold by the sheriff for one year's rent; beyond the mountains we hear of good slaves selling for one hundred dollars, good horses for five dollars, and the sheriffs generally the purchasers." Jefferson to Nelson, March 12, 1820. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial edition, XV, 238.

restless movement into the west just before the opening of Texas. In February, 1817, an Illinois paper quoted from an unnamed Georgia paper that emigration to Alabama was "immense," between three and four thousand having settled at Fort Claiborne in the fall of 1816. In October the same paper declared that families from nearly every state in the Union were moving to Illinois and Missouri,—that "the roads from Shawneetown to this place [Kaskaskia] and from Vincennes to St. Louis are almost crowded with people; as many as thirty or forty wagons" traveling within sight of one another.⁶ An observer at St. Charles, Missouri, reported an average of a hundred and twenty vehicles a week passing that point during the fall of 1819, from which the editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*⁷ estimated an immigration of ten or twelve thousand by that route alone. They came almost exclusively, he said, from the states south of the Ohio and Potomac, brought many slaves and large herds of cattle, and were "even more valuable for respectability than for numbers." In the same issue "A Missourian" reported as passing one point on the Missouri River during October two hundred and seventy-one wagons and carriages, fifty-five two-wheeled carts, and many pack horses bound for Boone's Lick, Salt River, and other settlements.

The dissatisfaction with the federal land system after 1820 is reflected by the plaint from St. Louis that "The difference is too great not to produce its effect between a republic which gives first rate land gratis, and a republic which will not sell inferior land for what it is worth." "Mexico," this paper remarks with a sneer at the United States, "does not think of getting rich by *land speculations*, digging for lead, or boiling salt water, but by increasing the number and wealth of her citizens."⁸

The stage was well set, therefore, for the migration to Texas. The stream of population flowing westward with resistless momentum had reached the borders of the province. From Louisiana one need only step across the more or less imaginary boundary and "squat" on Spanish soil. For the rest of the west it was but three days' sail from the mouth of the Mississippi or a

⁶*The Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), February 5, October 23, 1817.

⁷Issue of November 10, 1819.

⁸*Missouri Advocate* (St. Louis), August 27 and October 15, 1825.

ten days' trek from Natchitoches, on Red River. With many pinched by the hard times following the panic, others who had bought land from individuals dispossessed and ruined by creditors desperately seeking to avert from themselves a similar fate, and government lands obtainable for a new start only by the cash payment of \$1.25 an acre in real money, is it strange that Austin's announcement of generous grants at nominal price and easy terms opened to their imaginations new fields of hopeful opportunity?

Two weeks after his return from Texas, and before learning that his application to settle three hundred families was granted, Moses Austin wrote, "I have been offered as many *names* of respectable families as will make up the Number."⁹ "Everyone has the highest opinion of his plans," wrote Mrs. Austin, "and many only waiting till they know he has made the establishment, when they mean to follow him."¹⁰ From Natchitoches in October, 1821, Stephen F. Austin, returning from his reconnoissance of Texas, wrote Governor Martinez that he had found there nearly a hundred letters of inquiry from Missouri and many from Kentucky. "I am convinced," he said, "that I could take on fifteen hundred families as easily as three hundred if permitted to do so."¹¹ On November 3 a member of the territorial legislature of Arkansas wrote, "The *Spanish Country* is all the rage in the southern end of the Territory and if I could wait two months I have no doubt that my company would consist of fifty persons, most of whom would intend making corn before their return. If no interruption in government takes place, a great many of the most respectable farmers in this country will certainly moove on to your grant."¹² From Opelousas one wrote, "I would be glad to know at what time you will be at Natchitoches. There some of my neighbors and me will meet you and if you will grant us land we will proceed on and make corn."¹³ Another from St. Francisville, Louisiana, It is probable there will be several small families of us will go to-

⁹Moses Austin to J. E. B. Austin, April 8, 1821. All manuscripts are from the *Austin Papers*, University of Texas, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰Mrs. Austin to Stephen F. Austin, June 8, 1821.

¹¹Austin to Martinez, October 13, 1821.

¹²Andrews to Austin, November 3, 1821.

¹³Henderson to Austin, November 1, 1821.

gether, if I like the prospect.”¹⁴ An inquirer from Missouri wrote, “I expect, Sir, if I can hear from you shortly, that early next Spring I can leave Cape Girardeau County with Several respectable families together with several young men Mechanics of almost every description for that country, and will endeavor to be there in time to make a crop.”¹⁵ James Bryan, Austin’s brother-in-law, wrote from Missouri, “I can assure you that a great number will move from this State, as also from other States and the Arkansas Territory. I received at Herculaneum a number of letters addressed to you . . . the most of them from Kentucky, Ohio, Illenois, and Missouri.”¹⁶ At the same time Mrs. Austin wrote that nothing was talked of but the province of Texas, and she thought a third of the population of Missouri would move in another year, if reports continued favorable.¹⁷ Observers at Little Rock reported many families passing that place for Texas, and forecast an “immense emigration” the following spring.¹⁸ Austin’s partner, J. H. Hawkins, wrote from New Orleans on February 6, 1822, that four vessels had recently sailed for the Colorado, and declared that if the *Lively* had returned from the first voyage with a good report, the province would be crowded to overflowing. One man had offered him three hundred families from Tennessee. Indeed, he said, hundreds were already on the way and thousands were ready to go at the first encouraging word from Austin.¹⁹ From another angle, Governor Martinez wrote his superior as early as December, 1821, that the permit to Austin was considered in the United States as opening the door to all and had already resulted in the entrance of five hundred families—the worst, he added, that the United States could pro-

¹⁴Montgomery to Austin, November 22, 1821.

¹⁵Ellis to Austin, November 26, 1821.

¹⁶Bryan to Austin, December 15, 1821.

¹⁷Mrs. Austin to Austin, December 15, 1821. Also Brickey to Austin, January 18, 1822; Bryan to Austin, April 15, and to J. E. B. Austin, January 15, 1822.

¹⁸Elliott to Bryan, December 26, 1821; Woodruff to Austin, January 8, 1822.

¹⁹See also Hawkins to Austin, May 31, 1822: “I have received very many letters to you all of which I have opened and read . . . and shall answer in the most laconic manner to be civil—The business is becoming too *weighty* to be prolix.

duce.²⁰ All of these estimates were exaggerations, of course, but they indicate truly a great interest in the new outlet to the southwest.

Many families took the road with no other knowledge of Texas than they could obtain from the papers that published Austin's announcements. Others, with more to lose by an unfortunate change, perhaps, paused to inquire further. Was the country independent of Spain? Was it already settled or a wilderness? What was the form of government? How were land titles obtained? What facilities for commerce did the country afford? How far was it from New Orleans? Was the settlement on the coast? How deep were the river entrances? What was the climate, and was the country healthful? A few before 1827 asked about the status of slavery and many about religious toleration. For example, James T. Dunbar, of Baltimore, representing a considerable group of prospective emigrants, declared that "The idea of an established church of any particular creed would forever banish from our minds the design of leaving our natal soil."²¹ Elijah Noble, representing a similar group in Lexington, Kentucky, wanted to know whether the settlers would be "allowed to worship their God agreeable to the dictates of their own minds, etc., or will they be comp^d. to acknowledge the Catholic religion as the supreme religion of the land?"²² Charles Douglas, of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, thought that three or four hundred families could be enlisted there to move at once to Texas, but he was "sorry to see that the roman catholic is the established religion and none other tolerated. This will have a bad effect upon the minds of many good but weak people in the U. S. and (I am afraid) will very much discourage emigration to your country."²³ Few could rise to the philosophical indifference of Austin's old neighbor in Washington County, Missouri, weighed down with debt and pursued by executions. He had five sons of an age to work on a farm and another coming on, and the religious restric-

²⁰Martinez to Lopez, December 1, 1821, University of Texas Transcripts from Department of Fomento, Mexico.

²¹Dunbar to Austin, December 13, 1821.

²²Noble to Austin, June 29, 1822; also Ayers to Austin, June 6, 1822.

²³Douglas to Austin, February 20, 1824.

tion did not disturb him—"I know I can be as good a Christian there as I can here. It is only a name anyhow."²⁴

The wave of enthusiasm for Texas broke against the events of 1822 and 1823. Austin's long absence in Mexico, the confusion and disorders of government, delay in the passage of the colonization law and the suspense about land titles, the Indian hostilities, the severe drouth which destroyed the corn crop and drove many of the first adventurous immigrants to a steady diet of lean deer and mustang horses; all these were reported in the United States and magnified by rumor as the story passed from mouth to mouth. A few examples will illustrate the character and discouraging influence of the reports that continued to circulate long after Austin returned from Mexico with all legal obstacles to the settlement of his colony removed. Hugh McGuffin from his home in Natchitoches parish, a famous landmark on the principal highway to Texas, wrote Austin in September, 1822: "We have had several reports respecting you since you have left St Antonio. some was that you were drowned others killed by Indians and some affirmed that you were actually dead all of which I have endeavored to silence as soon as possible I haveing heard better by some fiew who wished to tell the truth—the emigration is considerably stoped to that country for the present in consiquence of the badness of the crops on the Brazos and Colorado Rivers still there appears to be a considerable number who wishes to go on."²⁵ From Mobile in November, 1823, a correspondent quoted a Mexican passenger on a vessel driven to that port for repairs: "the general says to me that all negrows in the Provances of Mexico are free, and that slavery will not be permitted and that you have no author[ity] to grant land nor to invite settlers to the Provance."²⁶ And from Missouri a hardy old gentleman who had visited Texas and seen the Promised Land with his own eyes wrote in 1824: "I have done Every thing in my power to Cause the people to Emigrate to that Country, but so many fals Reports Comes from there that If a man has not been there he is too apt to believe such Reports and Decline going.

²⁴J. T. Hawkins to Austin, September 14, 1824.

²⁵McGuffin to Austin, September 13, 1822.

²⁶Nixon to Austin, November 14, 1823.

. . . It is hard to make people believe the Truth the Merchants in particular are more opposed to people moving to that Country or any other than Ever I saw. . . . It is very hard for the Truth [to] git as far as here it scearcely can git on this side Red River before it is Detected and stoped.”²⁷ For a time the *Arkansas Gazette* played Cassandra to the inexplicable folly which dragged families from assured comfort and prosperity in Arkansas and the rising city of Little Rock to the insecure wilderness of Texas, and its prophecies and insinuations spread widely through exchanges in other papers.²⁸ As early as April, 1823, Joseph H. Hawkins declared that nothing but Austin’s speedy return and some publications by him in the newspapers of the United States would restore interest to its early intensity,²⁹ but even when such publications appeared they were discounted; and it became more and more the practice for representatives of neighborhood groups to visit Texas and make a personal inspection before venturing to move.

Some of the discouraging accounts of Texas were merely the inevitable expansion of unfavorable impressions of dissatisfied visitors. Others were the malicious fabrications and distortions of bad characters banished from the colony and talking for revenge. A single instance from a goodly number will illustrate. In January, 1824, charges were laid before John P. Coles, alcalde of the settlement on the Colorado, against William Fitz Gibbon and his two stepsons for stealing hogs and horses. The two young men were arrested, tried before a jury of six men, and convicted. The evidence also proved the guilt of the older man, but he had escaped to the United States.³⁰ In February a friend at Nacogdoches wrote Austin: “As I feel much interested in the welfare

²⁷J. T. Hawkins to Austin, September 21, 1824.

²⁸For example, *The Tennessee Gazette* (Jackson), August 20, 1825, quoting the *Arkansas Gazette*, commenting on a report that General Wilkinson had been granted a contract to establish a colony in Texas, “And although we have always been opposed to the blind infatuation which has led hundreds of American citizens to emigrate to Texas, we hope that those who join him may meet with better success than has fallen to the lot of a large majority of those who have gone before them.” Austin’s younger brother attributed personal motives to the editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* (see his letter to Mrs. Perry, October 28, 1825); but in general the “boom town” spirit would account for him.

²⁹J. E. B. Austin to Austin, May 4, 1823.

³⁰Coles to Austin, January 31, 1824.

of your settlement I give you the following report spread here and gone to the United States,—that the people are much dissatisfied with Austin think he has no right to sell the lands that [he] compels every man to take a league at \$700 half down that many would leave the settlement and that Austin will about abandon the settlement.” The name of the reporter, he added, was Gibbon.³¹

Of the number of immigrants who reached Texas before Austin’s return from Mexico we cannot be very certain. He reported fifty, including eight families, at the beginning of March, 1822. By September, 1824, the Baron de Bastrop had issued two hundred and seventy-two titles to settlers in the first colony, of which some twenty-five were issued to pairs of single men,³² but it is not likely that all the other recipients, who were married men, had already brought their families to Texas. An official census of the colony, taken in the fall of 1825, but reported in March, 1826, showed 1,800 souls, of whom 443 were slaves.³³ The census for 1827 gave the population of Austin’s colonies as 2,021.³⁴ On June 30, 1830, the report was 4,248; and a year later 5,666.³⁵ The last three reports probably include slaves, since they are not specifically mentioned.

There is no precise information available to show where the three hundred families of Austin’s first colony emigrated from, but after 1825 he kept a register of those who applied for land, in which he entered various statistical items, one of which was the “country” from which the applicant came. In a tabulation of 902³⁶ applicants from July, 1825, to July, 1831, the place of emigration is given for 864. Eight hundred and six of these registered from the United States, and the remainder from Europe and Mexico. The states which contributed most were: Louisiana, 201; Alabama, 111; Arkansas, 90; Tennessee, 89; Missouri, 72; Mississippi, 56; New York, 39; Kentucky, 37; Ohio, 28; Georgia,

³¹Clarke to Austin, February 3, 1824.

³²Lester G. Bugbee, “The Old Three Hundred,” *QUARTERLY* of Texas State Historical Association, I, 108.

³³Records, General Land Office of Texas, Vol. 54, pp. 8-17.

³⁴Census of Austin’s Colony, March 31, 1828. Nacogdoches Archives, Texas State Library.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Reports of June 30, 1830, and June 30, 1831.

³⁶This does not represent the total number of applicants, but is simply a list that can be conveniently studied.

14; Pennsylvania, 14; Virginia, 13; New England, 20.³⁷ A total of 107 registered from the Atlantic and 699 from the trans-Appalachian states. But the place from which immediate emigration started affords little indication of the real origin of the colonists. In 1830 the population of the United States west of the mountains was 3, 676,000, and we may say that three and a quarter millions of these people had entered that territory since 1800;³⁸ so that few adults who arrived in Texas prior to 1831 could have been born in the west. Apparently this was a problem which interested Austin for a few months, and before other details crowded it from his mind he listed forty-seven applicants, of whom thirty-six recorded previous residence in two states. Of the thirty-six, twenty-seven had moved originally from the Atlantic states (and fourteen of these from north of Maryland), three from Europe, and six from Kentucky and Tennessee to states farther west. Of the remaining eleven, one was from Germany and ten were apparently natives of trans-Appalachia.³⁹ While these figures are small, they are consistent with what we know of the migrations of others,⁴⁰ and there seems to be no reason to doubt that they are a fair index to the previous movements of emigrants to Texas.

It only remains to speak briefly in this paper of an aspect of the slavery controversy in relation to the colonization of Texas. The movement to Texas began in 1821, the year after the Missouri Compromise fixed bounds to the further extension of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase and served notice that the congressional practice of balancing the admission of a slave state against

³⁷This tabulation is approximately accurate, but on account of the difficulty of interpreting parts of the original it may not be absolutely so.

³⁸The census of 1800 gave 386,393 in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Mississippi, to which should be added the population of Louisiana in 1803.

³⁹The source for this paragraph is "Register of Families Introduced by Austin, Book A," General Land Office of Texas.

⁴⁰Note, for example, the Austins themselves: Connecticut. Pennsylvania, Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas. Daniel Draper wrote to Stephen F. Austin December 25, 1821, in behalf of "a number of citizens" of Lincoln county, Missouri, who wanted information about Texas. "The families who now trouble you," he said, "are from a southern climate S. C. and are all farmers; and are determined for a warmer climate." Jared E. Groce was born in Virginia in 1782 and reached Texas in 1822 after having lived in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. (THE QUARTERLY, XX, 358.) Such illustrations could be indefinitely extended.

that of a free state must soon be abandoned. The overwhelming majority of the colonists of Texas, whatever their point of original departure, emigrated immediately from slave states. By strenuous exertions Austin obtained from the federal congress of Mexico in 1823 reluctant permission for the three hundred families of his first colony to introduce slaves, and when the state constitution prohibited slavery in 1827 he induced the legislature to pass a law recognizing contracts with indented servants, by which the constitution was evaded.⁴¹ The census of Austin's colony, as we have just seen, gave a total of 443 slaves in 1825. Eleven families, with from eleven to ninety slaves, owned 271 of these, and the remaining 172 were distributed among fifty-eight families, with from one to eight in a family.⁴² In 1834 an inspector of the federal government reported a thousand slaves in Austin's colonies and another thousand in the rest of Texas.⁴³ In 1836 Texas declared its independence of Mexico, and adopted a constitution which legalized slavery. In 1845 the United States annexed Texas as a slave state, with provision for its ultimate division into four states.

This chain of events undoubtedly presented plausible ground for abolitionist suspicion that it was the result of premeditated scheming. But twenty years of browsing through newspapers, pamphlets, and manuscripts of the period has discovered but one contemporary utterance that would indicate consciousness that Texas might be made to compensate the south for the loss of territory north of the Missouri Compromise line.⁴⁴ That is an editorial remark quoted by John Fiske from the *Richmond (Virginia) Enquirer* of March 7, 1820, that southern and western representatives "must keep their eyes firmly fixed on Texas; if we are cooped up on the north, we must have elbow-room to the

⁴¹Down to 1830 he thought slavery essential to the development of Texas, partly because most of the colonists were to be expected from the adjacent slave states, and partly because the lack of free labor for hire made slaves indispensable to any capitalistic agriculture.

⁴²Records of General Land Office of Texas, Vol. 54, pp. 8-17.

⁴³J. N. Almonte, *Noticia Estadística sobre Tejas*, etc., 50, 68.

⁴⁴Indeed, subtracting from the north the "Great American Desert," as it then appeared on the map, the disparity of the compromise between the slave and free sections was not so great as at first glance it now appears. I am indebted to Professor T. M. Marshall of Washington University for this suggestion.

west.”⁴⁵ In the last analysis, of course, this simply means that the writer has found no evidence, and does not prove that scheming was not behind the movement. Nevertheless, with all allowance for the habit of conspirators to try to conceal their tracks, it seems significant. The impression that one inevitably obtains from the letters of emigrants themselves is that they knew nothing of such a design and that the cheap and fertile lands of Texas were the only object of attraction.

The conclusions of this paper can be quickly restated. The colonization of Texas was but the continuation of the westward movement which in fifty years carried the Anglo-American from the crest of the Alleghanies across the Mississippi. It was stimulated by the panic of 1819, the abolition of credit in the national land system, and the curtailment of wildcat banking and the consequent restriction of paper money issues which followed the reorganization of the United States Bank by Langdon Cheves. While most of the emigrants hailed immediately from the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf states, the movement, owing to the rapid migrations of the early nineteenth century, was less sectional than a superficial glance at the facts would indicate. Some who wished to go were deterred by Mexico's declaration of religious intolerance and by the nominal exclusion of slaves; but those who did go had no purposeful relation to the political history of slavery in the United States.

⁴⁵Fiske, *Essays, Historical and Literary*, I, 332. The writer has never been able to verify the quotation.

THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ

BY

GONZALO FERNANDEZ OVIEDO Y VALDEZ

EDITED BY HARBERT DAVENPORT

1. FOREWORD

Intensive study of the literature of the Narváez expedition, and the journey of its survivors across the continent, has convinced the present writer that the terse and vigorous narrative and enlightening comment of Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo y Valdez, and the forceful and interesting personality of Andrés Dorantes, deserve to be known by the inhabitants of the land of which Oviedo was the earliest historian and Dorantes the first explorer.

To this end is offered the first complete English version of the account of the Narváez expedition that was incorporated by Oviedo in his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, first published as Book XXXV of the third edition of that New World chronicle at Salamanca in 1547.¹ The first six chapters were taken by the author rather literally, it seems, from an official report received from the Narváez survivors in 1539 by the *Real Audiencia* of Santo Domingo, while Chapter VII was taken from the first edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufrágios*, published at Zamora in 1542, after Oviedo had, in 1547, interviewed its author at the royal court at Madrid.

The translation here presented is a by-product of a study of the adventures of the Narváez survivors in Texas, the results of which were published in *THE QUARTERLY* for October, 1919, and January, 1920.² It was made from Tomo III, pages 582-618, of the edition of Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*,

¹No complete English version has heretofore been published. A condensed translation by Buckingham Smith was printed in *Historical Magazine*, XII, 141, 204, 267, 347, September-December, 1867. Considerable excerpts are quoted by Buckingham Smith, Bandelier, James Newton Baskett and Harbert Davenport and Joseph K. Wells, in various published studies of the journey of the Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.

²Harbert Davenport and Joseph K. Wells, "The First Europeans in Texas, 1528-1536." *THE QUARTERLY*, XXII, 111-143, 205-259.

published by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, 1851-1855. It has as its basis a translation made for the writer in 1916 by Bernardo Calero. This version, while interesting and readable and substantially accurate, was found unsuitable for the detailed study for which it was desired, so Joseph K. Wells prepared an entirely new translation of Chapter I, while the present writer retranslated the latter half of Chapter II, all of Chapters III, IV, V, and the first half of Chapter VI, leaning heavily, however, on the Calero translation for correct rendering of Spanish idioms, and on Mr. Wells for help with the difficult passages. As here presented the first chapter was in the main translated by Mr. Wells, while Chapter VII is from the Calero version.

To preserve the continuity of the narrative, Oviedo's clever, at times caustic, and always illuminating comments are, in the English version, deleted from the text and printed as footnotes. The text thus presents Oviedo's paraphrase of the report to the *Audiencia* as a continuous narrative, while his seasoning is preserved in the notes. The effect is believed to justify the liberty thus taken with the author's arrangement. The deleted portions of the Spanish text are indicated in the notes by the name *Oviedo*.

The whole of the little known and less used fragmentary *Relacion* of Cabeza de Vaca, first published at Madrid in 1870, in Tomo XIV, pages 269-279 of *Documentos Inéditos del Archivos de las Indias*, has also been rendered into English and incorporated among the notes to Oviedo's first three chapters, to which it corresponds, under the reference word *Relacion*; the notes so distinguished, read consecutively, constitute the first publication in English of the text of that narrative.

Of more interest and greater practical importance is a sketch of the life and family history of Andrés Dorantes de Carranza, written in 1604 by Báltasar Dorantes de Carranza, his only son. This was taken from pages 264-275 of Báltasar's book, published for the first time in Mexico in 1902, by the *Museo Nacional*, from a paleographic copy of the author's manuscript, with the title *Sumaria Relacion de las Cosas de la Nueva España, con noticia individual de los descendientes legitimos de los conquistadores y primeros pobladores españoles*. The English version was prepared by Mrs. Juana Yznaga de la Portilla (granddaughter of

José Aniceto Yznaga, the early Cuban patriot), with some suggestions by the present writer as to arrangement and English diction. This note is supplemented from the sworn evidence taken by Sancho Dorantes de Carranza, second son of Báltasar and grandson of Captain Andrés Dorantes, in 1613, in support of a claim on the bounty of the crown, based on the services of his father and grandfathers. This was printed by the *Museo Nacional* as an addendum to its edition of Báltasar Dorantes de Carranza's book, where it may be found, pages 459-491.

Prior to the publication of Báltasar's manuscript little more was known of Cabeza de Vaca's companions in his romantic trans-continental journey, than was told in the brief biographical note with which both Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca concluded their published narratives.

Among the notes to Chapter V of Oviedo's text, is a description of the characteristics, habits, and customs of the Indians of the Monterrey-Cerralvo district, translated from the *Historia de Nuevo Leon*, by Alonso de Leon, father of the discoverer of La Salle's settlement and founder of the first Texas mission. This account was written in 1649, after its author had resided in Nuevo Leon for thirteen years, and clears up several obscure ethnological and natural history references, which have heretofore troubled commentators of the narratives of the Narváez expedition.

The foot notes contain many references to the more familiar Cabeza de Vaca narrative of the Narváez expedition,³ the first edition of which was published at Zamora in 1542, and the second at Valladolid in 1555; the former edition being readily accessible in the excellent translation by Fanny Bandelier; and the latter in the much used and quoted, Buckingham Smith version. To distinguish it from the fragmentary *Relacion* above mentioned,

³Available in English in the translations of Buckingham Smith and Fanny Bandelier. Smith, *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (Washington, 1851); Second Edition, edited by John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1871); *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by F. W. Hodge, in *Spanish Explorers in Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, 1907). Bandelier, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536*, translated from his own narrative by Fanny Bandelier, edited, with an introduction by Ad F. Bandelier (Trail Makers Series. New York, 1905). For convenience the Bandelier translation is cited in these notes under the name of the translator and Hodge's reprint of the Buckingham Smith translation under the name of its editor.

Cabeza de Vaca's published account is identified as *Naufrágios*. References to the 1542 edition are to the Bandelier translation and are indicated by the name *Bandelier*; references to the 1555 edition are to Hodge's reprint of the Buckingham Smith translation, and are distinguished by the name *Hodge*.

As an historical source the most valuable portion of Oviedo's narrative, as compared with the two relations by Cabeza de Vaca, is his paraphrase of Andrés Dorantes' independent account of the journey of the Mal-Hado survivors along the Texas coast in the spring of 1529, and their subsequent adventures until Cabeza de Vaca rejoined them at the "River of Nuts," in the autumn of 1534. Each of the three contemporary accounts of the Narváez expedition that have come down to us is a narration by Cabeza de Vaca to this point, where he rejoins the others after five and a half year's separation. Here *Relacion* abruptly ends; *Naufrágios* supplies briefly, from what the survivors told Cabeza de Vaca at the time, the adventures of those who went forward from Mal-Hado in 1529; and only Oviedo has preserved Dorantes' detailed independent relation. My belief is that in the various official reports prepared by these castaways after their return to civilization, Cabeza de Vaca, as the only survivor of the royal officers of Narváez's abortive colony, reported, together with his subsequent personal adventures, all that was done by Narváez and his men as an organized expedition; while Dorantes took up the narrative where the command of the Mal-Hado survivors devolved upon him by reason of Cabeza de Vaca's illness; and that *Relacion* is Cabeza de Vaca's part of one of these official reports which he subsequently used as a framework for his published narrative. At least, it may be said that *Relacion* and *Naufrágios* are very closely related; *Relacion* being either a condensation of *Naufrágios* or *Naufrágios* an expansion of *Relacion*; and it is significant that *Relacion* ends at exactly the same point in the narrative as does that portion of Oviedo's account of which Cabeza de Vaca is the narrator.

2. THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ, BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO

This is the seventeenth book of the Second Part, and the thirty-fifth of the *General y Natural Historia de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firma del Mar Oceano*, of the royal crown of Castilla and

its Kings; which treats of the Government of the Rio de Pánuco and of the Rio Hermoso and their provinces; which are two great rivers which join and enter into the Coast of the North; and which also treats of the Rio de las Palmas, which is more to the east, ascending by the said coast to return toward the Province that they call *La Florida*,⁴ and tells how the Captain Pámphilo de Narváez and his people, who went to settle the provinces of these rivers, were lost.

PROEMIO

In Book XXXIII I have told how the Captain Hernando Cortés settled the River and Province of Pánuco and conquered part of this land. Also I have told how Francisco de Garay went there as Governor and *Adelantado* of this Province, and was lost with his expedition, and most of his people died, some at the hands of Indians and others in divers manners; he, in the end with them. He went to Temistlan to die.

After this Captain Pámphilo de Narváez (of whom I treated in this same book XXXIII, and told how he was sent by the *Adelantado* Diego Velázquez with an expedition from Cuba to New Spain to bring from there the Captain Hernando Cortés, but was captured by him, and lost an eye, and was detained for some time) went to Spain, and from there, with license from the Emperor, Our Lord, he went, as Captain General and Governor, with another expedition to the river called de las Palmas, to settle a certain part of the coast of the north, which was given him to explore.⁵ . . .

If Pámphilo de Narváez had not forgotten the manner of his treatment in New Spain, and how contrary to expectation his plans turned out, he would not have gone forth in quest of other whirlwinds and more fatigue, but rested content with being an *hidalgo*,

⁴Elsewhere Oviedo says that the Tropic of Cancer crosses near Rio de las Palmas, from whence it is more than thirty leagues to Rio Pánuco, and thence to *Vera Cruz* seventy leagues.

⁵Only that portion of Oviedo's *Proemio* which bears directly on Pámphilo de Narváez and his expedition has been translated. The omitted portions contain some interesting observations by the author concerning the folly of an elderly *hidalgo* with a competence, a family and estates, leaving his repose and setting out to find new riches and glory. The paragraphs printed between asterisks were translated by Buckingham Smith for his note on Narváez in the 1871 edition of his *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaac*, which translation is used here, without revision.

who, having come into these parts to gain a livelihood with sword and buckler, had won honor and renown, besides a woman of virtue and rank; God giving him children and an estate with which he might easily enough pass his days in keeping with his condition. He was a man of accomplishments, gentle breeding and pure blood; on proper occasions he had shown himself brave in arms as a soldier and skillful as a captain. When he had conquered and pacified Cuba, he lived prosperously on the island, having good possessions; and even afterward, when he got out of the prison and talons of Cortés, he found his wife, Maria de Valenzuela, then waiting upon him for some years, with the honor and reputation of Penelope; but instead of tangling and untangling for any doubts or fears that her husband would not return; when informed of the capture and misfortunes of her Ulysses, she set about to improve and husband his estate as the means of his relief. In this state did Narváez find matters on returning to his house; for besides what he had left, and beyond the increase of his property, the wife had laid up for him thirteen or fourteen thousand dollars in gold dust, which she obtained from the washings by the labor of his slaves and Indians. These facts he told me himself in Toledo, in the year 1525, the Imperial Majesty of Charles at the time being there.

While he was entreating for justice and single combat with Cortés, I counseled him as a friend that he should tranquilly retire to his house into the bosom of his family, giving thanks to God for the sufficiency he possessed to go through this stormy world so full of troubles; but as his desires took him rather to lead the sons of others than to guide his own, what I said must have appeared less to his purpose than what he thought. And thus ended his career, driven on to his own and others' destruction; nor did he lack age to need repose, having passed as many years as I had, if not more, and his person appeared to me not a little worn. Although he thanked me for my advice, I saw it did not agree with him, which brought to memory what a husbandman asked upon a time while I was yet a young man:

"Your Worships who are of the palace, I venture to say, know not why the ass is struck with the stick the third time?" To which I responded, saying, "it must be to make him get up." The villager replied, "That is not the reason; it is because the ass

does not remember the first time, and did not amend with the second."

I, with the others who heard this, considered that he spoke with good reason; and we thought the words good enough to bear in mind, to be preserved for the benefit of men as well as mules, since such should those be considered who do not amend with many stripes; whom one, another, and another peril does not suffice to teach. We will leave this.⁶ . . .

Of this *hidalgo* [Pánfilo de Narváez] and his unfortunate expedition and calamitous end, I make relation according to the knowledge that to this present time I have of his journey, on which occurred things of much pain and sorrow; and even miracles to those who escaped with their lives, after suffering innumerable shipwrecks and dangers.

The end of Smith's translation. It is perhaps worth while to reproduce here the rest of Smith's oft quoted note on Pánfilo de Narváez:

"Bernal Diaz portrays Pánfilo de Narváez from memory, after the lapse of half a century, as he saw him in New Spain in 1520, seven or eight years before his death.

"Narváez was in appearance about forty-two years of age, tall, very muscular, of full face, and he had a red beard. He reasoned well, and his presence was agreeable; he was leisurely in discourse, with a voice of great volume, like that of one speaking in a vault. He rode well, and was reputed to be courageous. The place of his nativity was Valladolid, or Tudela on the Duero. He was married to a lady, Maria de Valenzuela. He had been a captain in Cuba, was wealthy, and was said to be penurious. He had an eye put out at the time that we overthrew him. He went to Castilla to complain of Cortes and us, and his majesty conferred on him the government of Florida, in which country he expended all his treasure and was lost. (*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España*, cap. CCV, 1632.)"

"To these felicitous pictures from those who knew him, may be added one nearly as remarkable from the hand of an old acquaintance, perhaps friend, the famous Bishop of Chiapa, who was a companion in his lesser enterprises some years earlier.

"This Pánfilo de Narváez was a man of commanding person, tall of stature, complexion fair, inclining to be red, honest, of good judgment, though not very discreet, agreeable in conversation, with pleasing address, brave against Indians, and probably would have been against other people, had ever occasion offered for fighting them; but over every fault he had, was that of being very careless."

"Narváez had gone with his adherents from Santo Domingo to Cuba, where he was well received by Velasquez, became his principal captain, was respected, and held the first position after the Governor on the island; 'but accursed be any good that resulted to the Indians from his coming.' Las Casas soon followed him thither, invited by Velasquez through an ancient friendship, where he and Narváez were together nearly two years, 'pacifying the unsubdued portions of the country, to the injury,' the writer declares, 'of the whole island.' *General Historia de las Yndias, escrita por Don Frai Bartolome de las Casas*, Lib. III, cap. XXVI."

This I have gathered from the relation sent to this *Real Audiencia* which exists in this city of Santo Domingo by three gentlemen (*hidalgos*) called Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, who went with this same Pámphilo de Narváez, who thus accounted to it by writing of where they went and what happened on their journey, on their return to Spain to make relation *viva voce* to His Majesty of the things here given.

I have enlarged on their information and omitted some superfluous words which they said in repetition, but I have not failed in giving the substance and marrow of what their letter contains.⁷

CHAPTER I

Concerning the narration made by the men who escaped from the unfortunate fleet of Captain Pámphilo de Narváez and what happened to them on the coast and in the Northern lands.—Only Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes, and a negro named Esteban, escaped from the whole fleet of Governor Pámphilo de Narváez. And one of these, Cabeza de Vaca, who was treasurer and held a commission in His Majesty's service, said that from Xagua, which is a harbor or *ancon*¹ in the island of Cuba, on the fifteenth day of February

⁷Narváez's petitions to the king for the grant of the Florida-Rio de las Palmas region may be found in *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de las Indias*, Tomo X, p. 40, *et seq.*, and in English translation as appendices to the 1871 edition of Buckingham Smith's *Relation of Cabeza de Vaca*, 206-211. Narváez's *capitulación*, or charter from the king for the colonization of this region, is published in Tomo XXII, pp. 224-225 of the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de las Indias*. In Tomo XIV of the same invaluable collection, pages 265-269, is a partial copy of the royal instructions to Cabeza de Vaca as the king's treasurer of Narváez's *conquista*. This, together with a draft of similar instructions to an unnamed factor of the expedition, may be found in a translation by Buckingham Smith appended to the 1871 edition of his translation of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, pages 211-223.

Buckingham Smith notes, from Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, who seems to have had access to much source material for the Narváez expedition that is not now available, that it was organized in advance, even to the selection of the *regidores* or aldermen of the towns to be founded; Miguel de Lumbreras, Genónimo Lopez, Andrés Dorantes and Diego de Cueto being named for the first town to be founded; and Juan de Mayorga, Barthólome Hernández Franco, Juan de Auijon and Alonzo de Herrera for the second.

¹As explained by Mr. James Newton Baskett in *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 257-258, *ancon*, as used in all these narratives has the specific meaning

of the year 1527, he had written to His Majesty what up to that time had happened to them and also concerning the loss of the ships and everything on board.² These men, the ships, and more than twenty horses having been lost, the survivors decided to spend the winter in the harbor of Xagua [*Jagua*], where Cabeza de Vaca said they remained, with four ships and all of the men, from November 6th, 1527, until February 6th of the following year, when the Governor arrived there.³ In order to continue his

of inlet, estuary, or channel connecting two larger bodies of water, and is used to denote the characteristic channels which connect the bays, lagoons, and rivers of this coast with the Gulf proper. These channels are characteristic of the shallow landlocked bays along the shores of the Gulf and are called *bocas* and *pasos* along the Mexican Gulf coast, and "passes," or "bayous" in its American sector, according to whether named originally by the Spanish or the French. Thus, as first used by Oviedo, *ancon* refers to the "pass" at the mouth of Cienfuegos Bay, on which Jagua is situated; and as first used in "*Relacion*" *ancon* refers to the "pass" or estuary at the mouth of the Withlacoochee river.

Both Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo habitually use *ancon* in apposition with *bahia*, properly translated *bay*, and in every instance of such use the body of water referred to as an *ancon* is clearly an inlet, estuary or "pass" between a bay or lagoon and the open gulf. The specific meaning of this word is here stressed, because much of the confusion and difficulty in the study of the Cabeza de Vaca narratives geographically has been caused by a conventional translation of *ancon* as *bay*, an error which began with Buckingham Smith in 1851, and has been persisted in by scholars who ought to know better, even since this mistake was pointed out by Mr. Baskett in *THE QUARTERLY* for January, 1907.

²The story of the expedition under Pánfilo de Narváez, from its departure from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, in June, 1527, to its departure from Jagua, Bay of Cienfuegos, Cuba, February 22, 1528, is contained in the first chapter of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufrágios*. (*The Journey of Cabeza de Vaca*, Trail Makers Series, pp. 1-7; *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 14-18; see also, below, Chapter VII). The 1542 edition of *Naufrágios* fixes the date of Narváez's departure from Spain as June 17th, as does Oviedo (below, Chapter VII) from the same source. The 1555 edition has this date June 27th, while *Relacion* has it June 7th.

³The *Relacion* reads: "Pánfilo de Narváez departed from San Lucar the seventh day of the month of June of the year 1527, with five ships and seven hundred men. The *conquista* that he had, which was on the main land, was from the Rio de las Palmas to the point of Florida. He arrived at Santo Domingo, where he remained forty days. From there he went to Santiago de Cuba, which is a port, where he passed through a very great storm, called an hurricane in those parts, and lost many people and supplies. The Governor left there for the *conquista* with four hundred men and eighty horses. From here they went and grounded on the shoals they call Canarco [Cannarreo], where they stayed twenty-five days, and from there went to Guaniguanico, where they withstood a storm, in which they were nearly lost, and another off Cape Corrientes. From there they went to the Havana, and wished to enter, but the south wind

journey the Governor put to sea in four large ships and one brigantine, with four hundred men and eighty horses. They sailed the sea until April 12th, Tuesday of Holy Week, when they arrived at the mainland. They followed the coast until Holy Thursday, in a shallow bay, or arm of the sea, and arriving at the end of the bay they saw a number of Indian huts. On the following day, Good Friday, they landed with as many of the men as they could take in the small boats.⁴ They disembarked close to the huts. They found no people in the huts because they had been abandoned. One of the huts was so large that three hundred people could crowd into it. The other huts were small. They found many fish nets and in one of the huts they found a golden timbrel.

The following day the Governor ordered flags to be raised in honor of His Majesty, and took possession of the land. After having assembled His Majesty's officers, the friars, and the men who had landed, he exhibited his royal commission and it was acknowledged by all. The said Governor was acknowledged as such Governor and Captain General [of the new land]. Then the officers exhibited their commissions and they likewise were acknowledged as officers of His Majesty. After this, orders were given to land the rest of the men and the horses. The horses were very weak because they had been on shipboard for many days. Almost half of the horses were lost at sea.

hindered them, and drove them to Florida, and they went along the coast and entered an open bay, where they saw habitations of Indians, who gave them, by way of barter, fish and pieces of meat. The Governor disembarked, and they abandoned all of their houses. There the Governor took possession of the land, and went from there to explore toward the north. They discovered another bay, and found some Indian houses and some maize fields. They found, placed in chests, some dead bodies covered with painted deer hides, and they found bits of linen and woolen cloth and feathered headdresses that appeared to be from New Spain. They found small samples of gold, and were told that in the province that was called Apalache there was much gold."

"This landing place was on the peninsula between Old Tampa Bay and the Mexican Gulf, in the vicinity of Indian Pass. After the departure of the main expedition under Narváez, those left on board the ships, under one Caravallo, failing to find the harbor in the direction in which Narváez had gone, "turned and went back," and found the entrance to the harbor "five leagues further down," that is, south from the landing place. They described the harbor as the "best on earth." From this harbor as a base, the naval force cruised in search of Narváez for nearly a year, but failing to find him, or any trace of his expedition, went to New Spain. (Bandelier, 192; Hodge, 125.)

The following day, Easter Sunday, the Indians of that town came and talked to the Christians, but they could not make themselves understood. It seemed as if they were threatening them and telling them to leave the land. They made gestures and fierce threats. Having done this they left. The following day, in order to see the land and explore it, the Governor sent six mounted men and forty footmen in a northeasterly direction until, on that same day, they came to a bay which went inland.⁵ From there the Governor, who was one of the six mounted men, and the men, returned.

The following day the Governor sent out one of his brigantines to sail along the coast in the direction of Florida in search of a harbor which the pilot, Miruelo, said he knew of, where they could take these men. The pilot erred, for he did not know where the harbor was. He sent the brigantine in that direction because in looking for the harbor it would arrive at the island of Cuba and it could then go to the harbor and town of Havana in search of another large ship, which ship they were expecting from Havana. In this ship there were forty men and twelve horses. The Governor gave orders that, should the ship be found, both ships in Havana should load up with as much provisions as they could carry and that they should take the cargo to where the Christians and the Governor remained.

That having been done, the Christians left there and went to the bay which they had discovered, and followed its shores. They had traveled four leagues from where they had landed when they found some Indians. They captured three of them and showed them a little maize, and questioned them as to where it was. Those Indians guided the Spaniards to a village which was at the end of the bay. They showed them a small maize field. This was the first maize they had seen in that land. There they found some large boxes of Castilla and in each box there was a dead man with his body covered with painted hides. It seemed to the commissary and the friars that they were idols. The Governor ordered them burned. They found pieces of shoes, linen, and woven cloth and some iron. They asked the Indians about it and they told them, by means of signs, that they had found these things on a ship which had been wrecked on that coast and bay.

⁵Old Tampa Bay.

The Spaniards then showed them some gold and the Indians said that there was none in the land, but that far from there, in a province called Apalache⁶ there was a great deal of gold. This they seemed to tell by means of signs. And everything they showed the Indians, of which they seemed to have a good deal, the Indians told them there was much of it in Apalache. With this information only, they left the place and took the Indians with them. Ten or twelve leagues from there they found twelve or fifteen houses where there was maize. They remained there two days without seeing a single Indian. They then decided to return to where they had left the horses and the rest of the men who were with the ships. When they arrived there they told them what they had found inland, which was no more than has already been related.

The next day, the first of May, the Governor caused to be gathered together the officers and the commissary.

By decree before a notary, he told them he wished to penetrate far inland and that the ships should go along the coast. He asked them what they thought of this. The treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, told him that he should not leave the ships unless he left them in a harbor or inhabited place; that when that was done, the Governor and those ordered by him to penetrate inland would have a well known place to which they could return in search of the men, whenever they wished. That for a great many reasons it seemed to him that he ought not to penetrate inland, because from what they had learned from the Indians and seen themselves of the interior, it was a poor land and not populated; also because they were awaiting the arrival of the brigantine and the large ship which were bringing provisions from Havana. Again that the pilots did not know and could not be told just where they were. That for other reasons which to him were well grounded he thought the Governor ought not to do what he was contemplating.

The commissary said that he thought they should penetrate inland, traveling close to the coast until they should arrive at a harbor which the pilots [said] was fifteen leagues distant, in the direction of Pánuco. They could not pass by the harbor because it penetrated inland twelve leagues. There the ships could wait for

⁶Here called *Apalachen* in both editions of *Naufrágios*, and *Apalache* in *Relacion*, see note 3 of this chapter above.

the ships [from Havana] and all the ships could await their return. That they ought not to re-embark for it would tempt God, since in the course of their voyage they had suffered such misfortunes and vexation to arrive at this place.

The purser and the inspector agreed with the commissary and the Governor determined to do as he had planned. The treasurer seeing his desire to go inland, besought him many times not to do it for the reasons he had given and others he had in mind. He said that the ships and the men in them should not be left unless they remained in an inhabited and known harbor. That then they could do as they saw fit. He then asked the notary to take down what he had said. But the Governor replied that there was no such port, nor was there any disposition to found a port because of the sterility of the land.

He said he was going in search of a port and also land to populate. He asked that what he had said be taken down by the notary. He then ordered that all the men get ready to go with him. He also ordered that the ships be gotten ready [to sail]. The following day he left there,⁷ taking with him forty mounted men and two hundred and sixty on foot. The above mentioned officers, the commissary, and other friars accompanied him.⁸ They traveled inland for fifteen days, with [only] a pound of bread and a half ration of salt pork [to the man] until they arrived at a river which they swam.⁹ After they had crossed the river they were attacked by two hundred Indians. They captured five or six Indians. The Indians took them to their houses which were close by. They found a great deal of corn in the field which was ready to be eaten. The following day the officers and friars besought the Governor to send some one to find the sea and a port if there was one. He sent the treasurer and Alonso del Castillo

⁷*Naufraños* says (Bandelier, pp. 18-20; Hodge, pp. 24-26) that the expedition left the landing near Tampa Bay May 1st, 1528, and crossed the river mentioned in the text (identified by Hodge and Buckingham Smith as the Withlacoochee) fifteen days later, without finding anything to eat *en route* other than palmettos like those of Andalusia.

⁸*Relacion*: "The Governor, considering that in this part of the land subsistence was scarce, decided to destroy the town and go to seek a port for the ships and another and better land to settle. So he went by land, and quitted the ships, which went by the sea. In them he put for his lieutenant one called Caravallo. Some opposed all this and went in the ships rather than by land, notwithstanding they then had no safe port."

⁹The Withlacoochee.

with forty men. They went on foot because they could not take the horses. They travelled along some low land of the sea and oyster reefs for a distance of two leagues when they arrived at the river which they had crossed further inland the day before. The river was so deep they could not cross it, so they returned to camp.

The following day the Governor sent a captain with six mounted men and forty footmen¹⁰ back across the river from whence they had come to explore that bay and to find out if there was a port. They did this but found that the bay was too shallow for the ships. After the captain had reported they all left there in search of that province called Apalache.¹¹ They took the Indians whom they had captured with them as guides. They travelled until the day after St. John's day [June 24].¹² That they should get to

¹⁰*Naufrágios* credits Valenzuela with sixty men and six horsemen. *Relacion* has seventy men and six mounted men.

¹¹*Relacion*: "There went thus, by land, the Governor with three hundred men and forty horsemen, to each one of whom there was given two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of bacon. Throughout the land they found *palmitos* like those of Andalusia. They arrived at a swift flowing river, which they crossed with rafts. Here they saw Indians, of whom they seized five, and these took them to their houses, where they found much maize. They stayed there some time, and persuaded [the Governor] to go to seek the sea with a view to finding a port. And so the Governor sent Cabeza de Vaca with forty men to where they discovered a certain shallow bay that went in far through the land, but it was shoal, and they returned and said that they were unable to go farther. One Valenzuela was sent to return there with seventy men and six horsemen. He found that they had discovered the *ancon*, and that it was all shallow. They saw canoes, with Indians with feathered headdresses, who crossed from one side to the other.

"They departed from there, in quest of the province that the Indians called Palachen, and found Indians on the road who seemed to be enemies of those they were going to seek, and they took them with them to aid them. They crossed a river, where a horse was drowned, and passed onward, encountering many Indian warriors, and took three or four, with whom they traveled to Palachen.

"All this road that they travelled was rough, through the many thickets and windrows of fallen trees, which obstructed the road. These were cleft from top to bottom."

¹²*Naufrágios* notes that the fifth day after crossing the first river mentioned (the Withlacoochee) they again set out in quest of Apalache, and marched until the night of June 17th, when they reached a broad deep river, with a strong current, which they were a whole day in crossing. Indubitably this was the Suwannee. Here Juan Velasquez, of Cuellar, was drowned, with his horse, while fording the stream, the first fatality of the inland journey. Oviedo mentions this incident in Chapter VII, from Cabeza de Vaca's book. After crossing this second river Cabeza de Vaca says they were conducted by captive guides "through a country very difficult to travel and wonderful to look upon. In it are vast forests, the trees being astonishingly high. So many were fallen on the ground as

Apalache was the thing they most desired in this world, not only because of the long road, but also because of their great need for food. Although in some places they would find maize, yet many times they would travel four or five days without finding any at all. Another reason they wished to get to Apalache was because of the great quantity of gold which they [the Indians] said was to be found in that province.

When they arrived at the town¹³ they attacked it fiercely in order to enter, but they found no one to resist them. They captured the women and the boys. There were no men because they were all away. There were in that settlement forty well sheltered houses. The houses were well constructed because of the great cold and storms which they have in that country. They found many deer hides and some coarse thread blankets. There was a large amount of green maize in the fields, and a great deal of dry corn in the town.

to obstruct our way in such a manner that we could not advance without much going about and a considerable increase in toil." Both accounts agree that they reached Apalache on June 25, the day after St. John's Day. (Bandelier, pp. 21-24; Hodge, pp. 26-29.) Since they travelled for 22 days from the Withlacoochee crossing to the Suwannee, and only seven days of more difficult travel from the Suwannee crossing to Apalache, the latter stream must have been crossed near Ellaville, or nearly east of the lake region by which the site of Apalache is identified.

Hodge locates Apalache, no doubt correctly, from the description of the region round about, as having been situated in the lake country in the northern parts of Jefferson and Leon counties, Florida, possibly on the banks of Lake Miccosukee. Comparison with the description of the same region by the De Soto chroniclers, who wintered there eleven years later suggests that the principal town, which Cabeza de Vaca calls Apalache, was nearer the present site of Tallahassee.

¹³*Relacion*: "Arriving at Palachen they found much maize, and women and boys, but there were no men in the town. These returned and began to shoot arrows, but without harming any of the Christians.

"They had deer hides and shawls of thread, with which the women covered parts of their persons. There were forty houses, low, and in sheltered places, by reason of the tempests which they have in that land. There is great abundance of water from where they disembarked to Palachen; the land is level, the soil sandy. In that land there are walnuts, laurels, cedars, *salvias*, live oaks, pines, oaks, *palmitos*, low as in Castille, and deep lakes. The houses are scattered through the fields in the manner of the villages of Vizcaya. There are many animals, such as deer, rabbits, hares, bear, and lions, among which they saw an animal that carries its young in a pouch on its belly, until they know how to seek for food, and if they are out to assist and [hear] people, the mother collects her young in the pouch and steals away.

"There are good pastures for cattle; and birds such as geese, herons, egrets, partridges, falcons, marsh-hawks, sparrow hawks, and pigeon hawks."

The land through which they passed is level; in places the land is sterile and sandy. There are many pine woods but the trees are small and far apart. There are many lagoons and many deer. There are many forests. There are many fallen trees because of the big storms and hurricanes which they frequently have in that region. They saw many trees split from top to bottom by lightning. During the whole journey, after passing the river, they found no people who dared await their coming.

After being in Apalache two days the Indians and their *cacique* with them came to them in a peaceful manner and asked that their women and children be returned to them. The Governor kept the *cacique* with him. The following day the Indians attacked them and set the huts, where the Christians were, on fire. There were about two hundred Indians. But since the Spaniards were on guard they attacked the Indians suddenly and boldly and caused them to retire to the woods and fastnesses. They could capture no Indians, but they killed two or three of them.

The following day another two hundred Indians from another place and from other towns and people attacked them. The Christians attacked them in the same manner and caused them to flee as the first ones had done.

The Governor and the Spaniards remained in this town twenty-six days, during which time they made three trips into the country and all they found was very poor land and few people. They found lagoons difficult to cross and dense groves of trees. They asked the *cacique* and the other Indians [whom] they had brought with them about the country [further on] and they said that there were fewer people and less to eat than where they were; that those were the most prominent features of the country ahead of them. The land was uninhabited and there were marshes, lagoons, and very large forests. They asked them if there were towns and people near the sea. They replied that eight days' journey from there, there was a town called Aute.¹⁴ The in-

¹⁴*Relacion* has *Ante* for the name of this town, while both editions of *Naufraños* Oviedo and the Inca call it *Aute*, which is likely more nearly correct, since the Gentleman of Elvas spells the name of a town in that locality *Ochete*. The De Soto narratives throw considerable light on the geographical location of Apalache, and Narváez's *Bahia de los Caballos*, and incidentally on the general incompetence of Narváez, and the mismanagement of his expedition.

In October, 1539, according to the Gentleman of Elvas (*Spanish Ex-*

habitants, they said, were friends of theirs; that they had a great deal of maize and beans, and the town was near the sea.¹⁵ Since they heard all of this, and since they had seen from the explorations which they made in the land in which they were, that the

¹⁵*Relacion*: "They stayed in this town twenty-five days, with several skirmishes with the Indians. They made some marches through the land, and found that it was scant of people and bad for travel by reason of thickets and lakes. The largest town was Palachen. They inquired of the land toward the south, and were told that it was nine days journey to the sea, and that there was a town there called *Ante*, whose Indians had much maize, pumpkins and beans, and being near the sea, they obtained fish; and seeing that in this town they had much labor and war with the Indians, they decided to go to the sea and seek for *Ante*.

"They proceeded there with many skirmishes with the Indians of the country, who hid in the lakes and shot arrows. All the Indians that they saw to there are archers, and well disposed people, very lean, and of great strength and agility. The bows that they use are as thick as an arm and from eight to twelve palms long. They shoot two hundred paces with great skill, so that they missed nothing.

"In this manner they had to travel nine days by the road from Palachen to come to *Ante*, where they were going. When they drew near, the people were leaving, and burned their houses before they went. They found much maize, pumpkins and beans."

plorers in *Southern United States, 1528-1543*, pp. 161-162), De Soto arrived at *Anhayca Apalache*, "Where the lord of all that country and province resided. . . . There were other towns which had much maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums of the country [persimmons], whence were brought together at *Anhayca Apalache* what appeared to be sufficient provision for the winter. . . . Informed that the sea was *eight leagues distant* [italics mine], the Governor directly sent a captain thither, with cavalry and infantry, who found a town called *Ochete*, eight leagues on the way; and, coming to the coast, he saw where a great tree had been felled, the trunk split up into stakes, and with the limbs made into manglers. He found also the skulls of horses. With these discoveries he returned, and what was said of *Narváez* was believed to be certain, that he had there made boats, in which he left the country, and was lost with them at sea."

According to the narrative of Roderigo Ranjel, preserved by Oviedo in *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Tomo I, p. 554, *et seq.*, Madrid edition, De Soto arrived at *Agile*, subject to *Apalache*, on Tuesday, September 30th, 1539, and left that place with his army on Wednesday, October first, and arrived the same day at the river or marsh of *Quitachuco*, where they built a bridge. From a canebreak on the opposite side the Indians shot three Christians with arrows. They finally crossed this marsh on Friday at midday, drowning a horse in so doing, and went to sleep that night at *Quitachuco*, which the Indians had set on fire. Sunday, October the 5th, they went to *Calahuchi*, where they took three Indians, two men and a woman, taking for a guide an old Indian, who lost them. The Indian woman they had taken then guided them to *Iviahica*, where they found all the people of that town decamped.

Juan de Añasco went on from this *pueblo*, and eight leagues from there found the port where *Pámphilo de Narváez* had embarked in the boats that he built. This they knew from the skulls of the horses and the founda-

country was not such as they had been led to believe it was, and since there was no hope of finding anything better further on, and since in the place where they were they [the Indians] had commenced to wound their men and make war on them, and had

tions of the forge, and troughs and mortars they had made for grinding maize, and crosses they had made on the trees.

De Soto wintered here, remaining until the fourth of March, 1540.

The Inca's account is (*Historia de la Florida de la Inca*, 76-78) that his informant and the people who went with Juan de Añasco "toward the middle of the day" to find the sea, had news that it was less than thirty leagues from Apalache. They took an Indian with them as a guide. In two journeys of six leagues of very good road, broad and level, they arrived at a *pueblo* called *Aute* and found it without people but full of food. On this road they crossed two small rivers with good crossings.

After exploring in several directions from *Aute*, in search of the sea, without finding it, Juan de Añasco returned to *Aute*, having learned from an Indian guide that from *Aute* they could go to the sea at the same place where Pámphilo de Narváez built his boats. Three Indians guided them by a clear level road, open, with no bad passes, without narrows or marshes, and easy to travel without miring the horses. Having traveled a little more than two leagues, they arrived at a bay, very broad and spacious, and traveling along its banks, arrived at the place where Pámphilo de Narváez had been encamped. They saw where they had had the forge in which they made nails for their boats, and found much charcoal in a circle about it. They saw also some thick logs, hollowed like troughs, which had the appearance of mangers for the horses.

