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Travelers in Texas, 1761-1860

by

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CHAPTER I

A CENTURY OF TRAVELERS

History passed in review along the highways of Texas in the century 1761 to 1860. At the beginning Spanish soldiers pursued the Indian along unmapped trails, and Franciscan friars pushed through the wilderness taking the Faith to the edges of civilization. At the end United States dragoons had replaced the Spanish soldiers, and itinerant preachers the friars. In the course of the century a succession of men and women, few of them mere tourists, had traversed Texas. Filibusters, traders, government agents, land speculators, refugees, adventurers, prospective settlers, revolutionaries, argonauts, army wives, warriors, all these came for reasons of their own. Some were impelled by dreams or curiosity, but most of them were driven by circumstances at home. The collapse of the Napoleonic empire sent exiled Frenchmen; the industrial revolution, displaced Englishmen; the potato famine, hungry Irishmen; the revolutions of 1848, disillusioned northern and middle Europeans. The majority of the travelers, however, came from the United States, motivated by economic pressures at home and the lure of the West. Some of them lingered only briefly, but many others became residents, so that a land, virtually uninhabited in 1761, held more than 600,000 people a century later. Characteristically, even those who adopted Texas as their own continued moving.
restlessly along the roads for various reasons. Thus, throughout the century Texas was a land of travelers.

Many travelers, both resident and transient, left records of their impressions and adventures along the way. These records vary greatly in form, content, and value, of course, but, taken collectively, they tell a panoramic story of the land as its boundaries were drawn and its institutions formed. Spain gave way to Mexico; Mexico, to the Republic of Texas; the Republic, to statehood in the United States; and statehood in the Union was giving way to statehood in the Confederate States by 1860. The travelers' accounts reflect these changes; but, more important, they tell the story of the receding frontier and, by the very presence of the author, link Texas to other parts of the world.

The travel accounts fall into three major groups, each with its own peculiar values and shortcomings. First are the reports of official or quasi-official governmental representatives—soldiers, diplomats, and, in the Spanish era, Roman Catholic priests. These accounts are common throughout the century, ranging from Nicolás Lafora's report on the frontier at the close of the Seven Years' War to Henry Mason Morfit's inspection of Texas for Andrew Jackson in 1837. This type of material is usually more reliable and contains more statistics than any other, but because of its formality in style it often lacks the spontaneity that catches the spirit of the age.
Spontaneity is found in large measure in the second group—private letters and journals not intended for publication—but this material is usually sketchy and intensely personal. Small because of its nature, this group includes some items of great value because of special circumstances surrounding them. Thus, Stephen Fuller Austin's journal of his first visit to Texas assumes importance because of his pivotal significance in Texas history; and Micajah Autry's brief letters describing his journey afoot from Nacogdoches to Nacogdoches are treasured because he was on his way to the Alamo.

The great bulk of Texas travel literature falls into the third category—material written for publication by the author. Some writers like Pierre-Marie-François de Pagès, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, and Frederick Law Olmsted wrote to capitalize on the public's vicarious interest in travel; others like Mary Austin Holley, Arthur Ekin, and Henry Castro wrote in hopes of attracting settlers to Texas; still others had special interests to promote. Thomas Jefferson Green, for example, wanted to justify the Mier expedition; Melinda Rankin, to draw New England educators and missionaries to Texas; Noah Smithwick, to while away the tedium of old age; Richard Hartnel and Nicholas Doran P. Maillard, to prevent British recognition of the Republic of Texas; William C. McKinstry, to set forth the potential of the Colorado River; Charles Hooton to warn prospective
immigrants against Texas; 16 Edward Smith, to advise prospective British immigrants; 17 and Detlef Dunt and Friedrich Ernst, to inform German farmers. 18 Whatever his other reasons for writing, the author usually hoped to make money from his book, and apparently he often succeeded as some works went through several editions, and the field was attractive enough to inspire at least a few spurious works. J. Tolmer, Scenes de l'Amerique du Nord en 1849 (Leipzig, 1850) and a book attributed to David Crockett and entitled Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas (Philadelphia, 1836) are proved fakes, 19 while Henry Ker, Travels Through the Western Interior of the United States (Elizabethtown, N. Y., 1816) is of extremely doubtful authenticity, 20 and William B. DeWees, Letters from an Early Settler of Texas (Louisville, Ky., 1852) is not, as it purports to be, a series of letters written between 1819 and 1852 but a collection of reminiscences put together in the early 1850's. 21

All travelers' accounts, no matter what the form, reflect the special interests and limited viewpoint of the writer. Thus, military men from Lafora to William Grigsby Freeman 22 saw the difficulties of frontier defense; missionaries from Gaspar José de Solis 23 to George Foster Pierce 24 noted the harvest of sinners; and land promoters of the 1830's and 1840's wrote endlessly of the rich prospects of the country. The special interest of some travelers is as obvious as Benjamin
Lundy's desire to establish a colony for free Negroes, 25 Josiah Gregg's interest in the Santa Fé trade, 26 or James W. Parker's longing to find members of his family held captive by the Indians; 27 but other travelers are more subtle. Mrs. Holley's charming books, for example, clearly indicate that she was a gentle lady who moved among the gentler folk in Stephen F. Austin's colony, but only upon examining her personal life more closely does it appear that she was a poor relative and that her holdings in Texas represented her only hope of an independent existence. 28

Some of the visitors were not only subtle but probably less than frank in stating their reasons for being in Texas. Zebulon M. Pike said that his journey came about because he mistook the Rio Grande for the Red River and for his mistake was taken prisoner by the Mexicans. But he has never fully convinced historians, and his motives are still a matter of controversy. 29 Equally questionable is the frankness of Pierre-Marie-François de Pâges of the French navy. According to Pâges, he deserted his ship and crossed Texas because he wanted to see the world in its natural state. If this is true, the French had an odd way of rewarding their deserters, for upon his return home he was quickly forgiven for his defection, and later he became a captain and received the Croix de Louis. As his government had long been curious about the extent of Spanish control in Texas and as Pâges
showed uncommon astuteness in determining it, one would
guess that something more than an interest in nature prompted
his journey. 30

For all their diversity of motive and the years that
separated them, the travelers had certain characteristics in
common. They were first of all an interesting lot. True,
their writings often lack literary merit. Those who wrote
for the public occasionally grew too conscious of style and
became pompous, and those who wrote only for personal reasons
sometimes became prosaic, but one will search in vain through
the list of writers for a dull person. There were Victor
Considerant, who tried to establish a socialistic colony in
north Texas, and Augustin Savardan, who recorded the colony's
failure; 31 John James Audubon, the ornithologist, who visited
Galveston Bay in the spring of 1837, and his son, John Woodhouse
Audubon, who crossed south Texas on his way to the gold fields
in 1849; 32 J. Valentin Hecke, who envisioned Texas as a
Prussian penal colony; 33 Johann Racknitz, a German baron who
fought in Mexico's war for independence and then attempted a
colony in south Texas; 34 Maurice Persat, one of Napoleon's
veterans, who passed through Nacogdoches at the time of the
Fredonian Rebellion; 35 Gideon Linoecum, a brilliant naturalist
with little formal education, who came looking for land in
1835; 36 Waterman L. Ormsby, a New York newspaper man, who
accompanied the first east-west run of the Butterfield Overland
Mail; the Honourable Amelia Matilda Murray, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, who paid a ten-day visit in 1855; Ulysses Simpson Grant and Rutherford Birchard Hayes, who later became presidents of the United States; and James Gazneau, of whom Henry Watterson said, "God made and equipped her for a filibuster." This list only suggests the variety of people who traveled in Texas between 1761 and 1860 and who left some record of their journeys. If their impressions were often distorted and if they sometimes misinterpreted what they saw, the land is still a more interesting place because they passed through.

As a group, the travelers were not only interesting but purposeful. Texas had few attractions for the sightseer or pleasure seeker before 1860. With few exceptions, those who journeyed there were driven by duty, a sense of mission, or personal exigency, and they pursued their purpose with a singlemindedness that let nothing deter them. Lundy, churchmouse poor, distributed his motherless children among their kinspeople to pursue his humanitarian project; Lydia Spencer Lane let neither pregnancy nor young children prevent her from following her army officer husband; Zachariah N. Morrell set out to conquer the wilderness though burdened with a lame leg and pulmonary tuberculosis; and George Wilkins Kendall embarked on the Santa Fé expedition even though he had shattered his ankle only a few days previously. "A few of my friends endeavoured to dissuade me from going," he wrote,
"but I was blessed, or cursed, as the case may be, with strongly-developed organs of self-will, obstinacy, and 'go-a-heady,' and made up my mind to go even if I had to be carried." The majority of the travelers shared his view.

For all their varied backgrounds, all those who came as strangers to Texas between 1761 and 1860 shared yet another attitude: they looked upon Texas as a new land and launched their visit in a spirit of adventure. Pages, filled with "an ardent desire to survey Nature's works in the native charms with which they came from the hand of the Creator," embarked in 1767 for the unknown country "which lies between the river Mississippi and Rio Grande . . . and which is inhabited merely by savage tribes," and visitors of nearly a century later came in much the same spirit. West Texas was still imperfectly known as late as the 1850's, and William B. Parker spoke of his trip there as a "long journey to unexplored Texas." Amelia Matilda Murray, who saw only the most settled portions of the country, anticipated her journey with the determination to avoid wild Indians and poisonous snakes. "You will think me adventurous to undertake this," she wrote friends in England, "but these new countries are so interesting . . . that one makes up one's mind to undergo some inconvenience and difficulty." Sometimes as the writers traversed the country, their
paths crossed, and they gave their impressions of a single occasion and of each other. Records of these occasions point up the fact that both the strength and weakness of all travel accounts lie in their subjective nature. Their greatest value is that they present the reactions of an individual to a strange environment, while their greatest weakness is that the individual's view is clouded by his special interests and background. This truism finds no better illustration in Texas travel literature than the occasion in 1828 when the path of Joseph Chambers Clopper, recently from Ohio, crossed that of José María Sánchez, a Mexican official, at San Felipe. Neither man saw the other as an individual, but each recorded definite impressions of the group represented by the other, and for an instant the old and new in Texas looked at each other through their own eyes. To Sánchez, on his way with General Manuel de Mier y Terán's party to Natchitoches to arrange a boundary between Mexico and the United States, Clopper represented a group of "lazy people of vicious character," who ate barbaric food, drank too much whiskey, and threatened Mexico's sovereignty in Texas. Clopper, for his part, looked upon the "35 soldiers & a number of attendant mechanics & servants, also a botanist & astronomer" who made up the Mexican party as anachronistic. He was amazed to see in the wilderness Terán's "remarkably curious coach," made of huge pieces of carved
timber and ornamented with silver. The coach was, he thought, "a splendid specimen of the ingenuity & cunning workmanship of man when the last shades of the dark ages were vanishing."47

Clopper's and Sánchez's disparate views of empresario Stephen F. Austin illustrate further the peculiar values and weaknesses of travel literature. A single impression, even when the writer is honest and speaks only the truth, gives a distorted or warped view, but more impressions give dimension. "Col. Austin," wrote Clopper, "is a small spare little old batchelor [sic] without any remarkable intellectual qualifications, of rather a dry & reserved disposition tho' possessed of excellent common sense & considerable general information; altogether well qualified to be the founder of a colony."48 Sánchez, by contrast, saw in the "small spare little old batchelor" an ominous threat. "The diplomatic policy of this empresario, evident in all of his actions, has, as one may say, lulled the authorities into a sense of security while he works diligently for his own ends," he wrote. "In my judgment, the spark that will start the conflagration that will deprive us of Texas, will start from this colony."49 Both men were correct in their characterization, but neither completely so. Mary Austin Holley added yet another dimension to Austin's character by describing him as a "hardy and bold pioneer" who looked older than his years because he had braved the dangers of the wilderness and lived
for months on "wild horse-flesh, without bread or salt." 50

A few writers were more personal than Clopper and Sánchez in recording their impressions of each other. Matilda Charlotte Houstoun and Ferdinand Roemer, for example, who were simultaneously guests at James Morgan's plantation, wrote uncomplimentary characterizations of each other. Mrs. Houstoun was ruthless in her ridicule of the German scientist. He cut a sorry figure on horseback, she reported; he was cowardly; he had no teeth (a fact she attributed, as she did most of the world's evils, to the use of tobacco); he did not know the use of soap and water; and "any change of raiment is a possession which he appears to consider quite unnecessary." 51

Possibly because he was too much of a gentleman, Roemer is not openly critical of Mrs. Houstoun, but he implies—and no doubt, correctly—that she was a snob. She told him, he reports, that she enjoyed her first visit to Texas more than her second because on the first she came on her private yacht, commanded by her husband. "Such a trip across the ocean in a ship equipped with all necessities for comfort and luxury, carrying a complement of more than twenty men, six cannons for defense, and a physician, furnishes an example of to what extent and on what a grand scale the rich of England seek some of their pleasure," commented the German scientist. But Roemer all unwittingly delivered his most telling blow against
the Englishwoman. In two travel works of two volumes each Mrs. Houstoun criticizes Americans, and especially Texans, for talking so much of money and business. It is thus an interesting commentary that the only conversation Roemer reports having with her dealt with the extent of her wealth, and the only conversation he reports with her husband dealt with Mr. Houstoun's interest in investing in a Texas sugar plantation. Mrs. Houstoun may have been the mere tourist she pretended to be, but Roemer's account leaves little doubt that her husband could talk business with the best of Texans.52

There are many other instances when the writers met their contemporaries and one or the other left a record of the encounter. Olmsted met German exile Julius Froebel with a wagon train west of San Antonio and George W. Kendall, of the Santa Fé expedition, on a sheep ranch near New Braunfels;53 Edward Stiff had an unpleasant brush with Francis Moore, Jr., when Moore, as mayor of Houston, hired and then fired him as city policeman;54 and Cornelius C. Cox, who appears as Mrs. Sidney Sherman's "intelligent" young brother in Mrs. Houstoun's description of a dinner party55 attended by Roemer, Ashbel Smith,56 and herself, traveled to the California gold fields in company with Lewis Birdsall Harris, meeting along the way Robert Simpson Neighbors, John Salmon Ford, and John Woodhouse Audubon.57
Daniel Baker met two of his fellow Presbyterian ministers and writers on his visit. For William Y. Allen, who labored at Houston "without receiving scarcely any support either from the Board of Missions or the people to whom he preached," Baker had nothing but praise; but he clearly considered the other clergyman, William Latta McCalla, somewhat impractical. The Reverend Mr. McCalla was living in a tent on the beach, not choosing "to go into any public house or private family," and trying to establish a university at Galveston when Baker encountered him. Baker heard him deliver an "elaborate address" in favor of the university, but his efforts "came to nought, as might have been expected, for Galveston was certainly not a proper location for such an institution."58

Nor was Josiah Gregg altogether complimentary when he and Albert Pike, both of whom had previously published works on their adventures in northwest Texas, met in San Antonio as Mexican War soldiers. Captain Pike was the "best disciplinarian and drill officer of the corps" and stood first "in point of talent and acquirements," Gregg conceded. "But Pike is too stiff and aristocratic in his manner to be popular so I doubt if he could be elected by a general vote to any office in the regiment. . . . For my own part, though I respect his literary merits and acquirements, I must confess I have very little liking for his general character."59
More often than they met each other the travelers read each other's books and evaluated them in light of their own experiences. Viktor Bracht estimated when he wrote in 1848 that there were "over a hundred works on Texas," most of which were "absolutely worthless to those who have learned to know and love the country through their own observation." He considered David Barnett Edward, The History of Texas . . . (Cincinnati, 1836), "one of the best," and Matilda Charlotte Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, or, Yachting in the New World (2 vols., London, 1844) as "worthy to be recommended." Giving too partial a view in his opinion were G. A. Scherpf, Entstehungsgeschichte und Gegenwärtiger Zustand des neuen, unabhängigen Amerikanischen Staates Texas (Augsburg, 1841); Hermann Ehrenberg, Texas und seine Revolution (Leipzig, 1843); Henry Stuart Foote, Texas and the Texans; William Kennedy, Texas: The Rise, Progress and Prospect of the Republic of Texas (2 vols., London, 1841); and Mary Austin Holley's books.

Bracht's objective contemporary, Ferdinand Roemer, agreed that Kennedy and Scherpf were "too rosy," and joined Bracht further in commending Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels, Texas; geschildert in Beziehung auf geographischen, sozialen und übrigen Verhältnisse . . . (Frankfurt, 1846) for his description of the country and condemning him for unfair criticism of the Anglo-American population. Bracht thought
that although some of the criticism was justified, the Prince gave a "very one-sided" and "blindly prejudiced view," while Roemer thought the Prince "often magnified" the faults of the Texans. "Only personal resentment on account of unpleasant experiences which he perhaps provoked to some extent, alone will explain the warped judgment in this particular point of the otherwise sensible author," said Roemer. 61 A decade later Frederick Law Olmsted evened scores for the Americans by writing an unfair appraisal of the Prince. New Braunfels was a success "in spite of the Prince, who appears to have been an amiable fool, aping, among the log-cabins, the nonsense of mediaeval courts," said Olmsted. "In the course of a year he was laughed out of the country." 62

William Kennedy's book aroused more controversy among his contemporaries than any other. Upholding the cause of Texan independence from Mexico and prophesying a great future for the young Republic, Kennedy's book and published letters outraged British capitalists who owned Mexican bonds and who opposed British recognition of the Republic of Texas. In the same year, 1841, that the book came off the press, Kennedy engaged in a bitter newspaper scrap with Richard Hartnel over the merits of Texas and Kennedy's accuracy in reporting. Kennedy was an unscrupulous land speculator, Hartnel charged, who sought to profit at the expense of British bondholders and emigrants. Arthur Ikin and Nicholas Carter joined the
fray by contributing letters to the newspapers supporting Kennedy, and, when the press refused to publish a final report from Hartnell, he collected the letters, which had appeared in various newspapers in England and France, and published them along with bitter comments as Texas and California.63

Before the end of 1841, Arthur Tkin's small book appeared recommending Kennedy's work to those who wished a "more intimate and extended acquaintance with the subject";64 and the following year Nicholas Doran P. Maillard rushed into print on Hartnell's side with the History of the Republic of Texas. Maillard not only blasted Kennedy's "two well puffed volumes" but called Tkin's book a "poetical recommendation" of Kennedy's and criticized Mrs. Holley's "romantic, seductive, and extravagant" accounts.65 Maillard's own claims were so exaggerated and inaccurate that he discredited himself and incurred the wrath of other literate travelers as well as Texans. William Bollaert, a contemporary British traveler, charged that Maillard's book was "his history of Texas, but not the History of the Country." Moreover, the book was written under the patronage of the Mexican government, and its pages were filled with "untruths and vindictiveness."66 Bollaert's own connection with Kennedy's land speculations disqualifies him as an objective writer, but Kennedy found more disinterested support. The Prince Solms-Braunfels recommended Kennedy's book as the best about Texas; "Mr. Kennedy is a
man of genius, talent, and true honesty. He distinguishes
that which he saw with his own eyes from that which was
described to him by others. If there are any mistakes in
his narrative, it is due to the fact that he received
erroneous reports." Although Bracht and Roemer thought
Kennedy too sanguine, they agreed that his work had merit.
Bracht thought it a valuable contribution, while Roemer
called it the "groundwork for an accurate and comprehensive
knowledge about Texas." Bracht, in addition, blasted
Maillard, writing that "on nearly every page is exhibited
party hatred, personal prejudice, offended vanity, malicious
slander, plain perversion of established facts, absurd con-
tradictions in the author's own assertions—in short, bare-
faced falsehoods." Long after the issues at stake in the
1840's were dead, two twentieth century writers had a last
say on Maillard's History. "For the most part full of
errors and bias," says Andrew Forest Muir of it, while
Thomas W. Streeter presents it as an example "of what can
be said about Texas by one who hates it." Although many writers disagreed with each other, still
others showed their approval of their predecessors by
borrowing from them. In many instances, this is done in an
ethical manner with credit being given to the original
author. George W. Kendall, for example, acknowledged his debt
to his companion on the Santa Fé expedition, Thomas Falconer, 70
and to earlier travelers in northwest Texas, Josiah Gregg and Albert Pike. In other instances, however, the writers leave themselves open to charges of misusing other’s ideas and words. David B. Edward incorporated into his work a good many of Mrs. Holley’s sentences, while Mrs. Holley included at least one phrase ("one of the most delightful temperatures in the world") that finds a counterpart in Zebulon M. Pike. Pike, in turn, was accused by Alexander Humboldt of misusing a Humboldt map.

The most flagrant plagiarizer and the one who aroused the most indignation among his contemporaries was not a bonafide Texas traveler, but the novelist Frederick Marryat, whose best-selling fiction, *The Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet, in California, Sonora, and Western Texas* (London, 1843), brought complaints from several sources. Thomas Falconer complained in a letter published in the London *Spectator*, November 18, 1843, that Marryat had stolen from his and George W. Kendall’s newspaper accounts of the Santa Fé expedition. Kendall pursued the subject in a letter published in the Washington, D. C., *Niles’ National Register*, December 2, 1843, charging further that Marryat had borrowed without giving credit from Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Thomas J. Farnham. When Kendall’s book on the Santa Fé expedition appeared two years later, he again called attention to the plagiarism. He did not want his readers to
suspect him "of having poached upon the wondrous tale of Violet," he explained. "The larceny lies at the door of either the Captain or the Monsieur—a matter they must settle between themselves."74

Josiah Gregg was the next injured writer to accuse Marryat. In the preface of his Commerce of the Prairies he noted that several of his published letters had been borrowed:

In Captain Marryat's recent work, entitled "Monsieur Violet," I was not a little annoyed (when I presume I ought to have been flattered) to find large portions of this correspondence copied, much of it verbatim, without the slightest intimation of acknowledgment whatever, of the source from whence they were procured. The public are already so familiar with the long series of literary larcenies of which that famous work was the product, that I should not have presumed to emphasize my own grievance at all here, but that the appearance of the same material, frequently in the same words, in these volumes, might unless accompanied by some explanation expose me to a charge of plagiarism myself.75

Marryat's book continued to sell, and the author pocketed the money with no signs of remorse, but other writers joined the aggrieved ones to condemn him for both his larceny and
his misleading fiction. The borrowed facts were the "less important part" of the work, said Roemer. "The reader can look for everything else in the book except the true state of affairs as to the natural conditions of Texas." Bracht consigned the book to the "category of plain and well-proved nonsense," and both he and Gustav Dresel identified swindler, adventurer, and fictitious Count Narbonne as an additional contributor to Marryat's tale.

The travelers who crossed Texas between 1761 and 1860 saw many different things and often gave conflicting interpretations of what they saw. A few like Charles Hooton were disappointed and returned home in disillusionment, but far more found much to please them. "Texas, like a beautiful damsel, has many charms, but is not entirely faultless," concluded one objective writer. "I must say of Texas as Cowper said of England, 'With all its faults, I like it still.'" Typical of the reaction of the majority were the reflections of Ferdinand Roemer as he watched Galveston Island disappear from sight:

During my stay of more than a year, I had developed interest and love for the beautiful land of meadows which faces a bright future; and it filled my heart with sadness to be compelled to bid it farewell forever. However, there remain with me agreeable
and rich memories and I will always follow from the distance the further developments of this country with keen interest. May its wide, green prairies become the home of a large and happy population.
CHAPTER II

ALONG THE WAY

The lot of the traveler changed in degree rather than in kind during the century 1761-1860. The basic land routes and means of transportation remained the same, and travelers from Pierre-Marie-François de Pagès to Frederick Law Olmsted told the story of primitive roads, uncertain accommodations, and harrowing adventure. Early in the century Nicolás Lafora, a Spanish map-maker who accompanied the expedition of the Marqués de Rubí, drew the routes which, with variations and elaborations, would be the most traveled throughout the century. Across Texas from Mexico to Louisiana stretched the trail known in Spanish as the Camino Real and in English as the Old San Antonio Road. The trail, already old in 1761, was subject to many variations depending on the season, the weather, and the temper of Indians along the way. As Lafora drew the map, two routes led from Saltillo to San Antonio de Béxar, one crossing the Rio Grande at San Juan Bautista, near Eagle Pass on later maps, and the other crossing at Laredo. From San Antonio a direct route to east Texas headed north-easterly toward the Xavier, later the San Gabriel, River.

For much of the century the segment of this trail between the Colorado and Brazos rivers was safe only for large parties or for men traveling rapidly without encumbrances. Cautious
travelers and those traveling with pack animals customarily took a longer but more protected route, heading southeasterly from San Antonio to join a trail leading from La Bahía to east Texas. After joining it, they traveled north and east, crossing the Colorado, Brazos, and Navasota rivers. Before reaching the Trinity River, this route met the more direct one from San Antonio, and a single trail crossed the Trinity and proceeded northeastward to Nacogdoches. In Lafora's day the route from Nacogdoches led eastward to the mission Los Aís, thence to Los Adaes, the capital and eastern outpost of the province. Unofficially, it extended into Louisiana to Natchitoches and down the Red and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. By Olmsted's time, Los Aís had become the town of San Augustine, and Los Adaes an insignificant Indian village in the state of Louisiana; thousands of immigrants had poured over the road to impose their language and institutions on the land, but still the route had changed so little that had Lafora suddenly returned he could have guided himself by his map. Furthermore, he would have traveled by the same means, the trip would have taken roughly the same length of time, and he would have met with many of the same hazards.

In addition to the Camino Real, Lafora drew other routes typical of the century. A trail beginning at Nacogdoches led almost due south to Oroquisac near the mouth of the Trinity
River. From there another route wound westward around lagoons and over coastal prairies to La Bahía, whence one road headed north to San Antonio and another southwesterly to Laredo. As on the Camino Real, place names changed along this route. By Olmsted's time, Oroquisac had disappeared, the town of Liberty standing near its site, and La Bahía had become Goliad. The region between these two points had become the most populated and widely traveled in Texas. Yet, had Lafora returned, his map would still have guided him almost as well as any other. "Roads do not exist," wrote an Englishwoman who, three-quarters of a century after his visit, looked out over the prairies he had crossed. Travelers found their way, she observed, by "plumbing the track," that is, by tracing the path of previous travelers.¹ Even a decade later when stage coaches were operating with some regularity between Houston and San Antonio, a traveler commented that "in the woods, simple notches in the trees indicate the road," while "in the prairies and open country there is no marked path; and every one proceeds, according to his taste, along flat unbroken surface."² In the absence of well-defined roads, the compass continued to be an invaluable instrument. Finding that heavy rains had obliterated the trail of previous travelers, or that he was in unexplored territory, the experienced traveler simply spread out a map of Texas. Then laying his compass on it, he ascertained the direction and set out for his destination.³
The map-makers who succeeded Lafora elaborated on the simple routes he had drawn, dotting the maps with place names and linking the names with a network of lines. As Manifest Destiny and California gold lured travelers toward the Pacific in the 1840's, these names and lines extended westward across the vast, uninviting plains and mountains to El Paso and Santa Fé. But as newcomers soon discovered, even the best maps remained imperfect. When Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels asked John Coffee Hays for information about the country in 1844, Hays unrolled on the floor his enormous, ten-foot-square map. "I assumed that the course of the rivers and the boundaries were correct," wrote the Prince. "But the Major took a pencil and made insertions that greatly differed from the original. Frequently his revision would be so far different that he had to make the map still larger—for which purpose he used the surrounding floor."¹

Other writers warned strangers against the error of believing that all names and lines on maps meant towns and roads. Often a name written large designated only one or two houses, and lines indicated routes as distinguished from roads. These routes, moreover, were often "mere tractless courses" which some horseman had crossed by using a compass. "I was not surprised, with my knowledge of the country," one traveler wrote in the 1830's, "when after hearing that the route from San Felipe to Brazoria was more travelled than any other in the colony, I found it was in many places
indicated only by marked trees." He had been on other routes which maps represented as being well trodden, he continued, where he had not found "this or any other intimation" to guide his way.  

Travelers in the more settled areas were annoyed and sometimes amused by the vagaries of ignorant or overly sanguine map-makers, but those who traversed the route toward El Paso complained bitterly and told of tragic or near-tragic consequences. John Russell Bartlett, who surveyed the boundary between the United States and Mexico during the early 1850's, wrote of meeting several parties "who were loud in their denunciations of those who had advised them to take this road, and more so of those who furnished them maps, which deceived them as to the watering-places." Expecting to find water at the places designated on the maps, they were unprepared when the water holes did not materialize. As a result, many of their animals perished, and some men went seventy-two hours without water.  

If the traveler tried to supplement his knowledge of the route by making inquiries along the way, he was usually disappointed. Often those asked for information were themselves newcomers, and, as the condition of the trails changed with the weather, only those fresh from the journey could give dependable information. Along the extreme frontier settlers knew virtually nothing of the country beyond their cabins, and even in more populated areas they knew only the roads in
their immediate vicinity. This general lack of knowledge--
to be expected early in the period and on the frontier--
persisted throughout the century and even in the larger
towns. Thus, when Olmsted reached Houston in the mid-1850's,
he could obtain no information whatsoever about the coastal
route to Louisiana. Determined to follow "the direct and
distinct road," laid down on his map, he set out on a rambling
course, guided only by the directions of those he encountered.
"We found it impossible to obtain information about roads,"
he wrote at one point, "and frequently went astray upon cattle-
paths, once losing twenty miles in a day's journey." Typical
of the information he and other inquiring travelers received
was that given him by a "shining black bundle of rags" who
ferried him over a small bayou, probably Sims Bayou, east of
Houston:

Yer see dem two tall pine in de timber over dar
cross de parara, yandar. Yer go right straight da,
and da yer'll see de trail somewar. Dat ar go to
Lynchburg. Lor! I'ze nebber been da--don' no wedder's
ary house or no--don' no wedder's ary deep byoo or
no--reckon yer can go, been so dry.7

Crossed as the country was by routes rather than roads,
road-building remained the most primitive. Bishop Marín de
Porras carried ten wood cutters with him to clear the way
through the forest when he journeyed to east Texas in 1805,
and few advances were made in the half century that followed. A visitor of the 1840's wrote that at that time road-building was confined to indicating the directions between important points, to felling trees along the river banks, to grading the inclines at fords, and to installing ferries at the larger rivers. If a tree fell across the way, the traveler simply went around it. Even a decade later an Englishwoman passing over the venerable Camino Real wrote that "as yet there is no other road-making than cutting down trees actually in the way, the stumps of which are often left a foot high, to be shunned by the driver and horses."¹⁰

The condition of the routes depended entirely on the weather. In arid areas and in dry seasons, travelers complained little of the roads. Indeed, some commented that the prairies made natural highways and remarked on the absence of such natural obstacles as mountains. "In dry weather better roads are not found anywhere," was a typical remark.¹¹ Travelers in the far West, while deploring the lack of watering places, usually complimented the hard, smooth terrain. John R. Bartlett, for example, described the road from Fredericksburg to the Rio Grande as "a natural road, better than half the roads in the United States west of the Mississippi." Only a little labor at the stream crossings, he believed, would "make it into a turnpike."¹²

In more humid areas and in wet seasons, travelers told a far different story. From the Sabine to the Brazos, streams
rose quickly and often inundated the surrounding countryside. Coastal prairies were marshy, and those who tried to cross after rains often found themselves floundering in bottomless mud. Particularly notorious was the Brazos prairie west of Houston. It loomed up as an "endless swamp," said Ferdinand Roemer who crossed in a rainy season of the mid-1840's. "Large puddles of water followed one another and at several places a large section of land was under water." Some people who had intended to settle in Texas, he reported, turned around and left the country after seeing "the sad picture."\[13\]

The crossing of streams, especially in the rainy season, was a trying and often hazardous experience. Pages wrote in some detail of the "tedious and irksome" process by which his party crossed the Brazos in the 1760's. The company halted for several days while the men cut trees, rolled them into the river, and made rafts by tying them together with the halters of their horses. These rafts, after being loaded with baggage, were guided across the river by two swimmers with ropes in their teeth. "I have seen us spend several days in extricating ourselves from the embarrassment of one miserable little brook," Pages wrote. "It is difficult to imagine the fatigues and hardships we experienced in passing the larger rivulets of this country."\[14\]

Later travelers told similar stories. "The most disagreeable part of the whole trip was the fording of the
streams," wrote Amos Andrew Parker in the 1830’s. "The banks were generally steep down into the water; and so slippery we had sometimes to dismount, hold on to a tree, and let the horse slide down; then pull the horse beside us, mount him in the water, and ride across." Occasionally, a traveler wrote of drownings or near-drownings at the stream crossings, and a hardy army wife of the 1850’s summed up the general opinion when she wrote that next to Indians she feared crossing the streams more than anything else.

By 1860 a few bridges had been built, but these did little to alleviate the travelers' anxiety. According to Miss Murray, the bridges along the Old San Antonio Road were made of loose plank "with no pretence of a rail to prevent vehicles and horses from going over the sides," while Emmanuel Henry Dieudonné Domenech described those "thrown across Buffalo Bayou" as "two planks and branches of trees badly joined together." Another visitor expressed the general attitude of the century toward bridges and other road improvements: "There is neither time nor spare cash to erect bridges; and, indeed, were the expense to be incurred, the probability is they would be washed away at the first rain."

From the 1830's optimistic travelers spoke of building railroads in Texas, and by 1860 a few miles of track foretold a new era of travel. But the railroad figured very little in
the travel literature of the period. Mrs. Lane, one of the few who traveled at all by rail, dismissed the experience with one sentence: "We had a ride on the only railroad at that time in Texas; the best thing I can say of it was, it was very short." The motive power for overland travel of the century was furnished by animals, with the horse bearing the heaviest burden and with mules, oxen, burros, and a few experimental camels following in that order. Necessarily, the traveler was as concerned about the welfare of his animals as about his own. Indeed, his welfare and sometimes his life depended on the strength and endurance of his beasts of burden. In large measure, he timed his journey and determined his path according to the grass or fodder available, and a disabled or lost animal was a matter of grave concern.

The horse was considered the fastest and most dependable means of transportation, and most travelers preferred to travel by horseback. As mustangs ran wild on the plains, there was never a shortage of horses. If a wayfarer so much as hinted that he was in the market for one, he was besieged by traders who paraded their wares before him. Finding exactly the right horse was never an easy task, however, and travelers discussed at length the relative merits of the various breeds: the heavy American horse was considered the most powerful, but, if accustomed to a diet of corn, he was likely to suffer when only grass was available; the Indian
pony was wiry and agile, but likely to be shortwinded from hard usage; the Mexican pony was game but light; the mustang was the cheapest of all, but was probably only half-tamed and vicious. Although good horses were never cheap, new-comers were warned to beware of bargains. Dealers were often not overly particular about how they acquired their merchandise, and, as the rightful owner could always reclaim stolen property, many purchasers found to their sorrow that they had bought stolen animals. Sometimes unscrupulous dealers would collude: one would sell a horse to a stranger and as soon as he rode to another neighborhood, the confederate would follow to claim the animal as one stolen from him.