The three Indians showed the Spaniards where the enemies killed ten of Narváez's Christians, as is also the account of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Juan de Añasco and his men searched for letters or other records left by Narváez, but found none.

They then followed the bay shore to the sea, which was three leagues from there, and at low tide ten or twelve swimmers went out into the bay in some old canoes that they found, and sounded its depth in the middle of the channel, and found it sufficient for large ships.

They put up signs so that anyone coasting might recognize the place, which was the same where Pámphilo de Narváez embarked in his five boats.

Biedma says (Buckingham Smith, *Collección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, 48-50; *Documentos Inéditos de las Indias*, Tomo III, 414-441):

"From Veachile we [De Soto and his men] departed for another *pueblo* called *Aguile*, which was on the confines of the province of Apalache. A river divides the one province from the other. On this river we built a bridge of many pines, fastened one to the others, and crossed with great danger, because on the other side there were Indians who defended the crossing. When the Indians saw we had crossed the river, they went to a *pueblo* very near there which they called *Quitachuco* and waited there until we arrived in view of the *pueblo*, when they put fire to the town and all left.

"In this province of Apalache there are many *pueblos*, and in this land much food. They call all this other land we had marched through the province of *Yustaga*.

"We went to another town which they call *Iniahico*, and there it seemed that it was time to learn of those who remained in the port [at Tampa Bay], and to let them hear of us, for we believed that going inland we should have no more news of them. We had marched a hundred and

killed a *cacique* whom the friars brought from New Spain, and had wounded other companions while going to drink, from the lagoons and groves in which they were [hidden], from whence they shot with arrows whoever went about there, the Spaniards, after twenty-six days decided to leave for Aute.¹⁶

¹⁶*Oviedo*: "Does it appear to you, reader, that this was a pleasant pastime to which these Christian sinners were brought? I wish they could tell me what those friars and Pámphilo de Narváez, made these Spaniards believe, so that they went blindly, leaving their country, to heed false promises? (and they never take warning from the many that die)."

"Who certified to having seen the gold they sought? What expert navi-

twelve leagues from where we had disembarked to here. The Governor sent to find if they could come to where we were. From here we went to seek the sea, which was nine leagues from this town; and found the margins of it where Pánfilo de Narváez built his boats. We found the foundations of the forge, and many bones of the horses. The Indians told us in their language how the other Christians had built these boats there. Juan de Añasco there made certain signals in some trees which were on the margin of the sea, because the Governor commanded that he should go to call the people who had remained in the port, and that he should send them through the land where the others had come, but that he should come by sea in two brigantines and a small boat that were there; and should bring them to this province of Apalache, and the rest of us should remain there awaiting them.

"Juan de Añasco sent the people by land, and came by the sea, as the Governor had commanded, where he underwent much labor and danger, because they did not find this coast where they had before seen it by land, because where they went by sea they found no land marks, because there were shallow *ancones* which had water in them with the tide at flood, but which were dry at ebb tide. We built a *piragua* which each day went two leagues to the sea, so that if the brigantines came they could show them where they had to stop, and it pleased God that they came to us by the sea, and the other people by land.

"When the brigantines came, the Governor commanded that they should go by the way of the west to learn if they were able to find some port that they might know on the coast, which would be near there, if they should fail to find anything inland. Francisco Maldonado, a gentleman of Salamanca, navigated along the coast, and entered all the coves, rivers and *ancones* that he saw until he arrived at a river which he found easily entered, and in it a good port and a *pueblo* of Indians on the coast of the sea, some of whom came to barter with him, and he took one of these Indians and brought him to where we were. He spent two months on this voyage."

De Soto gathered, as a matter of course, subsistence for the winter in the very region where Narváez was unable to maintain himself, and Cabeza de Vaca's "eight or nine days journey" from "*Apalache*" to "*Aute*," dwindles to De Soto's eight leagues from "*Anhayca Apalache*" to "*Ochete*," or, in other words, it took Narváez eight or nine days to march his army as many leagues.

The De Soto narratives confirm Cabeza de Vaca as to the inhospitable character of the region beyond Apalache, for when De Soto departed from there in March, 1540, he ordered his men to go provided with maize for a march through sixty leagues of desert, in the course of which they crossed a deep river, probably the Appalachicola, or one of its main branches.

gating pilots they had, who neither knew the land nor could give a reason for being where they were? What guides, and what interpreters did they have? Oh, the rash folly!

"What greater crime could a leader commit than to conduct people to a land where neither he, nor any among them had ever been?

"I well believe that the advice I gave to Pámphilo in Toledo occurred to him many times. In truth, I have often marvelled, and even been angered, at these captains, seeing that for the one part they are able, skilful and valiant men, while for the other, although they have seen other leaders fail, in whose failure they should take warning, they never fear, nor warn others of danger. Would to God that those who thus suffer affliction paid with their lives only, without their souls receiving detriment! But I much doubt their salvation, because I have lived so long in these Indies that I have seen that they are actuated, for the most part, by this accursed greed; which thrusts aside, for gain, all the scruples their consciences would otherwise respect.

"So, though I have in my *proemio* praised Pámphilo as a prudent soldier and subordinate, it is but just that I should give account of him, as I view him in this case. So I say that I have seen men, very gallant with lance or sword in hand, who without these, are unfit to govern, and I know I could point to some of them with my finger. Fighting means little, because men of character are rare who will not fight where their honor is concerned, but there are more captains who can obey orders and fight than who can govern, or exercise command. There are more captains to be commanded than who know how to command. Pámphilo, when he served under the command of Diego Velásquez, in the Island of Cuba, knew how to serve, and how to do as he was commanded. But when he left there and went to New Spain, what he did can be learned in Book XXXIII; and in this Book XXXV you may read how he ended his governorship.

"We pass to the rest; for although it contains no remedy nor correction for what is done, it does contain, which is the reason for this relation, notice to forthcoming captains, and governors and governed, unless they wish to deceive themselves in the same way, closing their eyes to knowledge of the facts. So, in this book, they may learn what is to be feared, and what they should mistrust, concerning those who undertake these new enterprises. For I see that each day, they solicit men, and bring them here like sheep, without knowing where they are going, where they are when they get there, nor whom they follow."

MEMOIRS OF GEORGE BERNARD ERATH

LUCY A. ERATH

IV

10. *Congressman and Legislator, 1843-1846*

In the latter part of May, 1843, while I was away in Washington County, a party of citizens nominated me for congress in opposition to Captain Hill who had become a candidate early. Captain Hill's merits as a soldier might have entitled him to the position over me, but he was personally unpopular, and most of the votes he received were on party grounds. He was out and out for Houston.

We here in Texas had nothing to do with the parties in the United States. We were Sam Houston or anti-Sam Houston; Eastern Texas was largely for and Western Texas against him. The East had the population; the West had a representation of counties and territory that balanced the Eastern votes in Congress. A number of the Western counties represented had no residents in them. Those, claiming to be residents of such counties and living for safety elsewhere, could by virtue of a special proviso in the constitution hold an election in the county of their temporary residence for representatives of the depopulated counties. Thus it came to pass that four or five representatives and one or two senators were elected by half a dozen votes in all on both sides. A story was afloat about how such elections were held. Five or six men who claimed to be residents of a depopulated county would hold a meeting. If there were two candidates for the same office, the nomination would be decided by a game of cards and the successful candidate would be returned by a unanimous vote. There was no danger of the candidates differing in politics; the Western section was ninety-nine per cent anti-Houston.

Milam county had a number of extreme admirers of Houston and a number of strong opponents; the rest were indifferent. At that time I was strong with the West; we were called Western or Eastern according to our bias for or against Houston. I was elected by a small majority, and on personal popularity I believe. My election illustrates the disposition of the people at that time,

particularly of the element that had immigrated since the battle of San Jacinto, which took the chief part in the elections. I had no experience in legislation; Captain Hill, my senior in years and it may be in military matters, had been in congress several times from Washington County before coming to Milam, and he was a man highly respected generally. The election next year, when I was again a candidate, I think still better illustrates this disposition of the people to which I refer. I had become acquainted with and had fairly investigated Houston's course. I found him as I thought more right than wrong. I had changed my politics to a considerable extent, and had endorsed and voted for some of Houston's measures irrespective of my standing with the Western party. My situation gave me the casting vote. I had been endorsed by my constituency, and partially so by Houston, and yet in the canvass a new man, who had been in the country but two years, who was without service, and who had offered himself the year before but withdrew after my nomination, ran against me, and notwithstanding the prestige and experience I had gained I was elected over him by only seven votes.

During the session of Congress in 1843 I gained an insight into statesmanship as well as party tactics. I studied Sam Houston's financial system as well as his coquetting with England and France through their ministers. Had this last matter been known publicly its object would have been frustrated by the clamor of the people. Years afterward Houston was stigmatized by some of his friends as an opponent of annexation to the Union and to American principles, and as pandering to European interest.

During Lamar's administration Houston had been a representative in congress from an Eastern county and had originated the colonization scheme. Contractors were to introduce a certain number of families within defined limits west and north. Heads of families were to receive 640 acres and single men 320 acres free. The contractors were to be allowed to bargain for half of this land for their assistance, and the same contractors were to be allowed ten sections of land for every one hundred settlers introduced and located. Several contracts were entered into. Two that were actually carried out were Fisher and Miller's colony of Germans and Castro's colony on the Medina. A contract was also concluded with Mercer and Peters for the introduction of

American settlers on the Brazos. It was, however, never fully carried out and encumbered the state's domain with law suits.

Since our constitution granted the right of citizenship and of voting after six months residence to any race, European governments early sought to control through colonization and by the European vote to prevent American institutions. A measure known as the Franco-Texian bill was introduced in congress in 1841. Ostensibly it was to provide protection of the frontier; it was proposed to settle eight thousand armed Frenchmen on the Brazos, from the mouth of the Paluxy upwards—a territory at the time one hundred and fifty miles from any settlement. The bill was rejected on account of the public clamor against it. Every American backwoodsman knew that such people so isolated could not make their own living for years. Unacquainted with Indian warfare they would have become a prey and bait for savages. Besides three years later, at the election of 1844, the whole republic did not have eight thousand votes. The absurdity of the whole scheme is apparent.

Objections could hardly be made to Castro's colony; it was on a rather small scale, and to be French and German mixed. The German colony to be settled on the Guadalupe above Seguin, although on a larger scale, was not impracticable. Both were in easy communication with the coast and limited to three years for the settlement. The time expired in 1843 but the colonies were not settled; their contracts were forfeited, and they had to apply to Congress for relief to get an extension of time. The contracts had never been published. When fairly examined it was revealed that the German one had been made with a kind of syndicate of European grandees, flourishing their titles in it as dukes, counts, princes, and *Herr Vons*, at the very least. Such men could never be citizens of Texas, and if they continued residence in their own land their influence was undesired in this. It was in fact a scheme from England to crowd into this country a foreign element to prevent with their vote our annexation to the United States.

In the meantime England and France made to our president their proposition to guarantee our independence of Mexico with the important proviso that we remain independent and never annex to another country. It was easy to keep this proviso from

the public under the rule of secrecy in diplomatic matters. Had it been known there would have been violent opposition at once. It was only a proposition and Houston dallied with the foreign representatives, letting them believe that it might be accepted when Mexico should come to the front to enter into negotiations. The whole of it on the Texas side was a scheme to bring about interest in the United States, to arouse the advocates of the Monroe doctrine, and to let them know that England and France were considering American affairs against American interests. With the Texas people kept unsuspecting, the secret of the proposed negotiations with Europe carefully found its way to Washington and had the desired effect.

After a long debate as to whether or not we could do so we held a secret session in Congress in 1843; the lower house in Texas like that of the United States was not expected to hold secret sessions, though the Senate frequently did. This session was called for the benefit of the Mier prisoners; several days were taken up in making an appropriation of money, clothing, and other necessities for them; but we also gained much diplomatic knowledge. The efforts of England and France were brought in, and I learned of the intrigue going on with those countries for the purpose of creating interest in the United States.

That interest began to act in the early part of 1844. Statesmen of both parties, North and South, but more of the Democrats, demanded the immediate annexation of Texas to the United States. Up to this time we had been treated very coolly by the United States; she had actually interfered with us to Mexico's interest. But a great change in her attitude now took place. The people of Texas, on the other hand, being at peace, with business and financial matters reviving, were becoming indifferent to the matter of annexation.

But to go back to personal matters, that congress of 1843 was my schooling. I think I can boast that my course was independent, and brought me the rewards of independence in notice and respect. At the close of it moneyed affairs were as low as ever. Merchants had depreciated the currency to one-half. My pay, nominally three dollars a day, was in reality only a dollar and a half in good money. At Houston's request we passed a bill requiring the custom house officers to receive it at its market price

instead of at its face value as heretofore. This brought the currency up to par, and it remained at par afterward. During the congress of 1844 we were paid in silver.

The year 1843 went out and 1844 came in very wet for farming purposes, immigration, and settling of the frontier. But the weather was dry in the summer, and with good crops everything revived by fall. Besides again sitting in Congress, I carried on a small farm, and did a little surveying.

At the assembling of congress we were met with the news of the prospect of annexation. In the year's election Anson Jones had been chosen as Sam Houston's successor in politics over Gen. Burleson on the opposition ticket. The congress of 1844 adjourned before the United States congress passed the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, so a called session was necessary which took place in June, 1845. We ratified and accepted the terms; the country revived, money became more plentiful, and progress and prosperity commenced.

At the regular election in 1845 I was elected without opposition to the next congress, which never sat. The constitution formed by our convention was adopted by a vote of the people on the 13th of October. At a new general election on the fifteenth of December I was elected a member of the first legislature of the State by a large majority.

On the 16th of February, 1846, the first legislature met at Austin, and remained in session till the first of May. Much business was done in changing and making laws to suit the new order of things.

With annexation a new era commenced. We were not supplicants to the Union. If our leaders' actions brought about the agitation in the United States which changed her course to our favor it is all to the credit of the statesmanship of those leaders. Houston must have conceived the idea of creating that agitation as early as the year 1840 through the colonization bills then introduced. He kept up the feint of pandering to English interest during his second administration, and when his projects became known at the close of his second administration he could not directly declare himself, but left that for his successor Anson Jones to do. Houston himself lost many of his supporters and old friends who charged him with complicity with European pow-

ers against annexation. I defended him then in spite of my anti-Houston past, and would do so still more now could I find any one in these late years who does not see that his course was wise for Texas.

Personally I was pleased with becoming a citizen of the United States. As a boy I had imagined it the ideal government. I have never regretted annexation. It was said during the Civil War that our coming into the Union had been a mistake, but I think we would have been drawn into that war just the same, and have fared worse as a result of being actually conquered and annexed.

Had the South succeeded, I should have advocated under the Secession doctrine the immediate reestablishment of Texas independence. As it was I took sides with the South, regarding Texas as an ally to the other Southern States rather than to the Confederacy, and believing that I owed my allegiance to Texas and to no other country.

I think Texas is now reconciled to the issue of the Civil War. She was not actually a leader in Secession but followed, and on account of her geographical position could not have done otherwise. What I want particularly to stress is the actual independence of Texas at the time of her union with the States, and that the United States gained through Texas nearly one-half her territory including golden California. Texas furnished her quota of soldiers for the Mexican war, and with them as pilots General Scott marched with ten thousand men in six months from the coast to the city of Mexico. A dozen years later it took the French with eighty thousand two years to perform the same task.

11. *Activity as a Surveyor from 1846 to 1857.*

I was married to Miss Lucinda Chalmers in December, 1845. Miss Chalmers was born in New York of Scotch and New England parentage, and came to Texas with her family when a child.

After returning from the Legislature in May, 1846, I laid off the town of Cameron for the county seat of Milam County. The records, which were burned, probably showed that it was done by Howlet, the district-surveyor; he had the contract, but I did it for him at his request. Among the new counties created by the first legislature was that of Burleson; this was by my own special

act. I had laid off the town of Caldwell in 1840. It was then destined for the county seat of such a county, and its citizens had been waiting for its formation.

I formed a partnership with George Green, my close companion in the San Jacinto campaign, and we kept a section of country west of the Brazos surveyed up for a hundred miles ahead of forming settlements. Our official position was that of deputy surveyors of Milam Land District, and our territory was bounded by the Brazos River on the east, by the waters of Little River on the west, and without limits northwest. However, I surveyed on the Leon River higher up in what is now Eastland County as late as 1852 and 1857.

Neill McLennan, a native of Scotland, who had come to Texas in 1835 and settled on the frontier, after annexation moved to the South Bosque River about eight miles from the present site of Waco. The Indians used to visit him, and demanded eatables as a sort of tribute for allowing a white man in the region; they had an idea that they were still sovereigns of the soil, though on peace terms with the Texans. By 1848 more settlers came in, and Captain Shapleigh P. Ross with a company of rangers was stationed near them for protection. I frequently passed through the country on surveying business. The lands on both sides of the Brazos had been surveyed, for some fifteen miles above the Waco Indian village, before the revolution of Texas, and was owned by private individuals. In 1837 I had been stationed at the Waco village and that early perceived how central to the territory of Texas it was. I saw that a road running from the northwestern or northern boundary via San Antonio to Laredo would have to cross here, pass over Little River at the Three Forks and cross the Colorado where Austin now stands. This would place the road on elevated ground above the swampy bottom lands of watercourses, and also avoid the broken, rocky country of branches of streams forking northwest. The line would have been good for a railroad; only one never talked of railroads in those days. The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway follows much of this route, particularly west of the Brazos.

When at the Waco village in 1837, it appeared to me that it would be a good site for a town, and I never lost an opportunity to bring about the laying off of a town there. The opportunity

came in the year 1848. General Chambers, to whom the land had been titled by the Mexican government, sold to Sydnor of Galveston and he authorized J. De Cordova, a general land agent and one of my principal customers, to dispose of it at a dollar an acre. At the same time he gave him power to create a subagent and to do whatever he thought best to make a quick sale of it, even at additional expense. Cordova desired me to cut it up into small tracts and sell for him. I told him of my idea of locating a town there, also that the title was imperfect and how to perfect it, which would have to be done before any sale whatever was made. This brought about another sale from Sydnor to N. A. Ware of Galveston and Jonas Butler, who had only a small share in it. They gave Cordova one-third of the land, which was two leagues, and a half of 320 acres in the northwest corner, which was to be laid off into a town. A delay occurred until the first of March, 1849, at which time I laid off only the main street and a number of lots which could be immediately disposed of. I sold them at five dollars apiece. They were mostly those on both sides of Bridge Street from the river to the square. I had been made subagent, but had no direct benefit from the sale, the proceeds going to the owners of the land not one of whom had ever seen it.

There were at that time about twenty families in what is now McLennan County. Captain Barron lived immediately above the town tract. No one lived on the land at the time. Native post oaks, peach trees planted by the Indians, bones, and old Indian fortifications were about. The family of Captain Ross and several other families were camped on the east side of the river ready to move into town, and on the day I surveyed it three or four men stood by and walked along with me carrying axes, ready to go to housebuilding. John McLennan, eldest son of Neill, who had accompanied me on many surveying trips, was then sheriff of Milam County to which the territory of McLennan County belonged. He was my principal assistant in laying off the town. Captain Ross took much interest in the formation of it, and believed in its future greatness.

For two years after this I held no commission as surveyor, but I was associated with William Oxsheer who did, and surveyed some public lands with him or under his name. He was not with me in the laying off of the town of Waco.

I moved to Waco the first of February, 1851. I had already opened a farm on the Bosque near the McLennans. The legislature of 1849-'50 created the County of McLennan. The counties of Bell and Falls were created during the same session. I had given our representative, Colonel George E. Burney, the plan and frame of the bill for McLennan County so as to place Waco near the center. It passed accordingly, and the commissioners appointed to locate the county seat selected Waco. The owners of the town donated ten per cent of the lots and ten per cent of all proceeds of lots. A public sale was ordered on the tenth of June, 1850. The town had grown considerably, but the owners did not get high prices. They were present at the sale and closed up their contracts, made the deeds to lots and paid over funds collected to the commissioners for the County of McLennan. A singular circumstance happened in arranging the matter. As there were no lawyers about at the time, I, their acknowledged agent, was released by them for one day to act as attorney for the County of McLennan and City of Waco. Although the commissioners and the people demanded this course to insure fair play, there was no intention of any wrong on either side, and comparatively little trouble or litigation has ensued from that contract, or in connection with titles and boundaries. The County of McLennan was organized at the general election on the first Monday in August, 1850.

A change of district surveyor, whose office was in Milam County, took place at the same election. I took out another appointment for Milam Land District, and for some time I operated alone with hired assistance, and made more profits in the business than I ever did before or since. The younger Neill McLennan, son of Neill for whom the county was named and brother of John McLennan, joined me in the business in 1852, and we remained together as long as I continued to do work of any consequence. In 1844 David Kaufman introduced the first preemption bill in the senate and I carried it through the house. It was not made use of in my section of country until this time, 1852. I surveyed the first location and from then on until I quit official business the name of Erath or McLennan appeared on a thousand field notes of that kind of survey. I had kept the public lands surveyed up in advance of the settlements; the vacant spots left behind were

taken up by preemptors. The first settlers in Bosque County took preemptions; and the well known Norwegian settlement in that county had its origin at this time, 1853.

In the winter of 1853-'54 the legislature created the counties of Bosque and Coryell. I helped the commissioners who were appointed to locate the county seats, and with McLennan laid off the town of Meridian in the early part of '54. The lots were sold on the fourth of July, and the county organized at the general election on the first Monday in August.

In 1853 a belt of country embraced between the parallels of latitude 31° and 33° north and extending across the whole state was reserved for the benefit of the Pacific railroad, and the surveying of public lands therein prohibited. I refused to act as official surveyor under the circumstances. I moved from Waco to my farm on the Bosque, and would have preferred to retire from surveying, but was continually called on to give information, to show and resurvey lands, and to assist in dividing up and disposing of it to settlers. The knowledge I had of the land affairs of the central part of the State was constantly in demand.¹⁷ Without my request an appointment was sent me from the district office, now located at Belton, to legalize my work.

In the latter part of May, 1855, McLennan and I led a party of thirty pioneers into the territory now Erath County. John M. Stephens, who owned the land where Stephenville now stands, was among them. The settlers agreed to choose their homes there and in the country round about; so we laid off the town of Stephenville; finished laying it off on the fourth of July. This settlement was then the farthest west of any on the waters of the Brazos. The settlers being strangers to the country were rather apprehensive of Indians, though the Indians were at peace at the time. I and McLennan were there several times that fall, giving information to encourage them. I entered into a sort of land agency to purchase or sell lands for settlers, but with little remuneration to myself.

The winter following the counties of Erath, Palo Pinto, and others were created. Erath was organized at the general election in August, 1856. There was also a called session of the legisla-

¹⁷Major Erath was popularly known as "The walking dictionary of the Land Office."—L. A. E.

ture in the summer of 1856 at which the Pacific railroad reservation law was repealed; however, the repeal did not go into effect until the first of March, 1857. Other laws regulating land affairs were also passed. By the neglect of parties, who had land surveyed but not returned, a number of surveys that I had made several years before became forfeited. They could be resurveyed or refiled by the first of March, but if a man had settled on such survey before that date he could hold a hundred and sixty acres of it as a preemption. In the fall of 1856 I showed a number of such surveys and other vacant lands to actual settlers, and Palo Pinto County became settled that winter on the west side of the Brazos.

Immigration now came in from the north and east settling in all those upper counties, and after the opening of the Pacific railroad reservation McLennan and I made a number of surveys in them. McLennan again went up in the summer, and we were both there together in the fall; but I was not then acting as official surveyor, as I had become a candidate during the summer for the State senate and was elected at the general election, 1857.

I represented some ten or twelve counties. From the influx of population to the upper counties, the State was not equally apportioned at that time, but under the constitution no change could be made till 1860. In my canvass at that time I was the nominee of the district, but had two opponents belonging to the American or Know-Nothing party. I received a majority of the opposition as well as of the Democratic votes. Various measures occupied the legislature that fall and winter, but none were of particular importance. The Central Railroad was building north from Houston and under the circumstances of the times could not do otherwise than forfeit its charter now and then; there was considerable opposition to its relief.

12. *Protecting the Frontier, 1858-1865.*

One of the most important subjects up for discussion in the legislature in 1858 was the protection of the frontier. The Comanches and renegade Indians had reopened hostilities. The half civilized Indians, together with four or five other tribes of a wilder nature, had been drawn together by the Federal government on the Brazos reserve (four leagues of land granted temporarily by the State

and situated in the lower part of Young County). These Indians remained friendly, and were progressing rapidly in civilization and in the practice of agriculture. Only a small portion of the Comanches could be induced to go on a reserve, located on the Clear Fork sixty miles west of the Brazos Reserve. The rest moved north of Red River and sent small thieving parties hundreds of miles through settled country far down into Texas. In my district they came as far south as Bell County. They desired no fight, but would kill any lone man or a family taken unaware. Their object was to drive off horses; many of these were left dead from exhaustion along their way back before getting beyond the settlements. Their raids were sometimes six months apart, but occurred simultaneously over the country by different bands.

We passed a bill during the session 1857-'58 to send out a hundred men, not so much to furnish protection to the frontier by the State, as to bring on an action with the Comanches and to give notice to the Federal government of its neglect in not protecting us. Captain John S. Ford led the expedition. The majority of his men were from below the frontier. But Captain Nelson of Bosque County with a number of men and Captain Ross, then sub-agent on the Brazos reservation, with a few friendly Indians accompanied him. They went as far north as the Canadian River, defeated a large party of Comanches and returned.

The population of this particular frontier district had recently arrived from the older States, and had acquaintance with Indians only through tradition. Their fear of all quite naturally included the friendly ones of the Brazos Reserve, who, in spite of their progress in civilization, still followed their old habits of roaming when they could, and camping out at times. The raiding Comanches who stole in and out unseen were confused with the Indians to be seen passing openly, and the result was that a violent prejudice against the Brazos Reserve developed. The agents for those Indians, in some cases being old settlers, themselves once exposed on the frontier, were not always unsympathetic with their own people.

At Christmas in 1858, a party of twenty men of good standing but of recent arrival in the country fired on a number of Indians who were fifteen or twenty miles from the Reserve, and killed several of them. The Indians in turn killed one of the whites

a boy of sixteen, son of John M. Stephens, the first settler and leader in Erath County, who himself was much opposed to the movement against the Indians. Three hundred men from Erath, Bosque, and Coryell counties then assembled, and elected as their leader Captain Nelson of Bosque County. The object was to endorse the whites in what had gone before, but Nelson had been in the campaign of John S. Ford when some of those same friendly Indians had been along serving the frontier. He sent at once for me; I had been in command of the friendly Indians in the Morehouse campaign.

I went to the camp on the Palo Pinto, in company with Norris, a lawyer from Coryell, an old Texan who had seen much of frontier and woods life. He and I were of the same opinion; we thought the affair ought to be deprecated. Nelson thought this course would lead to an even higher excitement and antagonism against the Indians, but decided to call a meeting to send a commission to the Reserve to compromise the matter with the agents. It was thought that nothing short of a removal of the Indians in time would put an end to the aggression on the part of the whites.

The commissioners chosen were James M. Norris, a man by the name of Walker from Bosque, and myself, and we proceeded to the Reserve. Captain Plummer of the United States Rifles, with his company of cavalry, two companies of United States infantry, and one piece of artillery was there guarding the Indians. The agents were absent. More or less was said to little purpose. The Indians seemingly were not much excited. I told them the people demanded that they should remain on their reserve, and their early removal out of Texas. They indicated willingness to this course. Captain Plummer said he was subject to higher authority, but would endeavor, if possible, to avoid a collision with the people.

We remained several days. The agents did not arrive. We returned to camp on the Palo Pinto without making any definite arrangements, but expressed our opinion that the Indians, officers, and agents would carry out the course suggested. The men disbanded to their homes, and to set the situation before him I wrote to Governor Runnels. Later he entered into correspondence with the Department of Interior to bring about the removal of all the Indians out of Texas.

At the time the people of Palo Pinto and Young, situated nearest the Indians, and others on the east side of the Brazos, as well as those in Comanche on the west side, were opposed to these demonstrations against the friendly Indians. But in the spring of 1859 a party of the wild Indians went clear down into Bell County, passing over a hundred miles through thick settlements, and after committing depredations, one of which was the killing of John Riggs and his wife on Cow House Creek, near Sugar Loaf Mountain, about twenty miles from Belton,¹⁸ escaped driving back a large number of horses. Other counties grew excited. Friendly Indians were found outside of the Reserve, and a new attack on them commenced. Five to eight hundred men gathered on the east side of the Brazos fifteen miles below the Reserve. I informed Governor Runnels of this.

Governor Runnels appointed J. M. Steiner of Austin, John Henry Brown of Belton, Richard Coke, and James Smith of Waco, and myself as commissioners. We were to talk with the people in the interest of delay, Governor Runnels having received positive pledges from the United States government that the Indians were to be moved in August. Before we arrived at the camp of the men, some had disbanded on account of dissensions among themselves, but between one and two hundred had gone up close to the Reserve to parley with Captain Plummer, who, with three companies of regular infantry and some artillery, was now in charge. The Indians crowded around Captain Plummer at the meeting ready to assist their protectors, and the language used during the truce was not of a nature to induce the Federal commander to restrain them. The result was that as the frontiersmen moved off the Indians fired on them. One was killed and several were wounded.

When we arrived Captain Plummer met us with courtesy. The principal Indian agent, Major Robert S. Neighbors, was not there. Captain Shapleigh P. Ross, the subagent, was present, but as he did not believe his Indians to blame in the first place, naturally he stood up for them now. He told us arrangements were being made to move the Indians as soon as transportation could be obtained. He and Neighbors, not proposing to leave Texas, would

¹⁸For the exact location of the Riggs tragedy, and for verification of many personal names, the editor is indebted to Hon. Geo. W. Tyler.

resign. The Indians declared themselves most anxious to move, only awaiting orders to do so. Captain Plummer promised that the removal should be soon.

We attempted to go around to the different county seats to talk to the people whose excitement was far too high to allow of any calm deliberations. Having the authority, we called out a hundred men as protection until the removal of the Indians should take place. Captain Brown, who was placed in charge of this force, stationed himself at the Comanche Reserve on the Clear Fork as the Brazos Reserve by this time was being moved out.¹⁹ As to the Comanches, for a time they refused to move and defied Captain Brown; they were forming to attack him when he fired on them and killed and defeated them badly. After this, they were allowed to gather up their plunder and move out of the State.

The frontier people were at outs with Runnels because he did not use severe measures against the Indians. General Houston, running as an independent against him in the election of 1859, received almost the unanimous vote of the frontier, although it was well known to older Texans that he had always favored a conciliatory policy toward the Indians. After the election Houston remained of the same disposition, for when I met him in Austin before he was inaugurated he expressed himself as greatly opposed to the policy the frontier had pursued toward the Brazos Reserve. I agreed, but I said no man would dare tell them so unless he wanted to be hanged, and that if he, Houston, went up there preaching peace they would hang him. He was willing to assent to this, knowing well the people, or that frontier element. I said, too, that the Comanches were guilty, if the others were not, and merited harsh treatment which they had not received from the settlers. We were well agreed on one thing, that the country was in for trouble for some time to come.

The United States looked upon Texans as the aggressors, which was not the case so far as the wild Indians were concerned. They were wrong only in regard to the Brazos Reserve Indians; even during the long war afterwards there was never evidence of the Brazos Indians committing depredations. But it was unfair for the United States government to retaliate on Texas by withholding

¹⁹An account of his services on this occasion is given by Major John Henry Brown in his *History of Texas*, II, 378.

from her protection on account of wrong done in one locality. The election of Sam Houston, the philanthropist in behalf of Indians, should have spoken for the greater part of Texas. Still the officers of the United States army, though displeased with the course of the people on the frontier, did make strong efforts next year to protect us, and made fair reports to the government on the subject of depredations which were now multiplied. But all through the Civil War and long afterwards the Indian reservations north of Red River fostered the Comanche raids on Texas by buying the property stolen in them. The Comanches were fostered in this manner by the United States long after Reconstruction had taken place. Not until General Sherman made his tour of inspection through Texas did conditions change rapidly.

I was up in some of the frontier counties on business in the fall of 1859 and found the trouble quieting down; the people at last admitted that the Comanches had been the depredators. When the legislature convened in the fall of 1859, the principal topic was Indian difficulties. Nothing was done in the early part of the session, General Houston not being inaugurated till Christmas. Other matters before us were the bringing about of a new apportionment of the State and the approaching political troubles which ended in Secession. The money received from the United States for the territory of New Mexico was about exhausted, and our taxation was not sufficient to support the government burdened with the additional expenses of protecting the frontier. Before the session's close we passed measures to call out a regiment of men if necessary, and Governor Houston did call out about a thousand in spring. During May and June, 1860, ten companies, commanded by Col. M. T. Johnson, marched northwestwardly from Fort Belknap, returned in August, and disbanded. Then as always before it was a mistake to expect Indians of the wild tribes to give battle to numbers, or to allow themselves to be found and forced to do so. General Houston was of the opinion that he could get the cooperation of the United States, and that the Indians, seeing the demonstration of Texas and the general government together, might be more inclined to submit to the latter. But before this I had learned from United States army officers of the antipathy between the Indian Department of the United States and Texas. After the return of our force, the

United States troops stationed on the outposts did make an effort to give protection to the frontier; Major Van Dorn of the U. S. cavalry was quite active in attempting to do so, despite the indifference of his government.

The presidential election was the absorbing topic in the latter part of the year 1860. Owing to the election of Lincoln, and to the subject of secession Governor Houston called the legislature to meet on the 21st of January, 1861. I believed in our right to secede, but was not in favor of making use of the right. When the people decided by vote to do so I went with the majority of my State. I was not in favor of the aggressive policy of the Abolition party. In this called session we passed a law for the protection of the frontier by allowing every frontier county, including McLennan and Bell, to raise one or more companies of minutemen. It was planned that a small number of men be out all the time, and the rest subject to be called out at any time, but that only those in actual service, and while actually in the field receive pay at a dollar a day, finding themselves. I raised the scouting party in McLennan, and spent two or three months ranging from the Palo Pinto to Pecan Bayou. The minute companies gave temporary relief.

I was a candidate for the State senate in the general election of the summer of 1861 and was elected. My district comprised eight counties, two of them not organized; half the district extending out on the frontier. Hill County was the only one in which I did not receive a majority of the votes. A man from that county ran against me and received a few votes over me there.

But my health was failing. From early youth I had suffered from indigestion, but never lost much time from business on that account. My friends have considered me in a very dangerous condition from an attack on one day, and the next I would be up and riding forty miles. The privations and hardships I could endure had become a matter of comment. But after the spell of sickness I now suffered, I was never as well again. My constitution had been impaired by exposures and hardships. Barely recovering for the meeting of the legislature, I never recovered the old feeling of satisfaction of life again.

The Civil War had now fairly set in. We passed another bill for a regiment for the protection of the frontier; it was to be

made up on the frontier, as the men in the lower counties were in the Confederate army. The Governor appointed Col. J. M. Norris commander. By the provisions of the law the men were stationed by companies at posts a day's ride apart in a line on the outer frontier edge to meet in scouts every few days. This plan had proved a failure in the first Indian war during the revolution, and it did not answer now. The regiment was organized early in the spring of 1862, and remained in service for a little over twelve months, when its place was supplied by men raised nominally under the Confederate government. There was but little variation in the depredations of the Indians.

The legislature of 1861 was in a great measure composed of men who had little experience in legislating; those who had experience had joined the army. I would like to speak of the ideas prevailing in that legislature and entertained by many of the people at that time. Almost all of the representatives, especially those from the eastern part of the State, were totally opposed to making appropriations for anything that in the course of government had been provided by the United States. They looked upon the new government as a fixture, like an old one, with plenty of money and means to furnish anything at any expense. They were very desirous, however, that everything purchased and all services rendered be paid for at once, and well paid for. Confederate money was looked upon as beyond any possibility of depreciation. The government was urged to spend it at a rate which could not prevent its decline in value far below par at an early day. There was a difference in the conduct of the masses now and in the time of the revolution against Mexico that made me apprehensive concerning the result. In our first revolution a soldier did not speak about pay. At some time way off he expected to receive pay at the rate of eight dollars a month. The farmer or citizen, who had anything to spare and often when he couldn't spare it, handed out his produce, perhaps, without even taking a receipt. If he happened to see the officer in charge, he probably asked for a receipt, thinking it might be well if a pay day should possibly come, but nothing more than the average price was expected. But the people of the Confederacy wanted money at once, and much of it. The soldier wanted his pay, and the candidate for legislative honors demanded more than the

soldiers themselves for raising the soldier's pay. The people who remained at home were the ones who had most to say about the financial affairs of the government. There were many prominent men who held the view that secession once gone into, we could not be reconquered or under any circumstances merged again in the United States. Their idea of international law forbade that the Confederacy, once on the roll of nations, could be wiped out. At the surrender some of these still expressed a decided opinion that, being defeated, we might have to pay heavy damages, perhaps lose territory, but to be brought back into the Union without our consent, that was impossible. The prospect in 1861 loomed gloomier more from prevailing mistaken ideas than from our actual lack of strength.

After the legislature adjourned I was too restless, from the prospect of the fate of war and also from my changed health, to remain at home. I joined the army, not believing much in any service I could render, but hoping that campaign life might benefit me. Our men wanted to go on horseback. There were plenty of horses in Texas. With men available, our State could have furnished a cavalry for the war that would have vied with that of Cossacks and Tartars, or the heavy armed knights of old; but infantry was then wanted. Richard Coke had just returned from Virginia, he reasoned with the people about their inclination to ride, and raised a company of infantry. I also raised one of infantry. They became part of a regiment known as the 15th Texas, commanded by Colonel J. W. Speight.

After being organized we were stationed, until the month of June, near Millican on the Central Railroad, so as to be convenient to Galveston or elsewhere when needed. In June we received orders to march east by way of Tyler, to be merged in some army corps of the Confederacy in Louisiana or Arkansas. As I was very weak, having to be transported sick much of the time, I offered my resignation while we delayed at Tyler. It was not accepted, but I was given a furlough for three months to recuperate. My eldest son, Edwin Porter Erath, not quite sixteen years old, was with me and was discharged nominally on account of his youth to accompany me home. Later he was in a volunteer cavalry regiment and, after going through the battle of Yellow Bayou, died of fever in camp in Louisiana, still under eighteen years of age. I

again tendered my resignation in September, and it was accepted. My health was worse, but in 1863 I was recovered enough to transact business and to ride to town seven miles away.

On going into the army I had vacated my place in the legislature, which met three or four times during the year to devise means to help the Confederacy. The frontier was unprotected, and the legislature passed a law calling out the militia in the frontier counties. They were to act on the minute plan; that is a few were to be always scouting, the rest to be in readiness at any time called. They were to furnish everything themselves, except perhaps ammunition, and were to receive at some future time scant pay in Confederate money. The belt of frontier counties was divided into three districts, and a field officer with the rank, pay, and emoluments of major of cavalry, was placed in command of each district. In the first days of January, 1864, I was surprised by an express from the Governor tendering me a commission to command the middle district. I accepted and repaired at once to the frontier and established my headquarters in Gatesville, about central so far as east and west was concerned, San Saba being the extreme western and Johnson the eastern county. Palo Pinto and the counties due west belonged to the first or northern district. I had some six or eight counties in my district, containing in all fourteen companies and about a thousand men. This service was in the nature of local protection. Only in case of formidable invasion were the men to be taken out of their counties; but they frequently scouted in adjoining counties. I was to see the service performed, travel around through the different counties, inspect, and give directions. I still had frequent attacks of illness, which sometimes rendered me so weak I could not mount a horse without assistance, though often, once mounted, I rode the whole day.

The Indians had changed considerably. They were now dressed in clothes, were well armed and, with their usual activity and sagacity, moved faster than in old days and hid their tracks better. They could hardly be surprised, and when surprised, or in surprising our scouts, they were more daring and braver, at least at the onset, than of old. Small parties of my men had frequent encounters with small parties of Indians; the losses on each side were about equal.

About the time the Confederacy surrendered, the Indians were showing a disposition for peace, as evidenced by interviews between them and General Throckmorton, who then commanded the northern district. But the collapse of the Confederacy frustrated any plans, and after the surrender depredations were continued with more vigor than before. The Indians held to their old idea that the people of Texas were a different tribe from those of the United States, and that they could make war on the one without the other having a right to interfere.

At the close of the year, 1864, while I was at Austin, under orders to report there for a consultation, a party of about a hundred Kickapoos crossed Red River, on their way to emigrate to Mexico. They had with them their families and property, and seemed not disposed to molest any one on the way. They had roamed through Texas in early days, depredated in Mexico, and, at the request of Mexico, had been removed by the United States to the northern part of the Indian Territory about 1854. In the early days of the Civil War they had been employed by the Union against the civilized Indians of the Territory, who were taking part with the South. Tired of that strife they had now come to some arrangement with Mexico to settle in her territory. What they might have done later against Texas from Mexico is a matter of conjecture. Their entrance into Texas aroused the frontier at once; and the old inability to make distinctions between Indians remained as before. A small Confederate troop was started after them; messages were sent to all the counties in my district; everything available was put in motion under Captain Totten, senior officer in my absence. He fell in with Captain Forest of the Confederate force, who outranked him, and under the Confederate commander they reached the Indian camp on the Concho River. Without any reconnoitering the camp was charged at once. The Indians were armed with improved guns; they were good marksmen. The whites were repulsed; in vain they rallied two or three times, and were at last obliged to fall back to a sheltered place with their wounded. The Indians then moved away in haste, crossed the Rio Grande, and continued to annoy western Texas for years afterward as the Comanches did the northern part. The affair might have been prevented. The Indians had talked to the settlers all along their route. A flag of truce should have been

sent them; and if fighting had to be it should have been after they had moved on from such a strong position. I would have allowed them to pass had I been there—that is if I could have controlled the frontiersmen, always crazed at the sight of Indians, and determined to kill.

13. *Aftermath of the Civil War*

The confusion after Lee's and Johnston's surrender threatened lawlessness. Men who called themselves soldiers rushed to Texas, probably because their war time misdeeds prevented their remaining at home. But the good, true soldiery, who had fought for the South, now came again to the front to maintain and quiet the country. Their declaration of a determination to yield to the laws of the land and to uphold order had its effect and much violence was prevented. A number of citizens, many of them our best, believing that they could not again live under the United States, tried Mexico, but they soon returned.

I was of the ranks of those broken financially. Like many another old Texan I had been careless of accumulating. Now pre-war debts, incurred by going security for others, had to be paid. My own long-standing notes against others were paid in Confederate money at a late moment when one must take it or seem to throw doubt on the Confederacy. With ill health, old age, and new times to combat, I had to start again.

As regards the new times, one word here against the exemption laws of Texas after annexation. The bankrupt law passed by the United States indicated a communistic or agrarian spirit especially when added to Texas exemption laws from execution. It encouraged men otherwise good to take the benefit of it. First the idea to take it against Northern debts was all right and a part of the war; but it soon became neighbor against neighbor, and compromises by paying a certain per cent altogether evaded. Men took the bankrupt law, who were openly to the world wealthier after than before, while those who suffered from their action could but look on powerless to do anything. This to me in the new times has been the hardest oppression to keep still under. I have wanted to fight worse than in the old Mexican war days.

With the beginning of the year '73 political affairs brightened. A general election was to take place that fall; the disabilities of

most of those who had served in the Confederacy had been removed; I was urged by many of my old friends to run again for the legislature. Coke was candidate for governor, and was nominated by the convention. One of the earliest county meetings before the convention took place at Meridian, Bosque County, and nominated me unanimously for senator of the district. I had a decided majority in my favor in McLennan, but a strong man was running against me. At a Democratic convention held at Gatesville, I failed by a fraction of a vote to get a two-thirds majority. My friends proposed to leave it to the primary vote of McLennan, which proposition was accepted, and I had the nomination with at least four-fifths of the vote. On account of my generally conservative course the Republican party did not nominate a candidate against me but put my name on their ticket. So I had no opposition.

The Democratic party had put several planks in their platform which under the circumstances were not tenable; one was the immediate call of a convention for the change of the constitution. It had to be abandoned during the first session of the legislature, and could only be passed at the second session after the adjournment of the United States congress. This and several other issues I saw proper to oppose, and was criticized but endorsed later.

I did not expect to be a candidate for re-election, but my name was urged and I failed to obtain the nomination. Three men had been nominated for the district, each from a different county; there were eight counties in the district. One of the men seemed to be unsatisfactory to the voters. On the Saturday preceding the Monday, the day of the election, I heard it whispered in the town of Waco that I was to be run as an independent. I objected, and stated that even if I could acquiesce it was too late for my name to be known all over the district. I thought no more about it; I regarded it as a piece of folly that would not be attempted with Sunday only intervening; but on my return to town Monday I learned that my name was on the tickets and that couriers had been sent to the different counties on Sunday morning. I regretted it all, and I had no idea that so many Democrats would vote against the party nominee; for the counties nearby to which the information was carried gave me a majority, and my own also; many voted for me who had criticized unfavorably my course

before. On the whole I came nearer being elected than I supposed was possible; I was pleased with one thing, that in retiring from public life I could take with me this appreciation of the people for whose interest I had worked my best, but to please whom I had learned was a hard task.

I was content to retire, my health was worse than ever, and by the next canvass an entirely new district was created by grouping McLennan with Hill and Johnson, counties with which I had little acquaintance. But my name was run again, supported unanimously by the delegates from McLennan, but not by the others. I had not the requisite two-thirds majority, and a dark horse was the result.

My eyes have now failed me altogether, my hearing is not good, but my memory of events is but slightly impaired. As in earlier times, so through my late years I am still called upon to give information on land affairs. I am besieged with questions and through letters I cannot see to read requesting me to study up information, and to explain how land came to be located thus and so in times of different laws and different usages, for the present generation knows nothing of the difficulties that surrounded surveying forty and fifty years ago.

THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY E. W. WINKLER

IX

BRYAN TO MRS. HAYES

Galveston, June 6th, 1877.

My dear Mrs. Hayes:

In conformity with your request I write about Mrs. Higby. A lady friend of mine writes me "There is an old lady by the name of Higby living here (Austin). She is a widow, having lost her husband about four years since. She is in very limited circumstances and makes her support by taking charge of the Library. She seems to be an excellent woman. I hope the friend you refer to has something good in store for the old lady, as she is becoming quite feeble and cannot support herself many years longer. She boards with Mrs. August Palm, and has many warm friends in Austin."

The writer of the above is a most discreet and excellent person, and I have no doubt has given an accurate account—one that I can confidently transmit to you.

My health is better than when I was in Washington. I regret I was not feeling better when there, when I wanted to feel my best. I have your likeness and that of Hayes in *Live Oak frames polished*. I see them every day when at home, reminding me of my pleasant visit, and of your goodness and genuine hospitality, and of friends dear to me. My children, too, are familiar with your faces and talk of you, and my little pet Hally sends to Fannie a return kiss, for the one I bore to her.

Sincerely and respectfully your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

Remember me to your children and the young ladies. The cotton stalk, I promised, was gone on my return. I will try to send you one next fall.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, June 13th, '77.

Dear Rud:

Although you said you wanted no recommendations in behalf

of Ballinger as far as you were concerned, yet, I have thought it would do no harm to strengthen your good opinion of him.

Today I have read a letter to a friend from a leading lawyer of Austin, Texas, in which he says, "Ballinger is in all these parts recognized as *the Lawyer* of Texas, the peer in learning and character of any man whose claims can be considered by the President, and by reason of his known acquirements in the civil law as eminently qualified to be Judge Campbell's successor," etc., etc. This opinion I can safely say is the opinion of the *Bar of Texas*. As characteristic of the man, I quote here a *Protest* from him I find in the printed journals of the late Constitutional Convention:

Mr. President, etc., etc.⁴⁰

I make my respectful protest against the provisions of the constitution regulating the salaries and terms of executive and judicial officers, and against the election of judicial officers. The short terms of office, to be filled by popular elections, will convert the State into a great partisan electioneering camp, in which office-seeking will act on the public morals of the people, and the interests and passions of the people will react on the standard and conduct of officers—all full of evil tendencies, in my judgement, to the character and destinies of this great State. The salaries are not such as ought to be given to our State officers. If the effect should not be, as I believe it will, to prevent many men of the highest qualifications from holding office who would be the choice of the people, if considerations of patriotism and public duty should be adequate motives to induce them to accept of office, I have still the strong, undoubting conviction that public services will be obtained by the State at hard, stinting, insufficient salaries, which are not honorable or just on the part of this great State.

W. P. Ballinger,
Delegate from Galveston County.

Ballinger is in the prime of life, in his 52nd year, with robust health and large frame. You must occasionally let me hear from you. Confidence in you by white people and black is growing steadily. Did you get my printed views in *News* sent through Mrs. Hayes? I tried to be *discreet* and *effective*.

Yours sincerely,

G. M. B.

⁴⁰Cf. Journal of the Constitutional Convention . . . 1875. p. 819.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Executive Mansion,
Washington, 13 June 1877

My dear Guy:

I have your letters. The interview was altogether judicious. So also are your general views. It is not correct that *no heretofore Dem[ocrat]s* will be appointed. I appointed two last week. P[ost] M[aster] at Memphis and at Petersburg, and Louisville and others. Of course I shall appoint Republicans generally, but &c. &c. you understand me. *As to your special friend, I can say nothing yet.* On all other points your views seem to me such as I can properly adopt. Excuse haste and brevity.

Sincerely as ever

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO ROGERS

Galveston, June 15th, 1877.

Dear Col. Rogers:

I have your esteemed favor of the 8th inst., and I thank you for your kind attentions, knowing as I do how much occupied you are in the discharge of your official duties. I am glad to hear that everything "goes well as to matters of public interest." In my feeble way I have done my utmost to place Hayes right before the people of the South. *After Morton's* letter I yielded to the third effort to get my opinions for the press. I sent them as published under cover of address to Mrs. Hayes. I hope they got the letter and read them? I would like to know that I said nothing that was objectionable, as I have tried to be *discreet* and *effective* in walk and talk. I have great objection to getting into the papers and of my accord rarely do so, but this was an occasion when I thought I could do good and I am sure I did it in this State at least.

If Hayes makes judicious appointments in this State, putting *good* men in office and those who are in accord with the people, I should not be surprised that Texas would support him in most of his measures next Congress on account of the force of public opinion at home. Say to Hayes from me, if Mills (Congressman from this State) calls on him treat him *well*; he *can* make him a *friend*; and it would be a great triumph for him to do so; for you

will recollect that Mills was the only "*Fillibuster*" from Texas. He is a chivalrous fellow of strong feelings. Tell him also from me, whenever any one carries to him a letter from me, if *integrity* ought to be used and I *don't* write it, it is because I *cannot conscientiously do so*. I will never impose upon him knowingly in the smallest degree. In regard to railroad from San Antonio to Rio Grande, should he at any time want me to give facts, truths, etc., etc., *let him ask me and I will speak for his interest as well as for the road*. I mention this now because I gave a letter on the subject yesterday, and it will be before him. I received a letter from Dudley yesterday in a joyous happy strain. May he get a good office for the sake of his family and his own. I called on Geo. Jones to stay two days, but remained a week. My visit was pleasant, reminding me of "the college times." I could hardly realize however that his stalwart boys were his. How times bring events, and events shape destinies of men. On what threads hang our futures. I saw and spent a pleasant night with Matthews at his home at Glendale. If George could have spared the time, I think I would have spent a day at Kenyon; the last time I was there I was with Rud. Hayes, my classmate. We went from Cincinnati when you were his partner. *Now he is President*. Please say to him from me, the man in the Post Office at Brenham is untrustworthy, and additional papers will I suppose be forwarded on that subject from there.

Enclosed you will find a letter on business⁴¹ which please present to him and ask him to read it. Tell him, *he must not forget to write me occasionally* and that when he wishes, *I can be as close as an oyster*.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

⁴¹The enclosure has not been identified.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN THE ROSENBERG LIBRARY.—In July of this year the authorities of the Rosenberg Library at Galveston, Texas, installed in the corridors of that beautiful and commodious building a remarkable exhibition of manuscripts, pictures, books, and museum objects, selected from its valuable historical collections.

The two most striking groups of manuscripts in the library are the James Morgan papers, which it holds as custodian for the old Galveston Historical Society, and the Samuel M. Williams papers, which were recently given to the library by Mrs. Mary D. League and her son, the late Thomas D. League, daughter and grandson of Williams. Colonel James Morgan was a merchant and ship owner doing business on a considerable scale at New Washington, on Galveston Bay, at the time of the Texas revolution, and after the Battle of San Jacinto he was put in charge of the Mexican prisoners interned on Galveston Island. There are probably two thousand pages of manuscript in this collection. It covers a variety of subjects, but, to particularize, the most valuable are letters from David G. Burnet, *ad interim* President of the Republic of Texas, and from Samuel Swartwout and James Treat, which are important for the early diplomatic history of Texas. The Williams papers run probably to six or eight thousand pages of manuscripts and extend from 1819 to 1858. They are particularly valuable for the economic history of Texas, because after the revolution Williams became a wholesale merchant and banker and much of the correspondence concerns his business. The collection contains some sixty letters written by Stephen F. Austin in most confidential tone to Williams, who was his secretary from 1824 until 1836.

Among the great number and variety of museum articles, the most interesting from a local point of view are two trophies which were to have been awarded in 1832 to encourage the cultivation of cotton. One of these is a silver pitcher weighing fifty-one ounces and appropriately decorated with a cotton plant, which was to have been given for the best seventy-five bale crop produced in Austin's colony; the other is a silver cup, which was to have been awarded for the best ten-bale crop.

The historical collections of the Rosenberg Library are a veritable treasure, undoubtedly the most important in the State except those at Austin. With the co-operation of public spirited citizens of Galveston they will increase. Even now no serious study of the commercial history of the State could be attempted without the use of these materials. The manuscripts and articles in the exhibition are interestingly and ably described by Mr. J. M. Winterbotham in a typewritten pamphlet of more than a hundred pages, but as yet the inadequate force of the library has been unable to calendar or even list the general manuscript collections.

NEWS ITEMS

The *Gonzales Inquirer* published a 70th anniversary edition on July 19, 1923, which contains forty-eight pages.

The *El Paso Times* issued a Golden Jubilee Number on May 16, 1923, which was devoted to a review of fifty years of progress.

"Ft. Concho and Early Days in Tom Green" is the title of an article by Curtis Vinson published in the *Dallas News* of June 10, 1923.

Mr. Clarence Wharton published a series of articles on the life and times of Santa Anna in the Sunday edition of the *Houston Post* of July and August, 1923.

Major Ingham S. Roberts and others have plans under way for the organization of the Houston Historical Society. Its collections will be cared for by the municipal library.

The first number of *Frontier Times* was recently issued by J. M. Hunter of Bandera, Texas. It is "devoted to frontier history, border tragedy, and pioneer achievement," and costs \$1.50 a year.

Bishop James Steptoe Johnson: A biographical sketch by Everett H. Jones is the title of a pamphlet published in commemoration of the 80th birthday of the retired bishop of the Diocese of West Texas, June 9, 1923.

In the *Dallas News* of September 30, 1923, Mr. J. E. Fee published a short description of four files of early Texas newspapers

in the custody of the Grand Masonic Lodge Temple at Waco; they are the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of Houston, August 11, 1838-December 30, 1840; the *Texas Sentinel* of Austin, January 15, 1840-November 11, 1841; the *Weekly Texian* of Austin, November 25, 1841-March 9, 1842; and the *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* of Houston, March 20, 1863-March 23, 1864.

Judge R. C. Crane of Sweetwater recently parted with his extensive collection of Texana to Simmons College of Abilene, Texas. According to a report published in the *Dallas News* of September 30, 1923, the collection embraces books, pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts, letters, cancelled checks, paper money, and coins, and numbers about 8,000 pieces.

In the account of the battle between Captain Benjamin Bryant and the Indians under José Maria, fought on January 16, 1839, the name of Armstrong Barton appears among the names of those killed.* Mr. James S. Barton of McMinnville, Tennessee, ad-

ressed a letter to The Editor in which he says that "this statement is incorrect. My father, Hale Barton, was killed in that battle. I was then a young boy seven years of age, and often saw my uncle, Armstrong Barton, several years afterward. I will never forget the death of my father nor my mother's grief because of it."