Once having acquired a horse, the traveler guarded it vigilantly, for, according to the testimony of countless writers, Texas abounded with gifted horse thieves. Indian braves measured their manliness by the number of horses they had stolen, and the more lawless element among the whites and Mexicans found horses convenient to steal and easy to dispose of in another locality. One young man who knew the country well wrote that when he stopped at one house he fed his horse under the window where he was to sleep and took the lariat through the window when he went to bed, sleeping with it in his hand. 20 Even this precaution was not always enough. "Instances were common," said another writer, "where men, night or day, alighted, left their horses at the door, walked
into a house with one end of the lariett [sic] on their arms, and the other tied around their horse’s neck, and on coming out found their larietts cut and horses stolen. 21

Next to horses, mules bore the heaviest burden. Some travelers, including Page and Thomas Falconer, chose to ride a mule, and many others who were encumbered with baggage spoke highly of the endurance of the mule as a pack animal. As the country developed, mules were used extensively for freight and immigrant wagons and for stage coaches. These animals were always expensive, however, and less affluent immigrants and settlers often chose the cheaper but slower oxen for their beasts of burden. From the beginning of Anglo-American immigration until 1860, a common sight along the Old San Antonio Road was the immigrant’s wagon, piled high with his worldly goods, and drawn by plodding oxen.

Ox carts driven by Mexicans also operated between San Antonio and the coast after the opening of the coastal trade. These carts were always a curiosity to strangers. The wheels were discs of wood with no spokes, not a piece of iron was used in the construction of the cart, and ropes of raw hide were used instead of chain. Benjamin Lundy thought the carts well suited to the country. “If we broke a wheel, we could cut down a tree and mend it; if we broke a chain we could kill an ox, or a mustang, and make a new one,” he wrote. 22

By the 1830’s stage coaches were operating between some
of the more important points, and in 1858 one of the most famous of all stage lines, the Butterfield Overland Mail, began regular runs, entering Texas at Preston on the Red River, heading southwesterly to Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos, and thence to El Paso. But most travelers considered stages as fit only for mail and never rode them if other means of transportation were available. Many were the tales of discomfort told by those who were forced to ride them. Julius Froebel, for example, wrote of paying $12.50 for the passage from San Antonio to Matagorda, only to find that because of the condition of the roads he was forced to walk three-fourths of the way, about 160 miles, and help pull the coach out of mud holes, "the hardest and dirtiest work" he had ever done. On taking the same coach a second time for a night trip, he ran before it with a "stearine candle" in hand to find the road.23

Raphael Pumpelly, a traveler on the Butterfield Overland route, described the typical coach as a sturdy vehicle with three rows of seats, the front and middle facing each other so that the front passengers sat facing the rear. Three passengers were placed on each row, but in order to fit into the space those facing each other had to interlock knees. Even then there was room for only ten of the twelve legs, so at all times a leg of some passenger dangled at either side of the coach. The fastidious Pumpelly's trip was made all
the more unpleasant by the fact that a frontier family shared his seat and that across from him. The man was a "border bully," the woman dipped snuff, and their two daughters for several days were overcome by motion sickness and in this had "no regard for the clothes of their neighbors." 24

Strangers, looking at the map of Texas with its long coast line and its many rivers, spoke hopefully of solving the country's transportation problems. But those who gained first hand knowledge learned that water, as well as land travel presented special difficulties. George Graham, who in 1818 wrote the first Anglo-American account of a sea journey to Texas, noted both the potential of the sea coast and the obstacles that had discouraged Spanish efforts to develop it. Galveston was one of "the safest harbors in the world," he wrote, and Matagorda near the mouth of the Colorado River was also "practicable for sea vessels," but both harbors were handicapped by sand bars, that of Galveston affording "from ten to twelve feet water according to the state of the tide," and that of Matagorda from eleven to thirteen feet. "The Bay of Trinity . . . receives the Trinity, the St. Jacinto & the Brassos all large rivers, affording good navigation, & watering the best part of the province of Texas," he continued somewhat inaccurately, but at the mouth of each river was a bar affording not more than "four feet of water." These shifting sand bars figured prominently in the history
of Texas navigation and presented many frustrations to those who traveled by water.25

Under the Spanish regime virtually nothing was done to develop sea or river navigation. Indeed, as Spain jealously guarded the commerce of her colonial empire and as she had few soldiers to protect far-off Texas, she took a benign view of the sand bars, regarding them as natural protection against the inroads of French and Anglo-American trespassers. The coastal lands were considered worthless marshes shot with lagoons and a fit place only for Indians and a few unwelcome but relatively harmless French traders. Orocoquisac was abandoned after the visit of Rubi and Lafora in 1767 and with it all efforts to fortify the coast. "We can sacrifice a certain Monsieur Lampin who traded in a few hides on that uninhabitable coast," wrote Lafora in an expression of official opinion, "secure in the belief that no nation would attempt to form a colony there."26 With the disintegration of the Spanish empire under the impact of the Napoleonic wars, the coast became the special province of smugglers and pirates. Thus, when Graham, an official agent of the United States, arrived at Galveston on a smuggling boat—the most feasible means of transportation—he found the best harbor in Texas in the possession of Jean Laffite.

Threats from the United States, conveyed by Graham, dislodged Laffite from Galveston Island; and, with the opening
of Texas to Anglo-American settlement in the early 1820's, more and more travelers took the sea route. Still, navigation developed so slowly that for almost two decades after Graham's visit Galveston's harbor was all but disregarded, and no town was built there. Only after the influx of immigrants following the Texan Revolution and the Panic of 1837 did Galveston Island come into its own. Until that time vessels headed for the Brazos River, the seat of Austin's colony and the center of American colonization.

The development of coastal travel can be traced in the writings of that inveterate traveler Mary Austin Holley. When Mrs. Holley paid her first visit to Texas in 1831, she took a sailing vessel at New Orleans, a schooner small enough to pass the "troublesome bar" at the mouth of the Brazos. After being battered by a Gulf storm and prostrated by seasickness—common experiences for the seafarer to Texas—Mrs. Holley passed by Galveston without commenting on its existence and arrived at the mouth of the Brazos where the vessel cast anchor. A pilot came aboard and, after waiting a day and a half for a favorable tide, guided the vessel across the bar. "This bar presents a serious obstruction to the navigation of the river," wrote Mrs. Holley, "vessels have been, indeed, wrecked, in crossing it, and none but strong vessels, or such as are of light draught, should attempt it." After entering the river, the vessel met other hazards, the river being winding and the wind fitful. When Mrs. Holley at last arrived at her desti-
nation, Brazoria, "thirty miles from the mouth of the
Brazos by the meanders of the river, and fifteen by land,"
she was six days from New Orleans, and three from the river's
mouth. Some of the passengers, weary of the slow progress of
the vessel, walked ahead to Brazoria. Thus when Mrs. Holley
arrived, "The whole male population, en masse, stood on shore"
to welcome the vessel and to reach for the letter bag. The
arrival was an "event of some moment," she observed, for not
another vessel was in port.27

Six years later when Mrs. Holley again embarked from
New Orleans for Brazoria, she traveled by steamboat and put
into port at Galveston Island. In spite of the destructiveness
of a recent hurricane, she found the bustle of commercial
activity---"sloops & schooners, in all directions, at
anchor, or under sail, ... Skiffs, & little sailboats
glistening in the sun." Changing to a smaller steamer, she
went up Buffalo Bayou to Houston, a new town and the capital
of the new Republic of Texas. From there she traveled over-
land to Brazoria, about sixty miles, in a hired barouche.
Her new route indicated the changed pattern of traffic to the
prosperous Brazos River bottom plantations. The hazards of
the river proving a great trial for sea-going vessels and
insurance rates being prohibitive, planters had begun hauling
their produce to Houston by wagon, thence by water to
Galveston.28
When Mrs. Holley paid her third visit to Texas in 1840, the Texas trade had become important enough to warrant a luxury steamer "so beautiful," said she, "I could think of nothing but Cleopatra as I lay in my luxurious couch of the finest & whitest." The island town had grown in keeping with with the vessel, boasting a hotel and busy "Carpenters, Surveyors, wharf-builders, & boatmen." "When the whole is completed & the causeway, there will be a good prairie road to Brazoria, Columbia, & Bolivar, each about 15 miles," she wrote. "Were money a little more plenty this would soon be effected & the place be all that its position destines it to be. All the cotton of the Brazos would then pour in here." With the development of Galveston as a port of entry, American capitalists and European immigrants customarily took the sea route, leaving the Old San Antonio Road to poorer immigrants and to planters with extensive slaves and household goods. Whether the visitor traveled by land or sea, New Orleans figured prominently as a take-off point.

As Galveston increased in importance and as the Brazos River trade was diverted to the Houston-Galveston route, Buffalo Bayou became the most traveled stream in Texas—indeed, the only stream that strangers traveled to any extent. Its narrow, serpentine channel bordered by enormous magnolia trees and overhanging foliage excited the endless comment of newcomers. Some men noted that the steamers
plying the bayou were discards from the Mississippi trade, but the journey had a peculiar fascination for the ladies. It was "a kind of amphibious proceeding," belonging to neither the sea nor the earth, said Amelia Matilda Murray, who made the trip on a starlight night.

Negroes holding braziers of blazing pine-wood, stood on each side of the vessel, illuminating our passage, the foliage and even the beautiful flowers so near that we could almost gather them as we floated by; a small bell was ringing every instant, to direct our engineers; one moment the larboard paddle, then the starboard, was stopped or set in motion, or the wheels were altogether standing still, while we swung round the narrow corners of this tortuous channel; the silence of the bordering forests broken alone by the sobs of our high-pressure engine.

Now and then a night bird, or frog croaking with a voice like that of a watchman's rattle, accompanied the bells and the escape valve.

Other women who made the trip at night also recalled the sounds—though not the same ones that Miss Murray heard. Mrs. Holley remembered the music the passengers made as they journeyed along, some of them singing and others playing the guitar or flute. Matilda Charlotte Houston, by contrast, recalled the slap of cards in the game room, snatches of
conversation, and, above all, the "dismal, unearthly, carolling" of the Negro boatmen who, seated on the hurricane deck or at work, joined in "the same loud, weary, monotonous chant." 31

Although travelers continually spoke hopefully of river navigation, very few made river journeys, for, in addition to the bars, the rivers rose and fell too quickly for comfort, and many of them were further handicapped by rafts, that is, masses of tangled driftwood. "The inconvenience of this navigation is so great, that the land route is generally preferred though that is laborious and expensive," wrote one anonymous traveler who made the sea and river journey to Brazoria shortly before Mrs. Holley's first visit. 32 This opinion was echoed by many other visitors, including Frederick Law Olmsted, who a quarter of a century later wrote that "none of the Texan rivers can be said to be permanently navigable." According to Olmsted, in good seasons boats reached points from one to two hundred miles from the mouth of the "rapid and dangerous" Brazos. "The Colorado is said to be navigable for 200 miles, or as far as Austin," he wrote, but he emphasized this was only for the "smallest class of boats, and that so seldom and with so much danger, that, practically, all freight is hauled to and from the coast by mules and oxen." 33

The Trinity was considered the most navigable river in Texas, Olmsted found, but two earlier travelers had already
recorded the hopes and frustrations of this stream. In 1840 Mrs. Houston wrote of the excitement in Galveston when the Ellen Frankland steamed up the Trinity about four or five hundred miles, a journey which seemed to open "an era in the commercial history of the country." Three years later William Bollaert, in one of the few detailed accounts of a river journey, described the failure of the Ellen Frankland and other river boats in Texas waters. Taking the steamer at a point upstream, he traveled without incident to the furthest point of navigation—about ten miles south of present Palestine—and then downstream to the mouth of the river. Along the way he noted rich bottom lands with thriving cotton plantations, and at budding river ports—Alabama, Cincinnati, Carolina, and other towns doomed to a brief existence—he watched while the steamer took on a profitable load of cotton.

At the mouth of the river, however, the Ellen Frankland ran into difficulties. Collections of driftwood and sand had formed islands or obstructions near the mouth so that the river divided into seven or more passes. There was less than three feet of water over the bar of the principal pass, "the channel of which is tortuous and difficult, owing to snags and large logs of drift timber." The Vista, the other steamer that plied the Trinity, was aground there, unloading her cotton bales on flats in order to get afloat. The Ellen
Frankland also went aground, and, seeing that it would be
some days before she could unload and free herself, Bollaert
transferred to the Vista for the journey on to Galveston.
"Like to the mouths of all southern rivers [the Trinity is]
almost choked up with drift wood—thus rendering the navi-
gation difficult," he concluded. "I do not think that the
navigation of the Trinity can pay, considering the length of
the voyage and expenses incident to the unloading and re-
loading steamers at the mouth." 35

The stranger in Texas could never be sure what type of
accommodations he would find along the way. The early
traveler as a matter of course prepared himself to camp out,
carrying food, bedding, and whatever else he deemed neces-
sary. Before beginning the journey from Nacogdoches to San
Antonio, Pârè supplied himself with a pack animal, Indian
corn, and three bear skins—one to serve as a bed, another
as a tent cover, and the third as a spread for his supplies. 36
Later travelers, especially less affluent ones and those on
the frontier, made similar arrangements, often adding elabo-
rate individual touches. One traveler of the late 1830's,
for example, carried an air mattress, while Olmsted brought with
him a custom-made "pack-apparatus" that almost convulsed one
old-timer "with laughter and contempt." 37 George Wilkins
Kendall was equally amused at the appearance of his traveling
companion, Thomas Falconer, as their party set out from
Austin to San Antonio. Falconer, a dignified Englishman, was seated upon a mule, "with a double-barrelled smooth bore upon his shoulder, while around and underneath him, tied on and hanging in festoons, was a general assortment of a little of everything."

There were a ham, a tea-kettle, a wallet of biscuit, half-a-dozen tin cups, a gourd, a pair of pistols, and a coffee-pot, all occupying prominent situations immediately around him. In addition, Falconer had with him a number of books and scientific instruments, and these were arranged, here and there, among the hardware and groceries. Thus arrayed and mounted he really seemed more like a gipsy or a travelling tinker than a member of the best society in London and a distinguished barrister of that city.38

As the country filled with people, some of the travelers began stopping for the night at settlers' cabins along the way, and, with the increase in traffic along the more popular routes, these cabins grew into public houses or inns. With the growth of towns and the development of sea travel after 1836, boarding houses and then hotels were established at the more important points; and with the establishment of stage lines, stage stands were opened at certain points. By the 1850's the wayfarer who ventured no farther than Galveston could enjoy most of the comforts, though not all the refinements, of civilization at the Tremont House, the most renowned
hotel in Texas. But if he traveled further inland, he was likely to find himself searching for a camping place or for a settler's cabin much as Pages had done nearly a hundred years earlier.

The experiences of that much traveled army wife, Lydia Spencer Lane, suggest the variety in accommodations the traveler could expect to find at the end of the century. Upon landing at Corpus Christi in November 1855, she was lodged in a hospital tent on the beach. A violent norther struck on the first night, and a few nights later a hurricane tore open her tent at both ends. "Between the pounding of the waves on the beach, the shrieking of the wind, and the flapping of the canvas, the noise was fearful," she wrote. "And I expected to be blown bodily out to sea." Later when she accompanied her husband to his army post on the western frontier, she camped out each night, always before she went to bed "making a thorough search for a snake, tarantula, or centipede." At Fort McIntosh, in accordance with the unwritten rules of army etiquette, she stopped in the home of one of her husband's fellow officers; and, upon reaching Fort Inge, she was established in her own quarters, an army cabin in "an advanced stage of decay." The following February when her husband received a short leave, she made a journey to Austin, stopping on the way at a "house for wayfarers" in D'Hanis, "a nice house kept by a quaint old French woman" in
Castroville, and at the Plaza House—"the best hotel in town"—in San Antonio. After visiting with relatives in Austin, the Lanes set out on the return trip over roads heavy from rain. Seeing that the mules could travel no further one night, they turned off the road to find shelter at a wayside cabin. Thus in the course of a few months Mrs. Lane had experienced all the century could offer in the way of accommodations.39

According to long standing tradition, the traveler on the American frontier was always greeted with open arms and much hospitality, but the accounts of those who traveled in Texas do not altogether substantiate this. The settler often moved to the frontier because he liked to be alone; he was unprepared to entertain guests; and they taxed his chronically slender grain supply. Furthermore, throughout the century Texas was the haven of a substantial number of questionable characters. The law-abiding settler could with justification view the stranger with suspicion; and, if the questionable one were called on for hospitality, he could suspect the stranger of being an unwelcome link with the past or the law. Thus, hospitality had limitations; and, when Mrs. Lane and her husband knocked at the door of a settler's house on a dark night in 1856, they received an answer only after much knocking. As Mrs. Lane recalled, the conversation went like this: "What do you want." "To stay all night." "You can't
do it."

"But we must; there is a lady here, our mules are broken down, and we cannot go on." "That makes it worse; having a lady, you can't stay." Only after considerable parleying were the Lanes admitted.

Although few travelers later learned, as the Lanes did, that their host was a notorious outlaw, the Lanes' experience was not an isolated one. Those who visited friends, relatives, or who had special connections—religious or business—could expect a warm welcome, but others were often looked upon as a nuisance. This was especially true along the more traveled routes, where settlers often became innkeepers in self defense. Strangers stopped anyway, and, unless the settler had declared himself an innkeeper, there was always some question in the guest's mind as to whether he should offer pay. Some writers reported instances when their money was refused, but fully as many wrote of occasions when they felt themselves overcharged. William Fairfax Gray, for example, took a dim view of wealthy Jared Ellison Groce's hospitality. When Gray and several other men stopped at the Groce plantation for a few days in the spring of 1836, some of the men felt they were imposing on the planter's hospitality, but, wrote Gray, "This delicacy was cured when, on starting, he presented each with a bill for $3 per day, man and horse."

Nor did Olmsted find an abundance of hospitality when
he visited Texas a generation later. He was refused lodging on several occasions; and once, upon buying corn for his horse, he heard the seller grumble while dealing up a short measure that "they had to most slave themselves for travelers." In spite of this, few travelers ever considered that their requests for food and lodging were an imposition. Most, like Olmsted, could appear uninvited, ask a weary woman with a child at point of death to prepare a meal, and then, when she slapped a piece of cold corn pone down before them, complain of her sullen manner and the poor food. 42

The sullen women who prepared meals over open fires were rarely literate enough to give their impressions of the condescending strangers who appeared at their doors; but undoubtedly Mrs. Lane, who was often called upon to play hostess when in army quarters, spoke for many when she wrote: "We became very weary of entertaining people of whom we knew nothing; but there was no hotel nor house of any kind where they could go, so the officers felt themselves obliged to look after their comfort and take them in." Recalling the difficulties of entertaining on the frontier, and especially one cold night when she and her husband had given strangers their only mattress and had themselves shivered through the night on a straw "under-bed," she felt that her guests were never properly grateful. "We are told to take in the stranger as by so doing we 'may entertain an angel unawares,'" said she. "I do
not think that class of guests often travelled in Texas and New Mexico, at least while I was out there; if they did, their visits were few and far between, and their disguise was complete. 43

After a sojourn at Houston House, a "large shambling wooden building" which the landlord admitted was "in a fix," Mrs. Houstoun wrote that "The traveler in Texas must set out prepared for every species of discomfort." During Mrs. Houstoun's visit a norther blew in, forcing its way through the cracks in the wall and extinguishing both fire and candle. The ceiling of her room was of canvas, and, when a rain began during the night, "We were obliged to 'fix' an umbrella over the bed," she wrote. 44 As Mrs. Houstoun spent most of her nights in Texas aboard her private yacht and never ventured further inland than Houston, she had fewer experiences with the discomforts of Texas travel than most other visitors, but her experiences were fairly typical.

Travelers were offered a wide variety in beds. "My own couch at one of the principal hotels will give the reader some idea of the comforts of the place . . . .," wrote one who visited Houston a few years earlier than Mrs. Houstoun. "In an open cabin without a floor, a fork was driven into the ground a few feet from one of the corners. Poles were laid from the fork to the openings in the logs, which were covered with clapboards. Upon this platform was strewed some
mosaic, which together with a blanket made up the whole bed."^45

Other travelers slept on beds of tree branches, grass, straw, or boards. And fortunate was he who had a bed to himself, for, as one traveler observed, "No innkeeper in this country would dream of sending away a traveler with the plea of want of room as long as one bed remained in his house occupied by only two men."^46 An anonymous traveler of 1831 wrote that thirty men shared a room twenty feet square at William Tennant Austin's hotel at Brazoria; and, even at the celebrated Tremont, Francis O. Sheridan found that he was expected to share a room fifteen by ten feet with five other men.^47

The food offered the traveler was as unpretentious as the lodging—but much more predictable. "Our supper consisted, as usual, of cornbread, fried pork, and coffee without milk or sugar," was a typical remark, "and the same description will answer for our breakfast next morning."^48 This was the standard diet for Anglo-American settlers no matter what their station in life, visitors discovered. Even at the prosperous plantation of Colonel James Morgan, Mrs. Houstoun found the same menu. "We breakfast at nine on hot cornbread, and pork dressed in various ways. . . . We dine at two, on roast pork, boiled ditto, and cornbread, and at seven o'clock in the evening we sup on the same." As Mrs. Houstoun had taken a special aversion to pork from seeing the pigs that ran loose on Galveston Island eat carrion, she pointed out
to her host that the many kinds of game that abounded on his estate would add variety to his table and that with only a minimum of effort his Negroes could cultivate vegetables. But, she conceded, "My arguments are of no avail, for the 'niggers' are greatly too much indulged, and the masters too indolent either to plant vegetables, shoot game, or catch fish." She was not at all surprised that the Morgan family suffered from ill health, for their diet was enough "to lay low the strongest man that ever breathed the breath of life."49

From 1761 to 1860 corn in one form or another was a basic item of the Texan's diet. Pages found tortillas the "native food of the people of New Spain," and by Olmsted's time cornbread had become standard on Anglo-American tables. In both eras the distance from the field where the grain grew to the oven was a short one. One visitor wrote that when he stopped and asked for food, the woman of the house sang out to a boy, "Run to the field and bring two or three ears of corn--I want to make some bread for the Gentleman's supper." The corn was then gathered, ground, kneaded, and baked while he waited for his supper.50

Wild game--most commonly venison, turkey, buffalo, or bear--added some variety to the traveler's diet, and near the coast the traveler was often served fish and oysters. He rarely found milk and butter on the table, a circumstance that never ceased to baffle him because of the numerous cattle.
It was usually explained, however, that the cattle were wild or semiwild and thus gave little milk and that with little butter content. Coffee was the national drink, if whiskey were excluded, and was considered a necessity by the Texan family. "Whatever else is lacking, there must be coffee, or everything is out of joint," said one writer.\textsuperscript{51} Mrs. Angelina Eberly's house at Matagorda enjoyed a reputation for fine foods; and, with the influx of Germans in the 1840's, certain German inns became noted, but Texas was definitely not the place for a gourmet. Mrs. Houston wrote with amusement that a French nobleman of her acquaintance left Galveston on the first boat after he had sampled the food.\textsuperscript{52} The general impression of the menu was summed up by a succinct note in another newcomer's diary: "Fare distressingly bad, Crackers, potatoes (ind[igestible?]) & Beef (tough), Coffee (very bad)."\textsuperscript{53}

Other writers complained not of the quality of food but of the lack of it. Pages suffered from actual hunger on his journey, and later travelers were sometimes reduced to eating snakes, prairie dogs, skunks, and horses. Noah Smithwick fasted two days before bringing himself to eat a mustang steak. "I bit off a piece and found that it had no bad taste; on the contrary, it seemed to me no meat ever tasted better," he wrote.\textsuperscript{54} Young mustang flesh was indeed excellent, agreed George W. Kendall who almost starved to death on the Santa Fe
expedition, "but that of an old, broken-down horse" was quite another affair. "It was tough as India-rubber, and the more a piece of it was masticated the larger it became in the mouth."55

Although travel in Texas between 1761 and 1860 was not for the weak-stomached or faint-hearted, most of the travelers accepted the discomforts and hazards of the journey with equanimity, for they had known they were coming to a new country and did not expect the niceties of home. Although they reported their difficulties, few of them whined. Typical of the attitude of the majority was that of Miss Murray, who, sixty years old and accustomed to life in a palace, never lost her spirit of adventure as she bounced over corduroy roads and stopped overnight at inns with canvas walls. Most of the writers even retained their sense of humor. Kendall, for example, thought a buzzard watched him reproachfully as he ate "old, broken-down horse" meat, food that "legitimately" belonged to the buzzard. "There was something, too, like honest indignation expressed in the countenance of a wolf, which sat quietly watching our operations from the adjoining prairie," said Kendall, "but at the time we were hungry enough to make a meal even of him had he fallen into our hands."56 Such was the general attitude of that hardy breed who braved the roads of Texas.
CHAPTER III

"GARDENS OF THE DESERT"

These are the Gardens of the Desert, these
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
For which the speech of England has no name—
The Prairies. I behold them for the first,
And my heart swells, while the dilated sight
Takes in the encircling vastness. Lo! They stretch
In airy undulations, far away,
As if the ocean, in his gentlest swell,
Stood still, with all his rounded billows fixed,
And motionless forever.

"The Prairies"
William Cullen Bryant

Strangers' general impressions of Texas varied greatly
according to the part of the country they saw, the time of
year they visited, and their special interest. Those who
saw only the periphery usually gave a negative report, for,
as one traveler observed, "From whatever point you approach
Texas, its aspect is unfavorable." If one approached by
sea, he was met "by low, sandy beach and a marshy flat country";
if he approached overland by way of Louisiana and the Red
River, he first saw "a poor country of hilly land, chiefly
covered with wood, and presenting to the eye a weak soil."
Typical of other first impressions was that of Rutherford Birchard Hayes who, as he sailed up the Brazos for the first time, noted the most striking features of the country in his journal: "Wild Prairie, low grassy banks, chocolate-colored water, cattle, and buzzards."³

As the traveler moved to the interior, he usually became more pleased with the soil and scenery; and if he saw the rolling prairies and clear streams of the San Marcos-New Braunfels area, he was likely to become effusive in his praise. Again Hayes's reaction was typical. "I should be driven to extremities in attempting to spread before you the singularly picturesque appearance of the upper country," he wrote,

It has the clear running streams of New England, skirted with heavy timber, high hills of smooth greensward, soil, rich and deep to the very top, here called rolling prairie, occasionally dotted with "mottes" of timber, resembling old orchards in an old cultivated country—except in the absence of buildings, fences, and improvements.⁴

Those who visited during the spring of the year were usually delighted no matter what part of the country they saw; and, if they happened to be fresh from a northern region, they taxed their vocabularies to describe the scene. "The whole country, during the months of April, May, and part of
June, . . . is fascinating beyond description," wrote one visitor who arrived from Ohio in March 1837, while a New Englander who saw the country a few seasons earlier wrote that he was unprepared "for the indescribable beauty of a Texas prairie" in the spring. Northerners were particularly delighted with the profusion of wild flowers. "Some of those which are most cultivated in our northern gardens were here in full bloom and perfection, intermingled with many of which I had never before seen," wrote the New Englander. An Englishwoman, an amateur botanist who visited for ten days in April 1855, was equally enchanted, writing that she should "much prefer settling in Texas to any part of the Union" she had seen, "unless it was the Highlands of Virginia." Those who saw the country in other seasons of the year had considerably less to say about the beauties of the country and were more inclined to speak of endemic fevers, sudden northers, and flooded prairies.

Visitors of all seasons, however, commented on the beauty of the Texas nights. "Night came on--a clear, cloudless night upon the prairie--who can describe it?" asked one visitor in December, while another wrote of the "proverbial" beauty of the summer nights. "The sky is seldom otherwise than very clear, and the moon and stars, shining with a silver luster, throw a soft mellow light over the earth that, from some mysterious sympathy in our nature, awakens feelings of calm
reflection much akin to melancholy." Ferdinand Roemer
recalled the enchantment of a night when glowworms flying
over the prairie "emitted such bright rays of light that the
eye was actually blinded or dazzled and one imagined one's
self to be in the midst of a rain of fire"; and even
Frederick Law Olmsted, who found few things to suit his taste
in Texas, conceded that the nights were "truly gorgeous." The Germans had a saying that the sky seemed nearer in Texas
than in Europe, he wrote, and "The stars, and especially the
nebulae, do seem to shine more vividly, and to give more
light and the firmament appears more effulgent than in any
part of the northern or southern hemisphere in which I have
been."  

A major factor in the writer's general impression of the
country was his individual interest. Those with marketable
real estate were uniformly enthusiastic, of course, and dis-
appointed immigrants were usually the most bitter in their
denunciations. A similar disparity of opinion is evident in
the writings of military men. Throughout the century soldiers
assigned the task of defending the country used the word
"worthless" in describing it, while those who represented
covetous nations took the opposite view. Nicolás Lafora, a
Spanish soldier who saw the land as a long and untenable line
of defense, was devastating in his appraisal. The "unending
forest of pine, live-oak, and oak" in east Texas seemed
"dismal" to him, and the "sameness of the terrain, composed of low hills with no mountains," was "not particularly agreeable to the sight." After inspecting it from the Río Grande to the Arroyo Hondo in 1767, he concluded that the whole country was "not worth one year's allotment of funds" from His Majesty's treasury.12 Almost a century later a generation of United States soldiers assigned to frontier duty echoed Lafora's opinion. The land was "worthless—absolutely of no value," one officer wrote of the area between the Nueces and the Río Grande after the Mexican War. "Had we not acquired California by the war, the lives lost and treasure expended would have been lost and expended to little purpose."13

Far different were the opinions of soldiers who saw the land as a possible prize of conquest. French naval officer, Pierre-Marie-François de Pagès, who crossed Texas only a few months after Lafora and who followed much the same route, took an entirely different view. "The gratification I derived from the rural scene through which we were constantly passing, was the chief and very satisfactory reward of all my toil," he wrote. He went on to speak of "noble forests" and of the "unrestrained freedom" of the plains. The country between the Colorado and San Antonio rivers he thought "one of the most beautiful in the world," and, had it not been for his great love for his native land, he vowed he would have taken an
Indian wife and settled in Texas. The same general opinion was shared by Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who crossed by the same route a generation later and who represented another covetous nation: "Take it generally, it is one of the richest, most prolific, and best watered countries in North America."  

Texas had both good and bad features, and few travelers saw it with objective eyes. One of the fairest evaluations is that given by James W. Parker:

When I say that there is not a country within my knowledge of the same extent of territory as that of Texas, that has as much rich soil—that has a more general healthy atmosphere—that is blessed with better water—that has more beautiful lakes or richer landscapes—that has a more extensive range for stock—or that surpasses her in commercial, agricultural, or manufacturing advantages, I speak truly. But I can, with equal truth, say that within my knowledge, there is not a country of the same extent that has more poor land; that has a greater number of local causes of disease—that has more unseemly and disagreeable swamps and ponds, or that has more snakes, mosquitoes, ticks and flies than Texas.

When Mary Austin Holley opened the great era of Texas travel literature with her Texas, Observations, Historical,
Geographical and Descriptive, she divided the country into three distinct geographical regions—"the level, the undulating, and the mountainous or hilly"—and thereafter writers of conventional accounts followed her lead. Along the coast, countless readers were informed, there was a flat, low, and almost treeless prairie; this gave way to undulating or rolling prairies dotted by clumps of bushes or trees as one proceeded inland; and these prairies in turn gave way to hills and then mountains. Although travelers usually had only a superficial knowledge of Texan geography, the mass of their accounts describe the most outstanding features of the land.18

Only a few travelers saw the mountainous regions, but almost all saw the prairies, and many described them at length as the most characteristic geographic feature of the land. Some writers were reminded of an English park when they looked at the Texas landscape, but far more were reminded of the sea. "My soul was filled with the immensity of the picture, as on the ocean," said Emmanuel Henry Dieudonné Domenech, while Zachariah Nehemiah Morrell's first sight of a vast prairie reminded him of his first visit to the beach.19 Another writer noted that along the coast where there was not "a single irregularity or obstacle" and where "scarcely a blade of grass seemed to rise above the ordinary height" the land seemed to melt into the Gulf of Mexico on
one side and into the horizon on the other. 20  Farther inland
the roll of the land reminded travelers of motionless waves.
"The groundswells were long and so equal in height and similar
in form as to bring to mind a tedious sea voyage, where you go
plodding on, slow hour after slow hour, without raising a
single object to attract the eyes," wrote Olmsted of the land-
scape between San Antonio and New Braunfels. 21  "But the sea
has at least the wind and waves to give it life and animation,"
commented another visitor who saw the same scene. 22  The ocean
metaphor was unconsciously adopted by Rutherford B. Hayes who
wrote in his journal, "Ride over a level, boundless prairie,
out of sight of land." 23

The prairies offered many advantages to settlers, travel-
ers pointed out. No clearing of trees was necessary before
planting crops, and native grasses provided ample pasturage
for livestock. But the prairies had disadvantages too. Many
visitors described the picturesque and frightening prairie
fires that swept over the country, driving animal life before
them; and others complained that when traveling on the prairie
the distances deceived them so that journeys seemed endless
and tiresome. The very sight of the prairies filled many of
them with a great loneliness. "A mere glance at a vast
Prairie, with the idea of living upon it alone, is enough to
impress a man with the importance of society to a social
being," said one. 24  Another wrote that he looked in vain for
beauty in the scenery. "Grand, it is true," he admitted, "but of the wild and melancholy grandeur of the desert . . . . In these endless solitudes there reigns a sullen silence, which fills the heart with a deep, distressing sense of loneliness. I felt quite uncomfortable in this void, which resembled chaos." 25

Common to all strangers was the dread of becoming lost on the prairie. An anonymous traveler of 1831 first printed the story of the horseman who, lost and riding in circles, followed his own tracks for several days, thinking they belonged to other travelers and would lead him to a habitation. 26 Several other writers reprinted this story—sometimes without giving proper credit—and still others described their own panic at being lost and alone. "Bewildered in the wild and trackless prairie, I was lost, lost, LOST!" wrote Daniel Baker. "After wandering about in every direction, myself and horse without water for some thirty hours, I began seriously to think that I should at last have to lie down and die in this untraveled wilderness, far away from my family and the habitation of man, without a friend to close my eyes, or dig my grave!" 27