Dr. Claude C. Cody, dean emeritus of Southwestern University, died at his home in Georgetown, Texas, June 26, 1923.

H. S. P. Ashby, one of the leaders of the Populist Party in Texas, died at his home in Octavia, Oklahoma, May 19, 1923.

**A Memorial and Biographical History of McLennan, Falls, Bell and Coryell Counties, Texas.* . . . p. 178.

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOL. XXVII

JANUARY, 1924

No. 3

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY

THE LOCATION OF LA SALLE'S COLONY ON THE GULF OF MEXICO*

HERBERT E. BOLTON

One of the unsettled points in the history of La Salle's career in America has been the exact location of the colony which he established temporarily on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico in 1685. The view held by Parkman and most other writers has been that the site was on the Lavaca river, but from this opinion some have dissented, while others have been in doubt because of the inadequacy of the available data.¹ The question is debatable no longer, for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records in the archives of Spain, which have been corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation.

In order to put this new evidence in its proper setting, it seems desirable to review briefly the main features of the well-

*This article is reprinted with the courteous permission of the editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, in which it appeared, September, 1915 (Volume II, 165-182).

¹Parkman writes: "It was on the river which he named La Vache, now the Lavaca, which enters the head of Matagorda Bay" (*La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* [Boston, 1910], 391-392). The same view is held by H. H. Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas* [San Francisco, 1886], I, 402); G. P. Garrison (*Texas* [Boston, 1903], 22); and R. C. Clark (*The Beginnings of Texas* [Austin, 1907], 18). On their maps Garrison and Clark both place the French fort east of the stream. Miss Eleanor Buckley, in a scholarly discussion, concludes that the fort was on Lavaca, but shows, correctly, that it was not on the left bank. (*Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, XV, 57-60.) W. Kingsford (*The History of Canada* [London, 1888], II, 137-138) concludes that the settlement was probably on Galveston Bay and certainly not on Matagorda. For other views see *post*, 179.

known story of La Salle's enterprise. In 1682 La Salle descended the Mississippi to its mouth and conceived the idea of founding there a colony in the name of the king of France. In writing of his purposes, historians generally have laid the chief emphasis upon La Salle's desire to control and develop the valley of the Mississippi, and through that stream to establish connection with Canada. But La Salle had other purposes which were equally or even more prominent in his plans. French explorers in the interior of North America had long dreamed of finding a way to the much talked of mines of northern Mexico. France and Spain were continually at war or on the verge of war, and at the very time when La Salle descended the Mississippi French buccaneers were scouring the waters of the gulf and making raids upon the Spanish settlements of Florida. In the course of the next year French corsairs three times sacked the Spanish settlement of Apalache. Thus France and Spain were competing for the control of the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and of this competition La Salle's project was a part. When he returned to France, therefore, La Salle proposed to establish a colony on the gulf, not only as a means of controlling the Mississippi valley and the northern gulf shore, but also as a base of attack, in case of war, upon the Spanish treasure fleets and upon the northern provinces of Mexico. These purposes La Salle plainly set forth in his proposals to the king, and on these terms his plans were approved by Louis XIV.²

The colony of some four hundred people left France in the summer of 1684, and in the autumn reached the West Indies, the ketch of *St. François* having been captured by the Spaniards on the way. While in the West Indies La Salle was gravely ill, but he recovered his health and in November continued his voyage. For reasons which have never been fully explained, the mouth of the Mississippi was missed and a landing made near Pass Cavallo, on Matagorda bay.³ Some students have maintained that the passing of the Mississippi was not accidental, but designed by

²See documents in P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698* (Paris, 1878), II, 288-301, 359-369; III, 17-28. Also G. Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen* (Paris, 1871), 96-97.

³"Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 91-146.

La Salle, in order better to attack the Spanish provinces of Mexico. This view, however, seems unwarranted.⁴

After reaching Matagorda bay the expedition went rapidly to pieces. A landing had scarcely been made when some of the colonists died from sickness and others were killed by the Indians. In the attempt to enter the bay, the *Aimable* was wrecked. Beaujeu, the naval commander, had quarreled with La Salle from the beginning, and from Pass Cavallo he sailed back to France with the *Joly*, carrying away some of the soldiers and a large quantity of much needed supplies. Tonty, La Salle's lieutenant, by agreement descended the Mississippi to meet him at the mouth, but of course did not find him, and therefore gave him no aid.

To make the best of a bad situation, La Salle moved his colony to a better site near the head of Lavaca bay and began a series of expeditions to the eastward in the hope of finding the Mississippi river, which he thought to be near. While engaged in exploring the eastern portion of Matagorda bay, the *Belle*, the last of La Salle's four vessels, was wrecked and left stranded on the inner shoals of Matagorda peninsula.⁵ On his third expedition northeastward La Salle, with a few companions, made his way to the Ceniz Indians on the Neches, and to the Nasoni north of Nacogdoches. But here he was forced by desertion and sickness to retrace his steps, and he returned to the settlement at Matagorda bay.⁶ The colony by this time had dwindled down to a mere handful, and succor was imperative or extermination certain. Again the intrepid explorer set forth with a few companions, in an attempt to reach Canada. Crossing the Colorado near Columbus, he made his way to the Brazos, which he passed just above the mouth of the Navasota. Here a quarrel arose among

⁴For the view that the passing of the Mississippi was by mistake see Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 376; Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen*, 100; Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston, 1894), 313; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 399; Jared Sparks, *Robert Cavelier de la Salle* (Boston, 1844), 130; E. T. Miller, "The connection of Peñalosa with the La Salle Expedition," in *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, V, 97-112. For a contrary view see J. G. Shea, *The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisi de Peñalosa* (New York, 1882), 22; Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France* (J. G. Shea, tr. — New York, 1866-1872), IV, 68-69.

⁵"Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 163-226, *passim*.

⁶J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Albany, 1903), 201-205.

his followers, in the course of which Moranget, La Salle's nephew, was slain by his companions while hunting for supplies which La Salle had cached in the vicinity during the previous expedition.⁷

To save their own necks, when La Salle reached the scene of the murder the conspirators slew him as they had slain Moranget. Historians have supposed that this act was committed near the Trinity or the Neches, but evidence now available makes it quite clear that the spot was between the Brazos and Navasota rivers, and near the present city of Navasota.⁸ To L'Archévêque, at least, poetic justice was meted out in full measure, as the scholar Bandelier has shown. Being picked up by the Spaniards and taken to Monclova, L'Archévêque became a citizen of New Mexico, and, in 1720, a third of the century after the assassination of La Salle, he was killed by the Indian allies of the French, while taking part in a Spanish expedition to Kansas.⁹

From the Navasota river the survivors of La Salle's party continued eastward to the Ceniz and Nasoni. Here some deserted, but others, including Joutel and La Salle's brother, Abbé Jean Cavelier, made their way across the Red river to the mouth of the Arkansas,¹⁰ to Tonty's post on the Illinois, and to Canada. From Tonty they concealed the news of the tragedy which had occurred in the wilds of Texas, but he learned the truth through Indians, and in the fall of 1689 made a second voyage down the Mississippi in an effort to rescue the colonists. Crossing Louisiana to the Natchitoches, he ascended the Red river to the Caddo, and

⁷"Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 260-325.

⁸The correctness of this conclusion is clear to any one who reads Joutel's journal in the light of contemporary Spanish sources and of established ethnological data regarding the Hasinai Indians. (See Bolton, "The Native Tribes About the East Texas Missions," in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, XI, 249-276.) New light on the operations of La Salle on Matagorda Bay and during his last journeys is shed by the declaration made before the viceroy in Mexico City by Pedro Muni (Pierre Meusnier), one of the Frenchmen picked up in Texas by De León in 1690. He had been with La Salle on his last expedition and had remained in Eastern Texas. Incidentally he confirms by a positive statement the present writer's conclusions, reached some years ago, that La Salle's death occurred on the Brazos (Espíritu Santo) river. Testimonio de Autos en orden â las diligencias y resulta de ellas para la entrada por tierra â los Parages de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, Sevilla, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.

⁹See A. F. A. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man* (New York, 1873), 299-300.

¹⁰"Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 325-436.

then made his way southwest for eighty leagues to the Nouaydiche, a village of Indians living near the Neches. But here, for lack of aid and guides, and, it is said, hearing of the approach of De León, he was forced to give up the search. Accordingly, he purchased horses from the Indians and returned to Canada.

Meanwhile the little colony on the gulf dwindled down to a mere handful. Many of the people died of smallpox. Finally, early in the year 1689, four years after the colony had landed, most of the survivors were slain by their savage neighbors, the Karankawa Indians. In the course of the next few years five children and four men were picked up in various parts of Texas by Spaniards, taken to Mexico, imprisoned, or otherwise disposed of.¹¹ Just a quarter of a century later two of the boys, Jean and Robert Talon, reappeared in Texas as guides of the famous St. Denis, when in 1714 he made his historic journey from Natchitoches to the Rio Grande.¹²

Such in outline is the story of La Salle's unfortunate colony. Much of what we know of it is learned through the records of Spanish expeditions sent out in search of it. News of La Salle's voyage to the Mississippi was acquired through the capture of a French corsair off the coast of Yucatan in September, 1684. Soon Spanish parties were sent forth by land and sea to find and eject the intruders. In 1687 the wrecks of the *Aimable* and the *Belle* were seen by members of two of these expeditions, who took from them four pieces of artillery "and three painted fleurs de lis." They concluded that the French colony had been completely destroyed;¹³ but, to make certain, overland expeditions were sent out from Monterey and Monclova, then the principal outposts on the northeastern frontier of New Spain. The leader

¹¹Letter of Alonso de León to the viceroy of Mexico, May 18, 1689, in Buckingham Smith, *Coleccion de Varios Documentos Para la Historia de la Florida* (London, 1857), 25-27; "Interrogations fait à Pierre et Jean Talon," in Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 610-621; Alonso de León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, edited by Genaro Garcia (Mexico, 1909), ch. 34-45.

¹²Manuscript correspondence of St. Denis with the mission authorities of San Juan Bautista, 1714, and of Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

¹³Cárdenas, *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), 268, 283; junta de guerra de Yndias, á 22 de marzo de 1691. Acordada el mismo día. Representa á vuestra magestad lo que se le ofrece en vista del papel que escribio Don Andres de Pez, sobre fortificar la Bahía de Panzacola. Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalara. c. March 22, 1691. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.

of these expeditions was Alonso de León, the ablest frontiersman of his district. In 1686 and again in 1687 he made his way to the Rio Grande and explored it to its mouth, looking for the French. Hearing in 1688 of a strange white man dwelling among the Indians north of the Rio Grande, he crossed it near Eagle Pass and found a lone Frenchman ruling single-handed a large confederacy of savages. The Frenchman was captured by stratagem and taken to Mexico; in 1689 he returned as guide to De León, now on his fourth expedition in search of La Salle's colony.¹⁴

Making his way to the northern shores of Lavaca bay, De León found the ruins of the French settlement, rescued from the Indians a few survivors, held a conference with an Indian chief from the Neches river, and returned to Mexico. Next year he was sent on a fifth expedition, instructed to destroy the French fort and to aid Father Massanet in founding missions on the Neches, where it was feared the French might reappear, and where the friars had long dreamed of establishing the faith. The French fort was burned, and the bay was again visited.¹⁵

In the summer of 1690 De León returned to Monclova and reported what he had done. Among other things he stated that in the bay, a short distance from the mouth of the stream on which the French colony had been established, he had seen two buoys which were not there the year before and could hardly have been placed there by the Indians.¹⁶ So serious was the matter regarded that a council of war was held in Mexico to consider it, for it was feared that the buoys might mark the entrance to some channel in which other French vessels were lurking, or to which they might return. It was resolved, therefore, that they should be destroyed; the method of their destruction was left to be determined by the viceroy.¹⁷

¹⁴Alonso de León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, ch. 34-45; E. Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia antigua de Coahuila y Texas* (Saltillo, 1886), 224-238; Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 9-27.

¹⁵Letter of Damián Massanet to Don Carlos de Sigüenza, in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, II, 281-312; Alonso de León, "Itinerary of the expedition made by General Alonso de León, 1689," in *ibid.*, VIII, 203-224; De León, *Diario of 1690*, manuscript.

¹⁶De León, *Diario of 1690*, entry for April 26, manuscript; declaration of Gregorio de Salinas, August 19, 1690, manuscript in *Testimonio de autos en orden á las diligencias*.

¹⁷The *junta general* was held on August 29, 1690. In it were consid-

The viceroy not only desired to learn who had left the buoys, and to protect the bay, but was even more concerned to establish a water route to the missions which had been established on the Neches.¹⁸ In September, therefore, he sent out an expedition to investigate these points. A ship was equipped for three months, provided with a launch and a canoe, manned with sixty soldiers and sailors, and put in charge of Captain Francisco de Llanos, an officer in the West Indian fleet. With him went Gregorio de Salinas, who had been with De León on his last expedition, and who was now put in charge of the land operations.¹⁹ As pilot the viceroy appointed Juan de Triana, an expert in the navigation of the gulf. As master of the fortification and map-maker went Manuel Joseph de Cárdenas y Magaña, who had shown skill in the building of the great prison fortress of San Juan de Ulua, still standing near Vera Cruz. Before coming to Mexico

ered De León's reports and certain declarations given in Mexico a few days before. It was stated that since it appears "by the diary that two buoys or anchors have been seen in the mouth of the entrance of the Rio de San Marcos, which is in the bay of Espíritu Santo, and which appear to be a mark for its entrance; and considering in view of all the foregoing proceedings that every mark, demonstration, or sign which might give an indication of the slightest danger ought to be destroyed and removed; this *junta* sees no objection to having this done; but it is resolved that the method and time of the measures necessary for it be reserved to the providence of his excellency, to the end that he may be pleased to give the orders which to him may appear most suited to his zeal." Testimonio de Autos en orden á las diligencias.

¹⁸In his *decreto* of November 12, 1690, the viceroy, after reviewing the action of the *junta* regarding the removal of the buoys, adds that more potent motives were the report that there were four Frenchmen among the Texans who might have come from New France, or from another settlement nearer; the difficulty and expense of traveling by land six hundred or seven hundred leagues through a hostile country; the knowledge of a large river entering the bay of Espíritu Santo (or San Bernardo) which might pass close to the newly established mission; and it being cheaper and easier to send expeditions from Vera Cruz. (Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas ó Valisas en el Lago de San Bernardo, que llaman Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.) On December 28, 1690, the viceroy wrote that an expedition by sea had seemed necessary as a means of exploring the interior rivers with a view to founding a waterway to the newly established missions, which would be cheaper than the land route. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.

¹⁹*Decreto* of the viceroy, November 12, 1690. Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas.

he had served two years in the *presidio* of Cádiz, and one in the West Indian fleet.²⁰

The instructions provided that the expedition should first proceed to examine the buoys. If it was found that they marked the entrance to some river or channel, that waterway must be explored. But if the channel should lead neither toward the French fort nor toward the Neches missions, its detailed examination should be deferred to a later expedition, "since the present one is directed solely to learning which of the rivers coming from the province of Texas (the Neches country), or passing near it and emptying into this lake, is navigable and crosses the region between that province and the gulf." If such a river should be found, it must be examined minutely, to see if it afforded a port for large vessels, and whether it could be fortified. To report on these last matters was the especial duty of Cárdenas, who was instructed to make a careful map of the entire San Bernardo (Matagorda) bay, its rivers and inlets, and report whether Pass Cavallo could be closed. In case the site of La Salle's colony were to be regarded suitable for fortification, Salinas was to leave there the French cannon which De León had buried at the fort; if not, he should carry them to Vera Cruz.²¹

The Llanos expedition seems hitherto to have been unknown to historians, and yet its records are of first importance in determining the plans of the viceroy regarding Texas, and, incidentally, in fixing the location of La Salle's colony. The records comprise correspondence, a diary, and a carefully made map of Matagorda bay and its tributaries. The map is so accurate that we are able to identify practically every point which Llanos, Salinas, and Cárdenas visited; and there can be no question as

²⁰At this time Cárdenas was a soldier and engineer at San Juan de Ulua, where he had worked two years; he had made a special study of mathematics and fortification; his ability as military engineer had been reported to the viceroy by Don Jaime Franck. After his return from the expedition the viceroy wrote Cárdenas a special note of thanks for his services with Llanos. In March, 1691, he was still serving at San Juan de Ulua. At that time he was applying to the king for promotion to the rank of captain of infantry, with employment as an engineer in Havana. The data given above have been gathered from an unlabeled *expediente* in the *archivo general de Indias*, Sevilla, estante 61, cajon 60, legajo 21.

²¹Instructions dated September 14, 1690, in *Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas*.

to its reliability. It is the work of a skilled and careful engineer.²²

On October 24, Llanos and his party reached Pass Cavallo.²³ To this point the diary recorded the observations made by the pilot, Triana; thenceforth it recorded the joint operations of Llanos, Cárdenas, and Salinas, in which a leading part was played by Cárdenas. His map shows by dots the routes followed in the bay, and by crosses, numbers, and letters, the principal points of interest. The explorations in the coves and rivers were made with the launch and canoes.

On the twenty-seventh the party crossed the bar. On the twenty-eighth they reached the spot where the *Aimable* had gone down (F). Turning northwest, on the thirtieth they reached

²²The records of this expedition are contained in the collection of documents entitled "Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas ó Valisas," previously cited. They consist of the *junta* general of August 29; a *decreto* of the viceroy, dated at Mexico, November 12, 1690, reviewing the action of the *junta* and subsequent proceedings; and the diary of the expedition. The diary is entitled "Diario y derrotero del viage que se ha hecho y egecutada á la Bahía de San Bernardo, que comunmente llaman del Espíritu Santo, el Capitan Don Francisco de Llanos, por mandado y de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General de este Reino de Nueva España, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella, este presente año de mil seiscientos y noventa."

Another copy of the diary, somewhat abbreviated, but also containing some additions, is included in the *expediente* cited in note 20 as containing Cárdenas' application for promotion. This copy is entitled: "Diario de la Derrota que han hecho para la Bahía de San Bernardo por orden del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve, virrey y capitan general de la Nueva España, el capitan de mar y guerra Don Francisco de Llanos, el Capitan Don Gregorio Salinas, y Don Manuel de Cárdenas, en la fragata nombrada Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion, sacado por dicho Don Manuel, año de 1690."

The longer diary is signed by Don Manuel Joseph de Cárdenas y Magaña, Don Francisco de Llanos, Francisco Millan de Tapia, and Don Gregorio de Salinas Barona. It is written in the first person, as if by Llanos. The map is entitled "Planta cosmografica del Lago de San Bernardo Con los senos y Rios que á el se comunican descubiertos por horden del Exmo Señor Conde de Galve Vi Gor y Capn Gl desta Na España obserbada y delineada por Dn Manuel Joseph de Cárdenas afiedo A las Matas Ao de 1691."

The vessel in which the expedition was made was the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*. The expedition left Vera Cruz on October 12. Nothing noteworthy occurred until the seventeenth, when they passed the mouth of the Río Bravo.

²³The following summary of the exploration is taken from the diaries for the dates indicated here. Since the photograph of the Cárdenas map is not clear, there has been reproduced a small map of the same region from the official map of De León's expedition of 1690 (described, *post*).



Descripción exacta del Lago de S. Bernardo y del Todos Santos que nuevamente se halló este año de 1690

Map made in 1690, containing the essential data on the Cárdenas Map but with different Lettering. (Drawn from a photograph)

Sand Point, which was accurately mapped and described.²⁴ On November 1 they entered Lavaca bay in the launch, and named it Todos Santos (All Saints) in honor of the day. Proceeding to the northwestern corner of Lavaca bay, they reached the place

²⁴The following description of Sand Point is given in the diary: "It has a reef of sand which extends from the windward point to the south-east [*southwest*] and crosses almost the entire entrance, leaving a channel on the western side,* for which reason this entry has not been found in five expeditions which up to now have been sent to explore this lake.*" Diario de la Derrota que han hecho para la Bahía de San Bernardo, entry for November 1. The words between stars are not in the other version.

where the buoys had been reported (2). They proved to be only logs of driftwood.

Continuing northward, Llanos and his party entered the mouth of the river flowing into the bay at its northwestern angle, obviously the Garcitas. This stream was given the name of Rio de los Franceses, or river of the French. The words of the diary are interesting here. It says: "We continued up the river until we arrived at a little village of Indians whom we did not understand and who did not understand us. From here we continued up the river till we saw some houses,"²⁵ on the highest elevation. Proceeding toward them, we landed on the banks and discovered that they were the settlement and fort of M. de la Salle [Munsuir de Salas], from many signs which we found there, such as wheels of cannon carriages, musket breeches, and many burned planks and beams of the fort."²⁶ De León had burned the fortification a few months before. Another report tells us that the French settlement was two leagues or about five miles up the river. At night Cárdenas and his party returned to the vessel near Sand Point. Before morning a storm arose which prevented any work of exploration on the following day.

On the fourth the party went north again in the launch and entered the bay where Port Lavaca now stands. From there they went to the inlet now called Chocolate bay, and explored it with the canoe. Cárdenas guessed that it might be the mouth of the Medina river, which had been crossed by De León in the interior; but he was careful to state that this was only a guess.

Next day they continued up the west coast to the mouth of Placedo creek, which they ascended for a league in the canoe, thinking it might be the Guadalupe river. Returning they ex-

²⁵The word is *buxios*.

²⁶Diario y derrota del viage que se ha egecutada á la Bahía de San Bernardo. The Diario de la Derrota states that after leaving the Indian village, "we continued up the river until we came to some houses on a site the most commanding of that prairie, which, we inferred, from their form, were not Indian houses. We disembarked and, climbing up the bank, we came to the settlement of de la Salle, at point L [*just above S on map published*] where there was a wall of a fortification, or platform, and about ten or twelve houses [*buxios*], besides as many already destroyed." The Diario de la Derrota says: "From there we continued to the pueblo of the French, and examined the artillery which was buried there, which consists of eight cannons and two swivel-guns of cast iron, new and in good condition."

amined again the two logs of driftwood, and for a second time entered the Garcitas river. Says the diary: "We found the place where the artillery of the fort was said to be, and we uncovered it in order to see it and satisfy ourselves. We saw that it was of iron. Then we passed on, and, following up the said river, we camped for the night at point P." (x on map published.) This point was some three or more miles above the fort, and not far from the present residence of Mr. Claude Keeran. Next day they continued up the river till the water was too shallow for the launch, but evidently they did not reach the mouth of Arenosa creek, for no mention is made of such a stream. Descending, they spent the night in the bay near the mouth of the river of the French.

At another point the diary gives further data regarding this stream and the French settlement. It says: "The width of the river is sixty yards at the entry. It is eighteen or twenty palms deep, but at places decreases to eight palms, at some of the fords. Its whole bottom is of mud; after three leagues up it contains some groves of oaks, liveoaks, and some wild grapes and willows.

"As to the site [*of the French settlement*], it is on the highest point of the plain. It overlooks two-thirds of it in the direction of the river, and one-third is a level extending indefinitely northwest. As to the materials, the land is black, rich, and sticky. The river is of fresh water; the timber, of which there is some, is a little distant. There are no stones even to supply needs."

Next day the party raised the drift logs, cut off some pieces, and loaded them on the launch to take to the ship and to Vera Cruz. Continuing their exploration, they crossed the head of Lavaca bay to another river, coming in at the northeastern angle on the bay. Ascending this stream next day for some five or six miles, they camped for the night (at the point marked 3 on the map). Next day they passed a village of Indians, and shortly afterward the mouth of the river coming from the northwest (4), which they recognized as the one that De León had called the San Marcos. It was obviously the Lavaca. Ascending the east fork (the Navidad), which on his map Cárdenas called Rio del Espíritu Santo,²⁷ they rowed a few miles, but were stopped by a

²⁷In the De León diary of the 1690 expedition to the Hasinai country, the Colorado was called the San Marcos and the Brazos was called the

raft of drift logs. The river was described as being well timbered, which was not true of the river of the French.

Turning about they camped some two miles above the junction on an elevation (6) described as a red bluff, admirably adapted to fortification and settlement. This spot was clearly the place where the village of Red Bluff now stands.

Next day, the ninth, they descended the river, and explored the small bay or lagoon above the delta (2). On the tenth they explored Cox's bay, next below (8), and on the eleventh Keller's bay (9). From here they returned to the western shore of Lavaca bay, where they camped opposite Sand Point (below T and N).

"There," says the diary, "we found the place where M. de la Salle [Munsuir de Sales] had made the barracks to lodge his men and all the rest of his train, in order thence to conduct them to his settlement. It is inferred, therefore, that his vessels did not go beyond this point—there being insufficient water—whence he conducted all that he had in launches and canoes."

On the twelfth the party began the exploration of the main bay, to the east. Coursing along the north shore, they passed the mouth of Carancahua bay (11) and camped some distance east of it under the shelter of a red cliff and a gunshot from a spring of fresh water. This place, which was apparently near Well Point, can perhaps be identified by residents of the locality. Next day they continued eastward to Trespalacios bay, returned, rounded Half-moon Point and proceeded east.

On the fifteenth they entered a small inlet, and then continued east to a lagoon (15, 16) at the mouth of a large river which formed a delta. This stream was clearly the Colorado. Cárdenas called it the Trinidad, no doubt thinking it was the stream bearing that name which De León had crossed in the interior. On the sixteenth they ascended the eastern mouth of the river some ten or fifteen miles to a point (18) near Beadle, and returned by the westernmost channel till stopped by a raft of drift

Espíritu Santo. It was evidently supposed by Cárdenas that the two rivers joined here to form the Lavaca. Below it will be seen that the mouth of the Colorado was called by Cárdenas the Trinidad, the name given by De León in 1690 to the middle Trinity.

logs, whence they turned back, descending by another channel. Continuing eastward up Matagorda bay for a short distance on the seventeenth, they then turned back, coasting Matagorda peninsula, looking for an outlet to the gulf, and crossed to the west side of the bay, where they camped near Point Connor (25).

With this camp as a base, several days were spent in exploring and sounding the channel. While here a soldier died and his body was thrown into the bay. Finally, on the twenty-ninth, they crossed the bar into the gulf, and set sail for Vera Cruz, which they reached on the ninth of December, after an absence of fifty-nine days.

Anyone who will take the trouble to compare a modern map with that made by Cárdenas will be struck by the accuracy of the latter, and will be filled with admiration for the engineer's skill. His merit was recognized by the officials in Mexico, and on his return to Vera Cruz he received the special thanks of the viceroy for his notable work.

The bearing of the Cárdenas report and map upon the location of La Salle's colony is obvious. They simply settle the matter once for all and without argument. The settlement was on the Garcitas river and not on the Lavaca, as has been supposed. This I realized as soon as I studied the map, as must everyone conversant with the conditions of the problem. But I had the curiosity to see the locality, to test more minutely the work of Cárdenas, and, although the proof in no way depended upon this confirmation, to see if perchance the site of the colony was still marked by archeological remains and was known to local tradition.²⁸

Accordingly, on July 3, 1914, I left Austin for the Garcitas river. Going next day from San Antonio by the Southern Pacific railroad, and passing on the way gatherings of people participating in barbecues and other holiday activities, about 1 p. m. I stopped at Placedo station, having before me the prospect of taking the midnight train to Ben West, some fifteen miles east on the Brownsville road, and on the Garcitas river, there to wait for daylight and the assistance of the local inhabitants. But a little inquiry at Placedo made it clear to me that the place which

²⁸Especially in view of the opinion expressed by General J. S. Clark, *post*, 179.

I was seeking was on Keeran ranch, and that I must see Mr. Claude Keeran, owner of the ranch and a lifelong resident of the place. I made bold, therefore, to call him up by telephone, introduce myself, and tell him of my errand. He was interested at once, and generously volunteered to co-operate. At his suggestion I rode out seven miles that night in a wagon with Mr. Vickers, who was boring a well on the Keeran ranch, spending the night in the camp as Mr. Vickers' guest. Next morning as we were eating breakfast, Mr. Keeran, accompanied by his foreman, Mr. Charles Webb, came in his automobile, and together we spent the forenoon going over Cárdenas' ground, with copies of his map and the accompanying report in hand.

Conversation at Placedo with Mr. J. S. Webb, who for years had ridden the Keeran ranch, had elicited the fact that on a bank overlooking the Garcitas river were ruins known in the neighborhood tradition as "The Old Mission," but otherwise unexplained. Mr. Keeran confirmed this report, took me to the spot, and informed me that, like most "old sites" in the Southwest, it had long been an object of attention to treasure seekers. It is exactly where Cárdenas' map shows La Salle's settlement, on the west bank of the Garcitas river, about five miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream. The place is between Malden Mott and Letts's Mott, but considerably nearer the former than the latter. The spot is the vantage point of all the country round. To the south, west, and northwest, stretch indefinitely the great level prairies, now sprinkled with a recent growth of mesquite, but in La Salle's day an open prairie dotted with buffalo herds. In front lies a beautiful little valley through which winds the Garcitas river, a good sized stream, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet in width, and still navigable with a launch for a number of miles above its mouth.²⁹ On the other side the valley is hemmed in by a range of low hills which, off to the northwest, fade away into the great plain lying east of Victoria. The choice by La Salle of the spot for his colony is no cause for surprise. A careful comparison of the topography of the valley with Cárdenas' map and description showed that he had delineated correctly

²⁹Mr. Keeran runs a launch on the river, his landing being a mile or more above the site of the fort.

every important bend in the stream, and had even placed on his map west of the river and below the French fort the small lagoon now known as Red Fish lake.

The archeological remains of the settlement, so far as we ascertained, are not extensive, but they are palpable and of certain character. Before we went to the site Mr. Keeran stated that years ago there were distinct remains of an ancient wall, but feared they had entirely disappeared. But he was mistaken in this, for we easily found the wall, then just visible above the surface of the ground, and without any digging were able to trace it for many feet. The wall is made of large, red, adobe-like blocks, apparently of baked red clay. Subsequently, Mr. Keeran has found it to be two and a half feet thick and to inclose an area ninety feet square.³⁰ From the surface of the ground I gathered a handful of small fragments of antique blue and white porcelain. The story of the finding of the "vases," which made its way into the daily press, is a pure fiction of the reporter, for which I am in no way responsible. Mr. Keeran told me, with full circumstantial details, of the unearthing on the spot, some thirty years ago, of half of an immense copper kettle, nearly a yard in diameter. It was exhumed at dead of night by a party of treasure hunters, who were working under the direction of a fortune teller and were frightened away by uncanny sounds. Mr. Keeran states that the kettle remained neglected on the site for several years and then disappeared.

It is interesting now to note that heretofore several students have independently concluded that the La Salle colony was on the Garcitas and not on the Lavaca, but have lacked sufficient data to give acceptance to their findings. Twenty or more years ago General J. S. Clark, on the basis of the archeological and topographical data, expressed the belief that the site was on an elevation on the west bank of the Garcitas, about five miles above its mouth, where he found the remains of an ancient settlement. The spot was doubtless the same as that which Mr. Keeran and I examined. Clark's opinion was mentioned by Justin Winsor,

³⁰Letter from Mr. C. A. Keeran, August 26, 1914. He writes me that in addition he found a carving fork, crockery, pottery, a bullet, spikes, and a coal pit.

but dismissed as inconclusive.³¹ About seven years ago C. C. Small, one of my students in the University of Texas, on the basis of Joutel's journal and such Spanish documents as were then available, reached a similar conclusion, though he attempted no topographical or archeological confirmation. Subsequently both his and General Clark's conclusions were rejected by another student of mine in the University of Texas.³² Finally, Miss Florence B. Stanton, one of my students in the University of California, in the light of the new data, independently reached the conclusion to which I had already come, both with regard to La Salle's death-place and to the site of his colony.³³

Now that we are on certain ground, we find plenty of confirmatory evidence. The Sigüenza map of De León's expedition of 1689,³⁴ which has long been known and has been published, gives a somewhat crude delineation of Lavaca bay in general, but shows with reasonable correctness the western shore and its inlets, which De León visited, and places the French fort on a stream which corresponds clearly with Garcitas river. At the same time that I secured the Cárdenas map, I for the first time obtained a copy of the official map of De León's expedition of 1690.³⁵ This contains a small outline map of Matagorda bay which is quite as accu-

³¹"General J. S. Clark, a recent investigator of the topographical features of the region, is confident that the camp first occupied was on Mission Bay, near the Espíritu Santo Bay, and that the Fort St. Louis was on the Garcitas River five miles above its junction with Lavaca Bay, while the adjacent river of that name has usually been considered the site of the fort. General Clark represents that the ground of his supposed site still bore, at a recent day, remains of the fort, and was marked by other relics. To most inquirers the evidence has been sufficient that the vicinity of Matagorda Bay—and Espíritu Santo is not far off—was the scene of these fearful experiences." Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 317.

³²Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition Into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722," in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, XV, 59-60.

³³"La Salle's Colony in Texas." Manuscript thesis.

³⁴Camino que el año de 1689 hizo el Governador Alonso de León desde Cuahuila hasta hallar cerca del Lago de Sn Bernardo el lugar donde havian poblado los Franceses. Sigüenza 1689. Published by Elizabeth Howard West in the *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, VIII, facing p. 199.

³⁵Viage que el año de 1690 hizo el Governador Alonso de León desde Cuahuila hasta la CAROLINA, Provincia habitada de Texas y otras naciones al Nordeste de la Nueva España. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 88. There are indications that this map, like that of the 1689 expedition, may have been executed by Sigüenza.

rate in general as the Cárdenas map, and shows the Garcitas and Lavaca rivers coming in at the head of Lavaca bay. On the Garcitas, just where Cárdenas puts it, is shown the "Pueblo de los Franceses." Manifestly this map contains data secured by the Llanos expedition.

One of the tests of a scientific hypothesis is whether it is contradicted by or harmonizes with individual phenomena. As might be expected, the substitution of truth for error on this fundamental point of the location of La Salle's fort dispels several other difficulties which have arisen regarding early expeditions in Texas. The San Marcos river described by De León as from three to six leagues east of "The River of the French," has been taken by students to be the Colorado, a stream which in fact is a good fifty miles away.³⁶ The San Marcos referred to was obviously the Lavaca, as shown on Cárdenas' map. Starting with the Lavaca as the site of the French fort, Joutel's report of La Salle's last expedition to the eastward raises difficulties regarding the streams at every part of his journey. But with a correct start his itinerary is easy to follow. Starting too far east, students have come out too far east in locating the place where La Salle was murdered, placing it on the Neches or the Trinity, instead of on the Brazos.

One point further remains to be dealt with, lest misunderstandings creep in. For two or three years after the destruction of La Salle's colony its site was frequently visited and was temporarily occupied by the Spaniards, as a base of operations in the interior of Texas. Later on, in 1722, it became the site of what was intended to be a permanent Spanish settlement. A fort was built by Aguayo square on the site of the one which had been erected by La Salle. We are sure of this, because in digging the trenches Aguayo's men unearthed numerous remains of the French establishment.³⁷ The Spanish fort was given the

³⁶Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States*, I, 400.

³⁷"On the sixth of April his lordship began to draw the lines for the erection of the *presidio*, as the king our lord (God preserve him), had ordered, in the place where the French, under command of M. de la Salle [Monseur la Sala], had it constructed from the year of 'eighty-four until that of 'ninety, when the Indians destroyed them, there remaining alive in their power three Frenchmen and a girl. They buried the artillery (which later the Spaniards secured, and took to Vera Cruz), the excavation, which is within the place where the *presidio* has been placed, being visible today,

name of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Across the river was established the mission of Espíritu Santo. Four years later the fort and mission were moved northwest to Mission Valley, near the present Victoria, and in 1749 were transferred to the San Antonio river, to become the nucleus of the present city of Goliad. Thus, the relics on the banks of the Garcitas mark the site of both La Salle's colony and the Spanish *presidio* of Loreto. The walls still visible are probably the remains of the Spanish rather than the French fortification.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY

as is also that in which they burned the powder; and on opening the trenches for the fortification there were found nails, pieces of musketlocks, and fragments of other things which the French use." Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la expedición en la provincia de los Texas* (Mexico, 1722), f. 27.

ST. DENIS'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE RIO GRANDE, 1716-1719¹

CHARMION CLAIR SHELBY

I. INTRODUCTION²

The brilliant, but disastrous, expeditions of Narváez, De Soto, and Coronado within the limits of the present United States gave Spain by 1543 extensive claims in the northern regions. The failure of these expeditions and the ruin of their leaders, however, discouraged similar undertakings, and with asserting claims to the territory explored Spain was for some years content. Indeed no permanent settlements were established within the present United States until the encroachments of other powers caused Spain to take action. In Florida the French were driven out and permanent settlement was effected in 1565, and New Mexico was permanently occupied in 1598; with these exceptions Spanish expansion in North America between 1543 and the close of the century was slow but steady. As a result the frontier of New Spain, except for the settlements in Florida and New Mexico, extended at the beginning of the seventeenth century practically in a straight line from Cerralvo in the lower Río Grande region to the Gulf of California.

This task of advancing the frontier of settlement between 1543 and the close of the century was carried on by such enterprising and representative pioneers as the Oñates and the Ibarra in the west; the Urdiñolas in the region north of Queretaro, San Luis Potosí, and Saltillo; and Luis de Carabajal in the region northeast of Pánuco, or modern Tampico. These men not only reduced the Indians and developed the country, but amassed great for-

¹The writer desires to acknowledge her indebtedness to Dr. Charles Hackett, of the University of Texas, for assistance in the preparation of this paper.

²This introduction is based principally upon Bolton, Herbert E., and Marshall, T. M., *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1920), pp. 55-61, 247-251, and 275-278; Bolton, Herbert E., *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921); Dunn, William E., *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* (Austin, 1917); and Bancroft, H. H., *The North Mexican States and Texas*, I (San Francisco, 1884).

tunes from and promoted mining and stock raising. Missionary activity kept pace with their work.

As a result, two new and large jurisdictions were carved out in the north before 1600. The first of these, Nueva Vizcaya, was created in 1562. Beginning at the Gulf of California and passing just north of the city of Zacatecas, the southern boundary of Nueva Vizcaya extended eastward to and included Matehuala, situated within the present Mexican state of San Luis Potosí. From Matehuala the eastern boundary extended indefinitely to the north and included within the limits of the new province the villa of Saltillo, founded in 1555 by Francisco Urdiñola, senior. The other province, Nuevo León, was created in 1579. From Pánuco the eastern boundary of this province extended 200 leagues to the north; on the west it was to be delimited by settlements of the older province of Nueva Vizcaya. Within Nuevo León, before 1600, there had been established in addition to Cerralvo, and other mining settlements, the town of Monterey, located about twenty-five leagues northeast of the Nueva Vizcayan westernmost outpost of Saltillo. To the north of Saltillo a temporary settlement had been made at Monclova by the governor of Nuevo León.³

The province of Nuevo León progressed slowly until 1625 when it was granted to Martín de Zavala. Under him much progress was made: new mines were opened, new settlements were founded, and extensive explorations were made. In this way boundary disputes arose between the provincial governments of Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León, which boded no good for either the civil or clerical interests in either province. Finally, in 1674, as a means of more effectively controlling the hostile Indians of the region in between the settlements proper of the two provinces, the territory north of Saltillo was erected into the *alcaldía mayor* of Nueva Estramadura, with Antonio de Valcárcel as first *alcalde mayor* under the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. Three years later a further step was taken when Nueva Estramadura was erected into the province of Coahuila, on the same basis as Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León. At the same time Monclova, refounded for the third

³This paragraph is based upon Hackett, C. W., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, I (Washington, 1923), pp. 14-18, and references therein cited, particularly those cited in noted 19, p. 18.

time, became the provincial capital, and Alonso de León, member of a prominent family of Nuevo León, became the first governor of Coahuila.

In 1683 the College of the Holy Cross was founded at Queretaro for the express purpose of training missionaries for frontier work. Under these Quereterans, the mission work in Coahuila steadily advanced, and by 1701 settlements had reached the Río Grande and the mission of San Juan Bautista had been founded there, in the vicinity of modern Eagle Pass, Texas.

If the Spaniards had lost much of their interest in, and knowledge of, the lands to which Spain's earlier explorers gave her claim, the other nations of Europe had not failed to improve their opportunities. England and Holland had settlements on the Atlantic seaboard, and France was exploring Canada and the Great Lakes and Mississippi regions; all three nations had gained a foothold in the West Indies. Spain protested against these encroachments, but was powerless to prevent them, and in 1670 she was forced to make a treaty acknowledging England's right to the territory which she had acquired. No such understanding was reached with France, and the ambitious projects of Louis XIV caused growing uneasiness to Spain. In 1678 it became known that Peñalosa, a discredited Spanish governor of New Mexico, had laid before the French officials a plan by which he proposed to conquer for France the rich provinces of Quivira and Teguayo, located to the east of New Mexico, and of which he professed to have personal knowledge. As a preliminary to the proposed conquest of these regions, Peñalosa offered to establish a port on the Gulf, which also would serve as a base to conquer the mines of Nueva Vizcaya. While the Spanish authorities, in their accustomed leisurely manner, were discussing measures to be taken to forestall this and other reported French plans of aggression, word came that a French colony had already been established on the Gulf coast by La Salle, in the very region which had lately regained interest in the eyes of the Spaniards.

The presence of La Salle's colony did not become known to the Spaniards until many months after its establishment, and then, quite by accident, they heard of it from a French prisoner found aboard a captured pirate ship. La Salle's career prior to this

expedition is full of romantic and historic interest. In 1682 he descended the Mississippi to its mouth, where he formally took possession of all the territory drained by its waters for his king, Louis XIV. He then returned to France and laid before the king his plan of colonizing the region at the mouth of the Mississippi, offering at the same time to conquer the mines of Nueva Vizcaya. His proposal was accepted in preference to Peñalosa's, and in July, 1684, the expedition sailed from La Rochelle. The details of the founding and destruction of the unfortunate colony are well known. By the time the anxious Spaniards succeeded in locating it, only desolate ruins remained to mark the site of this ambitious enterprise. Beginning in 1685, eleven expeditions were sent out by land and sea from Mexico and Florida to locate the colony. At last, in April, 1689, it was discovered by a fourth overland expedition led by Alonso de León from Coahuila.

While there was nothing to fear from the ruined fort in the vicinity of Espíritu Santo Bay, the danger of further French activities remained. Accordingly the Spaniards gladly accepted the invitation of an Indian chief to return and establish missions in the adjacent region of the friendly Tejas Indians. In 1690, under the leadership of De León and Father Massanet, two Spanish missions were founded in the Neches River region, only to be abandoned three years later, chiefly because of the hostility of the formerly docile Indians. Another contributing cause for the abandonment, however, was that the French no longer seemed interested in the region, and took no steps looking toward re-occupation. Furthermore, another danger and one more acute for Spain, was the activity of English traders from the Carolinas, among the Indians of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. In order more effectively to counteract their influence, and because various sea expeditions which had explored the coast in search of La Salle's colony had noted the advantages of it, Spain decided to occupy Pensacola Bay. Accordingly in March, 1693, Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza was sent out from Vera Cruz to explore it, as well as Mobile Bay, and the mouth of the Mississippi. Delays ensued, and it was not until 1698 that the actual occupation was effected by the Spaniards; in that year an expedition commanded by Andrés de Arriola took possession and began the erection of a fort.

To sum up, the temporary occupation of Texas, 1690-'93, and the founding of Pensacola, in 1698, were, as Dr. Dunn brings out, but closely related incidents in the same general movement, namely, the heroic effort of Spain to occupy the Gulf coast region in order to forestall and to anticipate therein a foreign aggressor. It is also clear that when it was demonstrated that the French menace in East Texas was not acute, Spanish interest was simply transferred to the real danger point, namely, Pensacola Bay, with its occupation as a result. This action was none too soon, for, as will be seen, it was taken just in time to anticipate the French on that very body of water.

Until after the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Louis XIV had not been interested in the various proposals made by individuals who wished to follow up La Salle's explorations in the Gulf region. However, after peace had been made, rumors of a projected English occupation of that coast awakened the interest of the crown, and plans were at once made for the long deferred French settlement. In October, 1698, an expedition commanded by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, set sail from Brest with troops, colonists, and necessary materials for a settlement. The French fleet arrived at Pensacola Bay before the fortifications of the Spaniards, who had reached there some weeks before, were finished. The French commander courteously asked permission to enter; receiving an equally courteous refusal, he sailed away to the west, and established the post of Biloxi in February, 1699. The French policy of Indian control was put into operation, and under Bienville and others extensive explorations were made. Several trading posts were established, and in 1710 the principal settlement was moved to the site of present Mobile. Trouble with the Indians, some of whom were under the influence of the English; sickness; and lack of provisions, seriously hampered the growth of the settlement, and in 1712 the unprofitable colony was gladly granted by the crown to Antoine Crozat as a commercial monopoly. La Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, was sent to Louisiana as the first proprietary governor.

Between the Spaniards at Pensacola and the nearby French, relations were for the most part amicable. The existence of the French post at Biloxi was not discovered by the Spaniards until

nearly a year after its establishment—persistent reports that the English were settled on the Gulf having led them astray. The expedition under Arriola which did discover the post made no attempt to dislodge the French, only a formal protest to this invasion of Spanish territory being made to the French commandant, who treated the Spaniards most hospitably. The viceroy of New Spain was powerless to repel the invasion, and the death of Carlos II and the accession of the Bourbon, Philip V, to the Spanish throne, marked the beginning of a series of diplomatic negotiations which ended, perforce, in the tacit consent to the French occupation. The latter, indeed, persuaded the Spaniards that this settlement would be of great benefit in helping to exclude the English from the region. In view of this, relations grew more friendly, and the needy and neglected garrison at Pensacola frequently called upon the French at Mobile for aid in food, ammunition, and ships. Upon one occasion, when an English attack was feared, Bienville expressed willingness to send men as well as supplies, but was unable to do so because of his own forces being depleted. Aid also was furnished by the Spaniards to the French upon occasion, and so frequent did these interchanges become, that a commissary was employed to adjust the accounts. However, the fear that this activity might develop into commerce was expressed by Spanish officials before 1712; when Crozat secured his grant the danger became real. Louisiana could become profitable to him only if trade was developed with its Spanish neighbors. An ambitious attempt to transport goods by water to Spanish gulf ports failed because the latter were absolutely closed to foreign trade, with the exception of the English under the terms of the *Asiento* treaty.⁴ On the other hand, the trade with Pensacola, though small, was very prosperous, and Cadillac decided to try out an overland enterprise. At this juncture, he received a communication from a most unexpected source, which fitted in excellently with his plans.⁵

⁴This was an agreement between England and Spain whereby England was given the right for thirty years to import negro slaves into Spanish America and also to send an annual merchant vessel of five hundred tons burden to trade with Spanish America. See, Bolton and Marshall, *op. cit.*, 273 and 289.

⁵The facts concerning the relations between the Spaniards at Pensacola and the French in Louisiana are taken from an unpublished manuscript

When the Spanish missions among the Tejas were abandoned in 1693, the missionaries in Coahuila did not lose interest in the welfare of those tribes. Father Hidalgo, one of the Franciscans who had been in East Texas, was particularly anxious for the work to be resumed. All of his petitions to his superiors to this effect, however, brought unfavorable responses, and he at last resorted to a measure which showed great strategical ability. In the years 1711 and 1712 he wrote two letters to the French in Louisiana, making inquiries concerning the state of the Tejas tribes. These were entrusted to Indians for delivery, and finally, in 1713, one of them fell into the hands of Cadillac. This furnished an opportunity too good to be disregarded, and he at once prepared an expedition to be sent out under the leadership of Louis de St. Denis, an experienced frontiersman, and, as events proved, a shrewd diplomatist. In his passport he was instructed to proceed to the Tejas in search of Hidalgo, and also to purchase from the Spaniards cattle and horses for the colony of Louisiana. The other purpose, which was not announced, was to discover the possibilities for trade.

The party left Mobile in 1713, and in the latter part of the year the post of Natchitoches on the Red River was founded and some time spent there in trading with the Indians. Hidalgo was not found among the Tejas, so St. Denis proceeded to the Río Grande in search of him. He reached San Juan Bautista in July, 1714, where the commander, Captain Diego Ramón, seized the goods brought by the party and detained St. Denis until the viceroy might send his orders concerning the matter. St. Denis was summoned to Mexico, where he arrived in June, 1715, and was subjected to a lengthy examination as to the purpose and details of his expedition. The appearance of this enterprising Frenchman at a point on the frontier so near the richest mines in New Spain once again caused the French menace to assume the most important place in the minds of the vice-regal authorities. If Spain was to make good her claim to Texas, it was clearly time to set

by Miss Lillian E. Johnson entitled "English, Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1692-1713." This manuscript was prepared for Dr. Hackett's seminar at the University of Texas in 1920.

about it. The re-occupation of the abandoned missions, on a much larger scale, was decided upon.

The expedition, including soldiers and settlers as well as priests, among whom was the, no doubt, complacent Hidalgo, was under the command of Captain Domingo Ramón, the son of Diego. St. Denis was offered and accepted the position of guide. The party assembled at Saltillo and proceeded to San Juan Bautista, where St. Denis had recently married Mañuela Sánchez,⁶ the granddaughter of Captain Diego Ramón. Leaving the Río Grande on April 26, 1716, they arrived among the Tejas in June, where four missions and a presidio were soon founded, St. Denis taking an active part in the work and winning the good opinion of the missionaries especially. He then went on to Mobile, accompanied by Alférez Diego Ramón, his father-in-law, and a soldier, to report the results of his trip to Governor Cadillac.

II. THE SECOND EXPEDITION⁷

1. *Preparations.*—Once more in Mobile, St. Denis seems to have lost no time in preparing for a second trip to the Río Grande. Whether his plans concerned himself alone, or whether he was acting under the direction and in the interest of Governor Cadillac, or others, is not clear. According to St. Denis's own statement, made under oath, his purpose in returning to Mobile was to dispose of property which he owned there, and to collect the salary

⁶The daughter of the *alférez*, Diego Ramón. She often is erroneously called Doña María Villescas, the daughter of Diego Ramón, Sr., the commandant at San Juan Bautista, the mistake being derived, no doubt, from Penicaut's account (see below, note 23).

⁷This account of the second St. Denis expedition has for its principal source an *expediente* of Spanish documents entitled *Testimonio de Diligencias hechas por El sor Oydor Dn Juan de Oliuan Contra Las Personas de Nacion francesas sobre La Yntroducion de Mercansias que de la Mouila y Masacra han hecho a la Prouia, de Quahuila*. It is further described as having *Vino Con carta Del Virrey de Na Spa Marqs de Balero de 18 de febrero de 1718. V. con auiso en 17 de Junio del mismo año.* and is signed by Srio Dn Pedro de Luna y Gorreas. This *expediente* will be referred to hereafter as *Testimonio de Diligencias*. It is to be found in the Archivos de Indias, at Seville, Spain, Mexico, 61-6-35.

A transcript of this *expediente*, in the University of Texas Library, was used in preparing this paper. French sources have been used to complete and supplement the story. The accounts of the St. Denis episode given in most of the earlier Texas histories have been supplanted by the works of later investigators who give the incident in the light of its true importance. The present account is an effort to supply the inci-

due him for services in the French army, after which it was his intention to return to New Spain and become a Spanish subject. His property, consisting of an *hacienda* and five Indian slaves, together with his salary for three years' service as captain at Fort St. John on the Río Palizada [Mississippi], was converted into merchandise, worth about 5,500 pesos in Mobile; it was this merchandise which later he took with him to the Río Grande.⁸ Obviously St. Denis's statement as to his intentions was only a part of the truth, for it is quite certain that he communicated with Governor Cadillac, and gave him an account of his journey. In French sources the statement is made that St. Denis proposed to the Canadians Graveline, de Lery, de la Fresnière, the Beaulieu brothers, and Derbanne, that they join him in a commercial enterprise which involved taking 43,200 *livres* worth of merchandise from the company's warehouse at Mobile, transporting it across Texas, and attempting to dispose of it among the Spaniards on the Río Grande.¹⁰ Gregorio de Salinas Varona, the Spanish commandant at Pensacola, who must have been in a position to secure accurate information from nearby Mobile, also gave warning of

dents of St. Denis's second trip across Texas to the Río Grande, and subsequent happenings in Mexico, using, as has been stated, Spanish sources. That these agree substantially with the French version of the story is seen from an article by Lester G. Bugbee in *THE QUARTERLY*, entitled "The Real St. Denis," in which the author makes use of French sources almost exclusively. In fact, his only Spanish source was the *Testimonio de un Parecer*, which is a synopsis of the history of Texas from 1684 to 1744, written by a contemporary of St. Denis. Comparisons with this paper will be made in the present account.

⁸"Declarason de sn Dionis [Mexico, 1 hasta 18 de Septiembre de 1717]," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 40-62. For a translation of this declaration, see Shelby, Charmion Clair, "St. Denis's Declaration Concerning Texas in 1717," in *THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*, XXVI, pp. 165-183.

⁹Evidently reference is to a company organized by St. Denis.

¹⁰Margry, Pierre, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1888), VI, 200-202.

According to Bugbee's account of this episode, based upon Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de Louisiane*, Cadillac was so well pleased with St. Denis's success that he wanted him to return at once to New Spain with more goods. But, while Crozat's warehouses were filled with goods that could not be disposed of, his agents were unwilling to advance St. Denis the necessary merchandise, probably because of the great risks involved. However, when a company made up of the "most substantial men of the colony" was formed, the agents of Crozat agreed to advance merchandise to the amount of 60,000 *livres*.—Bugbee, *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 274.

such an expedition to the viceroy.¹¹ In any case, St. Denis left Mobile early in October, 1716, either in the company of his associates, or followed by them after a short interval, and arrived among the Tejas Indians some time during December.¹² Diego Ramón, Jr., St. Denis's father-in-law, who had carried on a very profitable trade in horses while in Mobile, also returned at this time.¹³

2. *Sojourn Among the Tejas; the Journey.*—Once more in Texas, St. Denis ingratiated himself with the missionaries by aiding in the construction of two new missions.¹⁴ He also made three trips to the French post at Natchitoches to buy maize for the provisioning of the six Spanish missions. In March, 1717, leaving a part of the goods in the province of Los Tejas, in the care of four of his associates and a servant, St. Denis, according to the account given by Captain Domingo Ramón, started for the Río Grande. He was accompanied by two other Frenchmen, and they carried the merchandise which made up St. Denis's personal possessions which Alférez Ramón had permitted him to bring from Mobile. He also was accompanied by the *alférez* of the Spanish forces among the Tejas, Francisco Hernández, by whom Captain Domingo Ramón sent despatches to the newly appointed governor of Coahuila, Don Martín de Alarcón. Captain Domingo Ramón likewise very thoughtfully sent along his mule train to be placed at the disposal of Alarcón. It is natural to suppose, however, that

¹¹"Carta [de Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona al Virrey, Santa María de Galve, 15 de Febrero de 1717]," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 8-16.

¹²Bénard de La Harpe (in Margry, 200-202) says that St. Denis arrived in Texas on December 24. In his *Declaración*, St. Denis stated that he arrived there "early in December." La Harpe also states that Graveline, La Fresnière, and the others accompanied him from Mobile to Natchitoches, where they arrived on November 15, and from which St. Denis went on ahead with two-thirds of the merchandise, leaving the rest to be brought by his associates, for whom he waited when he reached the Tejas. In his *Declaración*, St. Denis first stated in answer to a direct question that he left Mobile alone; later he stated that two of his cousins accompanied him to help transport his goods; and finally, he stated that at the presidio of San Juan de la Palizada three canoes, occupied by eleven Frenchmen, "whose names he did not know," overtook, but did not accompany him.

¹³"Carta [de Martín de Alarcón al Virrey, Saltillo, 27 de Junio de 1717]," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 24-26.

¹⁴"Declarason de sn Dionis," etc., in *Ibid.*, folios 40-62.

it was to be utilized en route to transport the goods of his nephew-in-law, St. Denis.¹⁵ It is also significant that Alférez Diego Ramón, St. Denis's father-in-law, and the soldiers who had escorted Father Marjil to Texas in 1716, were also in the party.¹⁶ The journey was uneventful except that between the Colorado and Garrapatas¹⁷ rivers the party was attacked by a band of seventy Apaches, who succeeded in driving off fifteen loaded mules and twenty-seven other animals before they were put to flight.¹⁸

3. *Arrival at the Río Grande.*—The Frenchmen arrived at the presidio of San Juan Bautista, on the west bank of the Río Grande, in April, 1717.¹⁹ The merchandise, reported to have consisted of seven mule-loads [*cargas*], made up of thirteen bundles [*tercios*] and a box, arrived on the twenty-second, and were at once seized by Diego Ramón, captain of the presidio of San Juan Bautista, despite the fact that his grandson-in-law, St. Denis, told him that they were his personal property, with which he expected to earn an honest livelihood.²⁰ Having embargoed the goods, Captain Ramón at once reported the matter to the viceroy, and proceeded to await orders, while St. Denis left at once for Mexico City, accompanied only by his servant, Miguel de la Garza, to appeal to the viceroy in person. He probably stopped on the way at Queretaro to enlist the aid of Father Diez, as the latter, on June 7, wrote to the viceroy in St. Denis's behalf. Father Diez recounted the services which St. Denis had rendered to the Spaniards in Texas, and urged that he be permitted to return there at once, as

¹⁵"Cartta [Del Capitan Domingo Ramón al Gobernador Alarcón, Provincia de los Texas, 21 de Mayo de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 102-106.