Other natural features of the country attracted the travelers' attention. Many described at length the soil found in various areas—the rich, alluvial soil of the river bottoms, the sandy lands along the Old San Antonio Road between
the Trinity and the Brazos, or the mulatto soil, rich and easily worked, that was found in many areas. Of special interest was the brick-red soil of the San Augustine region, which travelers from 1761 to 1860 described in curiously similar terms. "The ground is red like vermillion or ochre, so that it makes the clothes of those who live on it red," said Fray Gaspar José de Solís in 1768, while nearly a hundred years later Olmsted wrote that it gave "an indelible stain to every article that touches it." 28

Because of their emphasis on rich soils, travelers usually commented on the piney woods of east Texas without enthusiasm. The pine barrens were only valuable for the timber, most of them agreed, and, because of inadequate transportation, they saw no prospects for immediate profit. A few visitors, however, looked to the future. "The pine of this part of the country is the long leaf yellow pine, and equal to any in the world ... ," wrote one, "and the lumber trade from this section of the country must, in a few years, be an object of considerable importance." 29

As the travelers moved westward, many of them commented on the springs and streams of what later became known as the Balcones Escarpment. Ferdinand Roemer thought he had seen nowhere in America or Europe "more beautiful water" than the rivers—most notably the San Antonio, San Marcos, and Comal—
that issued forth "as full-fledged streams from mighty springs."
"All begin at the foot of the mountain range which crosses Texas
in a northwesterly direction and which . . . is really only a
slope of a higher rocky northwestern tableland extending to the
lower undulating Texas," he wrote.30 Countless other trav-
elers commented on the beauty of the San Antonio River, noting
curiously that it maintained an even volume and temperature
throughout the year. Early travelers such as Solís, admired
the irrigation system made possible by the even flow of water,
while later ones were distracted from the beauty of the river
by the sight of Mexican women and girls, who, entirely naked,
bathed in the stream almost the year round.31

As the area between the Rio Grande and the Nueces rivers
did not assume its characteristic brushiness until late in the
nineteenth century,32 travelers did not see it as the brush
country. "I journeyed through many stretches of hills where
were many small rocks that they call chinitas and broad plains
in which here and there was a spot of oak undergrowth, mes-
quite and cacti," wrote Fray Solís of the scenery north of the
Rio Grande. Later travelers suggested what was happening to
the country. By the time of the Mexican War, Josiah Gregg
noted that huisache grew "frequently in such dense clumps that
nothing could venture to pass, especially as it is covered with
sharp thorns"; and as he traveled toward Mexico, he wrote in
his diary, "But little brush last portion (thickety in morning)
--small scattering of mesquite shrubbery."\(^{33}\)

Travelers who pushed to the northwest usually commented on the cross timbers, a strip of forest land running north and south for hundreds of miles and ranging in width from thirty to fifty miles. This wooded belt—"principally small, gnarled post oaks and black jacks"—reminded George W. Kendall of an "immense natural hedge dividing the woodlands of the settled portions of the United States from the open prairies" that belonged to the Indian. "To use another figure, it may be looked upon as the western side of the frame of an immense landscape painting, the United States forming the subject," he elaborated. "The Gulf of Mexico may be considered the frame on the southern side, the Atlantic on the east, while the great lakes which divide the picture from Canada must serve for the northern side."\(^{34}\)

Farther west travelers were most impressed by the geographical obstacles that blocked their way—mountains that looked "as if they had been thrown into the air and come down as it happened,"\(^{35}\) and the barren Llano Estacado, a vast mesa that rose sharply from the surrounding earth on a line reaching from the Canadian River to the vicinity of the Rio Grande. All travelers dreaded crossing the Llano Estacado. "It is very level, smooth, and firm, and spreads out in every direction as far as the eye can reach, without a tree, shrub, or any other herbage to intercept the vision,"
wrote Randolph Barnes Marcy:

The traveler, in passing over it, sees nothing but one vast, dreary, and monotonous waste of barren solitude. It is an ocean of desert prairie, where the voice of man is seldom heard, and where no living being permanently resides. The almost total absence of water causes all animals to shun it; even the Indians do not venture to cross it except at two or three points, where they find a few small ponds of water.\textsuperscript{36}

The climate of Texas offered the traveler as much variety as the geography. Zebulon M. Pike, who spent the month of June 1807 in Texas, thought it had "one of the most delightful temperatures in the world,"\textsuperscript{37} and this opinion was shared and often quoted by many other writers. Some anonymous promoter called Texas the Italy of America, a comparison that was repeated by many writers--most of whom had never been to Italy--meaning that the skies were usually sunny and blue, the winters mild, and the summers mitigated by cooling breezes. Still other visitors compared the climate favorably with that of Louisiana, a comparison more meaningful as most of them arrived in Texas by way of that state. The same degree of heat was felt less in Texas than in Louisiana, they usually pointed out, because Gulf winds that bypassed Louisiana swept over Texas.
The Gulf breeze was viewed by many as the redeeming feature of the Texas climate. "In this refreshing breeze lies the solution to the puzzle which remains incomprehensible to many Europeans, that Germans, or any white men, can work in Texas, which lies in a latitude so far south," explained Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels. The Prince, who found the heat at New Orleans "hardly bearable," was restored to vigor at Galveston by the "pleasant breeze" that made the atmosphere seem "purer and lighter." Moving inland, he found the breeze still a modifying influence: "The sun is hot but is cooled regularly by the Gulf breeze, which, in the upper part of the Medina Valley and even in the mountains [i.e. hills], is so strong that one cannot keep his hat on unless he fastens it with a string." There was a saying in Texas that "one man can saddle his horse in the States, but it takes two to do it in Texas" because of the wind, another traveler wrote.

But the weather in Texas was by no means uniform nor lacking in surprises. It varied greatly according to place and season, travelers discovered, and it was subject to sudden and extreme changes. The northerns that swept over the country in the winter never failed to amaze and sometimes to frighten visitors. From Fray Solís, on a tour of Franciscan missions in 1767, to Mrs. Albert Sidney Johnston, traveling with her husband's army unit in 1855, travelers caught en
route by sudden blasts looked desperately for shelter and wondered if they would survive to tell of their experience. 41

"These northerns upon the open prairies are exceedingly trying," said Olmsted. "The fierce wind that accompanies such a sudden change gives them triple effect, especially as they often interrupt warm, relaxing weather. Teamsters, herdsmen, and travelers, caught out far from habitations, not unfrequently perish, and a very great suffering is caused to animals." 42

Even travelers who had been forewarned by earlier accounts were amazed that the northerns dropped the temperature so quickly. Olmsted, riding along on a sultry, calm day in January, felt a sudden puff of wind, "and in less than thirty seconds, another puff, chill as if the door of a vault had been opened at our side." Within five minutes he had put on his overcoat, and within twelve minutes the temperature had dropped twelve degrees, changing the day from "rather uncomfortably warm to rather uncomfortably cool." 43 By the next morning his thermometer read 25° Fahrenheit. The weather could change just as quickly from extremely cold to warm; other visitors observed. Roemer noted that on January 9, 1847, at 8:30 in the morning his thermometer read 22°. By the next afternoon at 2:00 it read 82° in the shade. 44 Travelers were of the opinion that the cold, although not more extreme than in the northern United States or Europe, hurt worse because
the changes were so sudden and unexpected.

Visitors noted that even the residents suspended their normal activities in deference to northerners. "When a norther is blowing, the American cannot be moved," said Prince Solms-Braunfels.\textsuperscript{45} Sometimes this was of necessity, for the winds lowered the waters of the coastal inlets. Thus, when Josiah Gregg arrived in Galveston in late 1841, he found he could not proceed to Houston because a heavy norther had lowered the waters of Trinity Bay.\textsuperscript{46} In other instances, the residents felt that the very fact of a norther was excuse enough for not working. "As soon as the norther came all hands struck work and could not be induced to do anything," said Lydia Spencer Lane.\textsuperscript{47} Olmsted could not get his horse shod at Caldwell during a norther—"It was too d___d cold to work," the blacksmith explained; and at Bastrop, he reported, the publisher of the weekly newspaper, the Bastrop Advertiser, suspended operations during a norther, explaining as if it were sufficient reason that his printing office was on the north side of his house.\textsuperscript{48}

Another hazard of Texas weather was the periodic hurricanes accompanied by tidal waves that devastated the coastal regions. At least twice during the century Galveston Island was inundated and all habitation there virtually destroyed. One storm in 1818 gave the final blow to the Champ d'Asile colony attempted by Napoleonic exiles on the Trinity River and probably did more than United States threats to dislodge
Jean Laffite from Galveston Island. "The sea burst its confines and inundated the island, rushing into camp and dwellings, submerging everything," wrote one of the exiles who survived the ordeal. "Before long we found ourselves surrounded by water four feet deep. Consternation reigned; the cries of distress and pain could be heard amid this frightful chaos, soon to be drowned in the roaring of the waves and the screaming of the wind."^{49}

Nineteen years later Racer's Storm swept over the island, destroying all but two buildings of a small settlement. A traveler who rode out the storm on a ship saw vessels of "considerable tonnage" floating over the foundations of the town and compared the fury of the storm to the struggle between the spirits of light and darkness in Milton. Although such storms occurred rarely, the writer found the desolation so complete that he questioned the wisdom of building a town on the island.^{50}

The stranger's opinion of the healthfulness of the Texas climate depended largely on when and where he visited. The climate of western Texas was generally conceded to be one of the most salubrious in the world. "If a man wants to die there he must go somewhere else," said George W. Kendall, quoting an old saying of the country.^{51} But even friendly visitors admitted that as one approached the coast the climate became progressively less healthful. The coastal
regions were subject to various fevers during the summer months and held special terrors for new arrivals from Europe and the North. Yellow fever occasionally became epidemic in Galveston and Houston, and other fevers—intermittent, bilious, and malarial—were common. Travelers usually pointed out, however, that these fevers were no more prevalent than in other coastal areas of the South, more especially in Louisiana and South Carolina, and most visitors were pleased with the Texas climate. Its greatest evil, said one partial Englishman, was "the inclination for luxurious indolence to which it predisposes, and to which the ease wherewith the first necessaries of life are procured further inclines. The settler will have much greater reason to be on his guard against this agreeable poison, than against that of the anguis in herba." 52

From 1761 to 1860 Texas offered special attractions to the sportsman and hunter. When Fray Solís crossed the country from San Antonio to Nacogdoches, he commented on the number of deer, turkey, quail, and bear along the way. In the vicinity of the Colorado and Brazos rivers he found many buffalo, wild Spanish cattle, and horses. An early Spanish explorer, he explained, had left "a bull and a cow, a horse and a mare" on the banks of those rivers, and these animals had multiplied and run wild. 53 With the beginning of Anglo-American settlement in the 1820's, travelers' accounts record the gradual disappearance and recession westward of the
larger game animals, but visitors continued to find the wildlife of Texas interesting and abundant.

The most common game animal of the hundred years before 1860 was the deer. "The great abundance of this kind of game has been a subject of wonder to all those who have traveled through Texas," wrote a visitor of 1837, who saw them in droves of as many as fifty or a hundred. Although deer, like other wild animals, tended to disappear in settled areas, travelers of the late 1840's were still amazed at the number they saw. Roemer wrote of seeing a herd of "at least one hundred and fifty grazing like cattle," while Hayes counted two hundred and seventy-six on a trip of thirty-five miles.54

The mustang was generally considered the most interesting and useful of the wild animals. When Ellis Peter Bean accompanied Philip Nolan into Texas in late 1799--ostensibly, on an expedition to gather mustangs--he found "wild horses by the thousands" in the vicinity of the Brazos.55 Seven years later Zebulon M. Pike found the mustangs so numerous that they were something of a nuisance:

They go in such large gangs that it is requisite to keep an advanced guard of horsemen in order to frighten them away; for should they be suffered to come near the horses and mules which you drive with you, by their snorting, neighing, etc., they would
alarm them, and frequently the domestic animals would join them and go off, notwithstanding all the exertions of the dragoons to prevent them. A gentleman told me he saw 700 beasts carried off at one time, not one of which was ever recovered. They also in the night frequently carry off the droves of travelers' horses and even come within a few miles of San Antonio, and take off the horses in that vicinity.\(^5^6\)

Texans caught the mustang, rode him, sold him, and—on occasion—ate him. Like other wild life, he was wastefully used. Yet even by the time of the Mexican War, enormous herds could be found on the southwestern plains. A young soldier on his way to the Mexican War saw numbers that staggered his imagination. "As far as the eye could reach to our right, the herd extended. To the left, it extended equally. There is no estimating the number of animals in it," wrote Ulysses Simpson Grant. "I have no idea that they could all have been corralled in the State of Rhode Island, or Delaware, at one time. If they had been, they would have been so thick that the pasturage would have given out the first day."\(^5^7\)

Like the mustang, the buffalo retreated in advance of civilization. The meat of the buffalo was regarded as a delicacy, and buffalo robes were highly prized, but the
settlers usually did not welcome the animal in their immediate vicinity as it attracted Indians. For this reason, a visitor of 1840 found that Edward Burleson had driven the buffalo away from Austin as part of an Indian campaign. By that time other travelers were already speaking sorrowfully of the eventual extinction of the animal. 58 Kendall was told in 1842 that the buffalo decreased in number annually as advancing settlements narrowed the range. At that time, however, he found buffalo "numerous as the sands of the seashore" on the northwestern plains of Texas. "I have stood upon a high roll of the prairies, with neither tree nor bush to obstruct the vision in any direction, and seen these animals grazing upon the plain and darkening it at every point," he wrote. 59

Travelers often commented on other unfamiliar forms of wildlife. Pages, who had never before encountered a skunk, wrote of a creature "nearly of the same size with a rabbit" that when hard pressed "and finding himself in jeopardy of being taken, emits a most intolerable stench, which threatens suffocation to his pursuers." 60 Numerous travelers of the northwest were fascinated by the curious habits of the prairie dog that lived in colonies or republics; and almost all travelers were intrigued by the horned frog. One visitor, who thought this lizard the most curious he had ever seen, described it as having four legs "and a long tail which curls," while on the top of its square, flat head were "6 or
8 horns" that gave it "the appearance of having a crown."
"The thing looks very fierce, and at first sight reminded
me, very forcibly, of the representation [in miniature] of
the Dragon in the Bible, only that it was deficient in
wings."61

Travelers considered some animal life detrimental to
the country. The panther, javelina, wolf, and especially
the rattlesnake were dreaded, but, oddly enough, writers
knew of few tragic encounters with these forms of life.
Indeed, Arthur Ein expressed doubt that the rattler was
as dangerous as popularly believed and said he knew of
instances when both men and animals had recovered from
bites. Kendall agreed with Ein, writing that members of
the Santa Fe expedition had encountered many rattlesnakes
but no one had been bitten. On the western prairies,
Kendall reported, a man often awoke in the morning to find
that he had a rattler for a bedfellow, but the snake never
bit unless disturbed. Even so, Kendall entertained no liking
for the rattler. He recalled a miserable night when he and
several companions shared their tent with a rattlesnake, the
snake making his presence known by crawling over one of the
men. "A more disagreeable companionship cannot well be
imagined . . . ," said Kendall. "Fearing to move lest I
should molest the reptile, I rolled myself, head and all,
der under my blanket, and lay perfectly quiet until daylight."63
The writers encountered many varieties of dangerous or annoying arachnids and insects. Solís complained of tarantulas, mites, mosquitoes, gnats, flies, "and all kinds of ticks," and later travelers added chiggers, horseflies, asps, fleas, centipedes, scorpions, and bedbugs to the list. Although the travelers feared the tarantula more than any of these, they reported no bites from one. They found more actual harm done by the horsefly that tormented their animals. "I have seen a horse bathed in its own blood," wrote William B. Parker in telling of a visitation of the horsefly in the 1850's. Most travelers agreed that the mosquito was the peskiest insect. Many, like Roemer, told of nights "made memorable by mosquitoes," and one wrote: "Give me a general assortment of alligators, snakes and lizards, rather than subject me to the eternal buzz, and the stinging bite of the ever busy moscheto." There was no way to combat them, he continued, except "to hang yourself or run away."  

San Antonio was by far the most interesting town to travelers between 1761 and 1860. Indeed, in 1761 it was the only town in Texas, and, if the Rio Grande settlements that did not officially become a part of the state until after the Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850 are excluded, it is the only town that persisted without interruption throughout the century. In 1761 it formed the hub of the routes that linked the country. The Camino Real passed through town going from
the Rio Grande to Los Adaes, while another route led north-westward to San Sabá and still another southeasterly to La Bahía. As a result of the recommendations by Rubí and Lafora after their expedition of 1767, San Antonio became the capital of Spanish Texas, a position it held until the end of the Spanish period. With the advance of Anglo-Americans into eastern Texas, the town became the point where their culture met and mingled with that of the Spanish and where traders from the two groups brought their goods for exchange. In the 1850's Olmsted thought that no United States city, with the possible exception of New Orleans, could compare with San Antonio in "picturesque interest" and "antiquated foreignness":

Its jumble of races, costumes, languages and buildings; its religious ruins, holding to an antiquity, for us, indistinct enough to breed an unaccustomed solemnity; its remote isolated, outposted situation and the vague conviction that it is the first of a new class of conquered cities into whose decaying streets our rattling life is to be infused, combine with the heroic touches in its history to enliven and satisfy your traveler's curiosity. 66

The first glimpse of the city was a memorable experience for many travelers. When, after a long journey, they came to
the top of a hill and saw the "domes and white clustered dwellings of San Antonio" below them, many, like Olmsted, stopped to gaze at the scene. One traveler thought it looked "like a city of white marble," while another thought it had "an air quite Oriental." But upon approaching closer, they were disappointed in what they saw. Visitors from Pagès to Olmsted commented on the number of *jacales* in the city, and most of them characterized it as a city of ruins. "Many of the houses are in ruins," said Pagès, while two generations later Joseph Chambers Clopper commented on the "massy pile of ruins" that had once been the mission San Antonio de Valero, and still later Hayes spoke of the city as "an old ruined Spanish town." To American and European visitors alike, San Antonio seemed a foreign city. Upon entering it Clopper for the first time in his life felt himself a stranger in a foreign land: "The traveller hears around him a confusion of unknown tongues, the red natives of the forests in their different gutteral dialects, the swarthy Spaniard of scarce brighter hue, the voluble Frenchman, a small number of the sons of Green Erin, & a goodly few of Uncle Sam's Nephews or half expatriated sons." A quarter of a century later, Olmsted found the "contrast of nationalities" still the most interesting feature of the town, though the nationalities had changed somewhat by the addition of a large element of Germans.
In spite of changing population, shifts in sovereignty, battle scars, and a pervading air of decay, San Antonio maintained a peculiar, indestructible character of its own. Even by the time of Zebulon M. Pike's visit, it had acquired the reputation of a good-time town where the governor danced in the public square with the people. The character of the people is care-free, they are enthusiastic dancers, very fond of luxury," said a disapproving Mexican official of the next generation. Later visitors knew the town as a place where tempers sometimes flared and knives flashed, where monte games and fandangos took place by night, and where naked women bathed publicly by day.

By far the greatest curiosities in the neighborhood of San Antonio were the missions. Just across the river from the original city was the mission San Antonio de Valero, while downstream at roughly three-mile intervals were La Purísima Concepción, San José de Águaço, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada. At the time of Solís' visit, these, together with the two missions eighty-five miles down the San Antonio River at La Bahía, represented bright spots of civilization in a savage land and encompassed within their sturdy walls what culture, education, and manufacturing existed in Texas. Some of the missions fell short of their founders' dreams, but San José, the most exemplary, filled Solís with admiration. "It is so pretty," he wrote, "and
well arranged both in a material and in a spiritual way that I have no voice, words, or figures with which to describe its beauty." The only thing missing in a material way, in his opinion, was a permanent church building, and while he was there he blessed the foundation and cornerstone for that.

But the expedition of Rubí and Lafora only a few months earlier than Solís' visit spelled the doom of the missions as far as their original purpose was concerned. The military men, both decided ant clerical, considered the missions an unnecessary drain on the treasury and recommended the secularization of those on the San Antonio River and the abandonment of all others in Texas. These recommendations were eventually put into effect, and, by the time of Pike's visit, the mission era was a thing of the past. Only at San José was there a priest, and he had only enough Indians to perform his household labor.

Later visitors recorded the further deterioration of the missions. At the time of Gregg's visit in 1846, the church whose cornerstone Solís had blessed and which Gregg considered the "best piece of ancient architecture in the country" was used as a granary. The other missions had fared even less well: Concepción was inhabited only by "myriads" of bats; and San Juan and Espada, both almost complete ruins, were inhabited by a few indigent Mexicans. A few years later Olmsted found them in different stages of decay, "but all
are real ruins, beyond any connection with the present—
weird remains out of the silent past."76

Mission San Antonio de Valero, Glopper's "massy pile of
ruins," took on a new role after March 1836, when it was
enshrined in history as the Alamo. Until then it had re-
cived less attention from visitors than most of the other
other missions and considerably less attention than San José.
Solís mentioned only that he crossed the river from the villa
in 1767 and "went to the Mission of San Antonio."77 Some-
thing more than a decade later, another religious visitor,
Juan Agustín Morfi, described it in more detail. Since 1761,
he reported, it had declined, and at the time of his visit it
had only enough neophytes to cultivate the fields. Already
it gave the impression of decay, for the church had been
ruined by the ignorance of the builder.

It consists of a small convent fifty varas square
with an arched gallery around the court on the first
and second floors, around which are built the neces-
sary rooms for the missionaries with the corresponding
porter's lodge, refectory, offices, and kitchen. On
the second patio there is a large room with four looms
and the necessary spinning wheels to weave cotton
cloth for shawls, and ordinary coarse cotton and woolen
cloth for the Indians. Two other rooms, in which the
raw materials and the tools are kept, adjoin the work-
shop . . . . The Indian quarters form a square about
the mission with attractive porticoes, the whole being watered by a beautiful irrigation ditch bordered by various kinds of trees. Besides this, a well was dug to forestall the lack of water in case of being besieged by the enemy. To safeguard it the door [leading to it] is fortified. At the entrance to the convent a small watchtower was built, with loopholes for three swivel guns which, with other firearms and the corresponding ammunition, are carefully guarded.78

By the time of Pike's visit, San Antonio de Valero had lost its religious character and assumed the military one that it retained until after 1860. It appears in Pike's account as "the station of the troops" on the east side of the river and in Clopper's account as a "garrison" that had been battered by cannon during the Mexican revolution of 1810-1811.79

After the famous siege of the Alamo, the old mission became a regular feature on the visitors' agenda, and most of them felt compelled to write a brief account of the battle. One who saw it about a year afterward "could ascertain but little of the siege from the inhabitants who were present at the time" or of the "individual fate of the fallen."80 But within only a few years Kendall was shown "the exact spot where the eccentric but brave Crockett fell" as well as "the
quarter where the heroic Bowie breathed his last, 81 and other travelers were shown the peach orchard where the heroes' ashes were interred. San Antonians took pride in showing their monument, but by 1860 the Alamo had not yet become the embalmed tourist attraction that it was a century later. A few Mexican families still lived in the cottages on the ground in 1841; fever-stricken immigrants to Henry Castro's colony found shelter there in the mid-1840's; Hayes found "a party of California emigrants cooking in the room where Crockett fell" in 1849; and by the time of Bartlett's and Olmsted's visits, the old building was a United States arsenal.

Only Nacogdoches and Goliad of the other towns in Texas compared with San Antonio in age or endurance. All others were characterized by newness, rapid growth, a certain impermanence—and sometimes even non-existence. The travel accounts of the hundred years before 1860 record the rise, the brief existence, and the lapse into obscurity of many settlements. After Lafora and Rubí recommended the abandonment of east Texas in 1767, the old capital of Los Adaes became a ghost town bypassed by the main route; Bucareli on the Trinity River was born and lived out its short life in the 1770's, while San Felipe, founded by Stephen F. Austin in 1823, never regained its early prominence after its destruction during the Texan Revolution.
From the beginning of Anglo-American immigration the facility with which the inhabitants laid out cities indicated a visionary optimism. Most strangers thought the penchant for founding towns nothing less than amazing. The process required nothing more, one critical Englishman observed, than that a "man, woman, or child" possess a piece of land and sectionize a portion of it with a few pegs. Then by tacking "ville" or "burgh" to the end of his name, the "city, town, or hamlet" was complete, "and forthwith placed on the list of flourishing and populous localities." There were a number of towns that consisted of a single house, he continued, and still others, mapped and laid out, that remained completely uninhabited. Moreover, the inhabitants insisted on calling these fanciful creations cities.

By far the majority of the hopeful cities were still-born, suffering the fate of the paper city of Athens that Kendall found laid out north of Austin in 1841—in a location that as late as 1855 was still subject to Indian raids. "On paper, at least, a more flourishing place never existed," wrote Kendall. "There were colleges and squares, city halls and penitentiaries, public walks and public houses—and looking at the engravings, so well were they executed, a man could almost imagine he heard the carriages rattling over the pavements, and the busy hum which denoted the large and thriving city." But this Athens came to an abrupt end when
the promoter, while improving his property, was attacked by a party of Comanches and narrowly escaped with his life. 84

Some of the cities not only survived but flourished, growing so rapidly that writers sometimes explained before describing them that any description was likely to become obsolete within a few months. Houston, described by one writer as "a city of tents" in 1837, was described by another in a work published in 1841 as a town of "5,000 inhabitants" where there were "several religious congregations; shops of every kind; daily and weekly newspapers; numerous professional men; a theatre, race-course, hotels, cafes, &c. &c." The same writer was amazed at the quick growth of Galveston: "Four years ago the city did not exist; at present it numbers between 4,000 and 5,000 inhabitants." 85

For most travelers the city, so-called, that most typified the incurable optimism of Texans was Austin. Established on the very edge of civilization as the capital of the Republic of Texas in 1839, visitors until after annexation were appalled at the sight of it. The location was beautiful and healthful, they agreed, but this was all even extremely partial visitors could say for it. Located considerably above the head of navigation on the Colorado River, it was exposed to Indian depredations, vulnerable to Mexican attacks, and far removed from the center of population. "Between it and the populated part of the country
there is no connecting ligament but a narrow string of settlements along the Colorado," wrote one visitor. "It may be geographically central, but it certainly is not so to the inhabited parts of the Republic." Josiah Gregg expressed the general opinion when he wrote, "Certainly nothing could have been more ridiculous and absurd than fixing the seat of government here." Although a few travelers, such as Nicholas Doran F. Maillard and Charles Hooton, thoroughly disliked the country, they were in the minority. By far the majority liked what they saw. "I came to the country prepared [sic] to be dissatisfied with it, but candour compels [sic] me to say that I am much better pleased with the country and the people than I had anticipated before my arrival here," one wrote. Some visitors even caught visions of the future that rivaled those of the inhabitants. Baptist preacher Zachariah N. Morrell, for example, arrived in late 1835 and almost immediately felt himself in his natural home. After traveling through the uninhabited wilderness, he chose Isaiah 35:1 as the text for one of his first sermons in Texas: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."

A year later, after he had brought his family to Texas, his settlement was threatened with Indians, and, finding that there was insufficient ammunition, he set off on a long,
dangerous journey to obtain more. As he tells the story, the devil sorely tried him then, asking, "Now, sir, do you believe the Bible, from which you preached so earnestly to the people in the old town of Nacogdoches just one year ago?" And after meditation and prayer, he replied, "Yes, I believe, yet, that the wilderness of Texas will blossom as the rose, and the solitary places be made glad by the presence of the Lord." 89

Many of those inspired by the vision did not see its fulfillment. But Morrell, who had arrived in Texas lame and with bleeding lungs, survived Indian raids and Mexican battles and lived to lay the foundation of his church in Texas. When he wrote his memoirs as an old man, he felt that he had in large measure seen the fulfillment of his dream.
CHAPTER IV

POOR LO, THE INDIAN

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind.

"An Essay on Man"
Alexander Pope

Three men who crossed Texas in the months between July 1767 and August 1768 represented the major attitudes of travelers toward the aborigines from 1761 to 1860. To Gaspar José de Solís, a Spanish Franciscan, the Indians were souls in need of salvation; to Pierre-François-Marie de Pagès, an enlightened Frenchman, they were Noble Savages; and to Nicolás Lafora, a Spanish soldier, they were vermin to be exterminated.

Solís and Pagès represented minority viewpoints, and they and later travelers of like mind found little in Texas to substantiate their preconceived ideas. Solís saw the realization of a missionary's dream in the few Indians, the remnants of Coahuiltecan tribes, who lived in the five missions near San Antonio and who were "so polite, so well-mannered and so refined that one might imagine that they had been civilized and living in the mission for a long time." The friars had instructed these Indians in the Christian
religion and taught them to cultivate irrigated fields, weave cloth, and operate blacksmith and carpenter shops. But outside of San Antonio, Solís found that the friars had made little progress. The primitive coastal tribes at the two missions eighty-five miles downstream from San Antonio resisted all efforts to civilize them, he reported, while the Ais, a tribe of Hasinai-Caddoan stock in east Texas, were clearly beyond redemption. "There is no hope, not even a remote one, of their reduction," he wrote. These depraved people poked fun at the friars, he continued, and one of them had even said sacrilegiously "that he loved and appreciated Misuri (who is the Devil), more than he did the Most Blessed among all those created, the Holy Mother Mary, Our Lady."¹

Lafora's visit a few months earlier than Solís' spelled the end of any major effort before 1860 to convert the aborigines to Christianity. As a result of the recommendations made by Lafora and other members of his party, all Texas missions except the ones on the San Antonio River were abandoned, and those were marked for secularization.

After the opening of the great travel era in Texas, a few writers commented on the neglect of the Indians' souls. "Is it not rather peculiar," asked Ferdinand Roemer, "that . . . the people of North America . . . who have numerous mission societies and in their pious zeal maintain Christian missionaries in many parts of Asia and Africa at an enormous cost,
neglect the Indians of Texas who are so much closer to them? Randolph Barnes Marcy noted the same irony. "We find dwelling almost at our doors as barbarous and heathenish a race as exists on the face of the earth," he wrote after visiting the Comanches in 1852, "and while our benevolent and philanthropic citizens are making such efforts to ameliorate the condition of savages in other countries, should we not do something for the benefit of these wild men of the prairies?" The Spanish missionary efforts at San Sabá were dim history by the time of Marcy's visit. He found no evidence that any effort had ever been made to improve the moral or physical condition of the Comanches or that missionaries had ever visited them. "They have no more idea of Christianity than they have of the religion of Mahomet," he said.

A few other writers made similar observations, but, paradoxically, ecclesiastical visitors after the close of the mission era expressed little concern for the Indians. This was due to no lack of Christian ardor but to the simple fact that missionaries found so abundant a harvest of sinners in the settled portions of the country that they rarely ventured as far as the Indian frontier. When Melinda Rankin, for example, sent out an appeal for New England ministers to come to Texas to "sow the good seed" in 1850, she had in mind the population as a whole. "Who ever comes to Texas to do good might consider himself upon missionary ground at his
entrance," she wrote, thus summarizing the opinion of all other religious travelers. "Until the savage has ceased to be a mere stroller over the face of the desert, the labor of the missionary is likely to be of little avail," wrote a Presbyterian minister in 1840. "Charity begins at home," said a Roman Catholic missionary of the 1850's in explaining that he had been so busy with the white inhabitants that he had done nothing whatever for the aborigines.

If few travelers were concerned for the Indian's salvation, even fewer saw him as a Noble Savage. Pagès never relinquished the concept, but shortly after his arrival in the country he noted regretfully that civilization had already contaminated the inhabitants of the forest. As he progressed southwesterly along the Camino Real he commented on the Indians' penchant for stealing, and before reaching San Antonio he was forced to take up arms to protect himself from them.

Half a century after Pagès' visit another Frenchman, one of the Napoleonic exiles who attempted the colony of Champ d'Asile, pursued the Noble Savage idea. The Indians he met on the Trinity "smacked not at all of Europe with its falsehood and clap-trap," he wrote. When some of the colonists ate a poisonous herb, an Indian, "a good angel sent by Providence," appeared to supply an antidote. "What an example this Indian is for civilized peoples," wrote the Frenchman.
"It is rather the instinct of nature which leads us to virtue, to kindheartedness than all the highly wrought precepts of conscious eloquence. . . . Good savage!"

Later Nicholas Doran F. Maillard saw the Indian as "a perfect model of human symmetry" and waxed eloquent about the "primitive freedom and simplicity of the Indian character." As a rule, however, any idea the traveler entertained about the Noble Savage vanished after his contact with the Texas Indians. "The Indians are very dirty, foul-smelling and pestiferous, and they throw out such a bad odor from their body that it makes one sick," said one visitor of the Karankawas. Another thought that except for the Indians' greater capacity for mischief, there was no difference between them and the wolves," while Robert Edward Lee wrote of the redmen he saw in Texas, "These people give a world of trouble to man and horse, and, poor creatures! They are not worth it."

All who came in close contact with the Indians complained of their continual thievery. "Every one of us missed some article upon our departure," said Roemer after visiting an Indian camp. "Although I had kept a watchful eye upon my property not less than four articles were missing from my saddle, bridle and clothing." Other visitors deplored the redmen's taste for alcohol and its effect on them. "Many of them love brandy, and these then sink below the dignity of
beings; they are noisy, they rave, laugh and yell, and they very frequently weep," was a typical remark.  

Even humanitarian Frederick Law Olmsted found nothing to admire in the Indian character. After visiting a camp on the Leonis River, he advised his readers that the plains Indians were as degenerate as the tame ones of the east. "Here . . . was nothing but the most miserable squalor, foul obscenity, and disgusting brutality, if there be excepted the occasional evidence of a sly and impish keenness," he said. "We could not find even one man of dignity; the universal expression towards us was either a silly leer or a stupid indifference." He quoted another writer who, he said, expressed his feelings precisely: "I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance and an enormous superstition. His calling rum fire-water and me a pale-face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilized off the face of the earth." 