¹⁶"Carta [de Diego Ramón al Virrey, San Juan Bautista, 2 de Mayo de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 1-3.

Father Marjil was ill when the expedition left the Río Grande on April 26, 1716, and followed later. See the "Derrotero" of Captain Domingo Ramón in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas, Libro Primero, Tomo XXVII, Part II*, folios 135-159.

¹⁷The stream is now known as Onion Creek, and flows into the Colorado River about ten miles below Austin.

¹⁸"Carta" of Diego Ramón, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 1-3.

¹⁹This is the time given by St. Denis in the *Declaración*. Bénard de La Harpe (*loc. cit.*) gives the date of April 6. Captain Diego Ramón, in reporting the matter to the Viceroy, stated that St. Denis arrived on April 19. "Carta" of Diego Ramón, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 1-3.

²⁰"Carta" of Diego Ramón, *loc. cit.*

only his presence could prevent a general Indian uprising, and he was the "only protection which the poor missionaries have in that land." Father Diez urged, in view of these facts, that the release of St. Denis's goods be ordered.²¹ The *fiscal*, in Mexico City, however, approved the embargo, and recommended to the viceroy that Captain Diego Ramón be ordered to send the goods to Mexico City, where they should be sold for the benefit of the *Real Hacienda*.²²

4. *St. Denis in Mexico*.—St. Denis arrived in Mexico some time before June 22. He was well received, although the new viceroy, the Marquis of Valero, was not as cordial as had been his predecessor, Linares, who was charged with having been decidedly lenient toward the French.²³ St. Denis addressed a petition to the viceroy, in which he used the same arguments that Father Diez had made in his behalf. He berated the action of his grandfather-in-law, Captain Diego Ramón, in seizing the merchandise and complained that he had been compelled to sell his arms, saddle, and horses, and a part of his clothing, in order to supply his needs.²⁴ Evidently his appeal at the outset had a favorable effect, for the auditor general expressed to the viceroy the opinion, in view of St. Denis's record of service in Texas, and of his having become a Spanish subject, that the release of his goods was justified, but that he should be warned not to import more merchandise from Mobile or elsewhere, upon any pretext.²⁵ While the viceroy was considering this recommendation, however, dispatches were

²¹"Otra (carta) [de Fray Joseph Diez al Virrey, Colegio Apostolico de la Santísima Cruz de Queretaro, 7 de Junio de 1717]," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 3-4.

²²"Respta fiscal [Mexico, 17 de Junio de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folio 5.

²³Penicaut, in Margry, V, 527-532, says that Viceroy Linares received St. Denis most cordially and tells of several signal favors shown by him to St. Denis. Penicaut's account of the whole St. Denis affair, however, even when stripped of its romantic embellishments, is so different from information contained in official documents that it seems incredible that he himself could have been a member of the expedition, as he claims.

It has further been alleged that St. Denis, during his first sojourn in Mexico, communicated with Viceroy Linares by means of the domestics of his household. "Carta de Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona al Virrey, Santa Maria de Galbes, 15 de Febrero de 1717," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 8-16.

²⁴"Petizon [de Don Luis de St. Denis al Virrey]," in *Ibid.*, folios 5-7.

²⁵"Parecer [del Licenciado Balenzuela, Mexico, 22 de Junio de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 7-8.

received which caused him to veto such contemplated procedure and, instead, to order that the embargo should stand, and that instructions to send to Mexico City the embargoed goods, and any others that might have been brought in, should be sent at once to Captain Diego Ramón at San Juan Bautista.²⁶

The above-mentioned dispatches which the viceroy received came from widely separated sources, but were unanimous in their condemnation of St. Denis. Captain Gregorio de Salinas Varona had written from Pensacola early in the year, warning the viceroy of the second departure of St. Denis for the Río Grande. He stated that St. Denis's first trip had opened up a route by which the Company of Merchants²⁷ of Louisiana had undertaken to supply merchandise to the greater part of New Spain. St. Denis's relation by marriage to Domingo Ramón, captain of the Spanish company in Texas, and to the latter's father, Captain Diego Ramón, on the Río Grande, made it possible, it was suggested, to use both of these localities as stopping places in importing the goods. It was further charged that after reporting to the French governor at Mobile, St. Denis and six companions, with 30,000 pesos worth of merchandise, had again started for the Río Grande. Varona recommended that they be stopped there, or, if they had succeeded in reaching Mexico, that they should at once be arrested; he concluded by pointing out the disastrous consequences of such illicit trade.²⁸

Another complaint came from the Río Grande. Don Martín de Alarcón, recently appointed governor of Coahuila and Nuevas Philippinas [Texas], and at that time en route to the provincial capital, Monclova, had from Saltillo sent a communication to the viceroy, in which he enclosed letters written by Father Olivares from the Río Grande missions. Olivares was loud in his complaints against the Ramóns, the soldiers, and the French. Among these complaints mention may be made of the following: Captain Diego Ramón did not maintain strict discipline at San Juan Bautista. The soldiers killed mission cattle and abused peaceful

²⁶"Decreto (Mexico, 2 de Julio de 1717)," in *Ibid.*, folio 8.

²⁷This evidently refers to the company formed by St. Denis. See also note 9, above.

²⁸"Carta (de Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona al Virrey, Santa María de Galve, 15 de Febrero de 1717)," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 8-16.

Indians with impunity, while Captain Ramón was too indolent and indifferent to pursue and punish the rebellious ones. When an escort of soldiers for a journey was needed, Olivares was unable to secure them, for "the said captain had gone to Coahuila to a bull fight, taking all the soldiers." As to the French, Captain Diego Ramón and all his relatives were in league with them, and the whole country north of Saltillo was full of "Ramonistas." In fact, to restore order, the governor would be obliged to bring in soldiers from some other place. In Coahuila there were three Frenchmen opening up a mine; at San Juan Bautista there were five, one of whom was to marry a Spaniard. Captain Diego Ramón, for appearance's sake, had placed an embargo upon a few bundles of French goods, but had allowed many more to come in unmolested. In short, if something were not done at once, Father Olivares predicted that the whole country would soon become a part of New France.²⁹

Governor Alarcón himself was even more emphatic in his condemnation of the Ramóns than Father Olivares had been. He asserted that Captain Diego Ramón, his sons, Diego at San Juan Bautista and Domingo in Texas, the Protector Urrutia, of Nuevo León, and St. Denis, were associated together in a gigantic smuggling enterprise "in such a manner that all this country is full of contraband goods," the little which was embargoed being held for effect only. St. Denis, who was even then on his way to Mexico to ask for the release of these goods, should, by all means, Alarcón thought, be kept there; the two Ramóns [Diego, Sr., and Diego, Jr.] likewise should be removed from their posts on the Río Grande. With these three leaders removed, Alarcón predicted that the smuggling could be broken up more easily, and the country could be developed into "a kingdom greater than that of New Spain."³⁰

As a result of these letters St. Denis's fortunes changed once more. At the beginning of July it had seemed that he would secure everything for which he had asked; on the twelfth of that

²⁹"Cartas [del Padre Olivares al Capitán Don Francisco Antonio Solorzano y al Señor General y Gobernador Don Martín de Alarcón, San Juan Baptista, 5 de Junio de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 19-20.

Olivares's attitude toward St. Denis was exceptional, as most of the mission priests were favorable to him.

³⁰"Carta [del Gobernador Alarcón al Virrey, Saltillo, 27 de Junio de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 24-26.

month he was in prison. Moreover, the affair had assumed such importance that a special investigator was appointed by the viceroy, at the instance of the *Real Acuerdo*. Don Juan de Oliván, an *oidor* of the Royal Audiencia, was chosen and given special powers, and a salary double his regular one, to conduct this investigation.³¹

5. *Investigations in Coahuila*.—Meanwhile Governor Alarcón arrived in Coahuila³² on August 3, and at once began an investigation of the reports which he had heard while at Saltillo. Upon his arrival the Frenchmen who were at the presidio of San Juan Bautista at once took refuge in the church of the mission of San Bernardo, from which Alarcón was unable to dislodge them. Captain Diego Ramón went to see him with a present; the missionaries were courteous to him and loud in their complaints against the Ramóns, but Alarcón was unable to extract from them any information whatever concerning the Frenchmen or their goods.³³ Father Muñoz, the president of the group of Queretaran missions at the presidio of San Juan Bautista, answered in the name of all the other missionaries, when Governor Alarcón demanded that they tell what they knew concerning the French goods which had been smuggled in. Muñoz said that he only knew "what everyone knows, namely, that the said French goods have entered." When asked about the manner in which the officers of the Flying Company³⁴ performed their duties, he was much more willing to respond, making the same sort of accusations against them that Olivares had made. The company was not kept up to its full number, and the soldiers who were there had not sufficient horses or arms. They were lax in discipline and neglectful of duty, especially in that of aiding and protecting the missions. Other information Father Muñoz declined to give until he had consulted his superiors.³⁵

³¹"Decreto [Mexico, 20 de Julio de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 33-34.

³²The *Consulta* was dated at Coahuila; Alarcón probably was at Monclova.

³³"Consulta [de Alarcón al Virrey, Coahuila, 20 de Septiembre de 1717]," in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 72-79.

³⁴The presidial company of soldiers at San Juan Bautista was called a Flying Company. As opposed to stationary presidial soldiers, they were supposed to be on the move most of the time.

³⁵"Carta [de fray Pedro Muñoz al Gobernador Alarcón, San Juan Bautista, 14 de Agosto de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 95-98.

Unable to secure information from official sources, Governor Alarcón had recourse only to reports from unofficial ones. According to "honest persons" it appeared that the total number of bundles of goods which had been brought in was twenty-nine, comprising fifteen mule-loads [*cargas*],³⁶ and in addition, a very large box of laces, most of which had been hidden. These, it appeared, had been brought by a train of twenty mules belonging to Captain Domingo Ramón, which had at once been driven on to Boca de Leones, in Nuevo León. Governor Alarcón also ascertained that many other rumors were afloat as to the amount of the merchandise and the method of its disposal.³⁷

On August 17, Governor Alarcón ordered Captain Diego Ramón, at San Juan Bautista, to deliver to him "the fifteen³⁸ mule-loads [*cargas*] of bundles, numbering twenty-nine, and a box of merchandise which he seized from Leonis [St. Denis], his grandson."³⁹ A few days later the inventory of the seized goods was made, at which time thirteen bundles and a box, instead of twenty-nine bundles and a box, came to light. The contents of the bundles were as follows:

1. First bundle, a little more than a quarter [of a *vara*] in height and about a *vara* and a third in length, with the coverings damaged: first, sixty-five pieces of narrow Brittany linen of various lengths—six, five, four, and three ells [*aneajes*].

2. Second bundle, about a sixth [of a *vara*] in height and about a *vara* and a quarter in length, with the covering damaged: thirty-seven pieces of wide Brittany linen of lengths six, five, and a very few of seven [ells]; there was nothing else in the said small bundle.

3. A box, a quarter [of a *vara*] in height and a *vara* and a half in length, damaged, with the sides [*tablas*] broken: seven pairs of red woolen hose and twelve pairs of blue, of the best quality; 171 bundles of Flemish thread; eight other bundles of the same; and eleven pounds of very fine thread.

4. Third small bundle, a half *vara* in height and three-

³⁶Ordinarily a *carga*, or a mule-load, was composed of three *tercios*, or bundles. Evidently these *cargas* were unusually small. Attention is directed to the fact that at first seven *cargas* were reported to have reached San Juan Bautista. See p. —

³⁷"Consulta" of Alarcón, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 72-79.

³⁸See note 36, above.

³⁹"Auto Cabeza de proceso [en el Presidio del Río del Norte, 17 de Agosto de 1717]," in *Ibid.*, folios 80-81.

quarters [of a *vara*] in length: two pieces of green twill; a cardboard box [number 23] with fourteen half-bolts of laces of all degrees of fineness; another cardboard box [number 36] with fourteen half-bolts of laces of all degrees of fineness, the three widest from Aberia.

5. Another box of the same [number 38], containing fourteen half-bolts of laces of varying degrees of fineness; a piece of blue woolen cloth of the highest quality, twenty-five *varas* [in length].

6. Another bundle, half a *vara* in heighth and a little more in length: six pieces of blue twill; another piece of the same with a remnant of sixteen and a half *varas*; a remnant of plush of nine and a third *varas*. There was nothing else in the said bundle.

7. Another bundle, half a *vara* in heighth and three quarters [of a *vara*] in length; a whole piece of scarlet cloth; two pieces of green twill; twenty-three pairs of blue woolen stockings of the best quality; a cardboard box [number 34], with fourteen half-bolts of laces of all degrees of fineness; a similar box [number 37], with fourteen half-bolts of laces of varying degrees of fineness; two pieces of Brussels camlet [*carro de oro*], one black, the other cinnamon color, from Mexclala.

8. A small bundle, a sixth [of a *vara*] in heighth and a *vara* and a sixth in length, the covering damaged: thirty-one pieces of wide Brittany linen of seven and six ells [in length], and some of five; there was nothing else.

9. Another small bundle of a sixth [of a *vara*] in heighth and about a *vara* and a sixth in length, the covering damaged, containing forty pieces of wide Brittany linen of seven, six, and a little of five ells [in length].

10. Another small bundle, a third of a *vara* in heighth, and a *vara* and a quarter in length, with the covering damaged, containing four pieces of Rouen linen, of the best quality, of 246 ells; a piece of covering linen, and another of coarse brown linen; there was nothing else.

11. A small bundle of half a *vara* in heighth and three-quarters of a *vara* in length, with an improvised covering, containing seven pieces of scarlet cloth and a remnant, seven *varas* [long].

12. Another small bundle, a little more than a quarter [of a *vara*] in heighth and three-quarters [of a *vara*] in length, with an improvised covering, containing seven pieces of light camlet; a dozen pairs of blue woolen hose of the best quality, and some of red; and three pieces of heavy satin from France.

13. Another small bundle of a little more than a quarter of a *vara* in heighth and three-quarters [of a *vara*] in length, with an improvised covering in good condition, containing seven pieces of scarlet cloth; there was nothing more.

14. Another small bundle, a third [of a *vara*] in heighth, and

a *vara* and a quarter in length, in good condition, containing four pieces of fine Rouen linen, 246 ells [long]. There was nothing else except a cover of linen and another improvised one.

15.⁴⁰ Another small bundle a third [of a *vara*] in height, and a *vara* and a quarter in length, in good condition, containing four pieces of fine Rouen linen, 246 ells [long]. There was nothing else except a cover of linen and another improvised one.⁴¹

Captain Ramón denied all knowledge of the remainder of the goods which Governor Alarcón demanded of him. He said that he had delivered all that were in his possession, and that he did not know of any memoranda or invoices. If any one had them Captain Ramón stated that it was Captain St. Denis. Inasmuch as the latter had at once gone to the viceroy to give a complete account of the matter, Captain Ramón said that he had seen no reason for demanding such documents from him, inasmuch as he would give them up in Mexico. He admitted that Captain Domingo Ramón's mule-train had brought the goods from Texas.⁴²

Nothing more was to be learned from Captain Ramón. Accordingly, Governor Alarcón put the goods in the keeping of Father Muñoz until the viceroy should order their disposal. He then endeavored to gain information by taking depositions of persons at the presidio who were believed to be disinterested. This proved to be difficult, for Father Olivares's assertion that they were "all Ramonistas" he found to be almost literally true. Of the three persons examined, one was Juan Valdez, son-in-law of Captain Diego Ramón, another was his intimate friend, Antonio Martínez de Ledesma, and the third was Francisco Hernández, *alférez* of the company of soldiers among the Tejas, who had been sent by Captain Domingo Ramón with dispatches to Governor Alarcón in company with St. Denis. The first two affirmed that the goods consisted of "thirteen bundles and a box," and said that they had heard that some of the mule-drivers had sold a few articles at retail in different places. These, however, they might have stolen on the way, as the bundles arrived in very bad condition. *Alférez*

⁴⁰The fifteenth entry evidently is an unintentional duplication of the fourteenth. Aside from the fact that the wording of the two entries is exactly the same, the embargoed goods were always spoken of as being contained in "thirteen bundles and a box."

⁴¹"Entrega de los gros. [San Juan Baptista, 23 de Agosto de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 82-88.

⁴²"Entrega de los gros., etc., *loc cit.*

Hernández said that there were fifteen mule-loads [*cargas*] of the goods, instead of seven mule-loads as at first reported, but he denied all knowledge of any having been sold.⁴³ With these unsatisfactory results, Alarcón concluded his investigations in this direction. He had heard enough to be convinced both of the fact that much more contraband merchandise had been brought in, and probably sold, than the relatively small amount belonging to St. Denis that had been seized, and likewise that Captain Diego Ramón and the mission priests at San Juan Bautista were much more concerned with appearing to obey the letter of the law than with observing it in spirit. He was, however, able to intercept a letter written by St. Denis in Mexico on June 13 to Father Muñoz, in which he asked the latter to intercede in his behalf. Governor Alarcón also had reason to believe that St. Denis had sent letters to French officials at Mobile, although he said that he did not arrive on the Río Grande in time to secure these letters.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, after Governor Alarcón's arrival, Captain Diego Ramón had been very zealous in the performance of his duties and very earnest and verbose in his protestations of obedience to the governor's orders. At the end of one of his epistles full of such protestations, however, he informed Alarcón that the Frenchmen who had taken refuge in the church had fled, and that he had at once sent men in pursuit with orders to bring them back, dead or alive. It is significant, however, that he added that the fugitives's friendliness with the Indian tribes would facilitate their escape.⁴⁵ In reporting the incident to the viceroy, Alarcón said that he was sure that they entered the country of the savages "well provided for."

There is little doubt that these elusive Frenchmen, about whom Governor Alarcón was able to learn so little, were the same ones whom St. Denis was reported to have left behind among the Tejas, in possession of the rest of the goods. As early as May, Captain Domingo Ramón had written from Texas to Alarcón, in the same letter in which he officially informed him of St. Denis's coming,

⁴³Declarations of Ledesma, Hernández, y Valdez, San Juan Baptista, August 26, 1717, and Monclova, September 1, 1717, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 88-95.

⁴⁴"Consulta," of Alarcón, *Ibid.*, folios 72-79.

⁴⁵"Carta [de Diego Ramón a Alarcón, Presidio Río del Norte, 14 de Septiembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 100-103.

to tell of the other Frenchmen who remained there with their goods. The letter was doubtless in the nature of a feeler, to discover what Alarcón's attitude toward the Frenchmen's enterprise would be, and to prepare the way for St. Denis receiving the goods. Accompanied by large doses of flattery, to appeal to the governor, he gave as favorable an account as he dared of St. Denis and his associates, adding that he had given the latter strict orders not to leave the province until word should be received from Alarcón.⁴⁶

As a matter of fact, some, or all of the Frenchmen, had already left East Texas, either with St. Denis and those who had accompanied him, or immediately thereafter.⁴⁷ Bénard de la Harpe gives June 5 as the date of their arrival on the Río Grande,⁴⁸ or nearly two months after St. Denis had arrived there. Derbanne, however, who was one of the party, says that they left the Spanish post among the Asinais on March 22, 1717, and arrived on the Río Grande on April 21,⁴⁹ which practically coincides with the dates of St. Denis's trip. Hence, it is not improbable that all the Frenchmen traveled together. This probability is strengthened by the fact that Derbanne gives an account of the fight with the Apaches which St. Denis reported to Captain Diego Ramón. Moreover, Captain Ramón told the viceroy that St. Denis's goods had arrived on April 22, three days after St. Denis himself, implying that he had embargoed the whole of them. As Derbanne and his companions arrived at this time also, it is reasonable to suppose that they brought the goods, and were allowed to bring them in unmolested. The persistent reports which Governor Alarcón heard later, giving the amount of goods as fifteen mule-loads [*cargas*], rather than the seven which were embargoed, seems to confirm this.⁵⁰

⁴⁶"Carta [del Capitan Domingo Ramón al Gobernador Alarcon, Provincia de los Texas, 21 de Mayo de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 102-106.

⁴⁷"It is possible that there were still more goods left among the Tejas Indians. The statement was made that St. Denis had left orders with these Indians to return it to Natchitoches.—"Declarazn [de Antonio Martínez de Ledesma, San Juan Baptista, 7 de Agosto de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 88-91.

⁴⁸Margry, VI, 194.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 202-211.

⁵⁰Bugbee (*THE QUARTERLY*, I, 275) reaches the conclusion that St. Denis went on ahead of his associates and that he had already left for Mexico when Derbanne and the others arrived on the Río Grande. Bug-

Of the details of their stay on the Río Grande, Derbanne says nothing, confining himself to descriptions of the country and the prospects for trade, which he thought were very good.⁵¹ He says that he left on September 1, and arrived at Dauphine Island on October 26. Bénard de la Harpe says that the Frenchmen put their goods in the keeping of the missionaries, and later sold them on credit at a good price, but that before they received their money, news of the imprisonment of St. Denis reached them, and they at once fled (in the early part of September), reaching Mobile on October 25.⁵² Evidently their friendship with the Indians, which Captain Ramón mentioned to the governor, stood them in good stead.

6. *Investigations in Mexico*.—While Governor Alarcón was conducting his investigation on the Río Grande, Don Juan de Oliván was busy conducting the special investigation in Mexico City. In the prison he took the depositions of three persons, who seem to have been arrested upon suspicion of being in some way connected with St. Denis's activities. In the judgment of Oliván, no case could be made against them and they were released.⁵³ One of these was Miguel de la Garza, who had accompanied St. Denis from the Río Grande as his servant. This individual, after having been released, was unable to secure the 200 pesos which St. Denis had promised to pay him, as the latter was still in prison. Finally, after several memorials to the viceroy setting forth the dire need which his "innumerable family" was experiencing in his absence, Garza secured an order for payment to be made to him from the embargoed goods, as St. Denis said that he had no other means of satisfying his demand.⁵⁴ Moreover, St. Denis himself made a lengthy declaration,⁵⁵ in which he emphatically denied any attempt on his part to smuggle in contraband goods. He also

bee's source is a statement in the *Historical Journal of Louisiana* (French's *Historical Collection of Louisiana*, III, 49). He adds,, however, that the dates in the various accounts do not agree.

⁵¹Cf. St. Denis's statement below, p. —

⁵²Margry, VI, 201.

⁵³Declarations of Francisco Pudize, Lorenzo García, Luis de St. Denis, and Miguel de la Garza, Mexico, August 31-September 25, 1717, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 34-73.

⁵⁴"Dilig.a," *Ibid.*, folios 71-72.

⁵⁵See note 8, above.

stressed his desire to become a Spanish subject, and the service which he already had rendered to the Spanish cause in Texas.

After another month of investigation and examination of witnesses, Oliván, on November 4, submitted his report to the viceroy. It was wholly favorable to St. Denis. He reviewed the whole episode of French intervention in Texas, beginning with La Salle, and the measures which the Spaniards had taken to forestall it. Later, the friendly intercourse between Mobile and Pensacola had, he said, caused Governor Cadillac of Louisiana to believe that an expedition to the Río Grande would prove successful, and in 1713 St. Denis was sent out. The latter's service to the Spaniards and the second expedition, resulting in his imprisonment and the confiscation of his goods, followed. With reference to Governor Alarcón's investigations, Oliván stated that the governor had found only thirteen bundles and a box, which had been taken from St. Denis, and had found no evidence of other goods having been brought in, all of which agreed with St. Denis's own statements. Moreover, Oliván stated that other depositions which he himself had taken, had confirmed this, in that none of the deponents knew of such importations of goods.⁵⁶

Thus did Don Juan de Oliván reply to the charges made by Father Olivares and Governor Alarcón, which, he said, gave "exaggerated reports" of the whole country being full of contraband French merchandise. Other charges made against St. Denis were dismissed by Oliván in the same summary manner. On the other hand, Oliván waxed enthusiastic in the enumeration of the merits of Captain St. Denis: He had abandoned his native country to become a Spanish subject, having married a Spanish woman; he gave up the captaincy of the presidio on the Río de la Palazada, sold his possessions, and bought merchandise with which to buy and cultivate lands in New Spain, in order to serve the king in every way, especially in the conquest of the Indians, with whose languages and customs he was very familiar; he fulfilled his commission as guide to the expedition to Texas in the most loyal and efficient manner, and afterwards aided the missionaries greatly.

⁵⁶Declarations of Tomás Flores, Joseph del Rio, Lorenzo Garcia, Joseph Antonio Barrera, Manuel Flores, and Captain Don Francisco de Ugarte, Mexico, October 3-November 19, 1717, in *Testimonio de Diligencias*, folios 130-143.

Therefore, in view of these facts, Oliván heartily recommended that St. Denis's goods be restored to him and that he be given the freedom of the city and its environs, provided that some responsible person should be willing to give bond for him.⁵⁷

There is no definite information that would explain the reason for Oliván's singularly favorable attitude toward St. Denis. It might have been due to honest belief that St. Denis had been unjustly suspected; if so, he must have discounted absolutely the charges made by Father Olivares and Governor Alarcón on the Río Grande and Salinas de Varona at Pensacola. The statements of these men, although not proven officially, and probably exaggerated, would seem to have been worthy of some consideration. Moreover, the appeals of St. Denis himself probably had much influence upon Oliván. After having been in prison for three months, St. Denis addressed a petition to the viceroy, in which he again recounted his services in Texas, and in which he disclaimed any attempt to engage in trade. As to the latter, he said that there was no profit in bringing goods across an extensive and unsafe country, since the transportation costs were prohibitive. In defense of his position, St. Denis cited a law of the *Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias*⁵⁸ applicable to his case. He therefore asked to be freed and to have his goods returned, and expressed the hope that he might be given some commission "corresponding to the zeal displayed by him in the Royal Service."⁵⁹ It was after this appeal that Oliván made his report.

Oliván's enthusiasm, however, was not shared by the *fiscal*. That official acquiesced in St. Denis's being released, under the conditions named by Oliván, and in his goods being returned to him, but advised that he be sent back to France, since he had no special permission from the king to remain. "Notwithstanding all the merits which he claims, and which the Señor Oliván enumerates," the *fiscal* thought that his presence in the frontier region, with which he was so well acquainted, would be a source of danger to

⁵⁷"Pareser [del Oydor Rebellido, Mexico, 4 de Noviembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 112-119.

⁵⁸"La ley primera y octava de la recopilacion de yndias, libro nono y titulo veinte y siete, de extrangeros. Escripto (de St. Denis al Virrey)," *Ibid.*, folios 109-111.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

Spain.⁶⁰ Finally, the *Real Acuerdo* concurred in the first part of the *fiscal*'s recommendation, but decided that the provision to deport St. Denis to France should be "suspended until time and experience shall offer a more opportune solution."⁶¹

However, St. Denis was not at once released. One Don Juan Baptista Guizoldelos, a resident of Mexico City, had consented to give bond for him, and had tried repeatedly to see the *fiscal* in order to do so. That official, however, because of illness and because he was occupied with other matters, had not been accessible. In desperation, St. Denis, in a memorial to the viceroy, asked that some other official of the government be authorized to attend to the matter, as the hardships which he was experiencing in the prison would not admit of further delay.⁶² The petition was finally granted, and on November 22, 1717, the bond was given; St. Denis was released from prison, although he was still confined to the limits of the city.⁶³

St. Denis was not content with having been released from prison and next asked to be allowed to leave the city and return to the Río Grande in order to secure his goods. He also intimated that the missions among the Tejas were probably in need of his services. He had promised the missionaries there that he would return and now wished "to fulfill his desires in extending the Holy Faith and in gaining for the two majesties many souls," much of which, he reminded the vice-regal authorities, might have been accomplished in the time that he had been detained in prison. He requested that he be allowed to recover and sell his goods at once, and expressed a willingness to pay into the *Real Hacienda* the just duties on these. Claiming that his imprisonment had been caused by false information given against him, St. Denis asserted that he deserved to be given complete liberty.⁶⁴ Finally the *fiscal* and the viceroy gave their consent for St. Denis to recover and sell the

⁶⁰"Respta Fiscal [Mexico, 7 de Noviembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 118-119.

⁶¹"Parecer del Rl Acqdo [Mexico, 8 de Noviembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folio 120.

⁶²"Meml [de St. Denis al Virrey, Mexico]," *Ibid.*, folios 142-143.

⁶³"Fianza [Mexico, 22 de Noviembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 144-146.

⁶⁴"Meml [de St. Denis al Virrey, Mexico]," *Ibid.*, folios 146-150.

goods "in the most convenient places," but, for the time being he was denied permission to return to Texas.⁶⁵

St. Denis presumably went to the Río Grande to secure his goods. At any rate these were sold promptly for a very good price in Nuevo León.⁶⁶ Once more in Mexico, however, St. Denis soon disposed of the money. After several months in the city, hoping for some lucrative commission from the government, his "inquiet and turbulent" disposition led him to threaten to use his influence among the Indian tribes to provoke an Indian uprising on the frontier. St. Denis's indiscretions in this regard caused the authorities to determine again to arrest him, but, discovering their intent in time, he fled from Mexico City, on September 5, 1718. He arrived at Natchitoches on February 24, 1719. In view of the time spent on the way it seems probable that he stopped at the presidio of San Juan Bautista or in Texas, or at both places.⁶⁷ Evidently St. Denis's wife did not accompany him at this time, for in August, 1721, while the Marquis of Aguayo was in Texas, Fathers Espinosa and Marjil, in a letter to the viceroy, asked in St. Denis's behalf that his wife be sent to join him.⁶⁸ From the Natchitoches St. Denis went directly to Mobile, where he arrived on March 24, 1719.⁶⁹

7. *Summary*.—Thus concludes a spectacular chapter of a spectacular career. None but St. Denis himself probably could have explained fully the motives which prompted these extraordinary actions, although, from the available facts, a number of different surmises may be made and plausibly defended. The first expedition, 1713-1716, was unquestionably actuated by commercial mo-

⁶⁵"Parecer [del Lizardo Valenzuela, Mexico, 2 de Noviembre de 1717]," and "Decreto [Mexico, 1 de Diciembre de 1717]," *Ibid.*, folios 150-151.

⁶⁶According to the testimony of frontier residents, such goods brought a much higher price in the provinces than in Mexico.—See declarations of Thomas Flores, Joseph del Río, and others, cited in note 56.

⁶⁷Margry, VI, 202.

⁶⁸"Carta [de Fray Ysidro Phelis de Espinosa y Fray Antonio Marjil de Jesus al Virrey, Mission de Nra. Senora de Guadalupe de los Tejas, 18 de Agosto de 1721]," in A. G. I., Mexico, 61-2-2, folios 9-12; transcript in University of Texas Library.

Aguayo also made the same request in "Carta [de Aguayo a Valero, Mission de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Nacodoches, 19 de Agosto de 1721]," *Ibid.*, folios 1-9.

⁶⁹Margry, VI, 202.

tives only, and was in no way an attempt by the crown of France to encroach upon the rights of the crown of Spain, unless the opening up of commerce was to be regarded as an infringement. As a matter of fact, it was so regarded, but the sole responsibility rested with Governor Cadillac, who was acting in the interests of his patron, the proprietor, Crozat. All proposals for the development of commerce which St. Denis made in Mexico, for example, met with immediate and absolute official refusal. No such trade was countenanced, and orders had at once been sent to frontier officials to prevent it. Beneath this inflexible exterior of imperial policy, however, other factors had their effect. For example, the Duke of Linares had been inclined to be pro-French. On the other hand, St. Denis, who evidently had a most pleasing and ingratiating personality, and who was, moreover, a capable and experienced frontiersman, doubtless regarded his appointment as guide to the Ramón expedition of 1716 as most fortunate. For, because the difficulties in connection with the opening up of trade between Louisiana and New Spain were so great—in fact almost insuperable—it seems quite natural that St. Denis should have been willing to assist in the establishment of a Spanish settlement with which trade might easily be carried on from Louisiana, away from the prying eyes of vice-regal officials, and with the willing consent of the settlers—military, ecclesiastical, and civil—just as was the case between the French at Mobile and the Spaniards at Pensacola. Moreover, such a settlement, in addition, would serve as a convenient half-way station between Louisiana and the Río Grande, and, as good fortune would have it, his grandfather-in-law was in charge at San Juan Bautista and his uncle-in-law was the presidial captain among the Tejas Indians. Certain it is that commercial considerations counted for more in his plans than the territorial claims of France, for the Ramón expedition of 1716 had undoubtedly strengthened Spain's claim to Texas.

In case the above explanation is the true one, St. Denis's second expedition may be regarded as an attempt to test out the practicability of the plan. St. Denis accordingly formed a commercial company at Mobile, in which were associated with him several other Canadians. They brought their goods to Natchitoches, from which region St. Denis went on to the Spanish post among the

Tejas, taking a part of the goods, in order to ascertain his chances for success. Finding conditions to be favorable, he caused the rest of the goods to be brought there. On the next stage of the journey he followed the same plan, for he left a part of the goods at the Spanish post in East Texas while he took the balance on to the Río Grande. A part of these goods St. Denis claimed was his personal property, which probably was true; the balance he doubtless proposed to smuggle into San Juan Bautista. In case of an investigation St. Denis counted upon his record of service for the Spaniards, and upon his having married a Spanish woman. As for the goods, these evidently consisted of fifteen mule-loads [*cargas*], seven of which, claimed by him as personal property, were the ones which were embargoed. Diego Ramón by thus embargoing them made a show of performing his duty, while St. Denis was given a cause for protest; the balance of the goods, in the meanwhile, doubtless were quietly brought in and sold. However, the above supposed plan did not work out smoothly enough for St. Denis or other Frenchmen to attempt an immediate repetition. It is even possible that word was sent back to Texas for the goods that were stored there to be taken back to the nearby Natchitoches post. As for the other eight mule-loads [*cargas*] that were alleged to have reached San Juan Bautista, this was never proven, and there was, accordingly, no other course open to the government than to release St. Denis and restore his embargoed personal property. Nevertheless enough of a disturbance had been created by the incident to interrupt the hitherto untroubled career of the frontier smugglers. Captain Diego Ramón, moreover, as a result of the incident came dangerously near losing his position, while St. Denis doubtless did not wish to risk another sojourn in prison. In the light of the above considerations it is not surprising that the more ambitious project of developing a regular trade route from Louisiana to the Río Grande by way of East Texas as a halfway station was abandoned, and, instead, the adventurers contented themselves with the brisk interchange of commerce which developed between the French post of Natchitoches and the new Spanish establishments in East Texas.

THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ

BY

GONZALO FERNANDEZ OVIEDO Y VALDEZ

EDITED BY HARBERT DAVENPORT

CHAPTER II

In which is told the many hardships and deprivations endured by Governor Pánfilo de Narváez and his companions; how they built five boats to carry them to settlements; how the Governor was hit by a stone; how they found robes of beautiful marten skins; how two other boats were lost, with the death of the Inspector and others, and many another doleful tale.—In the preceding chapter I have already told how these people resolved to depart for Aute; and with much labor they did so, and after leaving Apalache, they marched eight or nine days until they arrived at Aute. In the difficult passes and lakes that they found, the Indians attacked them, killed one Spaniard and wounded five or six, and some horses. They reached Aute and found all the houses burned and many fields of maize that was ready to eat were burned also.

After two days the Governor ordered that the treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, and Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, with nine horsemen and fifty footmen should go in search of the sea.¹ He

¹Comparison of the several chronicles of the Narváez and De Soto expeditions leaves no doubt but that Cabeza de Vaca's *Apalache*, Ranjel's *Iviahica*, Biedma's *Iniahica* and the Gentleman of Elvas' *Anhayca Apalache*, were one and the same place, and the head town of the tribes the Spaniards called *Apalache*. *Ochete*, or *Aute*, was eight or nine leagues distant, in a southerly direction; and this latter town in turn was about two leagues, or say five miles, from the shallow inlet of the sea on which Narváez built his boats. From this place the sea could be reached, by water, within three leagues. Yet all the Narváez, or rather, Cabeza de Vaca, narratives state that Narváez's boats navigated seven days in these shallow inlets before reaching the sea for the first time at the pass between the mainland and the little island they called San Miguel.

A logical explanation of this apparent discrepancy is that Narváez' *Bahia de las Caballos* was Ocklockonee Bay; that Narváez built his boats three leagues inland from its eastern entrance; but, after embarking in the frail boats, navigated westward through the extension of Ocklockonee Bay, which receives Ocklockonee River and New River and opens into St. George's Channel near Carrabelle; thence westward through St. George's Channel and Appalachicola Bay, entering the Gulf at the western margin of Appalachicola Bay. Otherwise we cannot account for a seven days'

remained there with the other people, because the greater part of the Christians were ill, and others fell sick each day. So these gentlemen (*hidalgos*) departed with the company, as said, and took the commissary with them.²

The day they left there they arrived at some shallow arms (*barros*) of the sea, where they spent that night; and on the morning of the next day sent twenty men to explore the coast; but they reported that they had been unable to see it, because it was far away. With this they returned to the main camp, where they found the Governor, the purser, the inspector and many others, voyage in row boats even with inexperienced oarsmen, in water waist deep, without reaching the open sea.

Buckingham Smith quotes the Inca's account of De Soto's sojourn in this region, with the comment that Charlevoix, who was at San Marcos de Apalache (now St. Marks) in 1722, says that the inlet there was precisely the one which the Inca says was the port of Aute. But the Inca says that on the two journeys of six leagues each, in which Juan de Añasco's party journeyed from Apalache to Aute they crossed two small rivers, which would appear to have been the streams now called St. Marks River and Wakulla River. No maps to which I have access indicate equivalent streams north or northeast of the present site of St. Marks.

Cabeza de Vaca notes that before reaching Aute (*Relacion* says after leaving Aute) they suspected the proximity of the sea from a large river, which they called Río de la Magdalena, and there is no stream that could be so described (eliminating the bayou or inlet on which St. Marks is situated) nearer than Ocklockonee River. This is not such a large river, but any tidewater stream is apt to appear to be so near its mouth.

Bandelier identified this Río de la Magdalena with the Appalachicola, but evidently had not considered the illuminating testimony of the De Soto narratives.

Oviedo: "We may well believe that this reverend father would then have been contented with his cell in Spain, which he quitted to come to this land, seeking a bishop's coat and mitre. This seeking has lost many of them their time and some of them their lives. And even those who have served God, forget, after achieving such dignities, how few of them attain them.

"I would to God they would not so adventure their souls, notwithstanding those who die without such interests, or ambitions, or desire for prelacies; but wish only to serve God in the conversion of these Indians; which is an honest, meritorious and holy desire. Those are the ones who bear fruit here; for the rest, may God save them!"

Fray Juan Xuarez, Commissary of Narváez' Expedition, was one of the six learned Franciscan Friars, chosen for the example their lives would be to the Indians, sent to New Spain by Charles V at the instance of Hernando Cortés. There he became Superior of the Convent of Huexotzinco, a position he quitted to accompany Narváez, out of zeal for the conversion of the Indians. Fray Juan de Palos, who perished with him, was one of the lay brothers sent to New Spain on the same occasion, and Torquemada speaks of him as pure-minded, simple and devout. See Shea's note, pp. 99-100, of the 1871 edition of Smith's *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*.

very sick.³ After waiting there a day, they left on the next for that place ahead, where they had found those arms (*baxos*) of the sea, taking for themselves all the maize they could carry. They arrived there with much labor, because they could not avail themselves of the sick, who were many. They remained there two days, seeking and considering in what way they could save their lives and leave this land. So they thought of making ships in which they could go, which seemed a thing impossible, because they had no nails, nor oakum, nor pitch, nor other necessary things.

But as their necessities finally brought them to this extremity, they broke up their stirrups, bridles and spurs to make tools; made some pipes of wood, and with some deer hides they made bellows, and other implements of these said things. And because the people were weak, and unable to work, each third day they killed a horse, which sustained and fed the sick and those who worked. And in order to eat of that flesh, others worked. In four or five raids that they made into Aute, with the horses and the most vigorous men, they brought much maize; enough to eat while they remained there, and even some to take away.

They began building the boats the fourth day of the month of August, and caulked them with palmetto fiber, of which also they made ropes, and pitched them with a pitch they made from pines, of which there were many. Of their shirts they made sails, and of the hides of the horses' legs they made bottles for carrying water.

While they were building the boats the Indians killed ten Christians who were fishing in those arms of the sea, in sight of the camp. They were without power to help them, as they were pierced through and through by the arrows.⁴

**Relacion:* "From there they went to find the sea, and on the road found a river to which they gave the name of Magdalena. Drawing near they found some large shallow inlets (*ancones*) which penetrated far into the land in such manner that the coast of the sea was very far from there. Seeing this, some of the horsemen wished to mutiny and desert those who were afoot, but the Governor learned of this, and they were pacified."

**Relacion:* "Here they contrived to make tools and implements for forging, for building brigantines, which were completed in twenty-five days. These were calked with the fibre of the *palmitos*, and were pitched with a certain resin which they took from some pines, and of the bark of the *palmitos* and of the tails and manes of the horses they made ropes and rigging, and of their shirts they made sails. By searching all the land

From where they left the ships to where they built those boats, these Christians had marched in all about two hundred and eighty leagues,⁵ a little more or less (it seemed more to those who marched), and in all this land they had seen no mountain nor had notice of any. The people are very large, of good features and good dispositions. They are all archers and very great marksmen. The bows are ten or twelve palms in length, and as thick as the wrist (at the handhold or near it), and are made of very tough and fine wood. How the arrows penetrate is astounding, and not to be believed without seeing it.

The five boats were finished on the twentieth day of the month of September. These were twenty-two cubits in length. Forty men, a few more or less, had died there of disease. Of these boats, the Governor took one for himself and forty-eight men; gave another to the purser and the friars, with forty-seven men; the treasurer and the inspector another, with forty-eight men; and to the Captains Tellez and Peñalosa, and Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes, he gave the other two, and in each of these went forty-eight other men.⁶ They finished eating the horses and em-

they found stones for ballast. They flayed the legs of the horses entire, and tanned the hides of them to make water bags.

"From the bay they gave the name of de la Cruz to here, they had traveled two hundred and eighty leagues, a little more or less. There had died in this land, of disease, more than forty men, besides those killed by Indians."

"From the region of Narváez' "Bay of the Horses," Maldonado, one of De Soto's lieutenants, ran the coast line westward during the winter of 1539-40, and found a good harbor, in a province called *Ochus*, sixty leagues from Apalache. De Soto thereupon sent Maldonado to Havana for supplies, with directions to meet him at Ochus the following year. After De Soto's disaster at Mavilla, he learned that Maldonado awaited him at the port of *Ochuse*, six days' travel from Mavilla, but refused to communicate with him because the pearls he intended sending to Cuba to sustain interest in his expedition were destroyed at the burning of Mavilla. "The Province of Ochuse" must have been the home of the Seminole *Ocheese*, which was along Appalachicola bay, and lower Appalachicola river; hence De Soto's bay of *Chuse* or *Ochuse* was Appalachicola Bay, which, therefore, could not have been as Bandelier suggests, Narváez' "Bay of the Horses"; and the latter bay is thus pushed well eastward into some arm of Apalachee Bay. Ocklockonee Bay with its long westward extension, which receives Ocklockonee River and New River, and finally opens into St. George's Channel, seems to best fit the facts as stated in the Narváez and De Soto narratives. It is difficult to account otherwise for Cabeza de Vaca's seven days' voyage in shallow, landlocked waters before reaching the sea.

"In the barge of the Governor there were forty-nine men, and as many in the one entrusted to the purser and the commissary. The third barge

barked on the twenty-second day of the month of September, and as the boats were small, with the supplies of food, clothing and arms, they were heavily laden, and did not rise more than a span above the water.

Thus they navigated seven days through those shallows (*baxos*) until these unhappy people came to a small islet, near the mainland. On this they found some *ranchos*, and there took five canoes. And that day they came to the coast, which until then they had not seen. There they stopped the boats, and with the canoes made wash boards, and raised the boats two palms more (above the water), and continued their voyage. Doing this, they entered into many *ancones* which they found along the coast, and into the shallow bays (*baxos*) that they found, and the land appeared always before them; and so they kept on going, knowing not whither they went.⁷

One night a canoe showed itself and followed them a short time, and they turned about to speak to it, but [the canoemen] did not wish to hear them, and as these vessels are very fast, the canoe went on, and the Christians followed their first road. On the morning of the next day a storm overtook them, and they anchored at an island, but found no water, of which they had great need.⁸

he placed in charge of Captain Alonso del Castillo and of Andrés Dorantes, with forty-eight men; in another he placed two captains, named Tellez and Peñalosa, with forty-seven men. The last one he gave to the inspector and to me, with forty-nine men, and after clothing and supplies were put on board, the sides of the barges only rose half a foot above the water. Besides, we were so crowded as to be unable to stir." (*Naufrágios*, Bandelier, p. 40; Hodge, p. 36.)

Relacion: "They finished eating the horses and embarked in the four barges, forty men in each. And thus they put out to sea, without having one who had knowledge of the art of navigation.

"To this bay, from which they departed, they had given the name of La bahia de los Caballos. They traveled seven days through those inlets (*ancones*) in water waist deep, and at the end of them arrived at an island and saw coming five canoes of Indians, who abandoned them, and they found in some houses on the said island many sea fish, and their eggs. They passed through a strait which the island makes with the mainland, which they named San Miguel. They improved and enlarged their brigantines with the canoes of the Indians, and took the road toward the Rio de las Palmas, encountering many inlets (*ancones*) and bays which entered far into the land, all shallow and dangerous, and thus they traveled thirty days, where they found some fish, and poor and miserable people."

*The specific incidents described as having occurred in the course of the voyage in the barges, prior to their being separated and driven out to sea off the mouth of the Mississippi are the same in all the narratives,

They remained there three days, and in five they had not drunk; so many of them drank salt water, and from this five or six men suddenly died.

They saw that the thirst was insupportable, and, although the storm was not abated, they resolved to go toward the region where they had seen the canoe disappear, as has been said.

Commending themselves to God, they put out, in imminent danger of death, and crossed, and at sunset arrived at a point which made a harbor where there was less sea. Some canoes came there and spoke to them, and they followed these about a league to where they had their houses by the edge of the water. In front of them they had many jars and earthen pots full of water, and many fish. And so as the Governor landed, the chief (*cacique*) came to him and carried him to his house. The Indians presented them with the fish and water that they had there; in recompense for which the Christians gave them quantities of trinkets (*cascabeles*) and of the maize they brought in the boats.

That same night, while the chief was with the Governor, many Indians fell upon the Christians, and killed three men who were lying on the shore sick, and wounded the Governor in the head with a stone. Those who were found there with him seized the chief, who sprang away, leaving in their hands a blanket (*manta*) covered with marten sable skins, and very good ones, which according to what the treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca said, were excellent, the best he had seen; and further, all the other Spaniards said the same and praised its scent of musk. They took other robes of marten skin, but none equal to this. The Governor being wounded and sick, they placed him and all the sick and feeble ones they had in the boats. The Indians attacked them three times that night, but in the end they left the Christians. Many of the Indians went away well slashed and many of the Spaniards were wounded that night. They remained there the two following days, during which they did not see a single Indian.⁹

and they are told with little variation as to details. Cabeza de Vaca is, of course, the narrator of all three accounts of this portion of the journey.

Relacion: "They suffered greatly from thirst, for they were six days without daring to leave the sea, so that in the end they drank sea water, and many of them died. So they determined to leave and go toward a point which the land makes, and [there] had a little shelter from the southwestern tempest that afflicted them. They saw many Indians, well disposed people, who brought no bows nor arrows, and they followed them

From there they departed in their boats and after three or four days they entered through some lagoons, and met a canoe with some Indians, and asked them for water; gave them a vessel in which to bring it, and two Christians went with them.¹⁰

The Indians they had kept in the boats for hostages wished to throw themselves into the water, but they caught them. The next morning canoes began to come, so the Christians retired from the lagoons out to sea. In a little more than an hour there were already twenty canoes, and three or four principal Indian lords in them, who wore robes of those very fine marten sable skins. They demanded the Indians that the Christians had, and the Christians demanded the two Spaniards. The Indians replied that they could go with them to their houses; but they did not wish to do this, because the land was very swampy, and with many lagoons. As they did not wish to give up the Indians, since they did not return the Christians, the Indians began to hurl darts and some arrows and so kept up a skirmish with them until they left.¹¹

to their houses, where they found much water, and plenty of cooked fish. The chief offered to take the Governor to his house. Their houses were of matting, and seemed to be permanent.

"They thought they were in safety, but [the Indians] attacked the house where the Governor was and struck him in the face with a stone. They seized the *cacique*, but his people were so near that he escaped, leaving in their hands a robe of marten sable, which was the best in the world, because it had an odor that seemed like amber. The wounded Governor was placed on the barges, the rest remained on the land to resist the Indians. All were wounded from the arrows that the Indians discharged. They abandoned to the Christians more than thirty canoes."

¹⁰*Relacion*: "They embarked again and traveled three days, and passing through a lagoon they saw a canoe, which they asked for water. They said they would give them some, if given vessels in which to bring it, so two Christians went with them and they left two Indians as hostages. The canoe returned without water and without the Christians, by which they were very much disturbed. The next day they came back with many canoes of Indians wearing robes of marten skins, and demanded the Indians who remained as hostages. They did not wish to give them up, so the [Indians] hurled many stones [at them] with slings and darts, and drove them to the sea."

¹¹As was first noted by Buckingham Smith, Biedma says (*Colección Documentos Para Historia de la Florida*, 533): "They said that because there [at Taszaluza] that they could give us nothing else, that we should go to another town which they said was Mavila, where they could give us what we asked. We started for there, and arrived at a swift flowing river which we believed was that which falls into the bay of Chuse. Here we had news of how the boats of Narváez had arrived there in need of water, and that a Christian called Don Teodoro, and a negro with him, had remained among these Indians. They showed us a dagger which the Christian brought."

Our people went onward and navigated another two days, at the end of which the boat in which the treasurer was arrived at a point made by the coast, and behind this was a river¹² which came in a flood, very large and swollen. A little farther back, the boats of the Governor and the others anchored among some islands which were near there, and the treasurer went to them to tell them how he had discovered this river. Because they had found no firewood to parch their maize, and had eaten it raw for two days, they resolved to go to a place on this river, from which they took fresh water in the sea. But going near it, the great current in the entrance to its mouth carried them away from the land, and the wind changed suddenly to the north, and with it, and with the great current, they were driven farther out to sea.¹³

They navigated that night, and the next day until night, when they found themselves in three fathoms depth, and because they had seen that evening many smoke signals along the coast, they dared not land that night. They anchored, but as the current was very strong, and they had no anchors except some stone weights, the current that night drove them out to sea; so at day-break they saw no land, and none of the boats saw the others.¹⁴

Naufrágios also says that the hostages here left among the Indians were Teodoro and a negro. Teodoro was a Greek who had rendered indispensable services in building the boats. According to *Naufrágios* this incident occurred the day before Narváez' boats arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi; according to Oviedo, two days before. In either case it took place far to the west of the bay of Chuse, whether that bay was Apalachicola, Pensacola or Mobile, as various commentators have supposed.

¹²Unmistakably the Mississippi. The description of this great river which they were unable to enter is substantially the same in the three narratives.

¹³*Relacion*: "They discovered a great river, but could not enter it, [and remained] without in a bay formed by many islands. They took fresh water from the sea, because the river poured a flood into the sea. They wished to enter the river, but its current was such that it turned them back to the sea, where they were in thirty fathoms, and unable to find bottom."

¹⁴There is an odd discrepancy between the Oviedo narrative and *Naufrágios* at this point. Oviedo says plainly that it was two days after leaving the place where the Greek, Teodoro, left them that they arrived at the mouth of the great river (the Mississippi), with the current that drove them out to sea, whereupon they navigated that night and all the next day until evening, when they found bottom at three fathoms but were afraid to land, because of the number of signal smokes seen that afternoon along the shore, and that they drifted out to sea again that night and the boats separated. Cabeza de Vaca, the narrator, thereupon continued his voyage and came up with the boats of Narváez and Tellez,

So the treasurer, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose account this is, continued his voyage, and at midday saw two of the boats, and overtook the first, and learned that it was that of the Governor, and spoke with him, and the Governor requested the treasurer's opinion with regard to what they should do. He replied that they should join with the other boat which was in sight; and that all three should go together wherever he commanded. But he responded that he wished to make the land by strength of oars; and that the treasurer should do the same with his boat. So they toiled after him for a league and a half, but since the people were feeble and worn out and had been three days without food, except

about noon the following day, and followed Narváez until evening, when the latter's boat drew away; he then joined the boat of Tellez, sailed in its company until nightfall, and was stranded on the island where they wintered at dawn of the following day, November 6, 1528. Oviedo never again mentions or accounts for the boat of Tellez or its people.

Cabeza de Vaca says (Bandelier, 48-54; Hodge, 41-44) with equal plainness that they arrived off the mouth of the Mississippi at nightfall on the day that they departed from the place where Teodoro left them, and were there driven off shore by the current and the north wind; that they then navigated together for two days and saw the signal smokes a little before sunrise on the third day; that they worked inshore during the day, but were afraid to land, and, while waiting for morning, were driven apart and separated. At vespers that same day Cabeza de Vaca came up with the boats of Narváez and Tellez. Narváez refused to wait for him, so he traveled in company with Tellez for four days, at the end of which the two boats were separated by a storm. On the following day his people began to break down, and their boat stranded on the island called *Mal-Hado*, at daybreak on the next day, which was November 6, 1528.

The two accounts agree that they sailed from the "Bay of the Horses" September twenty-second and that Cabeza de Vaca's boat stranded on the island that he calls "*Mal-Hado*," on the morning of November sixth, thus allowing forty-four days elapsed time for this voyage. Of this time Oviedo accounts specifically for seven days from the "Bay of Horses" to the open gulf; indefinite navigation—more than five days—to an island where they were stormbound without water for three days; a day's sailing to the village of the chief from whom they took the martenskin robe; two days spent at that village, three or four days' voyage to the place where Teodoro left them, a day spent in negotiations for Teodoro's return; two days from there to the mouth of the Mississippi; one day to the place where they feared to land by reason of the many smoke columns; part of a day to the separation from Narváez, and another night to the island which Cabeza de Vaca calls *Mal-Hado*, or twenty-five days in all. Cabeza de Vaca accounts for seven days from the "Bay of the Horses" to the open sea; thirty days, apparently, from the open sea to the island where they were stormbound; six days on the island without water; one day to the village where they took the martenskin coat; three days to the place where Teodoro left them; one day to the mouth of the Mississippi; two days to the place where they feared to land because of the smoke signals, another day off this shore, during which Narváez left them; four days' voyage in company with the boat of Tellez; and another day and night

a handful of raw maize, for a ration, they could not keep up with the Governor (whose boat), handled better, and was faster, and less heavily laden. The treasurer implored the Governor that he should give him a line to his boat, but he said he was unable to do this; that he should do the best he could; that it was no time to wait for anyone; but that each one should take measures to escape with his life.¹⁵

After hearing Governor Pánphilo's impious answer,¹⁶ the treasurer followed him for a time, until he was lost to view, and then the treasurer turned toward another boat which was near, at sea; waited for it, and found that it was that of Peñalosa and Captain Tellez.¹⁷ Then these two boats joined company, and navigated

to the stranding on Mal-Hado—fifty-six days in all, or twelve more days than actually elapsed.

Relacion is specific only as to the seven days from where they embarked to the open sea, thirty days "toward Rio de las Palmas," six days storm-bound on an island without water, apparently as part of the thirty days; a day spent with the *Cacique* of the martenskin coat, and three days to the place where the hostages remained. No definite time is mentioned for the later stages of the voyage.

If Cabeza de Vaca's thirty days are considered as including the entire voyage from the point where they came out into the open gulf to the place where the boats were separated, seven days remain for completing his voyage to Mal-Hado, and according to his narrative, he was shipwrecked on the morning of the seventh day after the separation.

This explanation eliminates the apparent discrepancy between Cabeza de Vaca's time accounted for, and time elapsed, but does not explain the discrepancy between *Naufrágios* and Oviedo as to the incidents mentioned as occurring on either side of the passage of the Mississippi.

¹⁵*Oviedo*: "No such answer was that of the memorable Count of Niebla, Don Enrique de Guzman, who, because of helping others, lifting them into his own vessel, caused it to sink under her load, in front of Gibraltar, and all were drowned. (The *Trescientas* by Juan de Mena and his commentator, in Stanza CLIX, and following.)

"The Treasurer and his companions did not ask Narváez to take them into his boat, but only to fasten a rope so that the faster boat might keep the others going. Even doing this, he could have cast them off again at any time he might have wished."

¹⁶*Relacion*: "Thus they journeyed, seeing by the coast many smokes, and one night they were separated, the one from the others. Early the next morning one of them saw others, and the Governor thought for his part to draw near the land to save his life, without taking measures to wait for the others, and he so directed each of them."

¹⁷*Relacion*: "The barge of Tellez and Peñalosa was lost in a storm, and that of *Vaca de Castro* [sic] went with excessive labor all one night, at the end of which the great waves drove the barge onto the land. The people, who were nearly dead, revived, built fires, and toasted maize to eat." There are many evident misprints in the *Documentos de las Indias* as published, of which this is one, and *Mal Fondo* for *Mal Hado* in Note 3, Chapter III, is another.

together, for three hours, until nightfall, and from the great hunger which they suffered and from being wetted the night before by the sea waves, all the people were exhausted, and not five able-bodied men remained.¹⁸ And thus this night was passed, and some hours before the dawn the master of the treasurer's boat cast the sounding line, and found seven fathoms of water. Because the breaking of the surf was very great, they waited at sea until day-break, when they found themselves a league from the land, and put the prow in towards it, and it pleased God that they reached it in safety. The treasurer at once sent a man to some trees which were seen, in order that he might view the land from the tree tops. He returned and said that it was an island.¹⁹ And he

¹⁸Influenced, apparently, by the language of "Relacion" Bandelier falls into a curious error at this point. His wife's translation of the 1542 edition of *Naufrágios* reads very much as does *Relacion* (Bandelier, 62), being to the effect that after Narváez' desertion, Cabeza de Vaca's barge traveled in company of that of Peñalosa and Tellez for four days, and "at the end of these four days a storm overtook us, in which the other barge was lost". The facts are as stated in the Buckingham Smith translation (Hodge, 43): "Thus we continued in company until the end of four days, when we lost sight of each other in a storm."

This error would have been obvious to Bandelier had he considered the 1542 *Naufrágios* as a whole, because the fate of the barge of Tellez and its crew, as Cabeza de Vaca afterward learned it from the Anagados, an Indian tribe encountered in the tuna region, at least ninety or a hundred leagues westward from Mal-Hado, is thus told in Mrs. Bandelier's translation (Bandelier, 97): "These Indians told us that further on there were others called Camones, who live nearer the coast, and that they were those who killed all the people that came in the barge of Peñalosa and Tellez. They had been so emaciated and feeble that when being killed they offered no resistance. So the Indians finished with all of them, and showed us some of their clothes and weapons and said the barge was still there, stranded. This is the fifth of the missing ones. That of the Governor we already said had been swept out into the sea, the one of the purser and the monks was seen stranded on the beach, and Esquivel told us of their end. Of the two in which Castillo, I and Dorantes were I have told how they sank close to the Isle of Ill-fate" [*Mal-Hado*].

However, Bandelier is not the only great authority who has undertaken, apparently, to expound these narratives without first taking the trouble to read them understandingly, for in a note to the corresponding passage in his edition of the Smith translation, Hodge (p. 72) says that these Camones "evidently lived toward the northeast, north of Mal-Hado Island," in the face of the plain statement of both *Naufrágios* and Oviedo that the Anagados, from whom this information was obtained, were encountered in the tuna region, at least ninety or a hundred leagues "toward Pánuco" from Mal-Hado, and that the Anagados said that the Camones lived "further on" and nearer the coast, than where they then were.

¹⁹*Relacion*: "The land where they disembarked was an island. They found there very tall Indians, who brought them much fish, and some roots like nuts, which they eat. The greater part of them are gathered from under the water, with much labor."

went again to view the country for road or field, and returned in the evening and told what he had found and brought a few fish. Behind him came three Indians, and behind those two hundred more, all armed with bows and arrows. They had their ears bored and fitted with small pieces of cane. And the treasurer and the inspector went to them and called, and they came and returned to the Christians the hostages they had taken, and each Indian gave the Christians an arrow in token of friendship, and explained by signs that early the next day they would bring some food to the Christians. And so they did; because early the next day they returned, bringing fish and roots, on which they fed. And each following day they did the same. And there they provided themselves with water, and embarked to continue their journey.²⁰ In order to launch the boat they undressed, and while pushing it into the sea, a wave came over the bow, and drenched the party rowing on one side, and with the water and the cold, they dropped their oars, and the boat fell into the trough of the waves, and soon another wave overturned the boat, and the inspector and two others were swept under the boat and drowned, and the others escaped, naked, without saving anything that they carried. They remained the rest of that day on the shore, suffering from extreme cold until evening, when the Indians returned to the shore and found them in this state,²¹ and began to cry with the Christians, as though pained by their misfortune, and so

²⁰*Relacion*: "Seeing that they had provisions, they undertook to launch the barge and return to their navigation, but a great wave overturned the barge and took them under, so the inspector and two others were drowned. The great waves thrust the others on the land, half drowned. Those who escaped were naked, and lost all that they carried. They made fires with brands from those they had had there before. All were disheartened by what they saw before them."

²¹*Relacion*: "The Indians who before had brought them food came the next day and seeing them in such condition, were astonished at their return after they had left them, but they gathered that a disaster had occurred, and seeing those dead Christians, they were much grieved, and commenced to cry very loudly, and continued for half an hour. In view of the few resources that they had, they begged these Indians to take them to their houses, which they said they were pleased to do. They carried them there, building fires at intervals along the road to warm them, and carrying them very rapidly, because it was in the greatest severity of the winter, and they had escaped with little clothing.

"When they drew near to their houses they placed them in one in which they had made many fires, so that some did not wish to go there with them because they thought [the Indians] would sacrifice them to their idols."

the treasurer asked them to take them to their houses, and this they proceeded to do, and they remained there that night. The next morning the Indians told them there were other people like the Christians near there, so the treasurer sent two men to learn who they were, and they found that it was Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes,²² and all the people who were in their boat, to whom had come exactly the same misfortune, on the same island, on the day before the treasurer had come to this coast. These divided with the treasurer and his company their clothing and food, which was very little.

CHAPTER III

Which deals with the further trials of these people, and how their leader, Pánfilo de Narváez, was lost, and how these sinners came to such great extremity that they fed on the corpses of their own companions, and other misfortunes never heard of nor before endured so long and continuously by any other people, and which finished with nearly all of them.—When the treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, and those of his barge, were joined to those of the other which had also come to misfortune, it was resolved by common consent to repair their boat and sail on it. They righted it as best they could, repaired, and launched it, but it could not be kept afloat, because of worm holes and other defects. And so, overcome by this misfortune, it was resolved to winter on this island, for they could do nothing else.

A gentleman named Figueroa, with three other Christians and an Indian were sent towards Pánuco (believing that Pánuco was near), that they might give notice where and how to give help

²²*Relacion*: “While here, another captain, called Dorantes, and another, came in search of them, with all the people of his barge, who had been given to misfortune half a league from there, without losing anything. Being altogether, they undertook to launch the boat, which was so bad that when they placed it in the water it sank.

“Seeing this, and that it was winter and very cold, they decided to winter there and send four men to Pánuco, believing that it was near them, to make known their necessity for remaining on the island. These took an Indian from the island that was called *Avia*. Since there was much cold the people began to die. Five Christians who were in *Xancho* on the coast arrived at such straits that they ate each other, until only one remained who had no one to eat him. By this the Indians were greatly scandalized. Soon, of eighty men there remained only fifteen.” . . .

to the others.¹ But in the space of five or six days the people began to die, and such was their hunger that they ate five of their companions.

At the same time a disease of the stomach, natural to the land, killed one-half of them, and spread to the Indians,² who had decided to kill the few Christians who remained alive, saying that they had brought that pestilence to the land. But God permitted that one of the chiefs among them said they should not do this; nor should they believe that these Christians had brought this disease to them, because they also were dying, and but few of them remained, and the Christians would not have brought this bad thing which caused them to die. Because of these things said by this chief, they relinquished their design to kill the Christians. From what followed it was more cruel to let the Spaniards live than to have killed them, which would not have been without mercy, owing to the very great suffering, hunger and torture which they endured when they went two or three days without a mouthful to eat. And because they were all sick and dying, and the natives were dying also, they agreed to cross to the mainland to some lagoons and marshes, to eat oysters, which the Indians eat three or four months in the year, without anything else; and suffer great hunger and very great hardships in protecting themselves day and night from the mosquitoes, which are so numerous there that they cause unbearable suffering; and they have no firewood, and only brackish water. Another three or four months of the year they eat herbs of the field and blackberries; another two months they suck some roots, and eat very large spiders, lizards, snakes and rats (and sometimes they have deer, and other two

¹*Naufraños* (Bandelier, 62-62): "We also agreed that four men, who were the most able-bodied, should go to Panuco, which we believed to be nearby, and that if it was God, our Lord's will to take them there, they should tell of our remaining on the island, and of our distress. One of them was a Portuguese, called Alvaro Fernandez, a carpenter and sailor; the second was Mendez; the third Figueroa, a native of Toledo; the fourth, Astudillo, from Zafra. They were all good swimmers, and took with them an Indian from the island."

²*Relacion*: "The Indians took sick with a disease of the stomach of which half of their people soon died. They believed that the Christians were the cause of this, and wanted to kill them, but seeing that great numbers of them had died also, without their having power to aid them, they saw that they were not the cause, and that it was better to let them live."

months they eat fish), which they kill in canoes; and they eat roots, which are like truffles, which they take from the water.³

These people are of very good disposition, and the women are great workers.⁴

These Indians took Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes⁵ with them across to the mainland to eat of these oysters, where they remained until the end of the month of March, A. D. 1529, when they returned to the same island, and gathered the Christians that they found alive, who were not more than fourteen, and two of these they left there, because they were very feeble and wholly without strength.

The treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, was on the other side of the land very sick, and without hope of life. The others crossed the *ancon*⁶ and went along the coast and the treasurer stayed there,

³*Relacion*: "On this island, to which they gave the name of *Mal-fondo*, the people were well disposed. For arms they had bows and arrows. The men had one breast, and some of them both, pierced through from side to side. Through this is thrust a piece of cane two palms and a half in length and of the thickness of two fingers. The lower lip is also pierced, and in it is placed a small piece of cane the size of half a finger.

"They make their habitations on the island from October to the end of February. They have fish during this time, and the said roots. After this time they go to other parts to seek food.

"They love their children very much and treat them well. When a son dies the parents and relatives and the whole village mourn an entire year. They do not mourn the aged, nor make occasions of their deaths, saying that they have enjoyed the good [of life] and eat the food of the children.

"They bury the dead, except the physicians, whom they burn and while they are burning they make great feasts. When a year has passed, their funeral honors are made, all scarify themselves, and give the relatives the powdered bones to drink in water. Each man has one wife; the physicians are at liberty to take two or three.

"There are other customs, as when a son or brother dies, those in the house of the dead do not seek for food, unless they are dying of hunger, and their relatives and neighbors provide it.

"There are many mosquitoes. Their houses are of matting, over many oyster shells, and they cover themselves with hides for sleeping.

"They remain here until April and then go to the sea coast to eat blackberries all the months in [which they ripen]."

⁴*Relacion*: "Here they made them physicians, for they cured by blowing on all that were ill, saying an *Ave Maria*, a *Pater-noster* and making the sign of the cross over them, and all thus treated said they were restored to health. They use cauteries of fire . . . from which they receive great benefit. By reason of this they had much more respect for the Christians and gave them good things to eat."

⁵*Relacion*: "The Indians who had Dorantes were of another tongue, and were on an island five leagues in length and half a league wide."

⁶*Relacion*: "Dorantes' Indians were on the island, and Cabeza de Vaca [was] on the mainland. Those of Dorantes found means of joining with

where he was, five years and a half, digging from morning till night, extracting the roots with a wooden hoe, which the Indians use for that purpose, from under the soil and under the water, and carrying each day a load or two of firewood over his shoulders and next his skin, without having any clothes on, but like a savage, or an Indian. And thus he served the Indians in these said exercises, and in other ways which they commanded; carrying their houses and their belongings on his shoulders, for every three or four days they moved, for such is their custom, and they have no convenient choice but to seek for roots, because of the great hunger which they have through all that land. They have but little to eat, and no maize, and can acquire none, since they do not cultivate the soil.⁷

The land is very healthful, and temperate, except when the north wind blows in the winter; when even the fish are frozen in the sea by the cold.

Andrés Dorantes says that he saw hail and snow jointly, one day; and that the great hunger which is there cannot be exaggerated, but that further on they found it greater. And he says that these people are more unwilling to die than any he had seen before and that they mourn the dead with much sorrow and affection.

Seeing that the labor was so great and excessive, this gentleman [Cabeza de Vaca] began to contract with them to bring to them

those of Cabeza de Vaca, and so went along the coast of the mainland, without joining with Cabeza de Vaca, who was ill, and so he determined to go to the woods, and inland, and become a trader, and carry on traffic with the Indians. His principal wares were bits of sea shells, hearts of them, and shells with which they cut a fruit which is like beans, with which they cure, and make their feasts and dances. These are the things most highly prized among them there. The wares for which he bartered these in the interior were hides, red ochre with which they rub and tint their hair and faces, flints for arrow points, cement, and hard canes. In this manner he had liberty to go and come as he wished, without being enslaved, or obliged to do anything, and they all desired to give him good food.

"He remained thus nearly six years, going about naked like them."

Relacion: "All these people go about naked. The women wear as some covering a wool that grows on the trees. They divide what they have among themselves very readily. They have no chief, all who are of one lineage go about together. When they visit one they have not seen for a long time they have this custom: on coming, they cry for half an hour, and ending this, he who is visited rises first, and gives to the other whatever he possesses. The other receives it, and after a little goes away with it. They have other strange customs."

from other parts the things which they needed, and thus engaged entered sometimes into the interior, and went along by the coast forty leagues forward; and three times passed an *ancon*, which he said he believed, from certain signs, is that called Espíritu Santo.⁸ The second time he returned those forty leagues to bring a Christian who lived there, one of the two left there very feeble by Castillo and Dorantes when they departed from the island; the other being dead, and the last time he brought him,⁹ and carried him to the other side of said Ancon del Espíritu Santo¹⁰ ten leagues

⁸The history of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico properly begins with the running of its shore line by Alonso de Pineda for Francisco Garáy, Governor of Jamaica, during 1518-1519. Pineda prepared a map, or chart of his explorations, on which he indicated a bay, with a river disemboguing into it, which he designated as Espíritu Santo Bay and river. These were doubtless the modern Mobile Bay and Alabama River, which Narváez' men appear not to have seen, so they identified Paso Cavallo, the entrance to Matagorda Bay, with Pineda's river and bay of Espíritu Santo. La Salle made the same mistake a hundred and fifty years later. (Coopwood, "Notes on the History of La Bahia del Espíritu Santo," THE QUARTERLY, II, 162; Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States*, 59-108. Wooten (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 6-9, note).

⁹*Relacion*: "In the end he took with him a Christian whom Dorantes had left sick on an island where they were when he crossed to the mainland. Going on with some Indians of the land, they went by the coast until they arrived at an inlet [*ancon*] which was a league across and deep in all parts, which seemed to them to be that called del Espíritu Santo.

"They saw some Indians who said that those of the other side had three men like them, and told them their names. They questioned them about the rest, and they replied that they were all dead from cold and hunger."

¹⁰Paso Cavallo. Cabeza de Vaca's account of his final journey from *Mal-Hado* to this *ancon* (*Naufrágios*, Bandelier, 76-77) reads:

"Nearly six years I spent thus in the country, alone among them and naked, as they all were themselves.

"The reason for remaining so long was that I wished to take with me a Christian called Lope de Oviedo, who still lingered on the island. The other companion, Alaniz, who remained with him after Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes and all the others had gone, soon died, and in order to get him [Oviedo] out of there, I went over to the island every year, entreating him to leave with me and go as well as we could, in search of Christians. But year after year he put it off to the year that was to follow. In the end I got him to come, took him away, and carried him across the inlets and through four rivers on the coast, since he could not swim. Thence we proceeded, together with several Indians, to an inlet one league wide, very deep everywhere and which seemed to us, from what we saw, to be the one called del Espíritu Santo.

"On the opposite shore we saw Indians who had come to meet those in our company. They informed us that further on there were three men like ourselves, and told us their names. Upon being asked about the rest of the party, they answered that all had died from cold and hunger, and that the Indians beyond had killed Diego Dorantes, Valdivieso and

onward to other Indians, who were at war with those with whom they crossed the Espiritu Santo. These told them their names, and said that they had killed three or four other Christians, and the rest were all dying there from cold and hunger, and that those who remained alive were being very badly treated. And they added to this much bad news for the two Christians (I mean this Dorantes¹¹ [Cabeza de Vaca] and the companion that he had recovered). And they put arrows to their hearts, and threatened to kill them, and from fear of this the other Christian returned to the other Indians and left Dorantes [Cabeza de Vaca,] who could not detain him, and from there; within two or three days more, he departed secretly, aided by two Indians, who took him to where Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo were.

Diego de Huelva wilfully, and because they had gone from one house to another, and their neighbors with whom was Captain Dorantes, had, in consequence of some dream dreamt by these Indians, killed Esquivel and Mendez also. . . . They threw mud at us, and put arrows to our chests every day, saying they would kill us in the same way as our other companions. And fearing this Lope de Oviedo, my companion, said he preferred to go back, with some women of the Indians in whose company we had forded the *ancon*, and who had remained behind. I insisted he should not go and did all I could to prevail upon him to remain, but it was in vain. He went back, and I remained alone among these Indians, who are named *Guevenes*, whereas those with whom he went away were called *Deaguanes*."

"Comparison of the text of Oviedo with the corresponding passages in *Naufrágios* and *Relacion*, shows beyond question that Oviedo, in transcribing the report to the *Audiencia*, misread his original where the relation by Cabeza de Vaca overlaps that of Andrés Dorantes. In consequence, he attributes Cabeza de Vaca's experiences as a trader, and his final journey along the coast with Lope de Oviedo across the Espiritu Santo *ancon*, to Andrés Dorantes, and begins Dorantes' narrative six years too late by considering it a continuation of Cabeza de Vaca's relation, instead of an independent, and overlapping, report, as it actually is.

The three narratives are all by Cabeza de Vaca up to the account of his illness on the mainland near Mal-Hado in the spring of 1529, during which Dorantes undertook to reach Pánuco with such of the survivors of the winter's trials as were then able to travel.

In each of the accounts Cabeza de Vaca then continues with the relation of his experiences in the region of Mal-Hado during the five and a half years that passed before he was reunited with Dorantes and Castillo on the "River of Nuts." At this point *Relacion* abruptly ends. *Naufrágios* supplies the intervening adventures of Dorantes, Castillo and the negro, from what they told Cabeza de Vaca after he rejoined them, while Oviedo relates the same facts from the independent narrative of Andrés Dorantes, who was the principal actor in them, and knew them first hand. The names bracketed in the text correct it to read as Oviedo's context, and the other relations, show it should read.

When Andrés Dorantes¹² arrived where these two Christians, and more to be mentioned, were, he waited for one of his Indians, and on the first day of April said Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, Diego Dorantes and Pedro Valdivieso departed from there.

The Asturian clergyman and a negro were on an island¹³ backward from where they lost the boats, to which they had crossed because of the much hunger which they had there, and the Indians returned them across the *ancon* another time, in a canoe, to where they lost the boats. There were few Christians who had escaped from the hunger and cold of the winter. And there they took six more, which made their number twelve Christians in all. There remained on the island two who, from weakness, could not go, and Cabeza de Vaca and another Christian who were more inland, and could not be had.¹⁴ And the Indians took them across another *ancon* for certain things which they gave them. And from there they went two leagues to a great river,¹⁵ which was beginning to swell from floods and rains, and there they made rafts, and crossed with much difficulty because they had among them few swimmers. And from there they went three leagues to another river,¹⁶ that came with much power and volume, and

¹²The narrative of Andrés Dorantes begins here.

¹³For the evidence that this was Galveston Island, and that "Mal-Hado," or the "Island where they lost the boats," was the next island west of Galveston, and now a peninsula, see Davenport and Wells, "First Europeans in Texas, 1528-1536," THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 119-123.

¹⁴*Naufrágios* (Bandelier, 72-73): "After Dorantes and Castillo had come back to the island, they gathered together all the Christians, who were somewhat scattered, and there were in all fourteen. I, as told, was in another place, on the mainland, whither my Indians had taken me, and where I suffered from such a severe illness that, although I might otherwise have entertained some hope for life, this was enough to take it away from me completely. When the Christians learned of it they gave an Indian the robe of marten we had taken from the *cacique*, as stated, in order that he should guide them to where I was, to see me, and so twelve of them came, two having become so feeble that they did not dare to take them along.

"The names of those who came are Alonso del Castillo, Andrés Dorantes and Diego Dorantes, Valdivieso, Estrada, Tostado, Chaves, Gutierrez, an Asturian priest, Diego de Huelva, Estebanico, the negro, Benitez, and as they reached the mainland they found still another of our men named Francisco de Leon, and the thirteen went along the coast. After they had gone by, the Indians with whom I was told me of it, and how Hieronimo de Alaniz and Lope de Oviedo had been left on the island. My sickness prevented me from following or seeing them."

¹⁵Oyster Creek, THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 119-120.

¹⁶Brazos River, *Id.*, 120.

with such fury that the fresh water drove with great moment into the sea. And there they again made some rafts, and crossed on them; and the first crossed well, because it was favored, but the second was drawn out to sea, because they had become feeble and exhausted from the labors of the past winter and of the road, and they had eaten nothing but an herb that they called *pedrera* (that they had much by the coast) used in Spain to make glass, and some shell fish that grow in holes on the coast and that have little else but the shell;¹⁷ and they could not control this raft, and there two men were drowned, and two others saved themselves by swimming, and the raft was carried with the current more than a league into the sea, with one man clinging to it, and when he saw he was out of the current, he raised himself and made a sail of his person, and the wind was from the sea, and pushed him to the land and he escaped.

There now remained but ten of the twelve men who had started, and there they found another Christian, who also went with them. And from there they went onward three or four leagues and arrived at another river,¹⁸ and there found one of their five boats, which they recognized as the one in which had gone the purser, Alonso Enriquez, and the commissary, but learned nothing of what had become of its people. And they went onward another five or six leagues to another great river,¹⁹ on which were two *ranchos* of Indians, who fled. But from the other side of the river, Indians crossed to the Christians, and recognized them, because they had seen there those of the boat of the Governor, and of the boat of Alonso Enriquez; and they assisted them across the river in a canoe. They took them to their houses, but had nothing to eat. They gave them a little fish, with which they passed that night.

The following day they departed from there, and on the fourth day they came to an *ancon*,²⁰ two men having died on the road from hunger and exhaustion. For that reason there were now

¹⁷Sand crabs.

¹⁸San Bernard River, THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 120. Hodge mistakenly says that this barge was lost at the Mississippi delta.

¹⁹Caney Creek, then a main channel of the Colorado River, *Id.*, 120-121.

²⁰Paso Cavallo, THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 132-133. Note 10, Chapter III, above.

but nine persons. This *ancon* was broad, more than a league across, and made a point toward the Pánuco side which went out to sea a fourth of a league, with some large mounds of white sand, for which reason it must have been visible at a great distance in the sea; and for this reason they suspected that it must be the river Espíritu Santo. And there they became very tired, for they were unable to find means to cross; but finally they found a broken canoe and repaired it the best they could, and in the two days that they remained there they crossed the *ancon* and followed their road much exhausted from hunger and the most of them swollen from the herbs that they ate; and they came with much difficulty to a small *ancon*²¹ which was twelve leagues onward. This *ancon* had little width; it was not more than a river in breadth. And there they halted the day they arrived. On the following day an Indian came to the other side, but though they called he would not come. He went away, but returned in the evening and brought with him a Christian who was called Figueroa, and was one of the four messengers who were sent the winter before to seek if they might find a land of Christians, as has been said. And there he told how the other three companions were dead; two from hunger, and the other killed by Indians. And he told how they had met with a Christian who was called Esquivel, who was the sole survivor of the two boats of the Governor and of Alonso Enriquez, who had eaten the flesh of those who died, and that all the rest were dead from hunger; and some of them had eaten twelve of the others, and that the boat of Alonso Enriquez was cast ashore where the others had found it,²² as has been said. And as they (those of Enriquez's boat) went forward along the coast, they met the Governor with the others, who still went in their boat by the sea.

The Governor, when he saw them, determined to put all these people on the beach, because it made the boat lighter, and because those with him were tired of the sea, and had nothing to eat. Those in the boat stayed in sight of them, so that when they came to a river or *ancon*, they crossed them all in the boat. And they arrived at the *ancon*, which, as said, they believed was the Espíritu Santo.

²¹Cedar Bayou, the "pass" or inlet between Matagorda and St. Joseph's islands. *Id.*, 133.

²²That is, at the mouth of San Bernard River. *Id.*, 124.

There the Governor crossed all the people to the other side of the *ancon*, and he stayed in the boat, and did not disembark. There remained with him only one pilot, who was called Anton Perez, and a page of his, who was named Campo; and while there, after nightfall, a very strong north wind carried them to sea; and they knew nothing more of them. The Governor was very feeble and infirm, and full of leprosy, and those with him were not very strong, from which they believed they were lost at sea. All the people who stayed there had entered through certain lagoons and marshes, which were there, and by land inland, like people without hope, where all died that past winter from hunger and cold, and some of them ate the others, as has been said. He knew nothing else to tell, except that Esquivel moved about there, held by some Indians, and that probably they could see him soon. But after about a month, more or less, they learned that the Indians with whom he was had killed him because he had left them, and that they had searched for him and killed him.²³

²³Cabeza de Vaca is somewhat more explicit as to Figueroa's account of the fate of Narváez' men, after the loss of the latter (Bandelier, 84-85): "Thereupon the people who had remained on land proceeded along the coast, and being much impeded by water, built rafts with great trouble, in which they passed to the other side. Going ahead, they reached a point of timber on the beach, where they found Indians, who upon seeing them approach, placed their lodges on the canoes and crossed over to the other side of the coast, and the Christians, in view of the season and weather, since it was in the month of November, remained in this timber, because they found water and firewood, some crawfish and other sea food, but from cold and hunger they began to die. Moreover, Pantoja, who remained as lieutenant, ill-treated them. On this Sotomayor, brother of Vasco Porcallo (the one from the island of Cuba, who came in the fleet as Maestro de Campo), unable to stand it longer, quarreled with Pantoja, and struck him a blow with a stick, of which he died. Thus they perished one after another, the survivors slicing the dead for meat. The last one to die was Sotomayor, and Esquivel cut him up and fed on his body until the first of March, when an Indian, of those who had taken to flight previously, came to look if they were dead and took Esquivel along with him."

The facts stated are insufficient to identify with any certainty the site of the "point of timber on the beach."—Smith's translation has this, more accurately, on the "banks of the water"—where Narváez' army came to its wretched end, but the facts given do permit some interesting speculation as to its location. The crossing on the rafts was from the coastal islands to the mainland, for Dorantes says that they "entered through certain lagoons and marshes, inland." Since they found sea food, firewood and fresh water together, at a place from whence the Indians departed in canoes, in a region where timber is usually to be found only along water-courses, their camp was almost certainly at the mouth of one of the streams that flow into the bay between Cedar Bayou and Corpus Christi

There they remained with this Christian a short time and heard this bad news which he told them. And because the Indian with whom he came would not let him go, he was forced to return with him. And because the others did not know how to swim, only two of the (other) Christians could go with him. One was a clergyman called *Asturiano* and the other was a youth and a swimmer. Because none of the others knew how to swim they stayed there. These two went with the intention of bringing some fish which they said they had, and returning across the *ancon*. But when the Indians saw them in their houses they decided not to return with them, or permit them to return. First they moved their houses in canoes, and carried the other two Christians with them, saying that they would return soon; that they were going from there for a certain leaf,²⁴ which they are accustomed to gather and with which they make a certain beverage, which they drink as hot as they can bear it. And one of the two Christians returned to the others the next morning to tell them this, and he brought the other seven Christians a few fish, which they had given him; and they remained there that day from the many necessities they had.

On the morning of the following day two Indians came from the other side, who were from a *rancho*, and came there to arrange for eating blackberries, that are had in some parts of that coast. They move to them for some time, while the berries last, which they know to be very good, and they are sufficient food to sustain them while they are there. They called to them and they crossed to where these Christians were, as to people for whom they had little respect; and although they took from them part of what they had, almost by force, they begged them to take them across, which they did, in a canoe, and took them to their houses, with which they joined, near there, and that night they gave them a few fish. The next day they went out to fish, and returned that night with fish, and gave them part of them; and early the following day they moved and took the Spaniards with them, in such manner that

Bay, which are, Bergantin Creek, Mission River, Copano Creek and Aransas River. Possible alternatives are False Live Oak Point, Lamar Peninsula and Live Oak Peninsula, on which Rockport is situated.

²⁴Yupon, or *Ilex Cassine*; a species of holly, which grows near the Texas coast, the leaves of which contain the alkaloid *theine*. I have never seen yupon west of the Guadalupe.

they could see nothing more of the other two Christians that the Indians had taken away.²⁵

²⁵*Oviedo*: "Almighty God, what excessive labor for such a short life as man's! What torments to be borne by the human body! What intolerable hunger! What extremity of misfortune for sensitive flesh. What horrible deaths for reasonable men! How punish the officers and ministers [responsible for] this expedition, who in such manner deceived and cheated men into dying such tragic deaths? Can they reply that they are punished with the same avarice as those who credited their words?"

"We know that Pámphilo de Narváez had never before been in the land where he intended to take these people, and become their lord and governor, when methinks he knew not how to govern himself. Could there be greater folly than to listen to and follow such a leader? And how skillful were their pilots, who knew neither where they were going now where they were, when they passed to that land. And so the men of the land and the men of the sea ended their journeys in death, without either knowing the fate of the others.

"To die in battle, or to be drowned on a voyage in an angry sea; or through misfortune, to perish from disease; when one is prepared to die, is a matter for much seriousness and fear, and unhappy is he who thus suffers. But such ill fortune has its good side, because the Christian who dies in battle, or who goes to war, has first confessed, made his will and provided for his soul, and while the war continues serves his prince; and a man who dies so is on the road to salvation, because he goes at the command of his king or his lord, whom he can not fail without losing his honor, and incurring the shame of being a false vassal and a bad servant. He who is drowned, has, as a Catholic, before beginning his voyage confessed and received the body sacrament and provided for his soul, and then follows his way, whether as he is commanded, or to comply with his duty, or goes as a merchant, or to seek a livelihood, or for other just cause, or honest reason; until he is crossed by death, without fear of the judgment. And if, as said, death comes with disease, God, in his mercy, has given him time to atone for his sins.

"And so, it is safer for a gentleman to continue in the service of his betters; for the squire to perform his accustomed duties; so that if these be not enough for him, he may be enough for them; for the artisan to not forsake his employment, nor the husbandman his plow; for in digging and tilling, and the other labors they leave to come to the Indies, they have more peace, and better security for body and soul, than in choosing such imprudence, folly and danger, as following Pámphilo de Narváez. Of Cuba, and what there is in it, and where to travel there, he might have told you surpassing well; but where he took you he did not know where he was going nor whither he had gone. He had neither seen it, nor knew what he sought; but only that he desired to quit his retirement for a command. Had he been the only sufferer, the damage would not have been so great, but with his inventions and fables, he brought others to these parts, where he could neither escape death, nor fail to bring it to all of them.

"Tell me, now, my readers, did you ever hear of another people so unfortunate, so mishandled, so ill-advised? Compare with these the wanderings of Ulysses; the voyage of Jason, or the labors of Hercules; all of which are fictions and metaphors, which, known as they should be known, are not found to be so marvellous nor at all to be compared with the trials of these sinners, who travelled this unhappy road to its end. Each and

all of them suffered more than those said three heroes, even if you put with them Perseus with his Medusa; who did not wander as did these.

"Oh, accursed gold! Oh! such dangerous gains and treasures! Oh! marten sable furs! I well believe that if the price of such a robe be reckoned (as this history says was left to Narváez when they stoned him) that while the price of those cloaks worn in winter by the princes and lords of Europe may be greater and may be more esteemed; they are purchased with money, while the price of this other was blood and human lives; and even so they could not bring it out from among those savage people.

"Let us return to this history, of which we have not reached the end, although of all the people who came with Narváez but a few men remain, as we shall learn in the following chapter, proceeding with this same relation of this gentleman, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions."

THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY E. W. WINKLER

X

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, June 24th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I enclose an opinion of Gov. E. M. Pease given in response to my request for the benefit of my *special friend*. I notice what you say in regard to the latter in your favor of the 13th inst. When you told me that the appointment would be given to a purely Southern man, and that it rested between Ballinger and Hunt, I felt satisfied your choice must fall on the former on account of his superiority over the latter, and from his eminent fitness for the place. I did not expect however an early announcement of your choice from what you then said, but as you have voluntarily referred to it, I am induced to say to you, that as soon as you can *privately* remove the suspense, it would be very satisfying to me for you to do so. I understand that the leading Republicans of the legal profession of this State have given recommendations in favor of Ballinger except Gov. Davis, who is absent. Should you see him, I hope you will catechise him about Ballinger. Should you appoint Judge B. you will have near you a friend worth having.

I wish now to say briefly a word or two in behalf of Gov. Pease. I do this without the knowledge or prompting of any one. Gov. Pease is the most deserving of notice among the Republicans of this State, being first in character, capacity and identification with the true interests of the country. If you could call his services into requisition, I feel sure that in *administration* and *finance* there is no situation to which you could appoint him that would not be *well filled*; for he is able, honest and faithful, possessing thorough business habits and untiring industry, and with large experience in public affairs. He is now conducting a National Bank at Austin. He is a liberal Republican and thoroughly identified from long residence and large property with Texas.

Sincerely your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I am glad you approve "the interview"; it was designed to benefit you and it would pain me to know that it had not.

(Enclosure: E. M. Pease's Statement, June 13, 1877.)

Austin, Texas, 13 June, 1877.

I understand that the name of W. P. Ballinger, Esq., of this State has been presented to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Davis, as an associate [justice] of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. B. has been engaged in the practice of his profession in Texas for about thirty years, during a large portion of which time I have practiced in the same county with him, and it affords me pleasure to state that his reputation is not excelled by any lawyer in the State. I think him [in] every way qualified and believe that he would do honor to the position.

E. M. Pease.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Executive Mansion,
Washington, 4 July 1877.

My dear Guy:

I have been too busy to write you for some time. The date reminds me of the Old Kenyon days: Once we had almost a collision between Northerners and Southerners. Once we spent it together with "Trow," Perry, and Jones, gathering and eating mulberries and the like. We are now getting old, and it is I assure you a happiness to think that I have done, and am doing something, to make this people indeed one people.

New England's best citizens greeted us at Boston, Cambridge, Providence, Newport and other places in a way (not deserved I know, but,) that went to our hearts.

I hope to do good work yet. In four months I have made many mistakes in details, in appointments and removals, but the general current, the purpose has been in the right direction. Don't feel hurt if I am silent too long. Write.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Private.

Dear Rud:

Galveston, August 11th, '77.

On my return from the Brazos a few days since, I found yours of the 4th ult. On the "Fourth of July" the people of Galveston

and Brazoria counties met in their respective counties and celebrated *the day*, declaring that now, under the present administration, they had the heart and hope to do this, for the first time since the close of the war. From this you see that your efforts "to make this people indeed one people" are appreciated here. I have never faltered in sustaining you but have been doing everything I could to help you. I read of your receptions in New England, and I was glad to see and learn from you that they were cordial and from the best people. I notice what you say about "mistakes in details, in appointment, removals," etc. This is natural. Can't be avoided entirely, but, surrounded as your position is with the peculiar atmosphere of Washington, it would be remarkable if you did not at times make mistakes, (and I do not say this from recollection of the Story of Gil Blas and the Bishop). The fact that you see, feel and admit errors is the best evidence that you are on the safe road. Would that all those about you were disinterested, patriotic, and experienced, and valued good of country, and the success of your principles paramount, but perhaps this is too much even to hope for.

I notice in N. Y. *Herald* that you have decided to appoint Hunt (but I do not believe the report); his domestic character is tarnished; he had to resort to a Louisiana Legislature *since the war* to relieve and whitewash him from this reproach. If appointed his presence on the Bench would be felt by the whole Court as disagreeable.

I am forced at times to give letters to you when I would prefer not to. Recently I gave Gen'l Bowers a letter asking your favor on its merits to the proposition he bore in regard to a railroad to Rio Grande. Remember I once said to you about such letters "when I say to you a man has *my confidence* you can then trust him fully"; *this was not said in the letter Bowers bore*; and whenever I don't use that word I intentionally omit it, for I will act towards you as faithfully as I would to one of my brothers. I will not mislead you for any consideration or for the personal benefit of any one. A friend of Rogers recently applied to me for a letter. I declined giving it, but because Rogers requested him to call on me, I endorsed his application (for appointment to the marshalship of Eastern District of Texas), saying some of the signers were eminent, etc. I did not know the person and never heard of him before; he said he was from Ohio. Gov. Davis

remarked to me a few days since that you spoke to him of my brother Austin in connection with this appointment. I simply remarked that I had not heard of it, but no better man than Austin Bryan lived in Texas; he said that he would be satisfied with his appointment, etc.

I notice the Jesuitical course of Blaine. He strives to raise a storm against you and then with adroit hypocrisy endeavors apparently to allay it. You are steadily growing stronger and stronger in the South, and you are strong in Texas. You could most effectively advance your policy in the South, and bring the latter to support your administration by appointment of Southern Democrats (good men) to office. By so doing you place yourself in accord with the intelligence, virtue and property of this section, and these virtues (except property) are rarely met with in the "Radical" office-holders at the South. Permit me to suggest to you, that in your message (with carefully considered words) you separate yourself from Packard by placing your title to the Presidency on the *action* of Congress, and that by this action you were left no option as to your course but to abide and carry out the decision of Congress. For it cannot be denied that thousands in the North and a majority at the South think you were not elected. By this course you dispose of the Packard question, at least separate yourself from him, and place clearly before the minds of fair minded men of all parties a *proper division of the question*. I think this is needed, and that the time to do it is in your first message. You may think differently; if so take my suggestion as meant kindly and for your benefit, and as coming from a true friend, not thinking of self but of you and your usefulness.

As ever sincerely,

G. M. B.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, Sept. 10th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I shall leave here with my oldest daughter to place her at Hollins Institute near Salem, Va., at opening of the school. I shall be at Salem on the 18th & 19th proximo (and may go to Richmond and meet you there). I would go by Louisville to attend your reception there but for the *additional expense*; (the same reason that prevents me from accepting your two kind invi-

tations to take my children on a visit to yours to Fremont, and your invitation to me to go with you to the Centennial). The war and its results have made me *real poor*. But your policy for fraternity and good local government gives to many in the South hopes for our future prosperity that had nearly died out. I am glad that you are on this fraternal tour. Your policy is a success with the South. *You have captured Texas*. I am sorry that you cannot now extend your visit this far.

Present me kindly to Mrs. Hayes and believe me as ever

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

BRYAN TO HAYES

New York, Oct. 12th, 1877.

Dear Rud:

I enclose you a letter just received from Ballinger in reply to one I wrote from Washington, enclosing newspaper article in favor of H. V. Johnson and expressing my opinion that he was a formidable candidate and backed by Stephens and Georgia delegation, etc. I want you to read it (and return to me) for I think it will give you a better idea of Ballinger, and with the hope it will add might to what I have said in regard to Judge Campbell. I would never repeat to you what I have said unless I was confident that I was right.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I shall leave for Washington on Saturday.

(Enclosure: Ballinger to Bryan, Oct. 4, 1877.)

Galveston, Oct. 4, '77.

Dear Bryan:

I have your letter, and have read it, of course, with interest. I have suffered myself, on account of the greatness of the place, and the opportunity for a useful and honorable name, to become somewhat enlisted, tho' never with any serious expectation of appointment, and with gravest misgivings, if appointed, that it could promote my happiness or that of my family.

When I declined going on our own Supreme Court Bench, it was with a very fixed feeling that I should adhere throughout to the pursuit of my profession & to private life, and I took pride to

myself as an independent gentleman, and wholly a nonoffice-seeker. I am afraid you have lost me my reputation!

Voluntary, zealous support of me for so elevated, so noble a position of those who have taken such interest, will always remain grateful to me and a source of just pride, and it can not result injuriously.

I shall not be disappointed. I have been all the while, as you know, like John Wilkes, when his friends were pressing him for Parliament, very little of a Wilkesite!

Put in the place, I would have consecrated myself to its great duties. But with sincerest misgivings for my judicial reputation, and more, for that contentment and those surroundings of true, domestic happiness which I possess in large measure, and should regret in any degree to sacrifice.

To be on the Supreme Bench of the U. S. and prove a third or fourth rate Judge, does *not* greatly attract me. My place at the Bar, and among the lawyers of our own loved Texas, is more grateful to me than that. Lifelong devotion to my tasks has given me good position here, but how I could meet the great requirements of truly honorable service of the Supreme Bench I don't know.

Mr. Webster once said with reference to filling a vacancy on the Bench, in answer to the suggestion of the qualifications of *various* lawyers for the place, "No, there is *but one* fit man for it." And when asked, who? added, "the best lawyer the country affords."

That only describes the high and imperative standard the office should exact. There is no mathematical or other mode of making such selection. Still, it should be the one object.

And, if friends had not brought my name forward, it is an aspiration I should never have volunteered.

I am not familiar with the history of Judge Johnson of Georgia. He is no doubt a very able man. But I supposed his life had been almost wholly *political*. In his old age he is on the Circuit or District Court of his State—*not*, I believe, the Supreme Court. I have not connected him, from any outside information—with the juridical men, the able lawyers of his State. (May be so. I merely am not aware of it.) I have been a diligent reader of the U. S. Supreme Court Reports since I was a young lawyer. His abilities have certainly carried him very

rarely before that Court. I suspect, too, he is an interior country lawyer, wholly unversed in the Federal jurisprudence. Federal laws, jurisdiction, etc., is a specialty. A man may be an able State lawyer, and know less about them than he does the laws of a distant country. I hope he possess all the requisites. I hope he is not a *political* appointment. That it is not his being *candidate for Vice President with Douglass*, his *political prestige*, which constitute the real and true elements of his choice.

I had felt strong assurance that the President would govern himself by the highest professional standard, that he would look first and last to Lawyers, and that the day was gone that old Politicians would be rewarded with judicial place. I confess to a jealousy against the political element in the control of selections for the Bench. Of all men, it stands to analogy from his other acts that the President for the Bench would give weight, and weight alone, to legal qualifications. I trust this will prove so, and that Judge Johnson's qualifications are far more distinguished than I have any conjecture of.

The article in the Republican says Johnson is sixty-five. He is probably more. The U. S. law provides, that a Judge, who after twenty years' service, at the age of seventy, retires from the Bench, shall do so on full pay. This is in accordance with a public policy that he *should retire* at seventy, to *induce* him to vacate the Bench at that age, when much the greatest proportion of men have lost their power for constant and hard labor. The appointment of a judge of sixty-five does not seem to me the most judicious. It is an inducement to him "to lag superfluous on the stage."

If an old man, an old Democrat, is to be appointed, my own conviction is the very strongest, that John A. Campbell is a far better appointment. His eminence as a jurist is conceded. He would be named First, of all Southern Lawyers. He is venerated by the Bar and by the People. He was on the Bench; he had all the judicial elements well mixed in him. True, he left the Bench to go into Secession. But it is known that all his influence was against Secession, and that he did it most reluctantly and painfully.

Whilst you know my own hostility to Secession, and that I never regarded the action of the State as of any more constitu-

tional obligation than a town meeting, yet I knew and respected the convictions of yourself, and your school, who held that your State controlled your allegiance. And I think in all that unfortunate and bloody drama there was nothing more touching, more admirable, grander, than to see Judge Campbell descend from a place which filled all his pride—most congenial, most grateful to him, all his surroundings adjusted to it, a place to him of honor and renown—to follow the fortunes of his State into a war the disasters of which none foresaw more vividly or more painfully than he.

He bore himself well throughout that dire struggle, and when it closed he came back to his profession, and has labored in it nobly, splendidly.

I wrote to Judge Miller and said to him, "Lay the subject before Chief Justice Waite and if he and the Republican members of the Bench will go to the President and ask him to replace Judge Campbell on the Bench, and the President will do it, it will be the most grateful of all things he can do to the South and will electrify the Country."

If any other than strictly *professional* considerations, the term of service within the purview of the best organization of the Court, now receives any weight from the President, John A. Campbell is the man.

Every inch a Lawyer, a great lawyer, the whole South knows him as such, has pride in him as such; his reputation is national. Let the President put him back on the Bench. He would pay a just tribute to *the Law*. He would touch the South on a chord to which every Southern man will respond.

But with Johnson, it may be very wise, nay, appropriate—very well considered, I do not say it is not. I merely say, I do not know enough of him to see it in that light, and I have my misgivings that the public feeling will be that it is well meant to the South, in the spirit of generosity and magnanimity which has so gratified and moved the country, *but not judicial in itself*.

I have written greatly beyond what I started out to say.

Should it be in your way, should it accord with your sense of duty to express these views to the President, I hope you will do it.

I pray that his appointments and his administration may

meet the most enlightened sanction of good men. Then he is a President now, and for all time enrolled high in our annals.

The children are getting along finely.

Hally is studying much better. Guy goes to Miss Nelly and is very proud of it and learns promisingly.

We are anxious to hear about Willie. I think your apprehensions will prove unfounded.

I write in great haste.

Most affectionately yrs,

W. P. Ballinger.

NEWS ITEMS

The Texas Ranger Association held its third annual reunion at Menard on September 6, 1923.

An East Texas historical pageant was presented in connection with the East Texas Fair at Tyler, September 26 and 27, 1923.

The Williamson County Old Settlers' Association held its nineteenth annual reunion at Round Rock during the week beginning July 16, 1923.

The fiftieth anniversary of the organization of their county was celebrated on July 12 and 13, 1923, by the Rockwall County Pioneer Association.

"The Native Sons of Texas" is the name of an organization chartered about the middle of July by some of the descendants of Alphonso Steele, settled in Limestone County.

In the *Dallas News* of June 17, 1923, Mr. Daniel Morgan Clower published a short account of the installation of the first telephones in Dallas in 1881, and of the first electric light plant.

Miss Lillian Vineyard, of Austin, contributed to the *San Antonio Express* of July 22, 1923, a brief account of the founding of the little town of Lamar in Aransas County, and of its founder, James William Byrne.

The Harris County Historical Society was organized at the University Club of Houston on October 2, 1923, the anniversary of the battle of Gonzales. The officers elected are: Colonel A. J. Houston, president; Mr. C. R. Wharton, Mr. Sam H. Dixon, Mrs. Ike McFarland, and Mrs. Florence Hoover, vice-presidents; Mr. A. G. Mallison, secretary-treasurer, and Miss Julia Ideson, librarian.

Deaths of prominent Texans: Alexander D. Mebans, of Lockhart, cotton planter, April 30, 1923; W. A. Johnson, of Memphis, former lieutenant-governor, May 5, 1923; William R. Smith, of

Galveston, physician, June 9, 1923; Lee J. Rountree, of Bryan, newspaper publisher, May 2, 1923; E. P. Wilmot, of Austin, banker, July 24, 1923; Robert T. Milner, of Henderson, former president of the A. and M. College, July 30, 1923; Mrs. Leslie Waggener, of Austin, July 31, 1923; T. W. House, of Houston, August 15, 1923; Frederick W. Cook, of San Antonio, merchant, September 3, 1923; Henry F. McGregor, of Houston, realtor, September 4, 1923.

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOL. XXVII

APRIL 1924

No. 4

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY

THE TEXAS STATE MILITARY BOARD, 1862-1865

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL

In 1861 the western half of Texas was ranged by wild Indians; the other half was but recently occupied by a hardy, sparse and essentially frontier population. More than half of this eastern area had been settled within the fifteen years since annexation. During that time the number of organized counties had increased from thirty-six to one hundred and twenty-four. Two-thirds of the entire population had entered the State within the last ten years. Transportation across the vast roadless regions was slow, cumbersome and expensive. Travel was by horseback or by the infrequent and uncertain stage-coach. The people were but poorly acquainted with each other, and a persistent intra-state sectionalism was reflected in their politics. The poverty and individualism of the frontier characterized society everywhere. The most complex economic development was in the cotton and sugar plantations of the south and east and in the commerce of the few small towns which connected Texas with the outer world. Industrial and business organization was primitive and the political administrative system was simple as befitted a young agrarian society.

This virile people had experienced much difficulty in developing and supporting sufficient organization to wage concerted and effective war against the paltry bands of savages along its frontier. It was now in 1861 to be confronted with an infinitely more powerful and dangerous enemy whose repulse would require the conservation and vigorous use of every resource. The task proved to be beyond its powers. Such a task is probably too much for any

people situated as these were—a community so new that it had not yet found itself; agrarian; poor; without experience in the conduct of large-scale co-operative enterprise; thoroughly committed to *laissez-faire* ideals.

The history of the Texas State Military Board, though perhaps of only local importance, seems to me a fair illustration of the way in which such a community as Texas was in 1861 would normally react to the new dangers confronting it. For this reason the simple story may have a wider significance for the student of institutions of social direction and control. It may as well be said at the beginning that the Military Board was the only new governmental agency devised in Texas for dealing with the exigencies of the war. Although the Board was not established until 1862, it will be necessary to review some of the experiences of the state government during 1861.

As soon as the Texas Convention had passed the secession ordinance and provided for the union of the state with the new Confederacy then forming at Montgomery, Alabama, it directed its attention to the United States forces along the frontier. These forces, about 2800 strong, were well armed and equipped, and might at any time become a menace instead of a protection. Scattered in small detachments, they were forced to surrender,¹ were removed from the state, and were replaced temporarily by state volunteers. It was expected that the Confederate government would in a short time take over this task of frontier protection, for the financial burden was too heavy for the state. The cost to the United States had been about \$1,500,000 annually; and the state was not only without funds but the treasury was in deficit more than \$800,000.² The tax system which had been unequal to the needs of the State when conditions were fairly normal³ was

¹The documents concerning the surrender of the U. S. troops and property in Texas are printed in *The War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, etc., Series I, Vol. I, pp. 502-636, and Vol. LIII, pp. 618-666. Those pertaining to the Texas Convention and its agents are found in E. W. Winkler, *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861*, pp. 262-404.

²Miller, E. T., *Financial History of Texas*, 140.

³From 1852 to 1858 the expenses of the state government were met almost entirely out of the money received from the U. S. for the sale of the Santa Fe region. The people had not acquired the habit of supporting their state government by taxation. Miller, *Financial History of Texas*, 86-87, 110, 133.

now pitifully inadequate when extraordinary and very heavy expenditures were inevitable. In view of the possibility that the incoming administration at Washington would assume a "coercive" attitude, it was clearly necessary at once to put the State into a condition for defense.

The problems of defense and of finance, therefore, received much attention from the Convention. The committee on finance reported, March 14, that at least \$400,000 was needed immediately. It seems, however, that only about \$81,500 was actually raised during the sessions of the Convention. Of this, some \$23,000 was taken as spoils from the United States army at San Antonio, while about \$58,500 was borrowed by E. B. Nichols, under commission from the Committee of Public Safety.⁴ The problem of financing the "revolution" which it had begun was, therefore, handed over by the Convention to the legislature and to Governor Clark, Houston's successor. The Convention had no better success in providing arms and other necessities for the military forces being raised by the state. The military property taken over from the United States army was valued at from \$1,500,000 to \$3,000,000; but the supply of arms and other munitions obtained was insufficient for the needs of the state.⁵ As soon as the organization of military companies began an alarming shortage of serviceable arms was disclosed, and agents were hurried out of the state to obtain them. One thousand old muskets were sent to Texas by Governor Moore of Louisiana. During March and early April Colonel Ben McCulloch, agent for the state, contracted for a supply of Colt's pistols; but after the outbreak of hostilities the vigilance of the Federal government prevented delivery.⁶ None were to be had in the South. Texas, like her sister Gulf states, was plunging unarmed and moneyless straight into war.

By an act of April 8, 1861, the legislature had authorized the issuance of \$1,000,000 of 8 per cent state bonds. Governor Clark sent E. B. Nichols to New Orleans to sell the bonds. But Nichols,

⁴About \$24,000 of this last sum was obtained in New Orleans, part of it on the credit of Nichols himself who was a prominent Galveston merchant. Winkler, *Journal of Secession Convention*, 350, 362-363.

⁵The departing soldiers were allowed to take their arms with them.

⁶Ben. McCulloch to Clark, Richmond, Va., March 31; New Orleans, May 14, 1861. MSS. in Executive Correspondence, Texas State Library.

who seems to have been a man of more than ordinary industry and ability, was obliged to report an absolute failure to negotiate any of the bonds because of the unsettled condition of the market, the general lack of confidence in either public or private securities, and the want of patriotism in the people. Nor could he exchange them for arms, because all the other states were offering cash for all the arms available and were sending agents to Cuba, Mexico and Europe.⁷

In the meantime Texas had been called upon for its quota of volunteers for the Confederate army. These men were to be armed and equipped by the state before being mustered into the Confederate service, for the expense of which the state was to be reimbursed. Agents were already in New Orleans; others were hurried to Mexico and even to Cuba in quest of muskets, rifles, pistols, sabres, powder, lead, percussion caps, and other military supplies. There being but little cash available, they must rely upon the credit of the state or their own. They had but little success. Meanwhile companies and regiments of volunteers had been organized all over Texas and sent to camps of instruction. Here they went through the long hot summer not only without receiving arms but without wagons, tents, medicines, and many other necessities. They became discontented and disgusted, and complaints piled high upon the governor's desk. Governor Clark could think of nothing better than to send out a new set of agents who were no more successful than the first. The neighboring markets had been denuded of arms and the Confederate Government had taken over the product of the few powder mills and armories within its borders.

By the fall of 1861 President Lincoln's blockade, though not yet highly effective, had cut off direct trade through Galveston and the other regular ports. The cotton crop was large, prices in Europe were high, and the staple began moving toward the lower coast where it was forwarded by light draught vessels along the bays to the ports of Mexico for export to Europe. Governor Frank Lubbock, who had succeeded Clark in November, 1861, by proclamation forbade the storing of cotton near the coast, lest it tempt

⁷E. B. Nichols to Clark, May 27, July 27, August 31, September 18, 1861, MSS. in Executive Correspondence, Texas State Library.

a descent of the enemy. This action decreased the outward flow of cotton, checked the influx of money and supplies, and must have added ultimately to the difficulties of the government.⁸

The situation at the end of 1861 was in every way unsatisfactory. The state was more than ever in need of funds. Revenues were falling short of current expenditures; the deficit was increasing; the state was unable to borrow, for the state bonds were still unsold and seemingly unsaleable. The needs of the people and especially of the volunteers in the army were acute, and the customary sources of the supplies so imperatively demanded were cut off. Arms, munitions, equipment and clothing must be had for the soldiers if the country was to be defended; clothing, tools, medicines must be had for the people in any case. And to emphasize the danger of the situation came persistent rumors that the Federals were about to descend upon the coast and invade the state.

The First, or Old Military Board, 1862-1864

The state was in possession of one asset which it had not yet attempted to use. This consisted of a portion of the United States Texas Indemnity bonds paid to Texas in consideration of the boundary compromise of 1850. There were 634 bonds of the face value of \$1,000 each, drawing 5 per cent interest, payable semi-annually, with coupons attached. Most of them had become part of the University and common school funds.⁹ That they had not been offered for sale early in 1861 was due in part to the opposition of friends of the schools, in part to the rumor that the United States Government had repudiated them on account of the secession of the state. This report was, of course, untrue. Another obstacle was the fact that the bonds had not been endorsed for sale by any governor of Texas, as required by an act of the

⁸R. and D. G. Mills to Lubbock, Houston, December 4, 1861; W. J. Hutchins to Lubbock, Houston, December 7, 1861, *et al.* MSS. in Executive Correspondence, Texas State Library. See also H. E. McCulloch to Gen. S. Cooper, October 17, 1861, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, 122-123. Lubbock's cotton proclamation, November 29, 1861, is in *Register Book No. 279*, p. 19.