Lafore's attitude toward the Indian was far more representative than that of either Solis or Page. After touring the Spanish frontier from California to Louisiana, Lafore coolly recommended a "continuous offensive war" into the territory of the hostile Indians. "By this means they would be exterminated in a short time," he said, thus using the word that would be the key to the white man's relations
with the Indian until after 1860. The word exterminate resounds through the writings of subsequent travelers. When Stephen F. Austin saw the Karankawas on his first visit to Texas, he observed that "an American population will be the signal of their extermination for there will be no way of subduing them but extermination." Nor could Olmsted find a better solution a generation later. "The borderers' idea, which looks upon them as blood-thirsty vermin, to be exterminated without choice of means, was imperatively uppermost in our minds while in their presence," he wrote after visiting the frontier. "If my wife were in a frontier settlement, I can conceive how I should hunt an Indian and shoot him down with all the eagerness and ten times the malice with which I should follow the panther." A few travelers sighed for the fate of the Indian, especially the semicivilized Cherokee and related tribes who had migrated from the United States in the early nineteenth century only to be ejected by the Texans in 1839. But the Indians found few spokesmen among the writers. Co-chee-ah, one of the few literate Indians who traveled in Texas, did not philosophize, but his account of his journey with the aged Sequoyah to visit remnants of the Cherokee tribe in Mexico tells by implication the fate that was overtaking his race. A Norwegian immigrant who visited among the north Texas Indians found them conscious of their position in the white man's scheme. "They were greatly distressed on account
of the miserable treatment received and because of having to
be driven hither and thither," he wrote, "and they believed
that by and by they would have to die from sheer starvation." 20
The dilemma of the Indian was best set forth by Noah Smithwick,
an old Indian fighter who lived on friendly terms among the
Comanches for a few months. "We have set up our lodges in
these groves and swung our children from these boughs from
time immemorial," the chief told him.

When game beats away from us we pull down our
lodges and move away, leaving no trace to frighten
it, and in a little while it comes back. But the
white man comes and cuts down the trees, building
houses and fences, and the buffalos get frightened
and leave and never come back, and the Indians are
left to starve, or, if we follow the game, we
trespass on the hunting ground of other tribes and
war ensues. 21

Travelers found the settlers' attitude toward the
aborigines complicated by few humanitarian notions. "The
Texians appear to have long forgotten they [the Indians] were
human beings . . .," observed a Briton. "As to the idea of
ever civilizing them, it never enters the brain of the
settler." 22 Having only a passing acquaintance with Chris-

anity himself, the average frontiersman felt no compulsion
to convert the Indians. As for the idea of the Noble Savage,
those settlers familiar with it dismissed it contemptuously by referring to the redman as Poor Lo or Mr. Lo in allusion to Alexander Pope's phrase, "Lo, the poor Indian."\textsuperscript{23}

Noah Smithwick represented as compassionate an attitude as could be found among the settlers. "I really felt mean and almost ashamed of belonging to the superior race when listening to the recital of the wrongs the redmen had suffered at the hands of my people," he wrote. "Nevertheless, when they made hostile incursions into the settlements I joined in the pursuit and hunted them as mercilessly as any one." Smithwick discussed the Indian problem with Sam Houston, who had spent some years with the Cherokees. Houston was sympathetic, Smithwick reported, but he conceded that "the conflict must go on till the Indian was exterminated or forced into exile" and that he was powerless to prevent it.\textsuperscript{24}

Both Smithwick and Houston were roundly criticized by their fellow Texans, for, as Olmsted suggested, the typical borderer looked upon the Indian as a panther or some other dangerous animal to be killed if possible. Around camp fires and in taverns, travelers heard settlers boast of their exploits against the Indians. Indeed, Mary Austin Holley observed, such exploits were regarded as "a sort of title to nobility."\textsuperscript{25} Texans in general considered killing Indians an exciting if dangerous sport. "How I would shoot an Indian if he should jump out of the bushes yonder!" one settler
occasionally remarked to a traveler as they rode together along a wilderness trail. Another writer summed up the prevailing attitude: "It required but little penetration to discover that our hosts were accustomed to the vicissitudes attendant upon settlers on the borders of the haunts of savages, and that to them, sporting and the killing of Indians were merely synonymous terms." That the terms were indeed synonymous is illustrated by one of Smithwick's stories. When Smithwick brought down an Indian and another man dealt the death blow, there was some discussion among their comrades as to which should have the scalp. The Texans finally decided that, "according to all rules of the chase, the man who brought down the game was entitled to the pelt." 

As the frontier receded, a few inoffensive and semi-civilized Indians were left in the settled areas. These usually did "nothing worse than stealing a hog or so, in a neighborly way; so that they may not be entirely forgotten," said Amos Andrew Parker, but to the average Texan the life of a tame Indian was of as little value as that of a wild one. "When a drunken American mistreats or kills an Indian, not even a rooster would bother to crow," said Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels, while Noah Smithwick admitted knowing a man who "was several times apprehended for killing friendly Indians," but who was never convicted.
The travelers were scarcely more charitable to the friendly Indians than the settlers. Prince Solms-Braunfels criticized the Texans in one sentence and in the next expressed his own distrust of the redmen. "Their friendliness is only a disguise under which they are able to steal, murder, and plunder travelers, especially when nobody witnesses it and they can blame the deed upon a hostile tribe." Even the most charitable visitors felt that the Indians could never be trusted. "They may have done some generous acts of disinterested friendship," admitted Amos A. Parker, "but they possess and practice the art of deception so well, that no one can know with any degree of certainty, when these acts may occur. When I see Indians approaching, I hardly know whether it is for good or for evil; and therefore never feel entirely at ease in their society."

The mass of travel literature records the gradual extinction of the aborigines. Lafora, Solís, Pagès, and other eighteenth-century travelers described in some detail the tribes they found in Texas. To the west and southwest were the terrible Apaches, for whom not even Pagès had a kind word. After visiting the Spanish frontier as far west as California, Lafora reported that the Apaches were called by different names at various points but that all belonged to the same nation, spoke variations of the same language, and fought with bows and arrows. They were lazy, planting little or nothing,
and stealing what food they could. "A piece of mule, horse, or deer is all the same to them," he wrote, "but they prefer to steal mules and horses from the Spaniards, thereby assuring themselves of abundant food and less work than hunting." He heard terrifying stories of their cruelty to their victims. "They tear off their living flesh and eat it. They shoot arrows into them [their victims], in short, inflict every imaginable cruelty upon them. Often in Nueva Vizcaya they have cut open living pregnant women and after taking out the infants beat them together until both were dead." 35

To the west and north of the Apaches were their bitter enemies, the Comanches, who had begun pressing down on the Apaches and Spanish frontier in the mid-eighteenth century. Dependent on the buffalo for food, clothing, and shelter, the Comanches had no fixed habitations but followed the herds from the Missouri River into Texas. They were reputedly numerous, but, because of their mode of living, they could not unite into large bands without starving. Athanase de Mézières, who traveled extensively among the Texan Indians between 1768 and 1778, ranked the Comanches above all others in "breeding, strength, valor and gallantry." In his opinion, they had no equals as horsemen. 36

Far more primitive were the Karankawan tribes who occupied the coastal areas from the San Antonio River to Galveston Island. They were said to be anthropophagous, and
travelers from Fray Solís to Stephen F. Austin heard horrible tales of their misdeeds. Solís was told that they tied their captives to stakes and danced around them. "As they jump around they approach the victim and cut a piece of flesh off of his body, going to the fire and half roasting it in sight of the victim they eat it with great relish, and so they go on cutting off pieces and quartering him until they take off all of the flesh and he dies." 37

The few agricultural Indians in Texas lived in eastern Texas. The tribes of the Hasinai, or Tejas, Confederation lived in scattered villages on the Angelina and upper Neches rivers, while the Caddos, belonging to the same linguistic stock, lived along the Red River. Pages found the two groups distinguished from one another principally by their means of transportation, the Caddos traveling by water, and the Hasinais by horse. According to Solís, their chief crop was maize, but they supplemented their diet with fish, small game, and wild fruits. They lived in grass houses roofed from the ground up and were armed with guns obtained from Louisiana traders. By 1768 these Indians had already been set on their way to extinction by epidemics of smallpox, measles, and typhoid. Pages noted with concern that "the French had communicated the impurities of their immoral lives to several families among this simple race of men," while Solís, speaking with less delicacy, commented on the
prevalence of venereal diseases among them. They were further debilitated by whiskey and sugar cane wine. 38

In the area enclosed on three sides by the agricultural tribes on the east, the Comanches and Apaches on the west, and the Karankawas along the Gulf coast were a number of other tribes. Inland and north of the Karankawas were the Karanames and kindred bands for whom the mission Espíritu Santo was established. Along the lower Trinity were the Orcoquisac and further up that river were the related Hidias and Deadoses. The area above the Camino Real between the Colorado and Trinity rivers was occupied by the roving Tonkawas, while the Wichitas held the region of the upper Brazos, Red, and Wichita rivers.

By the early nineteenth century, travelers were recording the demise of the Indians. Dr. John Sibley noted in 1805 that the Ais, Solís' irreducible tribe, were "almost extinct as a nation." Some four years earlier smallpox had destroyed most of them, and at the time of his visit there were not more than "twenty-five souls of them remaining." 39 Two years later, Pike wrote that the mission Indians of San Antonio had virtually disappeared. In reply to his questions about their fate, the priest at San José expressed the opinion that they could not exist in the shadow of the whites, that God evidently intended them to remain a distinct and separate people. Pike met a few Tonkawas as he progressed eastward along the
Camino Real and observed that there were "a number of other nations now nearly extinct."40

From the beginning of Anglo-American settlement, all travel accounts record the accelerated disappearance or retreat westward of the aborigine. In some instances, the accounts are explicit. Mrs. Holley, for example, tells of the sorry end of the Karankawas, whose extermination Stephen F. Austin had viewed as necessary in 1821. These Indians did not annoy Austin's colonists except by begging and stealing so long as the settlers were in a body, but they did prey on solitary settlers. After four lonesmen were killed, Austin led an expedition against the Karankawas, killing half of them and sending the others to refuge in the church at La Bahía. The remnant of the tribe subsequently incurred the wrath of the Mexicans and asked for refuge among the Anglo-Americans, offering to work in return for protection and keep. At the time of Mrs. Holley's visit in 1831, there were only forty or fifty of the tribe left, and these were distributed among the settlers as servants.41

In most instances the disappearance of the Indian is told by implication as travelers push further and further west without apprehension of meeting savages. Sometimes the disappearance is told in ambiguous terms, for not even settlers could tell at the time the exact date when the frontier receded. *Gradually the irresistible Texans drove the natives*
back till at the time of the annexation, hostilities along
the Colorado had ceased, the savages having transferred their
operations to the southwest," Smithwick wrote in his reminis-
cences. As he recalled, the last murder by Indians in the
vicinity of Austin was in June 1845. "I don't know what
eventually became of the Tonkawas," he said. "My impression
is, however, that they went to Mexico to avoid the humili-
ation of being put on a reservation and made to work."42

One of the things that always dismayed travelers on the
frontier was to see white captives, especially women, among
the Indians. Nicolás Lafora found a Spanish girl held slave
in a village on the Neches River, and, said he in helpless
indignation, neither the "so-called authority of the Nation
nor money could liberate her."43 His indignation was echoed
by a series of later travelers. Seventy-five years later
John Salmon Ford saw a red-haired, blue-eyed woman, her
cheeks slashed by a knife, and "her face a personification
of despair," in a Comanche camp. She had been forced to be-
come the wife of one of the savages, "not only his wife, [but
also] his menial, his slave," wrote Ford, "to be the humble
servitor of his whims and caprices; to be punished for a
seeming disposition to disobey his behests—to be beaten,
lassoed, and pulled through prickly pears, with a rope around
the middle." Ford did not speak to the woman, having been
warned that to do so would mean his life, but later when he
did "some rather rough Indian fighting" and when leading a charge, he said "the woman with auburn hair, slashed cheeks, and countenance of extreme sorrow" always appeared to lead him; he "struck for her and for vengeance." 144

The practice of taking captives was most common among the Comanches who took the women and children of their enemies into their own tribe, first as slaves and then—if well-behaved—as full members. The Comanches showed as little respect for the "so-called authority" of Mexico and the Republic of Texas as for that of Spain, but, because the Mexicans made more docile victims, the raids were most often made in their direction. After annexation the Comanches showed more respect for Texans, but withal before 1860 there was never a time when the traveler along the western frontier could not find caucasoid and Mexican slaves among the savages.

Travelers were of the general opinion that the Indians treated their captives badly, and this opinion was substantiated by Rachel Plummer, one of their victims. Taken captive in a raid on Parker's Fort in the spring of 1836, Mrs. Plummer accompanied the Comanches on their peregrinations over the plains and Rocky Mountains for two years before she was sold to a Santa Fé trader and returned home. During that time she witnessed the mistreatment of her eighteen-month-old child, who was eventually separated from her, and
the murder of a second child, who was born six months after her capture. Her health broken by mental and physical suffering, she survived only a year after her rescue and in the interval found it painful to recall the details of her captivity. "To undertake to narrate their barbarous treatment would only add to my present distress," she wrote, "for it is with feelings of the deepest mortification that I think of it, much less speak or write of it."

But a few Indian captives at least did not share Mrs. Plummer's views. To the amazement of travelers, some captives refused to return to civilization after residing for a time among the Indians. Mrs. Plummer's cousin, Cynthia Ann Parker, who was also captured in the raid on Parker's Fort, furnished the classic example of those who declined rescue. By the time Randolph B. Marcy explored the headwaters of the Red River in 1852, Cynthia Ann had already become a legend of northwest Texas. "This woman has adopted all the habits and peculiarities of the Comanches; has an Indian husband and children, and cannot be persuaded to leave them," Marcy wrote of her.

The brother of the woman, who had been ransomed by a trader and brought home to his relatives, was sent back by his mother for the purpose of endeavoring to prevail upon his sister to leave the Indians and return to her family; but he
stated to me that on his arrival she refused to listen to the proposition, saying that her husband, children, and all that she held most dear, were with the Indians, and there she should remain.\textsuperscript{46}

Nor was Cynthia Ann Parker an isolated example. As early as 1805 Dr. John Sibley heard a similar story when he explored the Red River. A Spanish girl, the daughter of a governor of Chihuahua, was captured while on her way to Mass and spirited away to north Texas. Her father sent a trader to ransom her, but she refused to return, saying the Indians had disfigured her face by tattooing it in accordance with their ideas of beauty and she had become the wife of a young man of the tribe. Being well treated by her husband and believing herself to be pregnant, she preferred to remain where she was.\textsuperscript{47}

Travelers could understand the reluctance of a woman with half-breed children to return to a society that could never fully accept her, but they were astonished to discover other captives sometimes preferred the savage life. Roemer, upon seeing a blond, blue-eyed boy of about eighteen years among the Comanches, made inquiries and learned that his name was Lyons and that he had been captured ten years earlier when his parents were killed on a raid near Austin. "We tried to persuade him to accompany us to the settlements
and to visit his brother . . . ," Roemer said. "But he did not entertain our proposition and assured us several times that he liked his present condition very much." Not only were some captives content with their lot, but they adopted the ways of the Indians even to the extent of taking captives of their own. Noting a shivering, half-starved Mexican boy about eight years old riding behind the Lyons boy, Roemer asked why he was there. "I caught him on the Rio Grande," replied the Anglo-Indian as if speaking of a varmint. 48

Closely connected with the problem of Indian captivity in the minds of many travelers was that of frontier defense. During the Mexican and Republican periods, travelers and residents alike recognized the limitations of the sovereign to give protection and, as a matter of course, arranged to protect themselves. Under Spain and the United States, however, travelers expected to find evidences of sovereign authority on the frontier and, thus, were usually disappointed or indignant at finding inadequate systems of defense. In a blistering report on Spanish defenses, Lafora wrote that the officers were ignorant, grossly inexperienced, and not respected by the soldiers, while the men could not handle a musket or sword, nor could they fight on horseback. They rarely scouted and were too stupid to learn from experience, he charged further, and when word arrived of an impending raid,
they spent so much time in collecting supplies and going to
the pasture for horses that they were assured of not over-
taking or even catching sight of the enemy. Moreover, they
were weighted down with heavy equipment. "Naturally, a man
whose weight, with that of offensive and defensive arms,
comes to fourteen arrobas, and who is leading five or six
horses for remounts, can never run as fast nor for so long
a time as an Indian, whose arms and equipment increase his
weight very little and who can alternate between horses and
mules, in proportion to the number stolen." The soldiers
pursued the Indians, he continued, until their animals were
exhausted and worthless. Then they returned to the fort as
satisfied as if they had given battle. If, by chance, the
Indians chose to stand and fight, the soldiers took uncere-
monious flight, leaving their bravest behind as a sacrifice.⁴⁹

Nearly a century later, travelers were still making some
of the same charges, with regular army installations coming
in for most of the criticism. An army camp helped the local
economy, one visitor conceded, but it gave no protection from
the Indians. "As soon as a murder or robbery was discovered
the whole garrison turned out . . . , but before the horses
were saddled, provisions packed, and pistols loaded, the
perpetrators were no where to be found."⁵⁰ Jane Gazneau was
decidedly of the same opinion. The most formidable thing
about Fort Duncan was the name of a United States military
fort, she observed. The Indians did not attack it because of its name, but they showed their knowledge of its ineffectiveness by passing nearby with trains of captive Mexican women and children. Mrs. Cazneau aimed her criticism at Washington for the "ridiculous" policy of sending infantry to fight wild Indian horsemen. "Unless the Indian were polite enough to come up to the soldiers' muskets and ask to be shot, I do not see how infantry were to hurt them," she wrote.51