⁹Originally 2000 bonds had been placed in the school fund and 100 in the University fund. By the end of 1861 all but the above 634 had been loaned to railroad companies and replaced by six per cent bonds of those companies.

Texas legislature in 1851. An endorsement by Clark would probably raise difficulty with the United States Treasury.

On December 2, 1861, Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate acting secretary of war, wrote Governor Lubbock that an agent of the ordnance bureau, G. H. Giddings, had made arrangements in Matamoras to purchase arms and pay with the United States Indemnity Bonds held by Texas, if the state would consent to receive Confederate 8 per cent bonds in place of them. It was urged that the United States bonds were falling in value—they were then quoted at about 80—while the Confederate bonds were safe and drew higher interest, which would be paid punctually. The plan was endorsed by the Texas delegation in the Confederate Congress. Lubbock laid the matter before the legislature on January 9, 1862, with the recommendation that the proposition be accepted, as the United States would be utterly bankrupt by the war and could never redeem its bonds.¹⁰ The legislature considered the subject in secret session and two days later passed two acts which were at once signed by the governor.

Each act provided for a Military Board which should be composed of the governor, comptroller and treasurer. One act set aside \$500,000 of the *state* bonds authorized in April, 1861, which the board could sell or exchange directly for supplies or anything else; and also empowered the Board to establish a foundry for ordnance and factories for small arms. The other act empowered the board to dispose of *any* bonds in the treasury on any account, and to replace them with equal amounts of Confederate bonds. This, clearly, was to authorize acceptance of Benjamin's "advantageous" proposition. A third act, so phrased as to conceal its purpose, repealed the law of December 16, 1851, which had required the endorsement of the governor for the sale of the indemnity bonds.¹¹

The military board thus provided for was constituted at once, and consisted of Governor F. R. Lubbock, Comptroller C. R. Johns, and Treasurer C. H. Randolph. It continued in existence, with

¹⁰Lubbock's message is in *Letter Book No. 81*, p. 93, Executive Records, Texas Department of State. A brief account of the creation of the board and of its early activities is in F. R. Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas*, 360-369.

¹¹H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 484, 489, 499.

changes in personnel, until April 12, 1864, when it was replaced by what was known as the "new board." The problems of the two boards were practically the same.

The "old board" gave first attention to the sale of the U. S. bonds. One hundred were turned over to the Confederate agent named by Secretary Benjamin; but despite his promises, Giddings was unable to negotiate them¹² and deposited them with various firms in Brownsville, Matamoras and Houston. The board then sought to recover them, but met with so many obstacles that it succeeded only after more than a year of troublesome negotiations.¹³ This was not an auspicious beginning. No more bonds were entrusted to Confederate agents; but on March 31, 1862, seventy-five were put in the hands of Jas. T. D. Wilson, an agent of the board itself, who endeavored to sell them in Mexico. He likewise failed; but he returned fifty-five of them, and placed the remaining twenty with Oliver and Brothers, a Monterey firm, who were to negotiate them in New York or in Europe. This they failed to do; and later, because of an unpaid account against the board for supplies furnished, they refused to give up the bonds. The board never recovered them, and it was not until July, 1867, that a compromise was effected and the state received the balance due it.¹⁴

The board next decided to send an agent directly to England with three hundred of the bonds which he was to exchange for supplies. This agent, John M. Swisher, an Austin merchant, received detailed instructions concerning the articles to be purchased and was advised that "unless you are enabled to use the fund entrusted to you, we fear Texas will have no other means of procuring arms."¹⁵ Swisher went to Matamoras where the firm of Droege,

¹²"Letter Book of Military Board" (*Record Book No. 101*), pp. 11-13, Texas Department of State. It later came out that Secretary Benjamin did not wish his officers to negotiate the U. S. bonds directly, but preferred that the State authorities sell or exchange them for munitions of war for which the State would in turn receive Confederate bonds.

¹³*Record Books, No. 101*, p. 11; *No. 108*, pp. 374, 537, 546, 602; *No. 109*, p. 133, Texas Department of State.

¹⁴The long controversy may be traced in MSS. letters in the Executive Correspondence (Lubbock's and Throckmorton's) Texas State Library, and in *Record Books, No. 108*, pp. 409, 493; and *No. 111*, p. 6, in Texas Department of State.

¹⁵A manuscript copy of these instructions of April 11, 1862, attested by J. H. Bell, Secretary of State, October 20, 1865, is in "Military Papers, 1862-65," Package 55, Texas State Library.

Oetling and Company entered into a contract with him to sell the bonds in Europe and hold the proceeds subject to his order. The bonds were shipped to William Droege and Company of Manchester, England, of which firm the Matamoras house was a branch. Swisher also went to England to make his purchases. One hundred and forty-nine bonds were sold to George Peabody and Company of London, who were to pay for them in installments. Just before the last installment was paid, Peabody and Company heard rumors that the United States Treasury would reject these bonds; thereupon further payment was refused unless Droege and Company would agree not to withdraw the money from the bank until the validity of the bonds was clear. But Droege withdrew the whole deposit and paid it to Swisher, who redeposited it. Peabody demanded restitution of the whole amount with interest, and when it was refused, instituted suit in the Court of Chancery and obtained an injunction which prevented Swisher from withdrawing from the bank any of the money already paid. Peabody, of course, kept possession of the bonds. Swisher had already made considerable purchases for the Military Board in anticipation of the sale of the bonds. Since he was now unable to pay for them, the Matamoras house assumed the obligations for them and shipped them with the understanding that cotton would be sent to Matamoras to pay for them upon arrival. That firm still had possession of the other lot of bonds, one hundred and fifty-one, and as it was now defendant in the chancery suit and subject to considerable expense, Swisher was induced to agree that this second lot should be held as security for the expenses of the suit.¹⁶

The frontier merchant had been no match for the astute English bankers, and the third adventure of the Military Board in bond-selling had ended disastrously. Some \$300,000 in bonds and interest-coupons were tied up in an English chancery suit without one cent in return. To make the comedy of errors complete, when the goods which Swisher had contracted for arrived in Matamoras in the fall of 1862, there was no cotton to exchange for them, and although the board protested, Droege, Oetling and Company sold them on private account. The board for a variety of reasons had

¹⁶The correspondence covering this transaction is in the "Military Papers, 1862-65," Package 55, Texas State Library.

been unable to get sufficient cotton to the Rio Grande. It seems that Swisher endeavored to purchase the goods on his own account while the board was laying claim to them. At any rate Swisher was summarily discharged as agent. The board made repeated efforts to recover the bonds, but they remained in England until after the war.¹⁷

While Swisher was in England, fifty-four bonds had been entrusted to Oliver and Brothers of Monterey for sale; but later hearing that they would be sent to New York and fearing to lose them entirely, the board protested vigorously and recalled them. In January, 1863, Pendleton Murrah, who in the fall of that year was elected governor, by authority of the board exchanged forty-four bonds, at from 80 to 85 per cent of their face value, for Confederate treasury notes. This very remarkable transaction completes the story of the dealings of the "Old Board" in the United States bonds. The story reveals not only the straits in which the board found itself for funds, but also the absence of any effective organization for carrying through a relatively simple business transaction. An effort had been made early in 1862 to market in Mexico some of the 8 per cent state bonds, but not one could be sold.¹⁸

Adventures of the Board in the Cotton Business

Without awaiting the results of its bond ventures, the board early turned to the one asset of the country which had a ready cash value abroad—cotton. The Texas crop in 1861 had been a good one, but so greatly had its exportation been hampered by the blockade, the necessity of seeking out new channels to market, and

¹⁷In fact, the Board narrowly escaped losing more of its bonds. Swisher's first report from England related only his success in finding a purchaser of the bonds and in obtaining the needed supplies. The members of the Board, much elated, had sent other bonds to Matamoras for transmission to England; but news of the lawsuit came and they were recalled in time. *Letter Book, No. 108*, pp. 490-502, Texas Department of State.

¹⁸It is perhaps interesting to note that the report of a joint committee of the 9th Legislature appointed "to inquire into the acts of the Military Board" made no mention whatever of these U. S. bond transactions, though it referred in a veiled manner to "errors" of the Board. The report is dated February 23, 1863, which was *after* all of them had taken place. This report in duplicate, is in the "Papers of the 9th Legislature," File Box No. 88, Department of State.

scarcity of transportation, that most of it was still unsold in the spring of 1862 and prices in the interior of the state were low. The board had no money, but if it could induce the farmers and planters to accept state bonds for the cotton, it would have something acceptable to exchange for foreign goods—provided it could get the cotton to the Rio Grande. Confederate agents and army quartermasters had already begun to use this means of providing for the army.

Early in February, 1862, the board issued an "Address to the People of Texas" setting forth a plan for obtaining arms and other war supplies. It would exchange the 8 per cent state bonds for cotton at fair cash prices. Agents were to be distributed over the state who would take subscriptions of cotton and later effect the exchange of the bonds, or of certificates redeemable in bonds, for the cotton. Planters and merchants were assured that these bonds would be superior to those of any other government, because precautions had been taken by a specific annual tax, payable only in specie to provide for the prompt payment of interest and a sinking fund. The address concluded with a ringing appeal to the patriotism of the people.¹⁹ The board then divided the state into twenty-eight districts and appointed agents in sixteen of them, chiefly in the cotton regions. Letters to the agents reveal that they were to serve without pay, except for the most necessary expenses. Perhaps this was one reason that much difficulty was encountered in enlisting satisfactory agents. The instructions which followed required the agents to classify the cotton offered; to pay no more than ten cents per pound for the highest grade; to make the exchange of bonds or certificates of indebtedness for the cotton; where the seller demanded part cash, to advance it from his own means; and to prepare the cotton for immediate shipment to Brownsville.²⁰ Instructions were also sent to a general agent at Brownsville, Pryor Lea, concerning the manner of disposing of the cotton there. He was to select some responsible person in Matamoras, preferably English or French, who would receive the cotton when it arrived. Since both outgoing cotton

¹⁹Copy in *Record Book No. 101*, pp. 21-26, Texas Department of State.

²⁰Letter of instructions to M. K. Ryan, Webberville, February 21, 1862, *Record Book No. 101*, pp. 34-36; also to J. M. Hays, Troupe, March 10, *ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

and incoming supplies were liable to seizure by the "Lincoln government," "the state must not be known as the owner of the cotton. . . . When it comes into his possession, it must come as his; if shipped, it must be shipped as his. . . ." The same precautions should be applied to importations from Europe until they were safely within the borders of Texas.²¹

At first the board was encouraged to believe that the planters would respond liberally and furnish all the cotton needed. Agents in northern Texas were soon instructed to stop buying because of the cost of transportation from that section to the Mexican frontier. In April purchases were suspended even in the south until the cotton already obtained could be got to market.²² Some of the pledges must have been repudiated, for by September 30, 1863, more than a year and a half, only about 5000 bales had been purchased and shipped. This was certainly a small amount for a period which spanned the marketing of two crops. That more was not obtained was doubtless due to the competition of Confederate agents and especially to the activity of private "speculators" who generally outbid the state agents. The private trader must have resorted often to devious methods of getting his cotton through the military lines, but he was more keenly alert than the state agent and generally made large profits on the goods he brought back into the interior. These traders gradually forced the board to get its cotton from the more northern counties which, of course, involved higher transportation charges to the Rio Grande.

There were no railroads on the route to the Rio Grande south of the Colorado River,²³ and the cotton went by ox-wagon trains. Part of the long four hundred miles south of the Colorado was through a region with little water or grass. A severe drouth in 1862 converted the country below the Nueces into a desert whereon teams could find no subsistence. Not infrequently wagon trains were marooned for weeks at some stream or water-hole before they

²¹Military Board to Pryor Lea, March 8, 1862, *Record Book No. 101*, pp. 48-50.

²²Military Board to Rice Maxey (Paris), March 4, 1862, *Record Book, No. 101*, p. 43; to J. M. Hays (Troupe), March 10, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 57, to W. P. Gaines, March 31, *Record Book No. 108*, p. 11.

²³A short line ran from Victoria to the coast at Indianola, but it was of no use in the Mexican trade, and in fact was torn up during 1862 and 1863.

could move on. Teams and teamsters, too, were hard to get. The Confederate conscript law soon forced the able-bodied teamsters into the army—or into some other kind of government service—speculators, more energetic than state agents, outbid the latter for available men and teams; negroes could not be had because planters were afraid to risk their slaves on the border of Mexico; and although the commanding general sometimes detailed men from the army for this state service, these details were likely to be recalled at any time. Local commanders in the southwest were so far away from general headquarters that military administration was always loose and became more and more demoralized; and petty officers in the army almost constantly interfered with the outgoing or incoming trains by conscribing teamsters and impressing wagons, teams, cotton and especially importations of a military nature. The board made numerous complaints to the commanding general for the restoration of its property and usually got it, after some delay and after much damage to its business.²⁴ The state cotton regularly paid the export duty required by the act of the Confederate Congress of February 28, 1861; but in June, 1862, Colonel Luckett, in command at Brownsville, ordered a special export levy of five dollars in specie per bale. This was to supply his quartermaster with funds. He was good enough to promise repayment at some future time in Confederate currency; but the board appealed to his superior, Brigadier-General H. P. Bee, and got the order revoked in so far as state cotton was concerned.²⁵

The cost as well as the difficulties of transportation steadily increased. The details of looking after the caravans proving too burdensome for the board it appointed in May, 1862, L. G. Kingsbury as general agent.²⁶ His duties were to procure teams for

²⁴Complaints about these troubles are found throughout *Record Book No. 109*.

²⁵Military Board to H. P. Bee, July 1, 1862, *Record Book No. 108*, p. 242. It is probable that Luckett was acting under orders from Bee, for the latter desired such a tax. Later in the year Lt. General T. H. Holmes, apparently incited thereto by Bee and Maj. General Magruder, issued an order requiring the payment of \$2.00 for a license and the exchange of \$5.00 in specie for \$5.00 in Confederate currency for each bale exported across the Rio Grande. The order, however, was revoked by direction of Secretary of War Seddon in January, 1863. See *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, etc., Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 845.

²⁶*Minutes of the Military Board*, May 12, 1862. *Record Book No. 101*, p. 118.

the cotton-trains, to collect the cotton from the several purchasing agents, and to strive to get the cotton to market with economy and dispatch. There were three main routes to the border: one from east and southeast Texas, by way of Alleyton on the lower Colorado to King's Ranch and thence to Brownsville; another from central and western Texas by Austin and San Antonio to Laredo or Eagle Pass; the third from central Texas to Gonzales, thence to Laredo or Rio Grande City. Sometimes the lines were crossed. In fact, the wagon-trains not infrequently had to be shifted from one route to another and back again on account of the scarcity of water or grass, or the danger of the federals or of Mexican marauders. For instance, from November, 1863, to July 30, 1864, Brownsville was in the possession of the Federals who also operated higher up along the Rio Grande. The cost of hauling depended upon many things: the route followed, and the supply of water and grass; the danger of interference; the price of cotton; the rate of depreciation of the currency. Early in 1862 the rate was five and six cents a pound from Alleyton to the river. The drought that summer and the fear of impressment of teams or conscription of teamsters at the army camps on the border sent prices up to eight and ten cents. In October, 1863, the board complained of a bill for twelve cents in *coin*, and asserted that the rate had been nine cents. The increase in the cost of getting the cotton to the market was therefore real and not wholly due to the inflation of the currency. The price of the cotton itself also increased to some extent, but the rise was chiefly nominal since it went up no faster than the currency depreciated. When the board began buying the price was from eight to ten cents, according to grade and locality; but in October, 1862, it was at fifteen cents, in January, 1863, from twenty to twenty-five cents, and in September of that year it had gone to sixty cents. The price in coin, however, increased but little. These prices were for the interior of the state. In the world market the price was soaring and even in Matamoras it rose steadily. The low prices in the interior seem to indicate that the average grower, unable to market his cotton himself, was forced to take whatever the government or the favored—and hated—"speculator" saw fit to pay him.²⁷

²⁷It should be said here that the Confederate officials, both of the army

The board evidently could do little to control the cost of the system it was operating because most of the factors were beyond its control. It could exercise no effective supervision over its agents especially those on the Rio Grande, because mails were slow and uncertain and the agents made tardy and incomplete reports. Often orders were disregarded and much mischief done before the board had any knowledge of the facts; and agents were seldom discharged because suitable successors could not be found. "Only those who have engaged in the business" was the plaintive but true statement of the members in November, 1863, "can have any idea of the difficulties which the board has had to contend with."

Since the whole purpose of the cotton operations of the board was to import the supplies imperatively needed, its success may be measured by what it actually accomplished. The records were left in such confusion that it is possible only to approximate the amount or value of what was imported by the first or "Old" board.

It is both interesting and instructive to note the articles most sought for. They were at first chiefly military in character but it is significant that as the blockade pressed more heavily upon the daily lives of the people, military supplies formed a smaller and smaller proportion of the purchases. The things first sought for when the board was newly organized were arms—army rifles, muskets, six-shooters,—rifle powder, lead, percussion caps, sulphur, saltpetre, copper, tin, shoes, hats, blankets, knapsacks, woolen cloth for soldiers' clothing, woolen yarn for socks, and miscellaneous articles such as coffee, leather, rope and bagging for baling cotton. Presently the lists furnished to purchasing agents became more detailed and included medicines—quinine, opium, morphine, chloroform and calomel. During the summer of 1862 machinery and other materials were being brought in for the establishment of a cannon foundry. At the only cloth factory in the state, the penitentiary, the machinery was wearing out and strenuous efforts were made to replace it, though with little success. Spinning and weaving, in fact, again became domestic industries. In September,

and the treasury, were buying and exporting cotton for the government, and that military orders interfered so much with private exportation that only those who had the support of the military could hope to profit in the business. Licenses and contracts gave rise to wholesale charges of corruption against the officials of the army. That, however, is another story.

1862, the first order was sent out for 10,000 pairs of cotton and 2000 wool hand-cards which the women were to use in preparing cotton and wool for spinning. These cards found a place in nearly every order thereafter.²⁸

When the old board dissolved, April 12, 1864, it had purchased 5736 bales of cotton for which it had paid \$544,438 in state bonds and Confederate treasury notes. It had sold 5551 bales for \$434,454, part in specie, part in imported goods.²⁹ Because of the fluctuation of the depreciated currency and bonds, it is impossible to determine how much profit, if any, was realized. Nor is it possible to know the real value of the importations, so varied were the terms upon which they were obtained. Part of the funds received were spent in other ways within the state itself. But even had the whole amount received for cotton been devoted to importations for the army and the people, it would have been a mere trifle—less than one dollar per capita in two years—to a population of more than 600,000 with not less than 40,000 in military service. It is evident too that the board purchased but a trifling part of the three crops of cotton marketed during its operations, for the 1859 crop yielded 431,463 bales, and it is very unlikely that the entire yield for 1861-1863 was less than 500,000 bales. Space will not admit of the discussion of individual transactions, but it may be said that some of the arrangements of the board with its agents seem extremely generous. One agent received a commission of fifteen per cent on all cotton sold by him and another fifteen per cent on all purchases made for the board.³⁰ The well known banking and commission house of Ball, Hutchings and Company at Houston was furnished funds for the purchase of 1000 bales of cotton, allowed the expense of transportation and a commission of five per cent on sales, guaranteed against state or Confederate interference, and given a fifty per cent profit on the

²⁸These instructions are found generally in *Record Book No. 101*.

²⁹Report of E. M. Pease and Swante Palm to Governor A. J. Hamilton, October 30, 1865, *Executive Record Book No. 281*, pp. 95-111. Eighty-four bales had been lost by fire and floods.

³⁰*Report of Joint Committee on the Report of the Military Board to the Tenth Legislature, etc.*, December 14, 1863. Pamphlet. This report was signed by J. W. Throckmorton for the Senate and C. W. Buckley for the House.

goods brought in.³¹ But there is no evidence of fraud or collusion on the part of the old board. It was sometimes victimized by its agents whom, by the necessities of the situation, it was compelled to trust further than sound business methods dictated.

At the beginning the board decided not to enter upon the manufacture of arms, but displayed a willingness to give financial aid to private enterprise when there seemed a good prospect of success. It departed from this rule in but two cases. In 1862 it set up a foundry in Austin for making cannon; but in its report of November, 1863, it confessed that it had not succeeded in casting any cannon. This foundry had been useful in making the machinery for a percussion cap factory which was in very successful operation under a skilled director, De Ryee; and it had also been of help in repairing agricultural machinery in a wide area around Austin. For small arms the board preferred to make contracts with the few small factories which were striving to establish themselves about the state. These contracts frequently involved a considerable loan of funds by the board which was to be repaid by arms of approved quality at a stipulated price. Contracts were made with four different firms for the manufacture of more than 7000 Mississippi rifles, of which 1464 had been delivered by September 30, 1863. How many of the remainder were delivered later is not known because of the confusion of the records of the "new" board which received a portion of them. A contract for 3000 pistols of the Colt pattern was made and then cancelled at the request of the contractor and by order of the legislature.³² Two contracts were made for the manufacture of gunpowder in considerable quantities, and financial assistance was given to each manufacturer. But one mill, belonging to a Mr. Rowan at Waxahachie, blew up before any satisfactory powder was received; while the other, George Pfeiffer's at Corpus Christi, was abandoned on the approach of

³¹Correspondence, September 5 and 15, 1863. *Record Book No. 109*, pp. 373, 384.

³²The rifle manufacturers were Whitescarver, Campbell and Company, at Rusk, Cherokee County, 900 rifles; Billings and Hassell (later Billings and Son), at Plenitude, Anderson County, 1200 rifles; Short, Briscoe and Company, at Tyler, 5000 rifles; N. O. Tanner, Bastrop, number contracted for not given. The pistol contract was with Tucker, Sherrod and Company, of Lancaster, Dallas County. See Report of Military Board, November, 1863; also *Record Book No. 101*, *passim*.

the Federals in the fall of 1863 before any powder could be delivered.

Naturally the conduct of business by the old military board was the subject of widespread comment and criticism, partly perhaps because little generally was known of the actual operations and its difficulties were not appreciated. A legislative committee appointed to investigate it in the winter of 1862-63, without showing any enthusiasm for what had been accomplished, acknowledged that in the face of many difficulties, Texas had been put in a better condition for defense. The board itself, in the report of its activities submitted at the end of Lubbock's administration, November, 1863, admitted errors of judgment, but pleaded "an earnest and heartfelt desire to benefit the state," and asked for the approbation of the representatives of the people. The report of the legislative joint committee, made after a searching examination of the books, was marked by a restrained severity rather than by approbation; but its veiled strictures reflected upon the sagacity rather than the intentions of the board.³³

The New Military Board, 1864-1865

On account of the increasingly heavy duties of two members, the state treasurer and the comptroller, the board had recommended its own complete reorganization. In conformity with this request an act was passed by the legislature in December, 1863, reconstituting the board so that it should consist of the governor, as president *ex-officio*, and two persons to be appointed by him.³⁴ It was now to be an entirely gubernatorial affair. The old board continued in existence, with Murrah in place of Lubbock, until April 12, 1864, when Murrah appointed Jas. S. Holman and N. B. Pearce in place of the treasurer and comptroller.³⁵

During this interval little had been accomplished by way of trade through Mexico. French intervention in that distracted

³³*Report of the Joint Committee on the Report of the Military Board to the Tenth Legislature*, etc., December 14, 1863. Pamphlet.

³⁴Approved December 16, 1863. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 680.

³⁵The only new *ex-officio* member of the old Board was Governor Pendleton Murrah. C. H. Randolph, Treasurer, and C. R. Johns, Comptroller, had been re-elected in 1862. P. De Cordova was secretary of the old Board, Philip E. Peers of the new one.

country and rumors of an alliance or understanding between the French and the Confederates had alienated the Mexican liberals. Trade conditions on the upper Rio Grande became less satisfactory and the price of cotton at Laredo and Monterey declined. From November, 1863, to July 30, 1864, the United States army held possession of Brownsville, effectually cutting the direct outlet through Matamoras.

At the same time another obstacle arose to the cotton trade of the board. The Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, General E. Kirby Smith, despairing of adequate financial support from Richmond, had set about organizing a cotton business for the purpose of supplying his army. He had established a "Cotton Bureau" in August, 1863, which he authorized either to impress cotton under the Confederate impressment acts, or to purchase one-half the planter's crop and exempt the other half from impressment with permission to export it. There was to be no interference, of course, with state-owned cotton. If this Bureau should extend its operations over all Texas—and this state was about all there was left of the Trans-Mississippi for it to operate in—and buy half the cotton under threat of impressment, the Military Board would be able to get none, for the planter could not afford to sell half his crop to the Cotton Bureau for Confederate certificates and the other half to the Military Board for state bonds. Moreover, the Confederate authorities had now so hedged about private exportation with regulations designed to limit the operations of the cotton speculator, that the permit to export half his crop free of molestation was a great boon to the planter who was more likely to sell to the Bureau than to the state.

Governor Murrah set himself to circumvent the Confederate Cotton Bureau, and the scheme which he evolved and widely heralded as the "state plan," when stripped of the camouflage with which he covered it, amounted simply to outbidding the Bureau and evading its restrictions. The Military Board would contract for all the cotton of the planter, or other vendor, who was to transport it to Mexico at his own expense. Half of it was to be returned to him at the Rio Grande, and he was to be paid in state bonds³⁶ for the other half at the price current there less

³⁶An act, approved December 10, 1863, had authorized the Governor to

the actual cost of its transportation. The circumvention consisted in the fact that the cotton so transported was only nominally that of the state, or at least only half was actually to go to the state under the contract; the private cotton of the exporter was to be protected by the state from impressment or interference on the part of the Confederate officials.³⁷ It will be seen at once that this not only gave opportunity for fraud but for friction with the Cotton Bureau and General Smith. Agents of the board entered into collusion with holders of large amounts of cotton, and under such contracts allowed them to export the cotton without turning over any whatever to the state. In fact, evidence is fairly conclusive that certain friends and relatives of the members were allowed by the board itself to do the same thing.³⁸

How much cotton was contracted for under this plan the records do not show. It was sufficient, however, to arouse the ire of the officials of the Cotton Bureau and to bring a protest from General Smith. After some correspondence and a conference, Smith induced the governor in July, 1864, on the score of the desperate needs of the army, to give up his "state plan" and to call upon those who held contracts with the state to relinquish them and dispose of their cotton through the Confederate Bureau.³⁹ Evidently the board did not give up the scheme altogether, for two months later letters show that cotton was again being exported under the "state plan," and it continued to go out in that way through the winter of 1864-1865. There is evidence again of the same sort of collusion as earlier in 1864, sometimes on the part of the agents without the evident consent of the board. Meanwhile conditions in Mexico and along the Rio Grande continued unsettled and kept the traffic in confusion.

sell \$2,000,000 of 6 per cent State bonds "to provide for the defense of the State," etc. These bonds were to be secured by any cotton belonging to the State and were known as "cotton bonds." An act of December 16, 1863, appropriated \$2,000,000 for the purchase of the cotton, or in lieu of the money \$2,000,000 of 7 per cent bonds, redeemable in land scrip at fifty cents per acre. Gammel, V, pp. 663, 683.

³⁷Murrah explained his "State plan" in messages to the 10th Legislature, May 11 and 17, 1864. *Executive Record Book No. 280*, pp. 86-90, 98-99.

³⁸See report of Pease and Palm, *Record Book No. 281*, pp. 102, *et seq.*

³⁹This correspondence is found in *War of Rebellion, Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part IV; Vol. XLI, Part II; Vol. LIII. See also Murrah to E. B. Nichols, July 16, 1864. Printed copy in "Military Affairs, 1862-65," Package 55, Texas State Library.

The returns from cotton sales must have been small, or else they were diverted, for little money found its way into the treasury. The correspondence of the board during the last winter of the war reveals an inability to pay some of its local bills. There really seems to have been no effective check upon the purchasing agents in the state nor upon the selling and importing agents on the Rio Grande. The result was that the board never knew the amount of cotton contracted for, in process of shipment, the amount of money due from sales, or the actual cost of the goods sent in.

Because of the scarcity of funds, the board in January, 1865, turned to the residue of the United States indemnity bonds remaining in the state treasury after the disastrous experiments of the old board in 1862. A contract was made with a certain firm, White and Chiles—Geo. W. White was surety for the two appointed members of the board—by which the said White and Chiles received 135 one thousand-dollar bonds with coupons for three years, in return for which they placed themselves under bond to import and deliver to the board in Austin 25,000 pairs of cotton cards and certain medicines. This contract was never fulfilled and the effort of the state authorities after the war to recover the bonds gave origin to the famous Federal case of *Texas vs. White*.⁴⁰

This new board made but feeble efforts to develop manufacturing of any sort. The cannon foundry which had been established by the old board, after producing two batteries of such a sort that General Smith refused any more, was leased to a private firm. It was then used for making and repairing farming implements, which were needed even more than cannon. The percussion cap factory was continued in operation and, according to a report of March 29, 1865, had made about 1,000,000 of these caps during the last year of the war. The board asserted in statements to the legislature that it had encouraged in every way the introduction of machinery by private parties, in particular for the manufacture of cotton and woolen fabrics; but the meager records do not show what was really done.

The new board never made a formal and complete report on any

⁴⁰See THE QUARTERLY, XVIII, p. 341, *et seq.* for W. W. Pierson "Texas versus White."

phase of its activities. It was called upon by each house of the legislature in the fall of 1864 for full and exact information, but replied in generalities, alleging that it was awaiting reports from its agents.⁴¹ It is evident from the legislative queries that not only was there no general acquaintance with what the board was doing, but there was much suspicion of whatever it was doing. The tone of the public press and the attitude of the people generally revealed even more openly a want of confidence in both the ability and the integrity of the board. A request from the state comptroller in February, 1865, for a full report on all cash and property accounts, all receipts and disbursements, was answered in a way which was declared by the comptroller to be very unsatisfactory. A more detailed report still left much uncertainty.⁴²

The end of the war came suddenly in Texas. There was a panic among public officials and many, including Governor Murrah, fled to Mexico. In the late summer of 1865 a commission appointed by Provisional Governor Hamilton to audit the accounts of the Military Board, reported that while the records of the old board were intact, most of those of the new board had been removed or destroyed and the remainder were in great confusion. The auditors found that large sums of money and considerable amounts of property were unaccounted for and were due the state from the members of the board. Murrah died in Mexico and practically nothing was recovered except a few U. S. bonds that had passed into the possession of the appointed members and a relative of Murrah. It is impossible to say whether the amounts unrecovered were morally chargeable to the board members themselves, or to the agents in San Antonio and along the Mexican border, or to both.

The creation of the Texas Military Board in 1862 was in response to the need felt by the legislature for some additional machinery of government to deal with a new, a perplexing, and a dangerous situation. The simple business system of the community had been upset by the conditions of war and blockade; and if the people and the armies were to be sustained, trade with

⁴¹Murrah's replies to these inquiries are in *Executive Record Book No. 280*, pp. 159-160, 162-163.

⁴²MSS. in "Military Affairs, 1862-65," Texas State Library.

the outside world must find its way through new, expensive, and tortuous channels. It had gradually come to be seen that this readjustment could not be left wholly to private enterprise. The state must assume certain obligations to its people, especially to soldiers and their families. Because of these new obligations, new functions, new and greatly increased expenses, the state must, through whatever agency it could, turn to and develop what means were at hand to fulfill these duties. The first idea was to dispose of state or United States bonds, because that seemed the easiest thing to do. The board was poorly organized to carry on the extensive cotton and importing business which it later undertook, and even less prepared to go into manufacturing. To improvise an organization adequate to the needs of the state and to supply it with an efficient, co-ordinate personnel would have been an impossible task for able and experienced business executives. The first board often showed a childlike simplicity in conducting its business, but no accusation worse than that of bad judgment can fairly be lodged against it. To exonerate the second or new board is not so easy. But in each case the inherent difficulties were really enormous. Each board had to work without public co-operation and support, because there was no way of enlisting popular support even had the board appreciated its necessity. That widespread and really remarkable co-operation of the people of all walks of life with the various agencies of the government which was one of the chief wonders and revelations of American participation in the World War was impossible then, and especially in a new and sparsely settled region like Texas. No doubt the public men of that day did not and could not see the enormous possibilities in widespread, co-ordinated, constant propaganda for public endeavor; but it may be said for them that the material means were not at hand. There were no ready-to-hand organizations, business and fraternal associations, in every town and county to direct popular opinion and capitalize enthusiasm. Postal facilities were very poor; communication of any kind was slow, difficult and most uncertain, and this was fatal to quick, responsive, effective organization. There was also the difficulty of competition and misunderstandings with the Confederate military administration, especially in the cotton trade. The board could only appeal infre-

quently and in very general terms to the patriotism of a people who were daily subjected to hardship and who had no assurance that its work was of any direct benefit to themselves, and specifically to the self-interest of the individual with whom it dealt. It conducted its affairs as a private business but without being able to practice the economies of a private business; beginning with the purpose of eliminating the "speculator" in the necessities of the people, it came at last to something like an alliance with these profiteers. It conducted a social experiment on an individualistic basis and in a secretive method. But after all, a crude, frontier, strongly individualistic society could hardly have done the thing in any other way—which seems to indicate that an undeveloped organism, whether biological or political, cannot readily adjust itself to a new and complex situation.

THE EXPEDITION OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ

BY

GONZALO FERNANDEZ OVIEDO Y VALDEZ

EDITED BY HARBERT DAVENPORT

CHAPTER IV

*In which is told the hardships and captivity endured by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and a negro; and how the four joined and determined to die or escape from that perverse generation of Indians and seek for a Christian country, and what happened to them in pursuit of such scheme.**

**Oviedo*: "When a captain, or a man of reputation or importance in these Indies goes to Spain, especially if he goes to solicit governorships and new conquests, he knows well how to use his tongue to obtain people, and spreads promises among those who do not know, all of whom are led to believe he knows all that there is here, so that there remains not an island, a palm, nor a corner of the mainland of these Indies; which he has not seen, explored and acquired knowledge of (these orators talk as though they knew all), and these unlearned people form the belief that the Indies are like the kingdom of Portugal, or Navarro, or at least a small and compact land, where all know the others, and where they can communicate with that facility as from Cordova and Granada to Sevilla, or when farther away as from Castilla to Vizcaya.

"Resulting from this, many letters come from ignorant mothers and wives, who seek to write to their sons and husbands, and to other relatives, addressed only 'To my beloved son, Pedro Rodriguez, in the Indies,' which amounts to saying, 'To my son, Mahomet, in Africa,' or 'To Juan Martinez, in Europe,' the same as if it were in the other world. Because all who have some knowledge of the world and its geography say that they believe there are two grand divisions of the world, that with Asia, and the other this *New World* which some have named *Orbe Novo*, and I so call it, and as I have said many times in these histories, it is a half of this same world, with which Africa, Europe and Asia have nothing to do. And I wish to say that many people come to these Indies as benighted as the writers of the addresses of these letters, without knowing or understanding where they go. Narvaez, and other captains who want them, find people like this in numbers more than they need, because poverty in some; avarice in others, and lunacy in most, prevents them from understanding what they do, or knowing whom they follow. It is true that some of these come with better foundation for their proposals; who travel because they are sent by the Prince, or for other causes united to reason and good motives. But it is possible that the Prince may be deceived also, like the poor volunteer, and I have noted one thing which should never be forgotten; and that is, that Their Majesties seldom, or never, put their credit or money into these new discoveries, only Letters Patent, and good words. They say to these captains, 'If you do what you say, we shall do this or that, and give you of our bounty.' They grant him the title of *Adelantado*

Those Indians in whose company these few Christians were, became tired of giving them food,¹ and sent five of them forward to other Indians, that they said were on another *ancon*² six leagues forward. They went there, and three remained there much time. They were Alonso del Castillo, Pedro de Valdivieso, cousin of Andrés Dorantes, and another who was named Diego de Huelva. Two went down more to the coast, and there they died of hunger, because Dorantes said that he found their bodies, while going about there seeking help, with another Christian, his cousin, who was named Diego Dorantes.³

There remained in that ranch these two gentlemen, and the

or Governor with license and authority to go somewhere, as promised in his *capitulacion* with those who from ignorance will accompany him with their persons and goods, attracted by his false heraldry.

"Once dispatched from Court, he comes to Sevilla with less money than he likes, and sends out for the one part, a drummer, and a friar or two and some priests, who adhere to him at once, under color of conversion of the Indians, and turn the minds of others to go by promising riches of which they know nothing, while the captain, with bills of exchange, buys old and worn out ships which have arrived there through the mercy of God and by force of double pumping, which are not only unfit to return, but are unfit to go to New Castille, to account for the cargo that they brought. And for the other part, a young man who acts as his *Secretary* (and knows not what a *secret* is), with other flatterers and crafty followers of the captain, chosen because they know how to scheme, and to talk the poor volunteers into doing two things—lending the captain their money on the vain hopes they are promised, in the belief that they are receiving for it a bill of exchange, and thus the poor volunteer gives the little money that remains to him, and if this snare is well handled, he will sell his cape and his coat, and go in his shirt, because he thinks that when he comes to the tropics he will arrive well dressed, and may await, as a favor, for what has been promised him.

"The other thing is that each ten volunteers, more or less, shall obligate themselves jointly to pay, at a certain time, ten or twelve ducats or gold pesos each for their food and passage to where they are going, which food is such as can only be described by those who have returned to Spain, after being thus deceived (who are few) because, since the voyage is long and life is short, and the occasions innumerable for losing it, most of those who come here come to stay, and do not return to their country, but alter the ideas they formed in Spain, since now they know, and as they would have known before had they read these histories from their beginning, and as you will read in what I have yet to say, if you care to be informed for your own knowledge and that of others."

¹*Oviedo*: "As happens in every place that guests are detained longer than the host wishes, and especially where they are neither desired nor profitable."

²Aransas Pass. THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 133.

³Smith erroneously translates this passage so as to make it appear that Diego Dorantes was one of the two who died of hunger. (Hodge, 69.)

negro,⁴ whom it appeared these Indians wanted for porters, which was for carrying firewood and water on their shoulders, and serving them like slaves. And after three or four days they drove them out in the same manner as the others, and they wandered painfully some days without hope of assistance; and going thus, through those marshes, naked, because the other Indians with whom before they had spent the night, had stripped them of their clothes,—they met with the two dead Christians who were of the five the Indians had driven out and dismissed, as has been said. And from there they went on and met other Indians, and Andrés Dorantes and his cousin remained with these, and they went forward to the *ancon* where the other three had stopped. And there came to seek them there, one of the others, who was Valdivieso, who was from the other side, and he told how there had passed through there the two other Christian swimmers who had left them, who in the same manner their Indians had stripped, left naked, beaten, and taken their belongings, because they would not remain with them. And in this manner they went, naked and ill-treated, having taken an oath not to stop even though they died, until they came to a land of Christians. Andrés Dorantes says that he saw in that *rancho* the clothes of one of them, who was the clergyman, and with them a breviary and a journal. Presently, he [Valdivieso] went back and two days later they killed him because he wanted to leave. A little later they killed another, who was named Diego de Huelva, because he passed from one lodge to another. And there they took them for slaves and treated them more cruelly than a Moor would have done, because, on the other side [of this last *ancon*], they had to walk about naked and barefooted, in living flesh, to and from all points through this coast (which in summer burned like fire) with no other occupation but to carry loads of firewood and water, and all the rest the Indians had need for, to support the flesh, and drag the canoes through those shallows in that heat.

These people⁵ eat nothing in all the year but a little fish, and with this they have much less hunger than those inland (with

⁴Andres Dorantes, Diego Dorantes, and Estebanico.

⁵They were with one of the Karankawan tribes that dwelt entirely on the fringe of coastal islands.

whom they lived later) who with other things, are wanting this much of the time, and from this cause are changing about constantly to search for food.

For the rest there is a very great scarcity of fresh water (of which the lack is very great in this country).

Because they like to go about among overflows and salt water that which they have to drink is very little and bad, and far away. And this all was more weariness for the Christians, who thus suffered the same thirst, while they were carrying water on their backs for the Indians, their masters, and then for their neighbors, because all ordered them about, all caused them fear, and all treated them badly by word and deed. The boys pulled their beards every day by way of pastime, and if they became careless the boys would pull their hair, and be seized with great laughter, the best pleased in the world. And they scratched them in such manner that many times they brought blood, because they carried long hard finger nails, which are the principal weapons, or knives, commonly used among them when they have no war. And so many and great were the vexations had from the boys that when by chance they met them out from their houses they set upon them with stones, and with anything else that offered that they found more to their hand, which form of sport was for the boys a new game, greatly enjoyed. And since they were gentlemen and good men, and new in this equal life, great patience was needed, equal to the labor and pains which they had, for suffering such great and insupportable tortures. Thus testified Dorantes, who believes that God gave them strength to be patient, in discount of their sins, and because they merited more. And though they would not suffer such miseries, they could do nothing else (except become insane), because they were surrounded by water, and where they went about was on small islands; and by their choice, they would have preferred death, alone in the field like men without hope, asking God's mercy for their sins, than to live among a people so badly disposed and bestial.

Among them they remained fourteen months, from the month of May to that in the following year. They came in the month of May and stayed the next month of May (of the year 1530). By the middle of the month of August, Andrés Dorantes was on

the side that seemed most favorable toward enabling him to go, so he commended himself to God, and left in the middle of the day from amongst all the Indians, whom God permitted not to see him. And that day he crossed a great water⁶ and walked all he could, with much fear, and the next day met some Indians, who received him willingly, because they had noticed that the Christians served them well. Castillo and the negro stayed there, because they could not go with him, and after three months the negro followed him, and they met, though they were not kept together. Castillo stayed, and spent another year and a half more among that bad people, and then found opportunity to go, and followed Dorantes, but when he arrived, found the negro but not Dorantes, because he could not bear those Indians, who were so bad, as has been said, that Dorantes had gone to others, more than twenty leagues back, who were on a river⁷ near the *Ancon del Espiritu Santo*, who, as has been said, were those Indians⁸ who had killed Esquivel, who was the Christian who alone had escaped from the people of the two boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez. According to what these same Indians said, they had killed him because a woman had dreamed some nonsense, because all of them believe in dreams, and kill their own sons through dreams.

Dorantes said that in a space of four years he saw eleven or twelve children killed and buried alive, and these were the boys. The females are very seldom by any means permitted to live. This people have no other idolatry, but believe in this error as has been said. Near there, other Indians had killed his cousin, Diego Dorantes, after two years that he served and was among them. For this reason they had no security for life except from one day to another, so that of all those Christians there remained alive only Andrés Dorantes, Alonso Castillo and the negro, and Cabeza de Vaca, of whom these others knew nothing.

Among these people, as said, Andrés Dorantes, remained ten

⁶Since there is no mention of the use of canoe or raft in making his escape, we may surmise that the "great water" which Dorantes crossed was the northern end of Laguna Madre, where it is shallow enough for wading.

⁷The Guadalupe. For a summary of the evidence supporting this identification, see *THE QUARTERLY*, XXII, 137-142.

⁸Cabeza de Vaca calls these Indians Mariames.

months alone, suffering much hunger and continuous labor, and with the fear that he would be killed some day, inasmuch as he saw them kill their own sons without pity or mercy, for any monstrous dream, and who thus had killed Esquivel for the same reason. And so, when he saw an Indian coming toward him, or by where he was working, digging roots, he had no thought but that they came to kill him for some dream, and had no security until they passed onward, the more so that the Indians, for the greater part, when they met poor Dorantes, showed themselves very furious, and sometimes (and quite often) came towards him (and towards the others who were there), pointing an arrow at his breast, drawing the bow to the ear, and then laughing and saying, "were you frightened?"

These Indians eat roots; which they dig from the soil, the greater part of the winter. These are very few, and dug with much labor. And they pass the greater part of the year in very great hunger, and all the days of their lives they work from morning until night. Thus also they eat snakes, lizards, mice, insects, frogs, and such other reptiles as they can find; also sometimes they kill deer, and put fire to the prairies to kill them. They kill rats, of which there are great quantities between those rivers. But all this is little, because they eat as they move about by that river, all the winter, from below to above, and from above to below, at no time halting to seek food, frightening the game, and finishing everything. Sometimes they eat fish which they kill in that river, but few, except when it overflows, which is in the month of April; and some years it overflows twice, the second time is through May, and then they kill great quantities of fish, and very good ones, and save many of them but lose more, because they have no salt, and cannot carry them, or put them in storage to sustain them afterward.

There are in the coasts of that river many nuts, which they eat in their season, because they bear nuts one year and another they do not. Sometimes one or two years pass that they bear no fruit, but when there, these nuts are many, and the Indians are very fond of them, and from all the region for twenty or thirty leagues round about, they gather to eat them. Even then their necessities are great, because so many people come to eat nuts that they

kill and frighten away all the game, and in all the month the trees bear they eat nuts and nothing else. These nuts are much smaller than those of Spain, and it is difficult to extract the kernels so as to eat them. These people, therefore, when summer comes, in the end of May, eat some fish, if any remain when the floods in the rivers subside, and begin to go to eat the *tunas*, which fruit is in these lands in abundance, and they go more than forty leagues forward toward *Pánuco* to eat them. They like them so much that they would not give them for anything in the world. This is the best food they have in all the year, and these bear for a month and a half or two months, and they eat this fruit and march and kill some deer at the same time, and it sometimes happens that a few people kill two hundred or three hundred deer. Andrés Dorantes says that in eight days he saw sixty Indians kill such a number; and that also they happened to kill five hundred, and many other times they killed this number or more and in this manner: They take the road by the coast, and run a wing into the land, and as most of the year this land is deserted and without people, there are many deer; and they round them up and drive them into the sea, and hold them there all day and until they are drowned. In time the sea casts them upon the shore dead, because when the wind is not from the sea, and they run them, they turn presently, because the deer will not go except against the wind. This happens a time or two, and more times they kill no game, thus, and the times that they kill are few, as has been said. And thus, with this exercise, they pass forward on their road to where they depart from the salt water and enter into the interior, eating their *tunas*, which they begin to eat, and which ripen, through August, and which continue for fifty or sixty days. And this is the great time of the year for these people, for then they eat nothing but *tunas*, and some snails which they gather, with which they stuff themselves by day and night, and are contented in their fullness, and all the other times of the year they are dying of hunger.

There, among these *tunas*, Castillo, the negro, and Andrés Dorantes came back together again, and concerted plans to leave, but since the Indians were never quiet, nor together, they presently each went to his own part of the country, and thus of necessity

these Christian sinners were separated with their masters. So it shaped that they could not effect their concert and determination (at least on that occasion), and each went to his own place with his masters to eat those nuts, which were very many that year. And when they arrived there, Cabeza de Vaca came to join them, who for five years had remained behind, where they had lost the boats, and they had not seen him since. And there they concerted among themselves,⁹ when Cabeza de Vaca arrived, because, as was said, they were separated and could not communicate except in the time of the *tunas*, which they went forward to eat in the field, and on that occasion they were many times on the point of leaving, but it appeared that their sins were against them, and they separated them, each to his own district. Thus passed six years, and in the seventh year, at the time of this fruit of the *tunas*, though each of these Christians were separated from the others, each of them went forward secretly, and unexpectedly arrived at a certain place inland in a part of the land where they were accustomed to eat the *tunas*, but the Indians had not gone there on this occasion because none were there. Dorantes, the first, went there early,

⁹Cabeza de Vaca says that when he rejoined the others on the "River of Nuts" (*Naufraños*, Bandelier, 80-82, 95, 96).

"Andres Dorantes said that for many days he had been urging Castillo and Estebanico, to go further on, but they did not risk it, being unable to swim and afraid of the rivers and inlets that had to be crossed so often in that country.

"Still . . . they at last determined upon fleeing, as I would take them safely across the rivers and bays we might meet. But they advised me to keep it secret from the Indians (as well as my own departure) lest they would kill me forthwith, and that to avoid this it was necessary to remain with them for six months longer, after which time they would remove to another section in order to eat prickly pears (*tunas*). . . . Now at the time they pluck this fruit other Indians from beyond come to them with bows for barter and exchange, and when those turn back we thought of joining them and escaping in this way. . . . When I had been with the Christians for six months, waiting to execute our plans, the Indians went for *tunas* at a distance of thirty leagues from there, and as we were about to flee the Indians began fighting among themselves . . . and in great rage each one took his lodge and went his own way. So we Christians had to part, and in no manner could we get together again until the year following. . . . When the time for the *tunas* came we found each other again on the same spot. We had already agreed to escape and appointed a day for it, when on that very day the Indians separated us, sending each one to a different place." . . .

They escaped a few days later and at the end of a day's journey met other Indians (Bandelier, 99).

"These Indians speak another language and are called Avavares. They were those who used to fetch bows to ours and barter with them."

and chanced to find an Indian people¹⁰ who had come there that same day, who were great enemies of the others with whom the Christians had been, and they received him very well. At the end of three or four days, the negro, who was on his trail, and Alonso del Castillo, who were together, arrived, and there they agreed to seek for Cabeza de Vaca, who was waiting further on. They saw some smoke columns in the distance, and arranged that Dorantes and the negro should go to this smoke, and that Castillo should remain there to assure the Indians not to believe they were going, and saying, that they thought it was their other companion who was making this smoke, and that they would bring him to their company, and that Castillo would wait until their return. And they left them, and went thus and searched well, going about until night, when they met with an Indian, who took them to where Cabeza de Vaca was, who told them how he had come to seek them. And it pleased God that those Indians moved next day near to where Castillo had remained, and there they joined again, and all three praised Our Lord, and resolved as Christians (and as gentlemen, which each of them was), that they would not live this life of savages, which separated them from the service of God and from all good reason.

And with this good resolution, like men of good caste and determination, they went; and thus Jesus Christ, in his infinite mercy, guided and worked with them, and opened the roads, in a land without roads; and the hearts of the savage and untamed men, God moved to humble themselves to them and obey them, as will be told further on.

And thus they went that day, without being heard, and knowing not where to go, but confiding in the Divine Mercy, seeking for some *tunas* that were in the land, although it was time for them to be gone, because it was through October, and it pleased the Mother of God that early this day they met with Indians,¹¹ which

¹⁰The *Anagados*, according to Cabeza de Vaca.

¹¹The most unsatisfactory portion both of the Oviedo narrative and of *Naufrágios*, concerns the months spent with these Indians, whom Cabeza de Vaca calls *Avavares*. Oviedo says only that these Indians were very gentle; that they had heard of the Christians, but did not know how badly the other Indians had treated them; that by reason of the *tunas* failing in the country through which they had to travel, at the beginning of October the Spaniards came to the necessity of wintering with them, and so re-

they desired, because they were very gentle, and had some knowledge of the Christians, though little, because they did not know how badly the others had treated them. (Which was well enough for these sinners.) It was now the beginning of winter and they were without hides for covering, and the *tunas* failing in the country through which they had to travel; they came to the necessity of halting there that winter to get some hides with which to cover themselves, which, they were told, they could not find further on; and since they were on the road, and where they could better pre-

mained with them from the first of October until the month of August following, during which time they suffered more hunger than at any time previously, because these Indians were not near the water, and had no fish; and lived during the winter months entirely on roots; and had more difficulty than the other Indians in carrying on trade. Oviedo makes no direct mention of any journey with these Indians, and it might be inferred from his narrative alone that these Indians wintered near the *tuna* fields where the Spaniards joined them; did not Oviedo explain, when they quitted them the following year, that these were the Indians "that they came with to these parts"?

Naufraños, on the contrary, is very detailed, just here, but in this portion of his book Cabeza de Vaca is retrospective rather than narrative, and it is difficult to place the series of incidents related by him in any definite sequence. He says that the escape to the Avavares was in September, and that they remained with them eight months, during six of which they suffered great hunger. He says that the agreement to escape from the Mariames was effected on "The first day of September and the first of the new moon"; that he awaited his companions at the appointed place until "the thirteenth of the moon," when Dorantes and Estebanico joined him, telling him that they had left Castillo with the Anagados nearby, and they all joined these Indians the following day. Two days later, the Anagados having made peace with their former masters, the Mariames, with whom they had previously been at war, they fled from them, and at sunset found and joined with the Avavares. Since the first day of the new moon in September, 1535, was really on the eighth, Cabeza de Vaca's reckoning would make them join the Avavares September 25th. Oviedo says they met these Indians "during October," and at the time for the *tunas* to be gone, although there were still some in the land.

Cabeza de Vaca says that these Indians lodged them in the houses of their "physicians," Dorantes and the negro in the house of one, and Castillo and himself in the house of another. These Avavares, he says, were the Indians of whom Dorantes had told him eighteen months before, who came habitually from "farther on," during the *tuna* season, with bows to barter to the Mariames; and they had long planned to escape to them as the best means of "reaching a land of Christians." They had arrived only that day; and were pleased to receive them because they had heard of them, and how they cured, and of the miracles the Lord wrought through them. "It was wonderful," says Cabeza de Vaca (Bandelier, 100) "how He prepared the way for us through a country so scantily inhabited, causing us to meet people where for a long time there had been none . . . and moving the hearts of the people to treat us well, as we shall tell further on. . . . They celebrated our coming for three days, at the end of which we asked them about the land further on, the people, and the food that might be obtained there. They replied that there

pare for the following year, when the *tunas* came, and could then proceed with their plan, they then waited there from the first of October to the month of August of the year that came. During this time they stayed with these Indians, suffering much hunger, and not less, but more, than in the time passed in the seven years before. This was because these Indians were not near the water, where they could kill some fish, and so there they eat nothing but

were plenty of *tunas* all through that country, but that the season was over and nobody there, because all had gone to their abodes after gathering *tunas*; also that the country was very cold and had very few hides in it. Hearing this, and as the winter and cold weather were setting in, we determined to spend it with those Indians. Five days after our arrival they left to get more *tunas* at a place where people of a different nation and language lived, and having traveled five days, suffering greatly from hunger, as on the way there were neither *tunas* nor any kind of fruit, we came to a river where we pitched our lodges. As soon as we were settled we went out to hunt for the fruit of certain trees, which are like spring bittersvetch" [or like peas].

Here Cabeza de Vaca was lost for five days, at the end of which time he "found his Indians," who had given him up for dead, thinking a snake had bitten him. On the next day they left, and went to where they found a great many *tunas*; thence they removed to other Indians, called Cuitlchulches and Maliacones, who were eating *tunas* also. The Cuitlchulches subsequently, "had to return to their country."

But Cabeza de Vaca is as vague as Oviedo concerning the country of the Avavares, and where they finally settled down for the winter. He says only (Bandelier, 111): "While with them we were always well treated, although our food was never too plentiful, and we had to carry our own water and wood. Their dwellings and food are like those of the others, but they are much more exposed to starvation, having neither maize, nor acorns, nor nuts . . . during six of the eight months we were with them, we suffered much from hunger because they do not have fish either. At the end of that time the *tunas* began to ripen and without their noticing it we left and went to other Indians further ahead, called Maliacones, at a distance of one day's travel . . . and we all departed, in company of the Indians, who went to eat a small fruit of some trees . . . there they joined other Indians called Arbadaos. . . . The Indians with whom we had come went back on the same trail . . . so we remained with the others in the field near their dwellings . . . while with those we suffered more from hunger than among any of the others. In the course of a whole day we did not eat more than two handfuls of the fruit, which was green and contained so much milky juice our mouths were burnt by it. As water is very scarce whoever ate of them became very thirsty. And we finally grew so hungry that we purchased two dogs, in exchange for nets and other things, and a hide with which I used to cover myself . . . after we had eaten the dogs it seemed to us that we had enough strength to go further on, so we . . . took leave of these Indians and they put us on the track of others of their language who were nearby."

But in retrospect Cabeza de Vaca affords other hints as to the location of this land of the Avavares. While with them he says (Bandelier, 110): "The same Indians told us they had seen the Asturian and Figueroa with other Indians further along on the coast, which we had named of the figs." This is amplified somewhat in his account of the Indians between

roots, and they have greater difficulty than all the rest in carrying on trade. So in all the year they never fill themselves, and their boys go about so feeble and swollen that they look like toads. But at least, among these Indians these Christians were well treated, and they permitted them to live in their freedom, and to have all that they wanted.

CHAPTER V

In which is seen how these three Christians and the negro continued their journey, trying to arrive at a land of Christians, and healed many sick Indians by making the sign of the cross over them, and many other remarkable things pertaining to the course of this history.

The month of August arrived, and these three gentlemen had collected some deer hides, and were ready, and when the time came

Mal-Hado and the "river like Gaudalquivir" in the course of which he says (Bandelier, 123): "Further on, on the coast, are the Quevenes, in front further inland are the Mariames, and following the coast we came to the Guaycones, and in front of them, inland, the Yeguaces. After those come the Atayos, and behind them others, called Decubadaos, of whom there are a great many further on in this direction. On the coast live the Quitoles, and in front of them, inland, the Chauauares. These are joined by the Maliacones and the Caltalchulches, and others called Susolas and Comos, ahead on the coast are the Camolas, and further on those whom we call the people of the figs" (The 1555 edition, Hodge, 87, has Quitoks for Quitoles, Chavavares for Chauauares; and Camoles for Camolas in this paragraph).

And after describing the purchase of the dogs from the Arbadaos, Cabeza de Vaca continues retrospectively (Bandelier, 113): "I have said already that through all that country we went naked, and not being accustomed to it, like snakes we shed our skin twice a year. Exposure to the sun and air covered our chests and bodies with big sores that made it very painful to carry the big and heavy loads, the ropes of which cut into the flesh of our arms.

"The country is so rough and overgrown that often after we had gathered firewood in the timber and dragged it out, we would bleed freely from the thorns and spines, which cut and slashed us wherever they touched. Sometimes it happened that I was unable to carry or drag out the firewood, after I had gathered it with much loss of blood. In all that trouble my only relief or consolation was to remember the passion of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the blood he shed for me, and to ponder how much greater His sufferings had been from the thorns than those I was then enduring."

Cabeza de Vaca says also of the Avavares and their neighbors (Bandelier, 111): "All those people had no reckoning by either sun or moon, nor do they count by months or years; they judge of the seasons by the ripening of fruits, by the time when fish die, and by the appearance of the stars, in all of which they are very clever and expert."

Using, for convenience, Cabeza de Vaca's names for the tribes and Oviedo's facts, we find that the day they left the Avavares and went for-

fled secretly and prudently from the Indians that they came with to these parts, as has been said. And this same day that they departed they walked seven leagues to meet with other Indians¹ who were friends of those they left behind, and there they received them well and gave them of what they had. The next day they moved on, and so went forward to and were joined by other Indians, who took them with them and they went to eat two kinds of seeds that ripen at that time. There are through there very

ward to the Maliacones, "who were friends of those they left behind," they marched seven leagues; that they went with them to eat some *granillos*, of two sorts, that ripen at the time, 'there being through there very great woods of small trees which bear this fruit,' there they joined the Arbadaos, and remained with them eight days, then parted from them and went on.

We have then these definite facts concerning the Avavares and the country where they dwelt:

1. They joined them as part of a plan to escape from the Mariames, a tribe who dwelt habitually on the "River of Nuts" or Lower Guadalupe, but who annually went forward more than forty leagues toward Pánuco to eat *tunas*, which were found there in abundance. Here they annually met the Avavares, who came "from parts farther on, bringing bows to barter and exchange."

2. After leaving the Mariames in the *tuna* region and before joining the Avavares they met the Anagados, who told them of the Camones, who lived "further on" and "nearer the coast," who had killed the crew of the barge of Tellez and Peñalosa.

3. According to Cabeza de Vaca the Avavares or Chavavares dwelt inland from the Quitoles or Quitoks; the Camoles or Camones dwelt further ahead on the coast than the Quitoles and still further in the same direction were the "people of the figs." And the Avavares told them that further along "on the coast which we had named of the figs," they had seen Figueroa and the Asturian, who had gone forward from the cruel Indians of the Aransas region, "vowing never to stop, even though they died, until they arrived at a land of Christians."

4. The homeland of the Avavares was in a region of thorny woods and trees, which bore two kinds of edible "fruit," or seed; and in that region they also searched for the fruit of a tree which was "like peas," and hung on the tree until late in the season.

5. The Avavares did not winter on the coast since they had no fish; but near it, since they judged of the seasons "by the time when fish die."

6. The Avavares and their neighbors were clearly of Coahuiltecan stock.

7. The Avavares dwelt not more than thirty-five leagues from a river which we can identify positively as the Rio Grande.

Summing up we know that the Avavares dwelt in a region of thorny woods, near, but not on, the coast, in the direction of the Pánuco from the lower Guadalupe, and within thirty-five leagues of the Rio Grande; that they were of Coahuiltecan stock; and that several neighboring tribes of the same stock dwelt in the same general region, at intervals of a day's journey more or less. These facts would all coincide in the region now bounded roughly by Raymondville and Lyford on the east, and La Coma and La Jarra on the west, in northeastern Hidalgo County.

¹Called Maliacones by Cabeza de Vaca. (Bandelier, 111; Hodge, 80.)

great woods of small trees that bear this fruit. And there they were joined by others, and the Christians were passed to them, because this was a people from further onward and more to the purpose of their road and intention.² They remained through there eight days with them, that they ate nothing but some leaves of *tunas*, baked, because they were waiting for those seeds which were not ripe. And these Christians gave part of the deer hides which they carried in exchange for two dogs to eat, because they were so weak they dared not walk a league. They ate the dogs, and parted from the Indians, and went on.

These last Indians were very sorrowful because they had gone, but did not hinder them, and this day they went forward five or six leagues without finding anything to eat, and met no Indians, to put them on their road; and stayed that night in the woods, where they slept, burying many leaves of *tunas* which they ate through the morning of the next day (because when buried from one day to another they are less rough and acrid to the taste, and are more fit and better for baking, and better for the digestion). And following their road until mid-day, they arrived at two or three *ranchos*, where were some Indians,³ who said they had nothing to eat, but that going forward they believed that by night they would arrive at some houses where they would give them food. So they passed from there, and arrived there, and found forty or fifty *ranchos*. And there is where they first began to esteem and reverence these few Christians, and drew near them, and touched them and rubbed them, and said by signs to the Christians to rub them and stroke them and heal them, and offered them things to cure their complaints; and the Christians did this, although they were more accustomed to labor than to perform miracles. But confiding in the goodness of God, they made the sign of the cross over them and blew over them (in the manner which those do in Castilla who are called "healers").⁴ And the

²Cabeza de Vaca's Arbadaos. (Bandelier, 112; Hodge, 80.)

³Called Cuchendados by Cabeza de Vaca in his list of tribes. (Bandelier, 123; Hodge, 86.) Buckingham Smith misread the original here.

⁴This is the first mention of their work as "healers" in Oviedo; but both *Naufrágios* and *Relación* state that the Indians at *Mal-Hado* desired to make physicians of them; and Cabeza de Vaca devotes an entire chapter to their work as healers among the Susolas, Cuiltalchulches and Avavares, during the months spent with the latter tribe. Only among these

Indians in a moment felt that their maladies were better, and gave them of what they had to eat, which was nothing more than leaves of *tunas*, buried, and some *tunas* in the same manner, although they were green. And they remained there with those Indians fifteen days to rest somewhat because they were weak and not able to travel. And they ate of those leaves of *tunas* until they began to ripen, and they were rested and recovered and gathered more strength, and were restored somewhat to themselves. And the Indians made much of them, and gave them of all they had with very good will, which they never had found until that time among any Indians of all that they had seen and treated with, but only ill-treatment and cruelty as has been said.

From there they went to other Indians two leagues forward, who gave them many things because of the cures, and who made many feasts, and gave them very good food of *tunas* and meat, and went to hunt solely for the Christians; and there they became somewhat stronger. And thus God was good, so that although they thought to march until they saw the fruit bear eight years, following the difficulties and inconveniences of the long road, they marched in ten months, which was a very great miracle. While they were there some women came, who were there from farther on, to carry for them, and these Christians at once departed from there, regretted much by those Indians, who followed them, requesting that they come back; so that next day they could go with those women, as has been said. And when they would not do so, the Indians turned back, very sad, and the women followed behind the Christians (in order that they be not lost) and they went by the road which they had already told them about, and became lost. And it pleased God that at the end of two or three leagues they came together by the water of a spring or small river, and the women were exhausted and dying, as though they marched for their lives. And from there they went with them, and they marched that day eight or nine long leagues, without leaving the road all day when they could travel, and before the sun was set

Cuchendados, however, did it occur to them to make use of the prestige which these faith cures brought them as a means of subjecting the Indians to their will and furthering their own ends.

they arrived at a river,⁵ which to them appeared to be wider than Gaudalquivir in *Sevilla*, and they crossed it, all to the knee, then to the thigh, and over two lances in length to the breast, but without danger. They proceeded on their way, and arrived at nightfall at a town of nearly a hundred *ranchos*, and very many people, where they came out to receive them with much shouting and screaming, and with some gourds full of small stones, with which they make their rejoicings and music. And though they believed that these Christians had much power to heal illness, they were brought with much fear and perturbation to approach and touch the Christians. But notwithstanding their fear, they suffered themselves to come, with much reverence and devotion, like one who touches a holy body. And thus those Indians, some before the others, and many bolder than the others, anticipating from their manner that they would not be given place (changed from their fear) with such celerity that they were presently touching their eyes with their fingers. And thus they stayed, and turned their feet to their houses, and brought them presently the sick to be healed, and gave to an Indian who came with the Christians many arrows and things, because he brought them and had guided them by there. And the day following they took them a league and a half from there to another settlement [*pueblo*] of seventy or eighty *ranchos*, at which they ate *tunas* in much abundance, and there they received them in the same manner as in the first settlement [*pueblo*]. And they were given twenty-eight loaves of meal, which is one thing that these people there eat, called *mesquite*. And they were given other things; and they made many feasts, with dances and rejoicings, following their custom.⁶

⁵The Rio Grande. (THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 232-236.) No other river at which they would have arrived traveling west, northwest or southwest from the northern edge of the *tuna* region on the Gulf Coast could by any stretch of the imagination be compared with Gaudalquivir at Sevilla. *Naufrágios* makes the same comparison: "In the afternoon we crossed a big river, the water being more than waist deep. It may have been as wide as the one at Sevilla, and had a swift current." (Bandelier, 129; Hodge, 90.) Buckingham Smith says that Gaudalquivir is 100 paces wide at Sevilla.

⁶*Historia de Nuevo Leon*: A graphic picture of the Coahuiltecan tribes, among whom these pilgrims wintered after escaping from the Mariames and with relays of whom they traveled the following summer, at least until they met a "people from afar" of another language and stock, in the region of Monclova, is supplied by Captain Alonso de Leon, in

There, on their journey, they commenced a new form of traveling, which was for many people to accompany these Christians, like saints, and to bring there, to them, all who came to be rubbed and healed. These they stripped of their belongings (that is the new ones to whom the others went) and took that which they had, and even went into their houses and robbed them of much of what they found. It seemed that the owners who were thus stripped

Historia de Nuevo Leon, written in 1649. His description of the tribes of the region about Monterrey, Cadereita and Cerralvo, which is the nearest in point of time that I have found to the Cabeza de Vaca narratives, depicts these Indians in practically their primeval condition, and clears up almost every allusion contained in the older narratives to the habits, customs, food, lodges and clothing, or lack of it, of the Indian tribes and bands encountered by these pilgrims from their entry into the prickly pear region until they arrived among settled Indians on the Pacific slope. I quote from Chapters VI, VII, and VIII, pages 34-40, Tomo, XXV, Genaro Garcia's *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*:

"The inhabitants of this New Kingdom [of Leon] . . . live the life of beasts . . . in huts in the woods, moving from one place to another; families separating and joining again as moved by the slightest whim. . . . The larger congregations (called *rancherías*) are found in encampments of fifteen huts, which are arranged in rows, or half moons, fortified at the points with two other huts. This is largely when they have war. When they do not, each family or *ranchito*, or two together, wanders in the woods, living two days here and four days yonder; understanding no more than this; they respect the boundaries and territory they have marked out with another *ranchería*, or if not, it is with their consent and permission. In each *ranchito*, or hut, lives eight or ten or more persons, men, women and children. . . . They live in huts of grass or cane, forming camps, with a few smaller empty ones forming lines of tents. The doors are low so they are obliged to enter stooping. In the middle they have the common fire, not so much because they have to leave it out of the hut, nor from the little cold that is caused by the winter, as it is the custom that they have, inasmuch as from lack of light, the huts are soon darkened and full of smoke.

"They sleep on the ground, with some hay or grass for a pillow; and in some bad deer hides, if they have any. These people are very filthy; they do not clean house; and all the filthiness is there, so that when they go from a *ranchito*, it is shameful; and coming into a *ranchería* causes nausea and abhorrence, by reason of the uncleanness and stink that is there, inasmuch as a man can scarcely find a place where he can put his feet. They do not wash their hands; and in case they bathe, it is rather for refreshment than for cleanliness. For tablecloths they use whatsoever they have on any part of the body.

"The men go about naked, but sometimes, for protection against thorns, they put sandals on their feet, tied with thongs, which they call *cacoles*. Their hair is worn long, falling behind, and loose, or fastened at the hips with deer [skin] thongs, as they prefer. Their faces are in general painted; each nation with different lines. Others [paint] all the body, full length and cross wise, with straight lines, or in waves, like ribbons. Some of them are plucked bare from the forehead to the crown of the head, with the lines arising at the nose. They call these "baldheads," or "hairless ones." Some nations have this bared part broader than others.

of their belongings were pleased, and thought that this new holiness was ordained in heaven, from whence they thought these Christians came.

There they rested that day, and the day following, and from there they took them another six leagues forward, in this manner, to other *ranchos*, and many men and women went with them with the intention of robbing them [those of the new *ranchos*], of what

but all are very striking; the hair is taken away with such art that scarcely a bit of down remains, so that with some in these parts, art has been so converted into nature that no ability to grow hair remains. If more grows they pull it out.

"The Indian women are not different from the men, in the very small lines, or in the rest of it. They cover their shameful parts with hay or grass, or some twine which they make of a certain herb like flax, and over this they wear loosely, if they have them, a deer hide behind and one before, like a skirt; and a shorter one, fastened to the shins. These are dragged a palm's length on the ground, clustered with beads, beans, or small hard fruits, or a kind of snails, or the teeth of animals, which rattle as they move about. For dress occasions they wear hides loosely across the shoulder, like a cloak. Other nations are seen, men and women, with fur coats thrown over the shoulder made of rabbit skins, twisted in such manner that each skin makes one thread, and many of these are woven together after the manner of St. John the Baptist.

"They use bow and arrow. Both in making them and shooting them they are expert. They are accustomed to carry with the bow a stick, arched to the form of a Japanese cutlass which serves them alike, as a staff, when afoot, as a pillow for sleeping, as a cudgel, and as a tool for all their needs.

"These people are cruel, naturally savage, revengeful, and treasure a grievance for a long time. They are of good stature, very fleet; and they move about and run like horses. They are well featured. Some of them make holes in their ears, and the bridges of their noses in which, on gala occasions, they place feathers, sticks or bones. Others make holes in their breasts.

"They are of small capacity, without reasoning powers; quick to make any ill or treason; and if they find an occasion, they do not lose it.

"They are inclined to theft, are vain, and are liars, and are opposed to all labor. They do not sow, or cultivate the land. They live freely and in idleness, which is the root of all the bad in which they are swallowed up.

"Their food, in winter, is generally, one that is called *mezcale*, which they make by cutting off the spines from the *lechuguilla*, and the hearts, and principal parts of these they roast [literally "make a barbecue"] during two days and nights; and the juice and the fleshy parts of this they eat, sucking it and chewing it, throwing aside the fiber, over which they walk and sleep in the meantime, and this, at this time, they do not cook, because it is injurious. But if their food fails, they return and gather it, trampled and dried in the sun, pound it in some wooden mortars, which they commonly use, and eat this powder. This food is hot, and of little substance, so that in this time they go about weak and dejected; it is purgative. They eat it hot and cold, as most pleases them. It rots if kept for many days.

"In summer, and from the time when the *nopales* [prickly pear cacti]

they could, and there they stopped, because they arrived at a village where the Christians were received as in the places they had passed, and even better. They were troubled in the same manner by the multitude of people, who overloaded them [with gifts] for rubbing and treating the sick (as by these acts they healed them). The Indians who had come with the Christians robbed those that were healed there, and the rest, who were told of this

begin to bud, they eat the flower of the *tuna* [prickly pear] and this same *tuna* small, of which there are great plenty in all this land, roasted. In the meantime they ripen, and then the men each bring a little net, with which they gather, clean and eat them with much facility; not putting aside those that they tread on until well sucked.

"Of these *tunas* there are many kinds, some better than the others, but all bad, since the best are not equal to the worst of New Spain. They make raisins [*pasas*] of them; sometimes whole, again sliced lengthwise, spreading them in the sun on some mats, or on the ground.

"By this time they eat the *mesquite*, which is here in abundance. They eat it from the beginning of the season until they [the mesquite beans] are dry, and then they pound them in their mortars and preserve them, some sifted, others as seeds. These they put in little mats, fashioned into bags for this purpose, or in opened *nopales*. They call this *mesquitamal*. It is a food of very great substance, cooked or raw, and makes them fat during this time.

"There are many varieties of small wild fruits, which do not fail in all this Kingdom, of such sort that in summer they eat the fruits, and in winter the roots; so then they go about like swine, rooting up the fields to dig them from the ground, and they bring in many.

"They sleep where they gather at night. They make fires where they wish, with much ease, rubbing one stick with another.

"They are great hunters, so much so that when they set out they quit nothing alive. They run like a deer; the flesh of which is the best they have, and on killing it, they leave it, and send their women for it next day. They find it by its trail, and bring it in. The hide is the hunter's, but he does not eat of the flesh, which is distributed among all of them. There is no bird or animal they do not eat, even the unclean poisonous reptiles, such as snakes, vipers, rats and all the rest; excepting only toads and lizards.

"They are, both men and women, great fishermen. They fish in divers ways; with arrows, by dazzling the fish with lights, at night; with nets; by going in to seek them in their holes.

"They make a roast [barbecue] of entrails and carcasses two days dead. They are not fastidious as to the smell, so they eat anything whatever, even with maggots and after being eight days dead.

"They are gluttons, epicureans, sloths, and vagabonds. Their women are the ones who by day and by night, seek the food and prepare it. In the meantime they sleep or move about.

"An Indian is accustomed to have a clump of *tunas* for a pillow when they are in season, in bulk like a hundredweight measure, of any sort whatsoever, and that night, and before daybreak, without raising his head, he greedily eats everything but the peels, which he throws away. They eat salt, and if this fails they eat, in its stead, a kind of herb, like *romerillo* [wild rosemary], which they burn to ashes.

"They drink any kind of water very well with their hands, when there

custom of traveling. Those robbers made them believe that they [the Christians] wanted it so.

Many of these Indians were blind, and great numbers were one-eyed from clouds [cataracts]. They were a people of very good disposition, and the men and women were of good appearance. Here they treated all the blind and one-eyed, and many other infirmities, and though the Christians did not heal them all, the Indians believed that they would heal them. Near there were the mountains,⁷ and there was one *cordillera* of them which appeared to traverse the land, directly to the north.

From there they took these Christians another five leagues forward, to a river,⁸ which was at the foot of the point where commenced the said mountain.⁹ They had there forty or fifty *ranchos*.

is any; and when it is far away the women carry twelve or fourteen hollow *nopales*, full of water, besides what these *babazas* take away for the liking, in some net bags [*cacaxtles*] fitted on two bows of wood of the thickness of a finger, sufficient to hold a hundredweight [*fanega*] of grain, which they carry, from the forehead, on their backs.

"On their *tuna* drying grounds [*paseras*], distant from water, they make some holes in the ground, very well beaten, of the shape of a sugar loaf; for the cover some twigs and grass; and there they mash the *tunas* in such manner that the holes fill up from the juice, from which they drink. With this they kill the thirst and refresh themselves much.

"If all contributed earnestly to make quantities of *pasa* [dried *tunas*] and *mezquitamal*, they could have them all the year without toil, but only during the time the fruit is green do they take note how few provisions are. They consume all in their gluttony, without looking to preserve food for the morrow, eating rather to satisfy the belly, after being stuffed, than by conserving, to live like men. They do not raise up anxieties for tomorrow, seeking the sustenance of that day, as is the propensity of irrational brutes."

"Cabeza de Vaca says (Bandelier, 133; Hodge, 91): "There we began to see mountains, and it seemed as if they swept down from the direction of the North Sea, and so, from what the Indians told us, we believe they are fifteen leagues from the ocean."

Buckingham Smith translates this last sentence, "We believe they rise fifteen leagues from the sea." These were, explicitly, the first mountains seen on the entire journey. The distance traveled after leaving the Rio Grande, as calculated from their itinerary; the habits and customs of the nearby people; and topographical references, locate the village of the blind Indians, where they were when the mountains were first mentioned at a point five or six leagues south or southwest from Rio San Juan at Aldamas. THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 236-240.

⁸Rio San Juan, near and probably just below its junction with Rio Pesqueria.

⁹As early as 1649 Captain Alonso de Leon, the elder (father of the Alonso de Leon who located La Salle's settlement and founded the first mission for the "Texas" Indians), remarked (*Historia de Nuevo Leon*, in Garcia's *Documentos Para la Historia de Mexico*, XXV, 30): "In the relation that Cabeza de Vaca made of the tribulations that he under-

These were robbed like the others. They gave to the Christians the little that was left. All that night was spent in great games and feasts, and the Christians healed them in the same manner that they were accustomed to do. That night they sent to call people down toward the sea, and the following day many men and women came to see these Christians and their miracles, and brought things which they gave them. These labored much to take them toward the sea, because there they thought to retrieve their losses and compensate themselves for that which had been taken from them. They said they had there many people, who would give the Christians many things. But they would not go [toward the sea] but higher into the interior, because they had been warned [by experience] against the people of the coast; and also because they had always been told that they could not get out toward the sea, or toward sunset, and they feared to give in and go there when they thought so little of the idea. For these reasons they wished to go higher. The Indians did not hinder them much. They said that there were no people nor food, except very far from there. As the Indians saw they would not change their proposition, they sent Indians to find people.

The second day following the Christians departed and many people went with them.¹⁰ They had many women, who carried water for the road, which was very scarce among them and the weather was very warm, also they carried food and other things that had been given to them. After traveling two leagues they met the Indians who had gone to find people. They said that they had found none, except very far from there, upon which all [the Indians] stopped, mournfully, and begged the Christians much to go with them where they wished to take them. Since they could not achieve this desire they took their leave, weeping,

went with three companions who survived from the death journey [*jornada*] of Pánfilo de Narvaez into *La Florida*, crossing the land from there to the South Sea, instructing the barbarous people who inhabited it; performing, by virtue of the sign of the cross, infinite miracles, up to raising the dead; it appears by sound rules of cosmography, that from where they began to travel to the country where they arrived, they were obliged to pass very near where the town of Cerralvo is today."

¹⁰For this journey see comparative itineraries of Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca, *THE QUARTERLY*, XXII, 240-243; and Baskett, *Ibid.*, X, 273-274.

and returned, leaving their loads. These the Christians carried on their backs and went, by that river upward, all the rest of that day.

At night they met some Indians who took them to eight or nine *ranchos*, which were in a rugged spot among thorns. They found the Indians weeping from devotion. They received them reverently, as in other places, as has been told, and gave them to eat of what they had. The next morning the Indians came who had left the Christians on the trail (for they had heard of the other Indians) and came to rob them and so retrieve their losses. They took what they could, which was little, and told them the way they must treat the Christians.

The next day they departed from there and spent that night on the road, and the day following they went to many *ranchos*, where they were received as usual and their companions ransacked the houses and took what they could and went back.

In this manner they went by the skirt of the mountain eighty leagues, a little more or less, entering through the land inland, straight to the north. There they met, at the foot of the mountain, four *ranchos* of another nation and tongue, who said they were there from more inland, and that they went by that road to their home. There they gave the Christians a rattle of brass,¹¹ and cer-

¹¹*Naufrágios* says that next day after receiving the copper rattle, they crossed a mountain seven leagues long, the stones of which were iron slags and at night came to many dwellings on the banks of a "beautiful river," where they gave them small bags of *margaritas* and *alquifol*, with which they paint their faces, and many beads and robes of cow skins. These people ate *tunas* and *piñones*. Here Cabeza de Vaca performed a surgical operation, removing an arrow head from the region of an Indian's heart. The Indian recovered, which naturally added greatly to their reputation as healers, since these tribesmen sent the arrow head "more inland" as a visual demonstration of the powers and prowess of these new *curanderos*.

After leaving this people they traveled among "So many different tribes and languages that nobody's memory can recall them all," and the number of their companions became so great that they could no longer control them. These were hunters, and killed hares and deer in sufficient quantities for the three or four thousand people who now accompanied them. With these they crossed "a big river coming from the north" [Rio Sabinas] and traversed about thirty leagues of plains. They then met "a number of people from afar," who came to meet them on the trail, who guided them for more than fifty leagues through a desert of very rugged mountains, so arid that there was no game, and they suffered much, in consequence, from want of food. Finally they forded "a very big river" [Rio Grande again], with its water reaching to their chests; and these same Indians led them to a plain beyond the chain of moun-

tain shawls [*mantas*] of cotton. They said that these came from the north, across the land toward the Sea of the South. The next day they entered through the mountains toward the west,¹² and [these Indians] took them to some *ranchos* near a beautiful river, where the Indians gave them plenty of *margaritas* [pearls] and alcohol [antimony];¹³ and told them that those who had given them the brass rattle had plenty of that metal. From which it can be gathered that, although it is not gold, in that country they cast metals (but for some reason they said it is situated on the South Sea).

When they arrived there, where they gave them this rattle they had marched a hundred and fifty leagues, a little more or less, from where they commenced to travel.

And from these *ranchos*, where they gave them these things, they carried the Christians to five groups or congregations of *ranchos*, of more than two thousand souls, who on all the road never left them. They killed by the road many hares and deer for them, and all the game they killed they brought before them, not daring to keep anything for themselves. Even the worms and grasshoppers found by the women and children were brought to the Christians and given to them, and [these people] had rather starve than eat them before the Christians had made the sign of the cross and passed the food over to them. The Christians directed them not to bury the game, but to bring it before them, and after they had chosen what they wished, they made the sign of the cross and distributed the rest among the Indians.

tains, where people came, from a great distance, to meet them. (Bandelier, 139-146; Hodge, 95-100.)

¹²Many commentators have misunderstood Oviedo's phrase "*Otro día se metieron por la sierra hacia el oeste o poniente*," as signifying a change in the general direction of the journey. Both the context and *Naufrágios* show that this westward march could only have been a day's journey (seven leagues according to Cabeza de Vaca) to join with the Indians on the "Beautiful River" [*Rio Hermoso*]. This river was at or near the site of *Monclova*. THE QUARTERLY, XXII, 241-243.

¹³Bandelier, without apparent justification, translates *margarita* here mica.

It is possible that this sentence should read *margajitas y alquifal*, that is, iron pyrites, and lead ore. Lead, zinc and silver ores are found all through the eastern Sierra Madres, but not in such forms that the metals could have been reduced by any Indian system of smelting.

And in this manner they continued their journey until they arrived at a land of Christians.

In these *ranchos*, to which they took them, were many people of good disposition, and there they gave them very great quantities of piñones [pine nuts] [which were] very good, better than those of Castilla, because they have a shell of a kind that they eat with the rest. The cones of them are very small, and the trees thick, through those mountains, in quantities.

And from there they took them forward many days, and they traveled cautiously without meeting any other people, and when they saw they could find none they sent to all parts to seek them; and there came *ranchos* from more than fifteen or twenty leagues away to await them on the road.

As their followers on arriving at a new *ranchito* invariably stole everything, the Christians ordered that in future they would keep all for themselves, so nobody dared take anything. The Christians thus despoiled their hosts in order to compel them to take them forward, and so retrieve their losses at the next stop.

These Indians took them forward through some rough mountains¹⁴ more than fifty other leagues, with much hunger, through the bad quality of the land, which had no *tunas* and nothing else; and at the end of the journey they began to take sick and the Christians had very great labor making the sign of the cross and breathing over them, so that those who remained healthy would not take sick.

And thus they took them to more than a hundred *ranchos* that awaited them in a plain, that had come there from afar, and had many people with them. All of these, the ones and the others, gave them *piñones* in quantities.

The next day the company started, leaving on the spot many old things, worn out by use.

These new Indians¹⁵ told them that there were no more people except very far from there, and that these were their enemies;

¹⁴This is the first mention in either narrative of a journey through the mountains, except the seven league journey westward to the "Beautiful River."

¹⁵I am unable to hazard a guess as to the identity or tribal relations of these Indians, who are mentioned in the highest terms in both narratives. The inference is that they were not buffalo hunters.

and the Christians said they should send messengers to announce their coming (this had been a practice along the way, to send forward four Indians, one in the name of each of the four travelers to have everything prepared for their reception). So these Indians decided to send two women, one that they had captured from those from whence they came, and another who went with her, for the men did not dare go on account of the war that they waged against said enemies, and because they could not understand the others. So the Christians and all that people started behind those women, regulating the march each day so as to await the reply they brought in a certain place.

As soon as they began their march the people began to fall sick and in such manner that the Christians had much pity for them because these were the best people they had met. They had agreed that they should await the women and the reply that they brought; so they halted three days. They did not wish to take the Christians to other parts because of the war they had. Then Andrés Dorantes told one of his Indians to tell the others that because they wished to compel them to take them, they were all dying. At this they took fright, and their fear so grew upon them that the next morning they went hunting but came back at mid-day, sick, and each day more became sick. Within two days many died, and more than three hundred persons were taken ill. And their fear so increased, believing the Christians had caused all this suffering, that they would not look them in the face nor lift their eyes from the ground in their presence.

And it was a marvelous thing to see, that in the fifteen days they remained among those Indians, they never saw one of them laugh nor cry, nor otherwise show his feelings. Although some had lost fathers; some their wives; some their sons and others their husbands; they all dissimulated and comported themselves with such expression of the countenance as though without sorrow for their losses. A more marvelous thing; that neither nursing babies nor children of more age were seen to cry or to laugh in all the time the Christians were with them, but were as old people.

None of these Indians dared eat or drink, or do anything in life without asking permission of these Christians, and they be-

lieved that they had power to kill them or give them life and that they were dying because the Christians were angry.

At the end of the two or three days that they remained there, the women came and brought very ruinous news. They said that the people they had gone to seek were gone to the cows,¹⁶ and that through all that region there were no people. Seeing this; the Indians said that they were all sick, as the Christians could see; and that they were from very far away. The Christians could go towards the cows, which were up toward the north, and could there find people, and could remain with them, while they [the Indians] wished to stop and go to other parts, because they had very great hunger since the *tunas* were gone.

The Christians told them no, that they had to take them from there toward the west, because that was their straight road. The sick could remain there, but twenty or thirty Indians who were well must go with them, and these should start with one of the Christians to look for another people, and bring them, with which the Indians appeared satisfied.¹⁷

¹⁶*Oviedo*: "Because they make mention of *vacas* [cows] the reader should not understand that these are like ours, but are of those the Spaniards call *vacas* in some parts of the continent. Some, improperly, call them *dantas* because their hides are as tough, or tougher than those of the buffaloes. The Indians in the province of Cueva, in the government of Castilla del Oro, call this animal *beori*, as was stated in the first part of these histories, in Book XII, Chapter XI."

¹⁷From the viewpoint of these castaways their relations with the Indians divided their long journey from *Mal-Hado* to Culiacan, and what they expected to accomplish by it, into distinct phases. Figueroa's party, Dorantes' party, and Cabeza de Vaca's party left the region of *Mal-Hado* successively, each determined to make its way along the coast to the Spanish settlement on Rio Pánuco. All came to grief by being enslaved by coastal Indians. Those who finally escaped became the slaves of the Mariames, a tribe which went forward each summer more than forty leagues toward Pánuco to eat *tunas*. In the *tuna* fields they annually met "other Indians," the Avavares, who came there from "further on" to meet them with bows for barter and exchange. In this *tuna* region, the four castaways finally escaped from the Mariames, joined with the Avavares, and went back with them to their own country, still, evidently "toward Pánuco." Both the place where they escaped and the homeland of the Avavares were some leagues inland, but not very distant from the coast. At the beginning of the following summer they left the Avavares and went "forward," still evidently with Pánuco as their destination, until they reached a village on a river "at the foot of the point where began the Sierra" which "swept down from the direction of the North Sea" and "crossed the land inland, directly to the north." In the meantime, they had begun to function as "healers," and were being handed on from tribe to tribe, not as

The second day following they departed from there and traveled three days and part of another. They parted from Alonso del Castillo, whom they found most esteemed, and he went with the negro and the Indian women, who took them to a river where they found people, and permanent houses, and some beans and pumpkins that they eat, although very few. Then Castillo returned leaving the negro with instructions to get that people ready for the march.¹⁸

slaves, but as honored guests, respected and feared as the direct representatives of everything in the nature of Divinity of which these Indians had any conception. The Indians here insisted on taking them "toward the sea," but, warned by experience of the savage nature of the coastal people, they refused to go there, insisting, as they said, on going "higher into the interior," expecting to find there greater stores of food and better disposed inhabitants. So from here they went toward the north, along the skirts of the mountains, which barred their way westward, and, with some detours, necessary to their finding new Indians from time to time, they continued toward the north until they came to a plain "beyond the Sierras." The Indians who met them there wished them to continue toward the north, to where the "cows" were, in order to obtain food and find people, but they insisted stubbornly on going "toward sunset," because "that was their straight road."

In the course of their northward journey some Indians had given them a brass or copper rattle, some metallic paint, and other articles, which they understood came from the north, but over toward the shores of the "South Sea." They had convinced themselves that metals were cast there, and had visions of "another Mexico." They had now traveled a hundred leagues or more northward from where they received this copper rattle, and evidently felt that the time had come for that part of their journey that was toward the "South Sea." Threats and superstitious fear finally induced these Indians, very much against their will, to take them toward the west, in which direction, after a journey of some thirty leagues, they arrived at settlements which we can now identify as those of the Jumanos, in the vicinity of the Rio Grande-Conchos confluence.

¹⁸The great advance in our knowledge of the nature, habits and customs of the Indian tribes of Texas and adjacent Mexican states that has taken place in the past twenty-five years, owing principally to the work of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton and associates in the archives of Mexico and Spain, is well exemplified in the criticism of the Cabeza de Vaca narratives. As late as 1905 Bandelier suggested (*Journey of Cabeza de Vaca, Introduction, XVIII*), that Cabeza de Vaca's "Descriptions of customs and habits of Indian tribes or bands, especially of such as lived east of the Rio Grande, must of course be accepted with proper reserve. Still many may yet prove to be of ethnographic value. The general picture of the condition of these tribes is very likely to be exact, while, on the other hand, many details are probably misstated, through having been misunderstood or superficially observed. It might be worth while to make a special study of these ethnographic data and compare them with whatever material of the kind has been placed on record by subsequent explorers and narrators." And in 1907 F. W. Hodge (*Spanish Explorers in Southern United States, 1528-1540*, 54, notes to *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*), though better informed concerning the in-

habitants and natural history of pre-European Texas than was Bandelier, says, "Important as it is in affording evidence of the route of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, it is not possible, with our present knowledge of the former tribes of the coast region of Texas, to identify with certainty the various Indians mentioned by the narrator. Whether the names given by him are those which the Indians applied to themselves or are those given by other tribes is unknown, and as no remnant of this once considerable coast population now exists, the only hope of the ultimate determination of these Indians lies in the historical archives of Texas, Mexico and Spain. The two languages and stocks represented on the island of *Mal-Hado*—the *Capoque* and the *Han*, would seem to apply to the *Karankawan* and *Attacapan* families respectively. The *Capoques* are seemingly identical with the *Cocos*, who lived with the *Mayeyes* on the coast between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers in 1778, and with the *Cokes*, who as late as 1850 are described as a branch of the *Koronks* (*Karankawa*). Of the *Han* people nothing more definite is known than that which is here recorded." Hodge also suggests a possible identification of Cabeza de Vaca's *Anagados* with the *Caddoan Anadarko*, which the ethnographic, topographic and natural history evidence now available shows was impossible; that the *Camoles* or *Camones*, who killed the men from the barge of Tellez and Peñalosa, "evidently lived toward the northeast, north of *Mal-Hado* island," although Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had not yet come to their country after traveling more than a hundred leagues from *Mal-Hado* "toward Pánuco"; that the *Atayos* were possibly the *Caddoan Adaiz*; and Cabeza de Vaca's *Arbadaos*, the *Bidai*; and that Cabeza de Vaca's mention of passing in succession from the *Avavares* to the *Maliacones* and from the latter to the *Arbadaos* indicated that he was traveling in a generally northward or northwestward direction (*Id.*, notes, 72, 76, 80); while Baskett, in 1919 ("A Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca," *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 325-326) ended his study with the remark: "When the writer began this study he was hopeful of finding some geological, ethnological, or natural history features which might fix definitely certain points on the route. . . . But except in a few instances the results were disappointing. . . . there were great cane brakes at *Mal-Hado*, but so there were all around the coast; the women there clothed themselves in 'a wool that grew on trees,' but the Spanish moss, or *tillandsia*, has no limit toward Pánuco; the *herba pedrera*, though Oviedo mentions a few more of its characteristics, could not be identified; the crawfish and the oysters could be found at sundry points; nuts were everywhere, and the bitter and milky-juiced herbs were too abundant to mean anything, as were the *granillos* ground with the nuts at 'that river'; the mesquite grew from anywhere west to a line eastward of Galveston, and had no defined limits; maize meal was away out of place 'up that river,' since it was never known to be grown then west of the Brazos or east of the Rio Grande; the *piñon* was too scant on the hither or eastern side of the Pecos; while quails and hare could be found anywhere and gourds nowhere in Central Texas, and the *chacan* (Cabeza) or *masserones* (Oviedo) up the Rio Grande, and the other herb, the powder of which was eaten on the high plains beyond, were out of the realm of conjecture. . . . neither have I been able to find any ethnological aid. . . . so I have had itinerary and topography to depend on—and I have abided with them."

The researches of Dr. Bolton and his associates and pupils, in the archives of "Texas, Mexico and Spain," have supplied most of the gaps in our knowledge, that led Bandelier, Hodge, and Baskett astray, and it is now possible to confine the route of this pilgrimage within very definite limits from ethnological and natural history data purely.

The casting away at *Mal-Hado* was at the division line between two different stocks of Indians, both of which used canoes, and sustained themselves mainly on fish, oysters and seacane roots; and who did not eat *tunas*. Attempts to make their way "toward Pánuco" led them among other tribes—a coastal people, who used canoes, moved about little, and fed principally on fish; and an interior people, who wintered on or near a river, or rivers, within ten leagues of the coast, where there were many nuts; and who journeyed, each summer "more than forty leagues," toward Pánuco to eat *tunas* during a ripening season of fifty or sixty days. They escaped from these last Indians in the *tuna* region, and joined others who lived "further on," among the *tunas*, and who also fed on the mesquite, in its various stages; but who, in winter, subsisted entirely on roots, and not on *mescale*, or any form or species of *lechuguilla* or *maguery*. After a forward journey among a similar people, inland, but still within speaking distance of the coast, they turned away, directly to the north, and journeyed eighty leagues along the skirts of the first mountains they had seen, until they met people of another stock, who gave them, besides *tunas*, buffalo hides and *piñones*. Thence they journeyed, amongst a similar people, first through thirty leagues of valieys and plains thence across fifty leagues of barren mountains, to a big river, the water of which came to their chests, and forward to a plain where they met another roving people from "afar"; thence thirty leagues or more to the west to a nation of buffalo hunters; who lived on a river which flowed between mountains where, in ordinary seasons, they planted crops; the most settled people they had found since leaving Aute. These Indians guided them for seventeen days "up that river toward the north," and for a journey of the same length westward to a settled people who grew abundant crops of melons, pumpkins, maize, and beans among whom they traveled until they heard news of other Spaniards, on a river previously discovered by Diego de Guzman.

The division line between the Attacapan and Karankawan tribes was in the region of Galveston Bay; and La Salle, in 1686, found Cabeza de Vaca's weeping Indians, on a river in that region. The coastal people on the islands westward were the Karankawan tribes on the Texan islands, whose habits, customs and mode of life changed little from those depicted by Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca prior to their extermination by the American colonists in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century; their inland neighbors, who made annual journeys from nuts to *tunas*, certainly wintered on the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers and summered among the *tunas* south of the Nueces and north of the sand; the absence of *mezcale* and other products of the *maguery* family of plants among the Avavares and their neighbors definitely locates those tribes within well defined limits on either side of the Rio Grande delta; the mention of *piñones* and buffalo robes among the next tribes encountered requires a northerly journey of many leagues to a meeting with people who had them; the semi-settled people who hunted buffaloes and grew corn and maize on a river that flowed among mountains, could only have been the Jumanos, who then dwelt on the Rio Grande at its junction with the Conchos and northward; the settled villages where abundant crops were regularly grown, were, definitely, the Opata settlements in what is now Sonora.

THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY E. W. WINKLER

XI

BRYAN TO HAYES

Confidential.

Washington, Oct. 26th, '77.

(Friday night)

Dear Rud:

On account of my niece I have been detained until tomorrow morning. Had I thought that I could at any time today have had a *free talk* with you, I should have gone to the Executive Mansion for that purpose. Were I to remain here perhaps I might serve you, for the extremists of your party will I fear compel the admission of [W. P.] Kellogg, and from what I learn will bring such pressure on you as to produce the appearances that they control. *Your friends voting* for Kellogg will produce the impression that you are for him. Such impression with Southern minds will be unfortunate; it is for your interests as well as for the country's that [H. M.] Spofford be admitted.

I thank you for what you have done for Austin, would that you had appointed a Supreme Judge from a *seceding State*.

Efforts will be made to drag you into a War with Mexico; *avoid it if you can*. We want no more territory and semi-barbarians now. We have enough of both. Write me sometimes. Send me the letter of Ballinger I enclosed to you. I suppose you understood me when I wrote you that I would go to a Hotel and not to your house; it was more on *your* account that I did it.

Sincerely as ever yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. *Do keep on your course; the people are with you, and will sustain you*. I hear that certain persons of your party say *you are bound to yield, and they will control you yet*. You cannot *now yield without disgrace; onward, right onward* will make your administration *glorious, and second only to Washington's*.

BRYAN TO MRS. HAYES

Galveston, Nov. 10, '77.

My dear Mrs. Hayes:

I have been requested to call the attention of the President to the subject treated of in the enclosed slip taken from the *Courier Journal* of Louisville, Ky. You are the Representative of the *women* of our country, and to you I confide their advocacy with the President—to insert a sentence in his regular message on the subject of their education as proposed—if it meets with your and his approval.

When I last called on you, greeting me with your usual cordial manner, you said, "I asked Rutherford yesterday what has become of our old friend, surely he has not deserted us in the day of our trials," etc., etc. This expression again and again has sounded in my ears, until it moves me to say, Deserted my old friend. No, as soon would I think of deserting my own brothers (Joel and Austin) as disregarding the claims of a friendship that has continued unbroken for so many years, that commenced 39 years ago in the "Juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed and habits established that will *stick by one*." Surely a friendship that the storms of civil war, and the measures of reconstruction could not weaken, cannot *now* be deserted by me, because that friend is President, and as such sometimes may differ with me in his policy, and that difference cannot be much when the President in the spirit of Washington stands with outstretched arms, holding in his hands the Constitution of his country imploring his countrymen to heed "that he serves his party best who serves his country best," and warns them in the most solemn noble manner of the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally, when "it serves to distract the public administration, and agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, and kindles the animosity of one part against another—a fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame lest instead of warming it should consume." He is today strong in the hearts of *the people* and I hope he will regard the fact that he is the President of *both parties* and not of *one*, and as the President of the *country* will march fearlessly onward; *this is his only role for true success*, and

true greatness. Present me affectionately to him and to your children.

With great respect and sincere regard, I am yours sincerely,
Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Willie sends his regards. His health is good.

BRYAN TO ROGERS

Private.

Galveston, Nov. 13th, '77.

Dear Col:

I had news from Washington last night confirming fully what I wrote in my good-bye letter (on leaving the Capitol) in regard to the designs of the leaders of the Republicans in the Senate and House. They are determined to *control* Hayes, to make his course, and then force him by degrees to follow it. *He should throw down the gauntlet at once, and be the President of the country,* and then *follow out his declarations unswervingly.* He is not a *Partizan* President, he is a compromise President, the choice of *both* parties, for his *title* is from *Congress.* His *true fame* is in this direction, and by adhering to this course he will achieve *greatness*, and it is the *only* way *he* can become *great* in his position. Any other makes him a common man, and a tame President. He is now entering the crisis of his position. God grant that he may be equal to it. He has now the opportunity of making himself famous. The occasion is given by his opponents; if he does not avail of it, he will never have such another. Conkling, Hamlin, Edmunson and others have overleaped themselves, and if the President seizes the opportunity, they will have the odium with their party by their *narrow* mindedness and blind prejudices, that by their course they left the President no other manly alternative than to throw off party restraints, for the good of country, and to declare himself *the President of the whole country.*

Let some able discreet friend of his in the Senate briefly, strongly and patriotically declare the independence, and the policy and principles of the President. This will electrify the country, for it will be the course of the patriot-statesman, and the wise incorruptible President. He need not fear the want of support in Congress, for such a course will bring to him the support of the Senate, and of all good men of both parties North, and above

all, the *support of the people North and South*. Hayes cannot convert his Republican opponents; no concessions will satisfy them; one concession will lead to another and that to another until he surrenders; and a surrender will not win their confidence, but will lose him their respect, and the *respect of the Country*. Hayes has the latter now, he can and should retain it. (Every day I have to combat the idea that he will be whipped in). He should make himself a *great man*, he can do it, the country and the *occasion* are most favorable. He can if he will put himself by the side of Washington.

The idea that offices shall be filled at the South only by Southern Republicans is to keep in office such men as filled office under Grant, who were odious to the Southern people, because most of them were and are without principle, when such men as Patterson, Kellogg, Wells, Marmoth, Carpenter and others represent the party, how can good appointments be made by their recommendations. Not one of these men is fit to enter a pure man's parlor. You may say this is prejudice on my part; not so, it is from love of *virtue* and abhorrence of *Vice*. My personal attachment for Hayes, and my great desire for success on his account, and for sake of country, may make me overzealous, if so, pardon me.

Sincerely yours, etc.

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Show this to Hayes if there is no positive objection. Hayes should throw overboard the whole brood of unprincipled men in the South who have heretofore ruled and held office; they detract from him and when in office are eyesores to the people.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Private

Galveston, Dec. 20th, '77

Dear Rud:

If the sympathies and opinions of a friend at this distance from Washington are of any moment, you may have mine, with the assurance that they are *sincere* and *disinterested*, which cannot be said of all who approach you.

On the eve of my departure from Washington I wrote you (under cover to Col. Rogers) that the combination was made, that has culminated under the lead and triumph of Conkling.

From my standpoint outside of the atmosphere of Washington

I would return the same names to the Senate for confirmation with *my reasons* for removal, (I take for granted your reasons are good,) [thus] meeting Conkling on his own ground, and letting the people see by the action of Senators who are for faction, and who for country. If they are not confirmed, the fault will not be yours, and the responsibility will rest on those Senators who vote against confirmation and civil service reform. I would see Gordon, Hill, Lamar and others and learn from them the support I could rely upon from Senators. Unfortunately some *Northern* Democrats would delight in seeing *ultra* Republicans producing opposition to you in the South, so as to strengthen Democratic party lives where they are growing lax in the South. Such Senators may not vote at all from strategical reasons.

For the sake of your fame, and your future usefulness I hope you will take no step backwards, but stand by your letter of acceptance and inaugural, and your speeches, *relying on the country to do you justice*. Now, is the time of your greatest trial, and for your exercise of Statesmanship and generalship.

It is reported here (as if by authority) by Republicans just from Washington, that you have decided to appoint *no more Democrats to office in the South*. This I believe is the role of Conkling Republicans to break you down in the South. Stand by your declaration that you would appoint good men to office irrespective of party in the South. Send in names of good men South even though you know they will be rejected, for every such nomination made tends to strengthen confidence in you on part of the South. The material of those who call themselves Republicans in the South is in the main *so bad* that if you rely upon such only for recommendation for office, and from which to make appointments, you and the government will be greatly damaged, and you will accomplish just what Conkling and some northern Democrats desire: The continuance in office and appointments of the Packards, Pattersons, Wellses, *et cetera*, will be irritative thorns and eyesores to the people of the South, doing much to make many of them forget the good you have done them, and giving demagogues and Bourbons living arguments to show the people you are "no better than Grant," and "the good you did, you did because you could not help yourself," etc., etc.

I had no idea of saying so much when I began, but my earnest

desire for your success has carried me perhaps beyond what you will read, for I know you dislike long letters.

We are looking for the return of Ballinger; he wrote me that he had seen you and Mrs. Hayes and was delighted with you and his visit. *You must write me sometimes.* I enclose this to Mrs. Hayes for I know you will then get it. I have placed Willie in a store with my nephew Perry Bryan in Brazoria County; his health I think is improved. My children are well. Sincere regards to Mrs. Hayes and all your children and to Miss Platt.

Ever your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I have not met a man or read a newspaper South, that has not condemned severely those Southern Senators who voted for *Conkling*.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, Feb. 19th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I regret the prosecution of members of the Returning Board, because *sound policy* I think forbade it. I regret the prosecution on your account, because you had enough of trouble without this sensational question added. I know that your duty to your country will make you rise above the atmosphere of passion and prejudice, and calmly look down on the disturbed billows below, conscious of the duties, responsibilities and accountabilities of your position, which the authors of passion and prejudice neither heed or feel. Your course as patriot and Statesman must be *onward*; none other will be in consonance with your policy or fame. You cannot halt now after what you have done; to halt is to waver, and wavering is *defeat*. Your misfortune is that your friends (some of them) are inadequate from circumstances as friends, to be impartial advisers. This may embarrass and may retard, but I do not believe will *stop* you in your *march onward*. I tell my friends that you are now, as you have been all the time, in *earnest* to make this Union a *Union of equal States*, which equality will make it as of yore a *Union of hearts*, that you regard this as your mission, and that you will fill and complete it. *I have never faltered in my faith in or support of you, but would*, were you to resume the past policy of Federal interference with local government of a State. Such interference on your part would undo

what you have been doing for a year, and would destroy confidence in you; that would be fatal to you, to your policy, and to your Party of pacification.

I am glad you liked Ballinger. He was much gratified at the reception you and Mrs. Hayes gave him. He intended to call again, but his suit unexpectedly came on in Sup. Court and he had to give his undivided attention to it, and to leave for home immediately after. I have regretted that I tried to get him on Sup. Bench. I embarrassed you and myself by so doing.

Yesterday (Sunday) our Baptist Minister, a Southern man and former slaveholder, from his pulpit paid Mrs. Hayes the highest compliment (before a large *Southern* Congregation) for her high moral courage as the first woman of America in being the sincere Christian, in exhibiting such simplicity and purity of life in all her walks in a position, where everything was tempting her to the contrary, that her example for good would long live at the White House after she had left it. With sincere regards to her,

I am as ever your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I knew Col. [George] Williamson intimately, served with him for more than a year during the war. He was then a true gentleman, a gallant soldier and an able man. Why he should be opposed now I know not. He certainly is qualified, and personally a gentleman. I liked him very much. I spent a month with him at his house in La., and think I had every opportunity of learning all about him.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Private

Executive Mansion.

Washington, 27 Feb 1878

My dear Guy:

I have your kind letter. You will not doubt my steadiness of purpose in [striving] for good results because of vague rumors in the press. If anywhere in the South Republicans are prosecuted and Democrats equally guilty allowed to go free such cases add to the load I am carrying. But they do not change my views of duty. I am confident, and my confidence grows stronger, that I decided wisely at the beginning, and that my true course is to keep straight on. Good men who are prudent and thought-

ful will do nothing to increase irritation, and will do all they can to promote concord. Sectionalism and race antagonism are decreasing. Each new outbreak of either is feebler than its predecessor.

The money question is absorbing attention now; there is a deep and widespread delusion on the subject, but it will subside as soon as the result is *settled*, let that result be either way. It will subside I mean as an element of danger. Money questions will always be interesting.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, July 22nd, 1878.

Dear Rud:

Day before yesterday I was at the depot and met a gentleman by the name of Fostey just from Washington who said, as he came out of the cars, "Col. Bryan, I called a few days since on the President to pay my respects, and he asked me if I knew you, and I told him I did, he requested me to give you when I saw you his best regards." This message I thought of to day, and as I had not heard from you for a long time I concluded to write you. The truth is, Rud, you are now so hedged around, I feel like one not privileged to write you as of yore, and if I cannot do that I care not to write at all unless it be to approach you on business.

I have not approved the Potter Resolution.⁴² I thought it best that you should be sustained in your efforts at reform, especially your Southern policy by the South. I do not think the Southern Representatives ever conceived the Potter Resolution; that was the work of the Northern men, but having passed it they have no other course to pursue but to follow out their role. I deeply regret that so many of the men implicated in the dirty work of the elections have been appointed to office. I have never believed that *you* had anything to do with manipulating the elections and only allude to it to let you know my *faith in you*. The dirty characters (willing to swear any way) that this investigation has brought to

⁴²Mr. Potter, of New York, on May 13, 1878, introduced in the House of Representatives "a resolution for the investigation of alleged fraud in the late presidential election in the States of Louisiana and Florida."

light, show to you the character of most of the white men we of the South called "Radicals." It should show to you too how careful you should be in receiving recommendations to office in the South from *such*. And how careful you should be in making appointments from *such*. You had the opportunity of doing much in the South, of which you have not availed [yourself], by avoiding appointing *such* to office, and [by] appointing *good men* irrespective of party; had you done this your influence would be much greater in the Southern States. I sympathise with you in all your troubles. I notice you have again thrown down the gauntlet to the Senator of N. Y. I hope that you have *reasons* this time that will sustain you in Executive Session. I was several days with Senator Maxey, who has been our guest. He says he is inclined to sustain you, and will always do so when he thinks *you are right*, and will oppose you when you are wrong.

I noticed the marriage of Miss Platt; give her my sincere wishes for her happiness. Give my affectionate regards to Mrs. Hayes, and present me kindly to each member of your family, and kiss Fanny for me. I have Willie in a store on the Brazos with Joel's oldest son, Perry, who is a good business man. Willie has had no return of attacks that caused me to take him to N. Y. If I can possibly raise the money I want to visit my daughter next month. She is at school you know at Hollins sixty miles South of Lynchburgh.

As ever your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Write me (if you think that you can trust me) freely as you did when we were on the same plane, and I promise you to keep your trust.

BRYAN TO ROGERS

Galveston, July 23rd, 1878.

My dear Sir:

I have before me your letter of the 17th inst. in response to an endorsement on an application to the President for appointment of a young man to the naval academy. You are pleased to say that you are "glad to see your (my) handwriting again," etc. I thank you for your kindly expressions. My interest in the suc-

cess of the President in giving peace to the country and re-establishment of correct principles in government has been unabated. With freedom I have expressed these to you in letters that I suppose you could not well answer, hence not being encouraged by you to continue to write, perhaps, was somewhat the cause of my handwriting of late not being more often seen by you.

I cannot cease to feel and watch with friendly interest all that pertains to my old friend, the most intimate friend I had at college, an intimacy that Civil War and its consequences did not impair.

My health is not good and in this world's goods I am not prosperous. I believe I have fully answered your kind note.

Yours very truly,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. The Convention at Austin just now has great difficulty in selecting a standard bearer. If you read the Galveston News you will see great excitement prevails in making this selection. I am not a Delegate consequently can look on more dispassionately than they at their proceedings.

ROGERS TO BRYAN

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
July 27, 1878.

Dear Sir:

Your very kindly favor of the 23rd instant is just at hand. As it contains allusions to the President which he will be glad to see, I will take an early opportunity to hand it to him.

Yours very truly,
W. K. Rogers.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Personal

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
27 July 1878.

My dear Guy:

I have your letter of the 22d. It is good news that your son is able to feel safe from the threatened danger. Your note sent

me with an intelligent letter by your nephew, Austin B's son, reached me, and I regret that by reason of a change of law no appointments can now be made by the President either in the Naval or Military Academy. I wrote to him the state of the case.

The Potter investigation is shabby enough. How men having the instincts or culture of gentlemen could be induced to lend themselves to it is one of the unaccountable things. The Southern men who went into it merely followed the caucus, as a general statement, and that is a thing that we understand. But the attack on N. & S. [Edward F. Noyes, U. S. minister to France, and John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury] in a resolution—well there is no use talking about it. Butler and Company were at the bottom of it, with Democrats of the same sort. The excuse you refer to which some men give, viz. bad appointments, deceives nobody. It is pleasant to know that the better brethren on all sides and from all sections despise it. Lamar, Stephens, &c. &c. &c. saved your section from being swept into a most disgraceful performance.

We are all in excellent health. The general course of public affairs is becoming more and more satisfactory. The resistance to the revenue laws in fifty or sixty counties in eight or nine States is troublesome, the Mexican and Indian situation also.

In confidence, should there be a change of collectors at Galveston? How would Gov. Pease do for it?

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Botetourt Springs, Va.,

July [August] 5th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I received your letter on the eve of my departure for this place. I hasten to answer your inquiries. Should there be a change in Collector of Galveston? If so would Gov. Pease be a good man to fill the place? Certainly, Gov. Pease would be a good man for that place or almost any other that he would take. As to whether there should be a removal, you must ascertain that from some other source. The Collector, Gen'l Shields, is an old man, but one of the most intelligent and honorable of the few white Republicans of Texas. I respect him. He has been absent for

some time in New York under treatment for his eyes, being threatened with blindness. Pease and Shields are *Republicans*; most of the whites in Texas claiming to be such are "*Radicals*," whom I could not recommend for office.

I have been requested to obtain through you a general letter to the U. S. representative abroad to render such assistance as is proper to Miss Betty D. Fowlkes, one of the most prominent teachers of this Institution, who is now in Europe making a tour of the same and who may extend her visit (if she gets this letter) to Egypt. I know the lady; she is a lady of rare culture and high toned character. She is the daughter of Mr. Pascal Fowlkes of Nottoway, Va., whose associations are with the best circles of Virginia society. You will confer a favor on me if you will cause this general letter to be given and sent to the care of the American Commissioner at Paris, where Miss Fowlkes is now.

I found my daughter well and improved. I brought with me my younger daughter (Hally) to see her sister. I am enjoying the company of my two little ones.

I send this letter enclosed to Mrs. Hayes who will excuse me for the liberty I take and have taken with her name. I ask for her influence if it be necessary to obtain the circular letter I ask for for one of the most refined, cultivated, Christian women of the country. Present me kindly to your family.

As ever your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. Don't make the mistake of regarding the Potter Commission or investigation as amounting to nothing. I regret its existence; it has done you harm. The investigation has made a deep impression; it may do no good to the Democratic party; it certainly has injured officials and shown up the character of those who managed affairs at the South before your term.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Soldiers Home,

9 Aug. 1878

My dear Guy:

I have your letter of the 5th *July* from Botetout, Va. I mail this morning such a letter as you suggest to Miss Betty D. Fowlkes,

Paris, &c. &c. and hope it will be useful to her. I am now without any of my family except little Scott. Rogers & his family are staying with me. I shall remain here until September, and will be glad to have a visit from you. In haste

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Botetourt Springs, Va.,

August 16th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I have yours informing me that you had granted my request in regard to Miss Fowlkes. *I thank you for this.* You invite me to visit you, I would be very glad to do so, but I am now at Hollins with my two daughters (I brought Hally to see her sister,) enjoying their society and building up somewhat my health in the mountain atmosphere. It is a cheap place; unfortunately for me I cannot now do as formerly, go where I please, for my purse has to be consulted. I hate to say this, but I do it because I wish you to know that my feelings for you are as of yore. I notice that Mrs. Hayes is at New Port. I hope her health is good. I think she has the hearts of the American people with her.

In regard to the appointment in Naval Academy, my nephew and myself appreciate your action about the matter. I told him to apply for it himself when he requested me to do so for him.

If you read the *Galveston News* you will see that some differences exist there among the people in politics. If you expect a Republican Party to be formed in Texas amounting to anything you will certainly be mistaken, there is too much of odium connected with the past of that party in Texas ever to get the white people in any numbers to join a party of that name. The National or Greenback party is growing rapidly; it has put a full ticket in the field. Hancock has been nominated by the Congressional Democratic Convention for Congress; he will be stoutly opposed by an "independent" candidate, Col. Wash Jones, who was a Union man and a Confederate colonel. The race will be bitter and may be close. Jones is also a Greenbacker.

Present me most kindly to Col. Rogers and wife; also speak of me to Scott.

Yours sincerely,
Guy M. Bryan.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Private.

Botetourt Springs, Va.,
August 24th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

In consequence of representations said to have been made to the authorities at Washington, I am induced to write you what I believe to be the true feelings of nineteen-twentieths of the people of Texas in regard to *war with Mexico*. They do not want war with that country; some persons who think the United States should acquire more territory, and some who are exasperated or who have suffered from raids of Mexicans and Indians from Mexico may desire war, but Texas is opposed to war. What Texas does want is the establishment of friendly relations with Mexico through railroads and steamboats, giving her citizens our products and receiving in return theirs; this course will do more to stop raids, and build up Mexico, and to make her what we want her to be, a *good neighbor*, than any other. Railroads will also enable the government to protect the coast and Mexican border of Texas promptly and effectually in all cases present and future. I think now as I did when in Washington, that the best course for our government to pursue to prevent raids is to follow raiders into Mexico, catch and punish them until Mexico can control her Mexican and Indian raiders; if war follows this course, and it cannot be prevented, *then* let it come.

During last session Congress provided for a survey of the mouth of the Brazos River and a few miles above said mouth, in reference to a naval station and harbor of refuge for vessels during our terrible storms in the Gulf. I call your special attention to this, and hope I am not asking too much of you when I do so. I hope that you will cause this matter to be attended to at once so that the survey may be ready for next Congress. Two or three hundred thousand dollars it is thought would make the improvements requisite to secure the quantity of water desired. Should

the yellow fever break out in Texas and along the railroads leading south, a vessel could be sent to the Brazos and the work done with perfect safety, even if the fever was at Galveston. Reliable officers should be sent to do the work. On and near this river in the counties of Brazoria and Matagorda are the largest and finest bodies of live oak timber in our country, all of which would be accessible if this work is done. The finest portion of Texas is in this section and would be greatly improved by opening up the navigation of this river. It, too, is the section of Texas you know best and where once you were kindly received by its people. I trust that I do not trespass upon our relations when I ask such things of you, for I feel it my duty to make such requests when I can serve my State or Country.

You said you would leave Washington by Sept. 1st. When will you return? For the fever may keep me, and I may have to return to St. Louis, in which event, I could call to see you on my way. I do not expect to return before the last of next month of first days of Oct.

Your friend as ever,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I wish so much you could forget that you were President, and then you could spend a few days here with me so happily.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Hollins Institute,
Botetourt Springs, Va.,
Sept. 26th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I wish you to know that I could not under the circumstances accept your invitation to visit you in Sept. without inconvenience and derangement of plans. I propose to leave here within the next eight or ten days for home via Washington and perhaps Cin[cinnati]. I shall stop a couple of days in the former place. I shall have with me my daughter Hally and a lovely young lady friend of Austin City. I ask permission of Mrs. Hayes to present them to her while I am there. If in the confidence of our friendship I have at any time been too free in my personal requests of

the President, I beg you to extend to me your Presidential pardon in consideration of that past. My health has been improved by the mountain atmosphere and sulphur water. God grant an early severe frost to the afflicted South. Texas so far has escaped the fever, but she has at least six weeks of additional warm weather.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan,

P. S. During my absence without consulting me and without my knowledge, the Democracy of Galveston have nominated me by acclamation for the Legislature.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
29th Sept., 1878.

My dear Guy:

We shall be glad to see you in our country home whenever you come. I may be away a single day, but not longer, I think.

Sensible people at Galveston. Yes, indeed, God grant that the frost may come soon. Lucy will give the young ladies a motherly greeting.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

ROGERS TO BRYAN

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
Oct. 2, 1878.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 24th Aug. to the President has remained without reply owing to the absence of both the President and myself. In looking over letters which have accumulated for his attention during the several weeks past he has just read your favor and wishes me to say that he has noted carefully your remarks with regard to matters in the far Southwest. He hopes it is not too late yet for this reply to reach you at the Springs and wants you *to be sure to make him a visit* at the Soldiers' Home

before you return to Texas. Hoping soon to have the pleasure of taking you by the hand,

I am, yours very truly

W. K. Rogers

Priv. Secy

Guy M. Bryan,
Bottetourt Springs, Virginia

BRYAN TO HAYES

Hollins Institute,
Botetourt Springs, Va.,
Oct. 4th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I shall leave here on next Wednesday for Washington and will reach there about 8:00 P. M., (if I am correctly informed). I shall unless prevented go direct to Soldiers' Home. I thankfully accept the cordial invitation of yourself and Mrs. Hayes. My little daughter Hally and Miss Anderson are gratified for the kindness of Mrs. Hayes; it will be quite an event in their lives. Hally is anxious to make the acquaintance of Fanny.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. It is possible that something may detain me on Wednesday, but Miss Anderson says she will be ready.

HAYES TO BRYAN

The Western Union Telegraph Company.

Dated Washington D. C. Oct 8th 1878

Received at Salem Va " " "

To Hon Guy M. Bryan

Botetourt Springs

Mail from Nearest Point

Letter received We spend Wednesday at Orange Court House and return that night. If we do not meet on train come to Soldiers Home.

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, December 8th, 1878.

Dear Rud:

After a prolonged absence in the Country I have just returned to the City and find a letter from one of our most distinguished and cultivated ladies of Texas, Mrs. Jane M. Young of Houston. She writes, "I am trying to make arrangements to join the 'Pilgrims' to Mexico. They start, I understand, soon after the holidays. As I desire to see as much of the social and political life as possible of that *terra incognita* I am anxious to take with me some letters that will insure that. *Could you get me one from our President to the Minister there?* That would be worth a hundred others, for I should then be furnished with materials for what I wish to write about when I return."

Mrs. Young is a lady socially and intellectually that would attract attention any where, of fine person and captivating manners, with great tact and uncommon conversational powers, she would produce a favorable impression among the first circles at the Capitol of Mexico in regard to the civilization of the "barbarians of Texas."

I hope that I am not asking too much of you to send enclosed to me such a letter as asked for by Mrs. Young.

Miss Bettie Ballinger, daughter of Judge Ballinger, may accompany Mrs. Young and I should be gratified if you would include her name. She is a young lady of about 22 years of age, and has been thoroughly educated, and we think of her as being the peer of most young ladies who have received her advantages. With sincere regards to your wife and children,

I am as ever your friend,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I did not mention in letter I wrote you after the election that I ran ahead of my ticket and was elected by a large majority in opposition to Greenbacker and Independent.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Private

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
13 Dec., 1878.

My dear Guy:

I send you the desired letter.

I noticed with pleasure that your absence did not prevent your running at the head of the poll for the Legislature.

I am now getting on pleasantly in all quarters except the old one. The patronage question will be fought bitterly again by Conkling. I do not feel confident of the particular result, but in the end I shall win. The Southern business is about as it seemed when I last saw you. But there is good progress making. You noticed perhaps Garfield's decided utterance on the 10th.⁴³ It is the true statement. People are weary of sectional controversy. It will gradually drop out of sight.

We are all well.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

Galveston, Dec. 23rd, 1878.

Dear Rud:

I thank you for your early reply to my request to serve our worthy Countrywomen (splendid representatives of their sex anywhere) with a letter to use abroad, where (if they go) it will be of service to them and their country.

I am glad to hear you say, "people are weary of sectional controversy. It will gradually drop out of sight." After what you have said in your recent message⁴⁴ what do you desire I should understand to have been your motive in speaking there as you did, and by this declaration in your letter to me? Please, cause Garfield's speech (to which you refer) to be sent to me. I met him

⁴³"The man who attempts to get up a political excitement in this country on the old sectional issues will find himself without a party and without support."—Representative Garfield in *Congressional Record*, VIII, 75.

⁴⁴President's annual message, December 2, 1878, upon the subject of the recent elections in the South.

when in Washington which will give additional interest to his utterances. Also send me a *correctly printed* copy of your message.

My old friend, will you give me permission to write you a plain frank letter with an eye single to your own interests? If you do, write at once and tell me how I shall direct my letter so that you alone will read it first.

A daughter of Gen'l. Tom Harrison is spending the holidays in Washington with Hon. R. Q. Mills' family. Will you and Mrs. Hayes notice her, and if agreeable will you ask Webb for my sake to pay her some attention. You won the heart of Miss Tilly Anderson; you will have a staunch friend in her always. The friends of my relative Miss Hally Harrison are legion. I hope you and Mrs. Hayes will impress her as you did Miss Tilly.

My Hally sends love to Fanny, to you and Mrs. Hayes, so do I, with a Merry Christmas to all of your household.

Yours sincerely,

Guy M. Bryan.

P. S. I call your attention to the fact that, from my personal relations with you, my utterances in regard to you will be regarded with more than ordinary importance. The Legislature meets on the 14th of Jan. next.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Private.

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
10 Jany, 1879.

My dear Guy:

I learned yesterday from Mrs. Justice Miller that Miss H. has returned to school in Balto. We barely saw her at our N. Y. reception. With Lucy down with a cold, and an unusual press of claims on time, we failed to do what we wished. But if she remains at B. it can still be managed. We specially wish to make it agreeable for her in W.

I notice your political question. My theory of the Southern situation is this. Let the rights of the colored people be secured and the laws enforced only by the usual peaceful methods, by the action of the civil tribunals and wait for the healing influences

of time and reflection to solve and remove the remaining difficulties. This will be a slow process, but the world moves faster than formerly, and it is plain that the politicians on both sides who seek to thrive by agitation and bitterness are losing rapidly their hold.

Thus far the financial condition is most encouraging. Resumption has been so successful that its adversaries seem confounded. No doubt there will be further controversy on our financial subjects. The attempt to destroy the National Banks will be next in order. This is a question of sufficient magnitude to afford ground for party divisions. Its discussion as the main living issue, will aid in putting out of sight sectional and color controversies and will be a healthy change.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

House of Representatives.

Austin, Texas, Feb. 22nd, 1879.

Dear Rud:

I enclose you a letter I have just received from Tom Harrison. He has no idea that I make this disposition of his letter, but I want you to see what good people think of you and Mrs. Hayes. It delights me much for my friends voluntarily to speak in this way about you.

I am gratified, my friend, that you have so kindly treated my request that did not contemplate so much. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Give my sincere thanks to Mrs. Hayes. Hally is a fine girl and has been well raised by a refined, cultivated, noble mother. You will find her sensible and deserving of your attentions, if worth and purity of character in the youthful mind can deserve such.

I rejoice over your victory over Conkling. May you ever triumph in the right.

I hope that the close of the Session of Congress will make you stronger in the hearts of the American people.

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

(Enclosure: Harrison to Bryan, Feb. 18, 1879.)

Waco, Feby. 18, '79.

My dear Friend:

We have rec'd your recent letter, and I have the pleasure to express to you, for my wife as well as for myself, the grateful appreciation that we have of the kind and thoughtful attentions you have had to the entertainment and interest of our daughter. She was very well educated at home, and we sent her away mainly to finish out in some branches and to obtain a broader and better view of society in its best forms.

In this latter object your kind and voluntary interposition has aided us in the most efficient manner. We had no difficulty in tracing to its proper source the unusual attentions paid her by the President and Mrs. Hayes, and it may please you, as it has gratified us, to learn that she has accepted an invitation from Mrs. Hayes to visit her at the White House. I had advised her to avail herself of any opportunity that might offer, properly, to have a better view of the President and his family, than was attainable at a New Years reception. I regard them as the very best type of American Society, cultivated and pure. In this I express the common sentiment of the American people. Nothing of late has pleased this nation more than the fact realized by all, that the Executive Mansion has been morally renovated and purified. That it does now really and truly represent the religious and refined elements of American Society. That is above and better than politics.

Wishing you a pleasant and successful mission to the Capitol, I am,

Truly and affectionately yours,

Thos. Harrison.

BRYAN TO HAYES

Private

House of Representatives.

Austin, Texas, April 5th, 1879.

Dear Rud:

I notice through the papers the rejection of Judge Turner. This gives you the opportunity of selecting the best man in the Republican ranks for the place. I mean Judge [Andrew P.] Mc-

Cormick. If he is nominated Coke and Maxey will I think support him, for no one can raise objection to him on the ground of character and qualifications. Indeed I think Coke will *gladly* support him, and Maxey, but for disappointment in not getting his man, would do so also, for I know that he entertains a high opinion of him for he has so written to me.

Present my sincere regards to your wife and children. I will write you again soon,

Sincerely yours,

Guy M. Bryan.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Personal

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
7 Apr., 1879

My dear Guy:

The Board of Visitors to West Point will sit down about 10th to 20th of June. President Porter of Yale has consented to serve. I shall ask Gen. Buckingham and George Jones to serve. I now write to tender you an appointment as one of the visitors hoping it will induce you to visit me at Washington again.

We are all well.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

BRYAN TO HAYES

House of Representatives.
Austin, Texas, April 11th, 1879.

Dear Rud:

I have just received yours of the 7th inst. I reply at once. I thank you for your kind tender of the appointment of visitor to West Point. I am here still and likely to be until the 22nd of this month. I have been away from my little interests since early in January, which have been in consequence neglected and demand my attention. If you can wait on me until I return home to see whether I can possibly leave, I will then write you definitely, *but if the delay will cause you the least embarrassment take this as my final answer and appoint some other person.* You can in the

meantime (if you wait on me) have some one in your mind that will accept the appointment nearer to you than Texas.

I am glad that you appointed McCormick. He will make a judge that will give satisfaction to the people, and render full justice on the Bench.

His successor as District Atty. is now vacant, and, if you do not appoint Harcourt, let me say a good word for *Wm. K. Homan*, a Republican, a gentleman, identified with the people of Texas by long residence and a good lawyer, one who will be faithful in discharge of his duties, and will command the respect of all parties. Such appointments as Pease, McCormick and Homan will give you strength and command the approval of Democrats as well as the best Republicans.

Give my sincere regards to Mrs. Hayes, Webb and other members of your family. Kiss Fanny for me.

As ever yours sincerely,

Guy M. Bryan.

HAYES TO BRYAN

Private

Executive Mansion,
Washington,
16 Ap., 1879.

My dear Guy:

I have your note as to West Point. I think I can wait your convenience in the matter. I shall announce your appointment, and you will be free to resign if you find it must be done. Buckingham, Jones and Prest. Porter of Yale have accepted.

Sincerely

R. B. Hayes

P. S. It is charged that Homan is not a Republican.

H.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. Spanish Texts and English Translations. Edited with Introductions and Annotations by Charles Wilson Hackett, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas. Volume I. (Washington, D. C. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1923. Pp. xx, 502.)

In 1912 and 1913, Dr. Bandelier, under a grant made by the trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, began to ransack the Mexican archives for documents relating to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. This search was soon extended to Spain, where Mrs. Bandelier, on the death of her husband in 1914, continued the investigations which he had begun in the Archivo General de Indias. The documents gathered through their efforts form the basis of the present volume, but are supplemented by others from the Bandelier collection in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge; the Edward E. Ayer collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago; the Bancroft Library, Berkeley; and from Professor Herbert E. Bolton's personal collection in the University of California.

The documents are miscellaneous in character and no pretension at unity or organization is made, due to the circumstances under which the work was done. But this statement is not to be considered a reflection on the real value of the book. It is divided into several general sections and deals, on the whole, with the Rio Grande region. With one or two exceptions these accounts have never before been printed or made available to the English reader. They are, therefore a valuable contribution to the early documentary history of the Southwest.

The first part tells of the services and merits of various explorers and conquerors of New Spain in the period following directly upon the conquest by Cortés. These records consist of brief reports of the feats performed by them for God and king. The *raison d'être* of these accounts was to influence the royal au-

thorities to grant some substantial reward to men who had spent their fortunes in the king's service in discovery or exploration. For example, such men as Francisco Vázquez Coronado, one time governor of Nueva Galicia, who in 1540 undertook the discovery and exploration of Cibola and Quivira; and Cabeza de Vaca, whose exploits as one of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition in 1527 are well known, and who later went to the province of La Plata to win glory; and Cristóbal Méndez, who served under Cristóbal de Oñate in the Mixton war of 1541; and Bernal Diaz del Castillo, whose son Diego appealed to the king for pecuniary assistance on the strength of his father's distinguished services; and of numerous others, many of whom had been with Coronado in the expedition of 1540 and had wasted their fortunes.

The next group of documents consists of fourteen cédulas and letters relating primarily to Indian affairs in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya and cover the period between 1562 and 1597. Five were written by Diego de Ibarra in 1582, four of them to the king, giving information of the condition of the latter province, not only in regard to Indian affairs, but especially in regard to the discovery of mines.

The third section is composed of documents relating to the early administration of the colonies and contains much of interest. There is a lengthy petition of the *procuradores* of New Spain which asked the king to suspend the New Laws of 1542 abolishing encomiendas and making other reforms. Furthermore they requested that encomiendas be granted in perpetuity. It explained the terrible consequences that would follow unless the latter was immediately done, for: the Spanish settlers would emigrate; the royal revenue would decrease; the Christianized Indians would relapse into their old ways; and commerce would decay. All these evils would be averted if encomiendas were granted in perpetuity, in addition to rewarding the settlers who had lost their relatives or wasted their fortunes in winning new lands for the glory of God and his Majesty. A member of the Council of the Indies in summing up the matter objected strongly to the encomienda system as practiced in the past, but felt that it was the best means of caring for the Indians provided that encomenderos of better character were chosen in the future.

Among the documents given is an extremely enlightening memorial prepared by Luis Sánchez in 1566. This man had been in the Indies and was therefore intimately familiar with the condition of the Indians, who, he asserted, had been ruthlessly destroyed. In damaging terms he denounced this policy, and compared the repartimiento system to a cancer. He bitterly charged that not the hundredth part of the Indians killed were Christians, but confessed that the responsibility for this state of affairs was hard to place since the Indies were so distant.

The last half of the book, which is entirely devoted to the early history of New Mexico, constitutes a most valuable contribution. The various expeditions which the Spaniards made into the upper Rio Grande country between the time of the Coronado and Oñate expeditions have been carefully chronicled by Bolton. The same is true of Oñate's explorations from New Mexico after the founding of the first settlements. But there has been a great gap between 1595 and 1598 during the time that the expedition was "wandering in the wilderness." This period is now for the first time bridged by the publication of many documents which have come to light within the last few years. For the first time, therefore, it is now possible to write an intelligent account of the early part of the Oñate expedition. Some gaps it is true still remain unbridged and will perhaps never be fully known, though more recent investigations in Spain have brought to light additional documents which throw light on mooted points.

The publication of Oñate's contract, recently found in the Spanish archives, is of prime importance. Bancroft failed to find a copy in his search of the Mexican archives and its existence was generally doubted. Before him Josiah Gregg had encountered a petition at Santa Fé made by one Don Juan de Oñate on September 21, 1595, seeking permission to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. From Gregg's summary it was impossible to determine exactly what this petition was, but it is now certain that it was Oñate's contract.

At the very time that this contract was under consideration in Mexico a change of viceroys occurred in New Spain, the Count of Monterey replacing Don Luís de Velasco. A number of letters, hitherto unknown, clarify this period materially. After making

some deliberate investigations Monterey finally decided to limit Oñate's contract in some important particulars. Of special significance was the fact that Velasco had granted Oñate, as governor and captain-general of New Mexico, immunity from interference by the viceroy of New Spain or nearby audiencias. This was revoked by the count so that Oñate was held responsible to the viceroy in matters of war and finance, and to the audiencia in judicial affairs. Several other limitations were made causing great discontent and a great deal of controversy later on. Making a virtue of necessity Oñate accepted these modifications provisionally.

Meanwhile Monterey had asked the king to await additional information before approving Oñate's contract. He soon received an order suspending the contract with the latter. This was due to the fact that a new applicant, Don Pedro Ponce de León, who was favored by the Council of the Indies, was at that very time seeking to displace Oñate. For almost a year Ponce's fortunes were in the ascendency while Oñate, who was already on the road to New Mexico, was seeking to hold his army intact. The Council of the Indies actually made separate capitulations with Ponce, who gave elaborate promises, all of which were better than those made by Oñate. But by that time Ponce's empty promises had failed to materialize. He was ill and unable to undertake the expedition. The viceroy of New Spain, who evidently disliked Ponce more than Oñate, now threw his influence for the latter, with the result that the negotiations with Ponce were broken off and Oñate was permitted to proceed to the reduction of New Mexico.

The documents which tell the story of Don Pedro Ponce de León are entirely new. They include: the contract made with him on September 25, 1596; an elaborate statement drawn up by order of the Council of the Indies showing how much more advantageous was Ponce's capitulation than Oñate's; numerous letters from which the rise and ebb of the former's hopes clearly appear; and a large number of royal cédulas confirming various privileges which he was to enjoy. Without these documents the Oñate *entrada* could never have been completely and accurately depicted. In the future no one will attempt to write of the founding of New Mexico without a careful study of these invaluable documents.

A number of letters and reports from 1602 to 1606 dealing with the later fortunes of Oñate's colony supplement our present knowledge of that period to some extent. But as yet practically nothing has been added to our information of the desertion of the colony in 1601, nor of the period after 1605. Some interesting information is revealed in the declarations of services made between 1612 and 1614 by three members of Oñate's expedition, i. e., Captain Don Luís de Velasco; Captain Juan Velarde Colodro; and Don Fernando de Oñate, a nephew of Don Juan de Oñate. These statements conclude the book, which also contains a complete index.

By the publication of this volume an extreme service has been rendered students interested in the history of the Southwest. No one can lay aside this comprehensive volume without a feeling of gratitude that these documents have been made available both in Spanish and in English, and that the work has been so ably done. Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, professor of Mexican history in the University of California, and Mrs. Nellie V. Sanchez of Berkeley, have performed the major part of the tedious work of translation with scholarly care and precision. To Dr. Hackett as editor fell the task of preparing the materials for the press, including annotations and introductions. His determination to make intelligible the numerous abbreviations by writing them out in full, but otherwise to maintain the integrity of the text as found in the original, will be appreciated. The editor's efforts have been accomplished with felicitous results.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND.

University of North Dakota.

In the issuance of Volume IX, Part 1, of the series of *Publicaciones Del Archivo De La Nacion*, entitled *Documentos Para La Historia De Independencia, 1810-1821: Correspondencia Y Diario Militar De Don Agustin de Iturbide, 1810-1813*, the editors, under the direction of Luis Gonzalez Obregón, have again rendered a great service to students of economics, government, and history. As is well said in the preface, "The War of Independence is one of the most interesting periods of the history of Mexico and the documents here printed give a very definite idea of the determined efforts of the Spaniards to put down the revo-

lution and of the tenacity of the insurgents, the heroism of their leaders, and the courage, ruthlessness, cruelty, and servility of Iturbide." Volume IX forms a companion piece to Volumes IV and V, *La Constitución de 1812 en Nueva España*, in which is traced by means of documents the transformation of Mexico by the triumph of liberal principles. Part 2 of *Documentos Para La Historia de Independencia, 1810-1821*, is in course of preparation.

NEWS ITEMS

The University of Texas has acquired a transcript of the *Actas*, or journals, of the legislature of Coahuila and Texas from August, 1824, to May, 1835. The originals, which were never published, were located by Professor E. C. Barker some two years ago in the congressional archives at Saltillo. The transcript numbers 1,947 pages of single-spaced legal cap. It includes brief summaries of debates; and is particularly valuable for the constitutional and legal history of Mexican Texas. From 1824 to 1827 the legislature was in continuous session as a constituent congress.

Mrs. Julia Irion Heard died at Houston, January 8. She was born December 26, 1856, at Nacogdoches. Before her marriage she was Miss Julia Irion, daughter of Dr. Robert Irion, who was secretary of state under General Houston in the days of the Texas Republic. She was buried at Marshall, Texas.

Fort Worth, Texas, celebrated its diamond jubilee November 10-13, 1923.

The Pioneer Freighters Association held its fifth annual meeting at San Antonio, March 27-29, 1924.

A brief sketch of the Norwegian settlement in Bosque County, written by Victor H. Schoffelmayer, appeared in the *Dallas News* of January 6, 1924.

The Bell County Historical Society was organized at Temple, Texas, March 6, 1924, with seventy charter members. Dr. Alex Dienst was elected president.

In a letter to the *Dallas News* of January 10, 1924, Mr. Edmund

Key of Marshall gives an account of the yellow fever epidemic in Marshall and Shreveport in the fall of 1873.

On December 12, 1923, Mrs. Mary Coutts Burnett of Fort Worth, by declaration of trust, gave to Texas Christian University property valued at four million dollars, and a cash gift of \$150,000 for a library building.

In a letter to *Dallas News* of January 7, 1924, Mrs. French Davis states that Lancaster, Texas, was founded by A. Bledsoe, and named after his birthplace in Kentucky.

Publication of the "Personal Reminiscences of Senator Charles A. Culberson of Texas" began in the *Dallas News* of December 2, 1923, and will appear each Sunday until thirty-two installments have been published.

Captain Thomas Goddard Frothingham published a paper in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LVI, 173-208, entitled "The Crisis of the Civil War—Antietam." General McClellan is given the credit for meeting this crisis.

The Panhandle Plains Historical Society held its annual meeting at the West Texas State Teachers College, February 16, 1924. More than a hundred members and guests were present. Mr. T. F. Turner of Amarillo was elected president, and Mrs. T. V. Reeves, secretary.

Mr. C. M. Caldwell of Abilene has given \$100 to be distributed in prizes by the History Department of the University of Texas for the best essays in local history written by high school students of Texas. The *Dallas News* will print the prize-winning essays and in addition will give \$5 to each of the winners of prizes offered by Mr. Caldwell. Mr. Tucker Royall of Palestine has given \$50 to be awarded as prizes to students in Palestine and Anderson County.

Deaths of prominent Texans: Eugene C. Bartholomew, city official, at Austin, October 27, 1923; B. K. Benson, author and educator, at Austin, February 6, 1924; Dr. Hardy C. Black, physician, at Waco, February 17, 1924; M. Eleanor Brackenridge, advocate of woman suffrage and prohibition, at San Antonio, Feb-

ruary 14, 1924; William Buchanan, philanthropist, at Texarkana, October 26, 1923; Jasper Collins, political leader, at Dallas, January 1, 1924; Jefferson Davis Cox, newspaper man, at Dallas, February 28, 1924; E. B. Cushing, civil engineer, at Houston, February 17, 1924; William H. Dougherty, ranchman, at Gainesville, February 5, 1924; Alexander C. Garrett, bishop, at Dallas, February 18, 1924; Ed J. L. Green, banker, at San Marcos, February 17, 1924; Ephraim Charles Heath, pioneer temperance and prohibition advocate, at Rockwall, February 13, 1924; G. Volney Howard, grandson of Volney E. Howard, at Isleta, February 17, 1924; Mrs. Willie Hutcheson, pioneer newspaper woman, at Houston, February 10, 1924; Edward R. McLean, secretary of the Texas Railroad Commission, at Austin, February 17, 1924; Mrs. Carrie Sherman Menard, eldest daughter of General Sidney Sherman, at Galveston, October 28, 1923; William W. Poindexter, jurist, at Dallas, December 12, 1923; Edward E. Sands, civil engineer, at Milwaukee, October 27, 1923; N. A. Shaw, farmer and political leader, at Texarkana, January 5, 1924; David Edward Simmons, lawyer, at Houston, January 6, 1924; James L. Slayden, congressman, at San Antonio, February 24, 1924; J. Tom Smith, preacher, at Houston, January 1, 1924; Leo J. Tankersley, ranchman, at Houston, December 28, 1923; Edward A. Temple, bishop, at Amarillo, January 10, 1924; E. O. Tennison, banker, at Dallas, February 17, 1924; John C. Townes, dean of Law School, at Austin, December 18, 1923; John J. Welder, ranchman, at Victoria, December 31, 1923; James B. Wells, lawyer, at Brownsville, December 21, 1923.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association will be held at Austin in the Main Building of the University of Texas, May 15, 1924.

INDEX, VOLUME XXVII

- Affairs of the Association: Minutes, officers, members, 82; report of treasurer, 83; 336.
- Allen, B. I., schooner, 8.
- Almonte, Juan N., Minister to United States, 20.
- Alvarez, Manuel, 104.
- Anagados Indians, 284.
- Añasco, Juan de, 137.
- Ancón, definition of, 127.
- Anderson, Miss Tilly, 321, 324.
- Andrews, H. B., railroad manager, promotes immigration in Texas, 57.
- Arbadaos Indians, 287.
- Archuleta, Juan A., Prefect of Santa Fé, 103.
- Arista, General Mariano, 99.
- Arkansas Gazette, unfriendly attitude toward Texas, 115.
- Armijo, Manuel, 90.
- Asbury, Samuel E., 82.
- Ashby, H. S. P., death of, 170.
- Atayos Indians, 287.
- Austin, E. T., 64.
- Austin, Stephen F., suggests trade with Santa Fe, 88.
- Avavares Indians, 284.
- Axon, A. F., approves Hayes's policy, 67.
- Ayer, Edward E., collection of, 329.
- Ballinger, Bettie, 322.
- Ballinger, W. P., 165, 246, 311; recommended for Supreme Court of United States, 243; endorses Judge Campbell, 249.
- Bandelier, Adolph F., misreads Cabeza de Vaca, 120; documents on New Mexico, 329.
- Bandelier, Fanny R., 122; documents on New Mexico, 329.
- Bankruptcy law, abuse of, 161.
- Barker, Eugene C., *Notes on the Colonization of Texas*, 108-119; obtains *Journals* of legislature of Coahuila and Texas, for University, 334.
- Baron, Captain, 147.
- Bartholomew, Eugene C., 335.
- Barton, Armstrong, not killed in battle with Indians, 170.
- Barton, Hale, killed in battle with Indians, 170.
- Barton, James S., 170.
- Baskett, James N., 120.
- Bee, H. P., 264.
- Bell, Colonel, 40, 43.
- Bell, James Christy, Jr., book reviewed, 77.
- Bell County Historical Society organized, 335.
- Benavides, Father Alonzo, suggests port on Texas coast for trade with New Mexico, 88.
- Benson, B. K., 335.
- Binkley, William Campbell, *New Mexico and the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, 85-107.
- Bird Creek Fight, Indian hostilities, 29.
- Black, Hardy C., 335.
- Blackrode, Thomas, 97.
- Bledsoe, A., 335.
- Blue, George Verne, book review, 77.
- Bolton, Herbert E., Guide to Mexican archives, 86; *Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico*, 171-189; Value of work in history of the Spanish Southwest, 302; Collections of, 329.
- Bonilla, Manuel Diaz de, 9.
- Bonnell, Captain, 46, 48, 49.
- Book reviews: Opening of a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846, 77; Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico . . . to 1773, 329.
- Bosque County, Texas, Norwegian settlement in, 149.
- Bowers, General, 244.
- Brackenridge, M. Eleanor, 335.
- Brazos Indian Agency, 151.
- Brazos River, only one fork known, 33; improvement of, 318.
- Brown, John Henry, commissioner to Indians, 153.
- Bryan, Guy M., correspondence with Rutherford B. Hayes, 52-73, 164-167, 242-250, 305-328; suggesting method of settling the Hayes-Tilden contest, 52; Hayes's reply, 55; negro franchise in Texas, 53; advises Hayes concerning policy toward South, 58; commends inaugural address, 59; invited by Hayes to visit and advise him, 62; asks for appointment as minister to Mexico, 63; interview commending Hayes, 67; opinion of E. J. Davis, 73; advise 305, 307, 308, 310, 318; nominated to legislature, 320, 323; visitor to West Point, 327.
- Bryant, Captain Benjamin.
- Buchanan, William, 335.
- Buckman, ———, 46.

- Burleson, Edward, 37; defeated for Presidency of Texas, 144.
 Burnett, Mary Coutts, gift to Texas Christian University, 335.
 Burney, George E., 148.
 Butler, Jonas, 147.
 Byrne, James William, 251.
- Caballos, Bahía de los, identified with Ocklockonee Bay, 217.
 Caldwell, Colonel, 36.
 Caldwell, C. M., 335.
 Caldwell, town of established, 146.
 Calero, Bernardo, 121.
 Cameron, laid off by Erath, 145.
 Camolas Indians, 287.
 Campbell, John A., endorsed for Supreme Court of United States, 249.
 Cárdenas y Magaña, Manuel Joseph de, map maker, 177; map of La Salle's colony, 180.
 Carranza, Andrés Dorantes de, see Dorantes.
 Carranza, Báltasar Dorantes de, 121.
 Carranza, Sancho Dorantes de, 122.
 Castillo, Alonso del, 217; captain of boat, 220; with Indians in Texas, 231, 277.
 Castro's colony, French, 141, 142.
 Central railroad, building, 150.
 Chalk, Whitfield, in Mier expedition, 47, 48; sketch of, 51.
 Chalmers, Lucinda, marries Erath, 145.
 Chambers, Thomas Jefferson, 147.
 Chavavares Indians, 287.
 Chaves, Mariano, 102.
 Clark, J. S., opinion of location of La Salle's Colony, 186.
 Coahuila and Texas, *Journals* of legislature of, acquired by University of Texas, 334.
 Cody, Dr. Claude C., death of, 170.
 Coke, Richard, Commissioner to Indians, 153; in Civil War, 158.
 Coles, John P., 115.
 Collins, Jasper, 335.
 Comanches, 150, expelled from Brazos agency, 154; expedition against, 89.
 Concho, Fort, 169.
 Cook, Frederick W., 252.
 Cook, James R., 38, 41.
 Cooke, William G., commander of Santa Fé expedition, 32.
 Cordova, J. de, land agent, 147.
 Cortasar, Antonio, 99.
 Cortés, Hernando, 124; controversy with Narváez, 125.
 Cotton Bureau, established, 270.
 Cotton, crop of 1861 in Texas, 256; dealings of Military Board in, 261.
- County Historical Societies, a plea for, 74; organization of, 149, 251, 335.
 Cox, Jefferson Davis, 335.
 Crane, R. C., donates collection of Texana to Simmons College, 170.
 Cuchendado Indians, 290.
 Culberson, Charles A., reminiscences, 335.
 Cultalchulches Indians, 286.
 Curtis, Stilman S., killed by Indians, 29.
 Cushing, E. B., 335.
- Davenport, Harbert, edits *The Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*, 120, 217, 276; locates wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca, 288, 301.
 Davis, E. J., bitter partisan but honest man, 73.
 Davis, Mrs. French, founding of Lancaster, Texas, 335.
 Davis, Jefferson, dominating figure in Pierce's Cabinet, 6.
 Decubadaos Indians, 287.
 De Leon, Alonso de, search for La Salle's Colony, 176.
 Diaz, Bernal del Castillo, description of Narváez, 126.
 Diaz, Porfirio, 70.
 Dienst, Alex., a plea for County Historical Societies, 74; vice-president, 82; president of Bell County Historical Society, 335.
 Dixon, Sam H., 251.
 Dorantes, Andres, 120, 123, 217; sketch of family, 121; captain of boat, 220; with Indians in Texas, 231, 277.
 Dorantes, Diego, with Indians on Texas coast, 277.
 Dougherty, William H., 335.
 Douglas, Charles, 113.
 Draper, Daniel, 117.
 Dryden, William G., Santa Fé expedition, 94, 96.
 Dunbar, James T., 113.
- Eastland, Captain, 38.
 Elliot, Captain Charles, British *chargé* in Texas, 36.
 Ellis, E. John, 67.
 El Paso, golden jubilee, 169.
 England, interest of, in Texas, 36, 141, 142.
 Erath, Edwin Potter, 158.
 Erath, *Memoirs of Major George Bernard*, 27-51, 140-163; surveyor and Indian fighter, 27, 145; Congressman and legislator, 140; marriage, 145; relations with Indians, 153; in Civil War, 158.
 Erath, Lucy A., 27, 140.

- Erath County, Texas, first settlers in, 149.
- Esteban, Moorish negro in Narváez expedition, 127.
- Exemption laws of Texas, abuse of, 161.
- Fee, J. L., early newspapers in Grand Masonic Lodge at Waco, 170.
- Felder, Dr. Edmund J., 49.
- Figueroa, sent to Pánuco, 229, 237.
- Fisher and Miller's colony of Germans, 141.
- Fisher, Captain, 43.
- Ford, Captain John S., Indian expedition, 151.
- Fort Concho, 169.
- Fowlkes, Betty D., 316.
- Fowlkes, Pascal, 316.
- France, interest in Texas, 142.
- Franco-Texian bill, 142.
- Frontier, protection of, 156.
- Frontier Times*, by J. J. Hunter, 169.
- Fulmore, Zachary Taylor, *in memoriam*, 84.
- Gadsden, James, characterization of, 3, 14; instructions to, 3; expansionist views, 6, 13; estimate of Mexican politics, 7; criticism of American consular system, 9; controversy with Bonilla, 10.
- Gadsden Treaty, Negotiation of*, 1-26.
- Galveston, Colorado, and San Antonio Railroad, finished to San Antonio, 57.
- Galveston News*, editorial commending President Hayes, 60.
- Garay, Francisco de, 124.
- Garay grant, in Tehuantepec, 1, 18.
- Garber, Paul N., *Life of Gadsden*, 3.
- Garfield, James A., speech against sectionalism, 323.
- Garrett, Alexander C., 335.
- Garza, Antonio de la, 99.
- Gibbon, William Fitz, 115.
- Gibson, Randall L., 67.
- Giddings, G. H., agent of Confederate government, 258, 259.
- Gillespie, Captain, 49.
- Gonzales, Inquirer*, 70th anniversary edition, 169.
- Gray, A. B., surveyor, 6.
- Green, Ed. J. L., 335.
- Green, George, 146.
- Green, Thomas J., 44.
- Green, Tom, 49.
- Greer County case, 33.
- Gregg, Josiah, 90.
- Guadalupe Hidalgo, treaty of, Article XI, 10.
- Guaycones Indians, 287.
- Guerrero, demands of Texans on town, 42.
- Hackett, Charles W., book reviewed, 329.
- Hammond, George P., book review, 329.
- Hancock, George, 46.
- Harris County Historical Society, organization, 251.
- Harrison, Hally, 324.
- Harrison, Tom, 325.
- Harwood, T. F., vice-president of Association, 82.
- Hayes, Rutherford B., correspondence with Guy M. Bryan, 52-73, 164-167, 242-250, 305-328; proposes emigration from Ohio to Texas, 55; reply to proposal for settling contest with Tilden, 55; inaugural commended in Texas, 60; invites Bryan to visit and advise him, 62; policy approved in Texas, 65-72; attitude toward Mexico, 70, 318; reminiscences, 243.
- Hays, Captain, 43.
- Heard, Julia Irion, 334.
- Heath, Ephraim Charles, 335.
- Hicks, in Mier expedition, 47, 48.
- Hill, Captain, 140.
- Historical Societies, a plea for County, 74; Societies organized, 149, 169, 251, 335.
- History, contest, local, 335.
- Hodge, F. W., 122; misreading of Cabeza de Vaca, 227.
- Holman, James S., 269.
- Hollins Institute, 245, 317.
- Homan, William K., 328.
- Hoover, Mrs. Florence, 251.
- House, T. W., 252.
- Houston, A. J., vice-president of Historical Association, 82.
- Houston, Sam, economical administration as president of Texas, 33; Indian policy, 34; Mier expedition, 38; opposition to in West Texas, 140; estimate of his policies, 141; favorable to annexation, 143; defeats Runnels in election of 1859, 154.
- Houston Historical Society, 169.
- Howard, G. Volney, 335.
- Howland, Samuel, 104.
- Howlet, James, surveyor, 28.
- Huelva, Diego de, with Indians on Texas coast, 277, 278.
- Hunter, J. J., *Frontier Times*, 169.
- Hutcheson, Willie, 335.
- Ideson, Julia, 251.
- Immigration to Texas, 55, 56; causes of, 108-119; sources of, 116; in West Texas, 150.
- Inca, account of De Soto, 137.

- Indian policy of United States in Texas, 152-154.
- Indians, invading Mexico from United States, 10; hostilities, 29-34, 150; changing methods with advance of civilization, 159; battle with José María, 170; habits of on Texas coast in sixteenth century, 231, 277, 280, 281; lists of, 287; described by Alonso de Leon in Monterey region, 290-295; characteristics of in Monterey-Cerralvo district, 122.
- Internal improvements, 318.
- Irion, Richard A., 90.
- Iturbide, Agustin de, Correspondence and Diary of, published, 333.
- Johns, C. R., 258.
- Johnson, H. S., 246.
- Johnson, Bishop James Steptoe*, by Everett H. Jones, 169.
- Johnson, Lillian E., European rivalry in Gulf of Mexico, 196.
- Johnson, Colonel M. T., 155.
- Johnson, W. A., 251.
- Jones, Anson, elected president of Texas, 144.
- Jones, Everett H., *Bishop James Steptoe Johnson*, 169.
- Jones, George, 72.
- Jones, Colonel Wash, 317.
- Jones, Wiley, 37.
- Jones, William Jefferson, Santa Fé trade, 89.
- José María, Indian chief, 31, 170.
- Karankawas, 44.
- Karnes, Henry, expedition against Comanches, 89, 91.
- Katy, in Mier expedition, 49.
- Kaufman, David, introduces preëmotion bill in Texan Senate, 148.
- Keeran, Claude, owns site of La Salle's Colony in Texas, 185.
- Kellogg, W. P., 305.
- Key, Edmund, 335.
- Kickapoos, attempt to settle in Mexico, 1860.
- Kingsbury, L. G., 264.
- Lamar, Mirabeau B., source of information concerning Santa Fé, 88; address to inhabitants of, 95.
- Lancaster, Texas, founding of, 335.
- Land values in Texas, 56.
- L'Archêvêque, fate of, 174.
- La Salle, Location of Colony on the Gulf Coast*, by Herbert E. Bolton, 171-189; map of, 180.
- La Salle, Robert Cavalier de, exploration of Texas, 173; death near Nava-sota, 174; search of Spanish for his colony, 175.
- Leon, Alonso de, *Historia de Nuevo Leon*, 122; Indian customs, 291.
- Leon, Alonso de, the elder, 295.
- Lewis, William P., 105.
- Lipan Indians, 30.
- Lipscomb, Abner S., 96.
- Llanos, Francisco de, exploration of Texas coast, 177.
- Lockhart's house on Guadalupe, 49.
- Looscan, Adele B., 82.
- Lubbock, F. R., 258.
- Luckett, Colonel, 264.
- Lujan, Pedro, 92.
- McCormick, Judge Andrew P., 326.
- McCulloch, Colonel Ben, 49; buys Colts pistols, 255.
- McCulloch, Henry, 49.
- McFarland, Mrs. Ike, 251.
- McGregor, Henry F., 252.
- McLean, Edward R., 335.
- McLennan, John, helps "lay off" Waco, 147.
- McLennan, Neill, 146.
- McLennan, Neill, Jr., 148.
- McLennan County, population of in 1848, 147.
- Maliacones Indians, 286.
- Mallison, A. G., 251.
- Marcy, William L., instructions to James Gadsden, 3, 14.
- María José, Indian chief, 31.
- Mariames Indians, 285, 287.
- Matthews, Stanly, 69.
- Maxey, Senator S. B., addressed by Bryan on Hayes-Tilden contest, 54; recommends Bryan to be Minister to Mexico, 63.
- Mebans, Alexander D., 251.
- Menard, Carrie Sherman, 335.
- Mercer and Perters' Colony, 141.
- Meriwether, ———, 24.
- Meusnier, Pierre, report on La Salle, 174.
- Mexico, relations with United States, 1-26; complains of Indians, 10; Texans do not want war with, 318; historical documents published, 333.
- Mier expedition, 44.
- Milam Land District, 146.
- Milam County, extent and condition of, 28.
- Miller, E. T., 82.
- Mills, Robert, recommended for collector of customs at Galveston, 61.

- Mills, Roger Q., approves Hayes, 65, 166, 324.
 Milner, R. and D. G., 257.
 Milner, R. T., 252.
 Minutemen, for protection of frontier, 156.
 Money, depreciation of Texas bills, 31, 33, 143; Confederate currency, 157.
 Monroe's Settlement, suffers from Indian raids, 34.
 Morehouse expedition, the, Indian wars, 30.
 Morgan Fight, Indian hostilities, 29.
 Moore, Colonel, 36.
 Morton, Oliver P., on Hayes' Southern policy, 71.
 Narváez, Pánfilo de, expedition of, 120-139, 217-241, 276-304; builds boats, 217-219; refuses assistance to Cabeza de Vaca, 226; controversy with Cortés, 125; description of, 126; equipment of the expedition, 129.
 Nashville, on Brazos River, 29.
 Necrology, 251, 335.
 Negroes, franchise in Texas, 53, 324.
 Neighbors, Major Robert S., Indian agent, 153.
 Nelson, Captain, 151.
 New Mexico, documents concerning, 329.
New Mexico and the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, 85-107.
 News Items, 169, 251.
 Newspapers, early Texas, in Grand Masonic Lodge at Waco, 170.
 Nichols, E. B., 255.
 Noble, Elijah, 113.
 Norris, James M., negotiates with Comanches, 152; protection of frontier, 157.
 Norton, A. B., 68.
 Norwegian settlement in Bosque county, 149, 334.
 Notes and Fragments: Rosenberg Library, 168.
 Obregón, Luis Gonzales, publications, of, 333.
 Ohio, emigration from to Texas, 55, 56, 116.
 Oldham, Tom, in Mier expedition, 49.
 Oliver and Brothers, 259.
 Ortiz, Juan Felipe, stimulates Santa Fé against Texans, 102.
 Oviedo y Valdez, Gonzalo Fernandez, *The Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*, 120, 217, 276.
 Oxsheer, William, 147.
 Pacific railroad, land reserved for, 149.
 Palos, Fray Juan de, 218.
 Panhandle Plains Historical Society, 335.
 Park, George S., Santa Fé trade, 88.
 Pearce, N. B., 269.
 Pearson, Captain, 38.
 Pease, E. M., recommends appointment of W. P. Ballinger to Supreme Court of United States, 243; characterization of, 243; mentioned for collector of port of Galveston, 315.
 Peñalosa, Captain, 220, 226.
 Pfeiffer, George, gunpowder factory, 268.
 Pierce, ———, 47.
 Pineda, Alonso de, explores Gulf coast, 233.
 Plummer, Captain, guarding Indians at Brazos agency, 152.
 Poindexter, William W., 335.
 Portilla, Juana Yznaga de la, 121.
 Potter resolution, 312, 315, 316.
 Prairie Dog River, 33.
 Quevenes Indians, 287.
 Quitok Indians, 287.
 Quitole Indians, 287.
 Railroads, promote settlement of Texas, 57, 70, 149, 150; contemplated to Rio Grande, 244; will facilitate protection of Texas coast, 318; route for transcontinental road, 4.
 Ramón, Diego, 197.
 Ramón, Domingo, 197.
 Ramsdell, Charles W., Plea for County Historical Societies, 74; Treasurer's report, 83; *The Texas State Military Board, 1862-1865*, 254-275.
 Randolph, C. H., 258.
 Ranjel, Roderigo, narrative of De Soto, 136.
 Reagan, John H., approves Hayes' policy, 65.
 Religious toleration, desired by emigrants to Texas, 113.
 Republican party in Texas, 317.
 Riggs, John, killed by Indians, 153.
 Rippy, J. Fred, *Negotiation of the Gadsden Treaty*, 1-26.
 Roberts, Major Ingham S., 169.
 Rogers, W. K., 166, 307, 313, 314, 318, 320.
 Rosenberg Library, historical materials in, 168.
 Ross, Shapleigh P., ranger captain, 146, 153.
 Rountree, Lee J., 252.
 Rowan, manufacture of gunpowder, 268.
 Rowland, John G., 95.
 Royall, Tucker, 335.

- St. Clair, in Mier expedition, 47, 48.
St. Denis' Second Expedition to the Rio Grande, 190-216.
 St. Vrain, Ceran, 103.
 Salazar, Damasio, 102.
 Salinas, Gregorio de, 177.
 Sandoval, Antonio, watches Pueblo Indians, 102.
 Sands, Edward E., 335.
 Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de, on the Gadsden negotiations, 13; sketches of, 169.
 Santa Fé, expedition, 32, 85-107; trade, bill for defeated in Texas, 89.
 Secession, Texas in, 145.
 Shaw, N. A., 335.
 Shelby, Charmion Clair, *St. Denis' Second Expedition to the Rio Grande*, 190-216.
 Shields, Colonel, collector at Galveston, 315.
 Simmons, David Edward, 335.
 Simmons College, receives collection of Texana from R. C. Crane, 170.
 Slavery, influence on colonization of Texas, 113, 117.
 Slayden, James L., 335.
 Small, C. C., work on La Salle, 186.
 Smith, Buckingham, 120.
 Smith, James, Commissioner to Indians, 153.
 Smith, J. Tom, 335.
 Smith, General Persifer F., ordered to Rio Grande, 25.
 Smith, William R., 251.
 Smither, Harriet, 82.
 Somervell, Alexander, expedition to Rio Grande, 35.
 Soto, Hernando de, 136.
 Speight, Colonel J. W., 158.
 Spofford, H. M., 305.
 Stanton, Florence B., work on La Salle, 187.
 Steele, Alonso, descendants organize Native Sons of Texas, 251.
 Steiner, J. M., Commissioner to Indians, 153.
 Stephens, John M., 149; son killed by Indians, 152.
 Stevens, Mrs., 64.
 Surveying and surveyors, in Texas, 1838-1842, 28.
 Swisher, John M., sale of bonds, 259-261.
 Tallmadge, Mr., contemplates Ohio colony in Texas, 56.
 Talon, Jean and Robert, 175.
 Tankersley, Leo J., 335.
Telegraph and Texas Register, 170.
 Tellez, Captain, 220, 226.
 Temple, Edward E., 335.
 Tennison, E. O., 335.
 Teodora, a Greek, 224.
Texas, Notes on the Colonization of, 108-119.
Texas State Military Board, 1862-1865, by Charles W. Ramsdell, 254-275.
 Texas, early political parties, 140; exemption laws, 161; *Journals of legislature*, 1824-1835, 334; Native Sons of, organized, 251; secedes from United States, 145.
 Texas money, depreciation of, 31, 33, 143.
 Texas and Pacific Railroad, 70.
 Texas Christian University, endowment, 335.
Texas Sentinel, newspaper, 170.
 Texas State Historical Association, *see* Affairs of the Association.
Texian, the Weekly, newspaper, 170.
 Tilden, Samuel J., presidential contest, 52-55.
 Tom Green County, 169.
 Tonkawa Indians, 30.
 Townes, John C., 335.
Tri-Weekly Telegraph, newspaper, 170.
 Tyler, George W., 51, 153; Plea for County Historical Societies, 74; Vice-President Texas State Historical Association, 82.
 Ulivarri, Santiago, 102.
 United States, Indian Policy in Texas, 152-154.
 Vaca, Cabeza de, translation of his *Relación*, 121; landing in Texas, 231; identification of location, 288; route of wanderings, 301.
 Valdivieso, Pedro de, with Indians on Gulf coast, 277, 278.
 Vasquez, General, raids San Antonio, 35.
 Vidaurri, Santiago, 99.
 Waco, town of established, 147; early Texas papers in Grand Masonic Lodge at, 170.
 Waggener, Mrs. Leslie, 252.
 Walker, Commissioner to Comanches, 152.
 Walker, William, filibuster, 20.
 Ward, Christopher L., carries dispatches to Gadsden, 14.
 Ware, N. A., 147.

- Webb, J. S., 185.
Webb, W. P., 82.
Welder, John J., 335.
Wells, James B., 335.
Wells, Joseph K., 120.
West, Elizabeth H., Plea for County
Historical Societies, 74.
Wharton, Clarence, 251; sketches of
Santa Anna, 169.
Whipple, Lieutenant, 3.
White, George W., 272.
Williamson, Colonel George, 311.
Wilmot, E. P., 252.
Wilson, James T. D., 259.
Winterbotham, J. M., description of
Historical Collections in Rosenberg
Library, Galveston, 169.
Woll, General Adrian, invasion of Texas,
36; defends Rio Grande, 41.
Workman, William, 95.
Xuarez, Fray Juan, 218.
Yeguaces Indians, 287.
Yellow fever, epidemic of 1873, 335.
Young, Mrs. Jane M., 322.
Yznaga, José Aniceto, 122.
Yznaga, Juana de la Portilla, 121.

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>