The Marqués de Rubí expressed his general opinion of Spanish defenses against the Comanche by writing of the San Sabá presidio in 1767, "It affords as much protection to the interests of His Majesty in New Spain as a ship anchored in mid-Atlantic would afford in preventing foreign trade with America."52 Nearly a hundred years later another writer put the same thought in words his generation could understand: "Keeping a bull-dog to chase mosquitos would be no greater nonsense than the stationing of six-pounders, bayonets, and dragoons for the pursuit of these red wolves," wrote Frederick Law Olmsted.53

Travelers found that settlers agreed with them on the general ineffectiveness of regular troops for frontier defense. "In truth, the inefficiency of regular troops for Indian warfare needs no evidence," said Olmsted. "Wherever posted, they are the standing butt of the frontiersmen."54
Another writer observed that only the officers of the regular troops were respected. "The private soldier is regarded as a mercenary because he sells his services. Therefore only the dregs of society and men in distress usually fill the ranks of the regular regiments." The privates were also often foreign born, usually Irish or German. The general contempt of the frontiersman for regulars was aptly set forth in a story Rutherford Bichard Hayes heard about William Barton, an old Indian fighter who gave his name to Barton Springs near Austin. According to the story, perhaps apocryphal, Barton sent word to the commanding officer of a regular company guarding the frontier that if he did not withdraw the men, he, Barton, "would let the Indians kill them."56

Travelers and settlers alike agreed that only armed settlers and ranger companies could effectively cope with the western Indians. "The old Texan style was simple and effectual," said Mrs. Gazneau. "They gathered at the first note of danger, each having something dear to protect and went on the trail of the savage with the single intent of exterminating him."57 For once, Olmsted agreed with Mrs. Gazneau. "The system of arming the border-settlers, subjecting them to the call of one of their own number, and paying them in the ratio of their activity and their services, is the only rational one that meets the circumstances," he wrote. "They are on the spot, and being the interested
parties, are always sleeplessly alert and versed in every trick of their wily enemies." He observed that the volunteers were far more efficient than the regulars. When word of an Indian outrage reached San Antonio while he was there, two Germans borrowed pistols and were in the saddle ready to go within ten minutes. By contrast, "the squad of mounted infantry, ordered to join the volunteers, was ready six hours after."58

The speed with which settlers gathered and the uncere-
monious nature of their organization are suggested by Gustav Dresel's description of a group who gathered in Houston in 1840 to chastise Indians on the upper Brazos:

It was a comical sight to observe these brave Texians appear on the drill ground. They were more like a gang of robbers about to undertake a raid than disciplined soldiers who risked time, money, and life to protect their fellow citizens from future invasions of the redskins. One of them was clad half-Mexican and sat on a mule, an old saber strapped to the left side of the saddle, pistols and cartridges for the musket-like gun in his belt. Another, restraining a mustang and nearly touching the ground with his feet, was wrapped in a wide mot-
ley blanket coat, below which the bowie knife was concealed. . . . The captain was elected by the
company. On duty the volunteers punctually obeyed him. Off duty in the camp, they treated him as a comrade.\textsuperscript{59}

Travelers considered volunteer companies such as this the most effective frontier defense. Second in effectiveness—and akin to the settlers' companies in informality of organization—were the Texas Rangers. Smithwick described the way a Ranger captain maintained control. "Instead of ordering his men to go and come, it was 'Well, boys, I think we had better do' so and so... Or, if the matter in hand seemed doubtful, there was a conference, in which every man was allowed to join." When one captain placed too much emphasis on discipline, the men stacked their arms and told him to "go to hell and they would go home." The captain had the good sense to capitulate gracefully, said Smithwick, "and thereafter had no trouble with his men."\textsuperscript{60}

By the time of Roemer's visit, the prowess of the Rangers was already legendary, and he heard many stories of "audacious fights, of successful surprise attacks and quickly executed marches" performed by them.\textsuperscript{61} Even Prince Solms-Braunfels overcame his antipathy for Americans to say kind words for the Rangers. "Unity and order were not to be found in this troop," he wrote. "Nevertheless, it was made up of brave and courageous men, and unlike others in the nation in that they could be trusted and depended upon. On expeditions into the
far West they are sincere, pleasant, and accommodating company, at least as far as I know." The Prince admired the Rangers so much that he organized a similar troop among the German settlers, thus bringing charges in the German press that he was trying to introduce feudalism to North America.

Travelers who met Ranger Captain John Coffee Hays were always favorably impressed. After hearing of his exploits, Roemer thought only Hays's "flashing eyes" revealed his true nature. High on the list of Hays's achievements stands the fact that he won the admiration and respect of Solms-Braunfels. The Ranger was "an honorable and trustworthy man" and a "courageous Indian fighter," said the American-hating Prince, thus granting Hays an honor bestowed on no other Texan.

For all the dashing feats of the Texas Rangers, travelers were in general agreement that the Indians' worst enemy was not the white man's guns but his whiskey and diseases. Solís deplored the debilitating effects of the French traders' whiskey on east Texas Indians as early as 1768, and within a decade de Mézières was reporting the destruction of entire villages by measles, smallpox, or other diseases. "Next to the pox [i.e. pox] which destroy whole tribes, alcohol is the chief curse which their acquaintance with the whites has inflicted upon them and which will hasten the inevitable day when it will be
said: The Red Race of the North American Continent is extinct," said a thoughtful visitor of the 1840's. At the time of his visit he found that only the Comanches scorned the use of whiskey. "Yet how long will it be until they too will succumb to this vice, due to their frequent contact with the whites," he asked. "Not very long, if the general axiom holds true that the Indians acquire only the bad habits and vices of the whites." 66
CHAPTER V

"A NEW-BORN RACE"

"On the 18th June 1821 started from New Orleans in the steamboat Beaver for the Province of Texas . . . ."¹ Thus Stephen Fuller Austin began his prosaic account of the journey that signaled the arrival of English-speaking Americans in Texas. They had been on the way for at least half a century, earlier accounts suggest. Indeed, the most significant theme of the travel literature of the century 1761-1860 is the westward movement of the Anglo-Americans. At the beginning of the century the English occupied only a strip along the Atlantic coast, while the French in Louisiana represented the greatest threat to Spain's sovereignty in Texas. With the settlement of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the French withdrew from the North American continent, granting to Spain their holdings west of the Mississippi and to England those east of it. Thus, England supplanted France as Spain's rival in the southwest.

Almost immediately, Spanish officials along the eastern border began reporting the encroachments of English traders. After an expedition along the Red River in 1772, Athanase de Mézières, a Frenchman in the service of Spain, called attention to the peculiar dangers of the situation:
The River San Luis, or Misissipi, now the boundary between the dominions of Spain and England in this North America, is joined on both sides by an infinite number of tributaries. Those coming from the east afford easy navigation clear to the center of the English colonies, where they rise; and those from the opposite side provide the greatest facility for the English to introduce themselves into Nuevas Filipinas, or Texas, New Mexico, etc. Notorious, therefore, is the opportunity which the English, whose dexterity and skill in making use of rivers are patent, have to come down by water at any time, with the security that is afforded by vast and unpopulated lands and with little or no opposition, bringing the supplies they wish, to invade our provinces, unless the most prompt and effective remedy is provided to anticipate them.²

De Mézières' misgivings about aggression from the east were well founded. The American Revolution merely changed the name of Spain's chief rival in North America from England to the United States. By 1798 Thomas Jefferson, vice president of the new republic, was writing Philip Nolan, a young adventurer who had made several horse-trading expeditions across the Sabine, to inquire about the wild mustangs of Texas; and shortly after this inquiry, Nolan lost his life on a fili-
bustering expedition into Texas. Spain returned Louisiana to France in 1800, and three years later France sold the territory to the United States, thus bringing the Anglo-Americans to the very frontiers of Texas. Indeed, Jefferson, looking at old maps, suggested that the Louisiana territory extended to the Rio Grande. Although Jefferson did not press the United States' claim to that boundary to the extent of risking war, a series of official or semi-official travelers whose names are linked to his began probing for more information about the country. Dr. John Sibley, an Indian agent and army doctor, explored a part of the Red River in 1803; four years later Thomas Freeman, under appointment by Jefferson, pushed further up the river only to be stopped by a Spanish force; and in the same year Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, taking a roundabout route, started on the journey that would eventually bring him across Texas from the southwest.

But it was neither these explorations nor subsequent filibustering expeditions that took Texas for the United States. Instead, it was the quieter but more irresistible force of settlers who appropriated vacant land as their own. In 1805 Bishop Marín de Forras wrote with alarm of the illegal residents on the borderland: "Along the boundary are many Englishmen [1, 2. English-speaking people] who occupy and farm whatever field that pleases them best and that land
is the object of their covetousness and rapacity. They live without king and without law. They are frightened like wild animals at the sight of their fellow creatures." They assumed that Texas was already theirs, he wrote, and considered themselves "owners as far as the Rio Grande." In addition to the Anglo-Americans, there were about two thousand Frenchmen on the eastern border who neither paid taxes nor acknowledged the authority of Spain, and who served "as agents for the contraband trade, robbery and cupidity of the Anglo-Americans."  

Two years later Pike noticed the American influence on the manner of dress as he approached the United States border on route from Mexico, and, like Bishop de Porras, he noted the American and French settlers. Stopping at a house west of the Sabine where he had been told an American lived, he found the American gone and a French family in the house. The family was alarmed at Pike's visit, and, thinking him a representative of Spain, expressed great attachment to the Spanish government. Then, discovering he was an American, they reversed their stand and expressed their hatred for Spain. Upon crossing the Sabine, Pike found "ten or fifteen Americans hovering near the line in order to embrace an opportunity of carrying on some illicit commerce with the Spaniards, who on their side were equally eager."  

The number of Anglo-American and Franco-American settlers during this period is indefinite, for by their very
nature they preferred to remain anonymous and unnumbered. Not only was their presence illegal, but many of them were fugitives from justice and some were engaged in smuggling. By 1818, however, George Graham recognized the impact of this type of settler when he recommended that the United States occupy Galveston Island. If the boundary negotiations then in progress with Spain should break down, he wrote John Quincy Adams, "the time will then have arrived when the people will settle the question of title to the province of Texas, by silently & quietly occupying it without the immediate or direct interference of the Government." He did not believe Spain would "ever carry on any other than a paper war" to resist such occupation, and, he continued, "should the question of boundary be left to be ultimately settled with Mexico as an independent Government, an event not improbable, the fact of occupancy previous to the acknowledgment of their Independence will not be an unimportant one." He pointed out, further, that many American speculators had bought lands from Spanish refugees forced to leave the country by the Mexican revolutionary movement. "Should the U. S. occupy Galveston, it will be the signal for these people to take possession of the lands which they have purchased," said Graham, "& in less than twelve months from such occupation, I am confident there will be more Americans settled between the Sabine & Trinity, than there are Spaniards in the whole province of Texas."
John Quincy Adams, who later delayed the annexation of Texas as slave territory, favored its occupation in 1818 in order to end the slave-trading operations on Galveston Island. The Louisiana Purchase, Adams believed, gave grounds for such an occupation. But the country was not taken in that manner. Instead, in early 1821 the Spanish government reversed its previous policy and opened the way to legal Anglo-American immigration by approving a colonization contract with Moses Austin. A few months later Austin’s son made his first trip to Texas, keeping a brief journal in which he wrote of hearing of his father’s death and of selecting the site of his first colony. Within a few years, the Anglo-Americans were firmly rooted in the Brazos area, and, only seven years after Austin had selected his land in the wilderness, a Mexican official, passing through the colony, echoed the alarm sounded by de Mézières in 1772 and by Bishop de Porras in 1805. Mexico was in “imminent danger” of losing Texas, José María Sánchez warned:

The Americans from the north have taken possession of practically all the eastern part of Texas, in most cases without the permission of the authorities. They immigrate constantly, finding no one to prevent them, and take possession of the square [league] that best suits them without either asking leave or going through any formality other than that of building their homes.
Almost two decades later an English observer paid tribute to Anglo-American methods of acquiring land. "I have long felt satisfied from my experience in this country," wrote Charles Elliot, British chargé d'affaires in Texas, "that the Americans are better fitted for the acquisition of territory by quiet encroachment than by military operations."\(^{11}\)

Until Stephen F. Austin's journey, every traveler in Texas had told of a virtually uninhabited land. Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, counting only Spaniards, slaves, and civilized Indians, set the population at 3,803 in 1778;\(^{12}\) Zebulon M. Pike estimated it at 7,000 in 1807;\(^{13}\) George Graham thought the Spanish population not more than 2,000 in 1818.\(^{14}\) As none of these writers included uncivilized Indians and as the boundaries of the country were extremely vague, their figures are more indicative of the paucity of inhabitants than of the exact number. After Austin's journey, travelers continued giving sketchy, incomplete, and inaccurate estimates, but instead of reflecting a want of population, they reflect its rapid increase. The western boundaries of the state were not fixed until after 1850 and even then the nomadic Indians and the transient nature of the remainder of the population made for inexact enumeration. Even so, the United States census of 1850, setting the population at 212,592, and that of 1860, setting
it at 604,215, confirm the travelers' impressions that from the early 1820's until 1860 the country was rapidly filling with people. Beginning with Stephen F. Austin's first journey, the westward movement of the Anglo-Americans through Texas gained momentum; and all subsequent travel accounts, no matter what else they contain, tell parts of that story. Some deal with the more dramatic episodes of the movement—the Texan Revolution, the Mexican War, the California Gold Rush—but far more tell the prosaic story of weary men and women in wagons drawn by oxen plodding slowly and relentlessly westward.

The immigrants brought with them the language, customs, and institutions of the United States, but travel accounts suggest that shortly after their settlement they began to think of themselves as a distinctive people. As early as 1826 one American visitor called them "a Turbulent unsatisfied race," and by 1835 another detected a feeling of nationalism: "It is looked upon as a kind of treason for a man who visits Texas not to be pleased with it," wrote Alexander McCrea. "Every man he meets is in extacies about it." A few years later, another visitor thought the inhabitants American "more in customs, manners, and habits, than in feelings," and yet another noted that "a new-born race, hatched in the United States and called Texan" had emerged.
That the United States was the mother of the new-born race and Britain the grandmother, all agreed, but, beyond this, thoughtful visitors found it hard to generalize about Texans. True, most of the inhabitants had originated in the Southern or Southwestern United States and had brought with them the most notable characteristics of those regions, but, as one German noted, there were diverse Anglo-American elements in the population:

Every one who has acquainted himself with America will frequently distinguish at first sight the Kentuckian, half horse, half alligator, from the ostentatious, proud Virginian; the profit-seeking, cold, calculating New Engander from the jovial, obliging, frivolous Creole; and the passionate sportsman from Georgia from the quiet and industrious inhabitants of Missouri and Ohio. 19

In addition to these distinctive Anglo-American elements, there were the old inhabitants of the country--the Indians and Mexicans--and European immigrants--Germans, Frenchmen, and a sprinkling of other nationalities--who added variety to the population. A visitor who traveled extensively was likely to find himself suddenly, in Frederick Law Olmsted's words, "far from Texas." Both Olmsted and Rutherford B.ichard Hayes thought themselves transported to Germany when they reached New Braunfels, and Olmsted thought that Castroville with its "French servants, French neatness, French furniture" and
"delicious French beds," the very picture of "one of the poorer villages of the upper Rhone valley." 20

Nor was it safe to generalize about dress. Mary Austin Holley thought the attire basically that of backwoods United States when she visited the Brazos area in 1831. More specifically, Francis Cynric Sheridan found the men's costume most in vogue in Galveston in 1839 "the Blanket Frock Coat & trousers" worn with boots pulled over the trousers because of the mud. 22 But most visitors were impressed more by the variety than the uniformity of attire. Matilda Charlotte Houstoun commented on the "fanciful costumes" she saw at the Tremont Hotel and at Trinity Episcopal Church in Galveston: "Many of the men are dressed in what are called blanket coats of every colour under the sun—scarlet, pea-green, and sky-blue—while others again make their appearance wrapped in the graceful folds of the many-coloured Mexican Poncio [sic], which is flung with apparent carelessness over the shoulders." 23 An entry in Rutherford B. Hayes's journal describes similar impressions of the dress at Austin in 1849: "Costumes of every variety—Indian, Mexican, Christian, civil, military and mixed." 24 Even in New Braunfels, which many visitors found so distinctively German, Ferdinand Roemer thought the clothing could not have been more "Fantastic and heterogenous" had it been taken from a theater wardrobe. "The component parts were borrowed from
the Indian, the Mexican, the American and the German costumes, but the greater part was a production to suit the capricious taste of the individual." He explained the Germans' manner of dress as a reaction against the restraints imposed on them at home, but other writers were more inclined to view the varied attire of the population as an outward manifestation of an independent state of mind.

Travelers found other incongruities to confuse them when they attempted to generalize about the Texan. As the country was new, only a few expected to find more than a rough people in a frontier environment. Olmsted, it is true, complained that he found no bookstore in Austin, a town that had been laid out on the Indian frontier some fifteen years earlier and that until after his visit was apprehensive of Indian raids, but he was asking too much. Most visitors expected much less, and therefore were often surprised to find evidences of refinement that contrasted sharply with the surroundings. Virginian William Fairfax Gray, who visited Texas on the eve of the Revolution, attended a ball at Brown's Tavern in Nacogdoches where the decorum compared favorably with that of similar affairs in Fredericksburg. "I was really surprised to find that so shabby a looking place could assemble so many good looking, well dressed and well behaved women..." he wrote. "It was, on the whole, a favorable specimen of Texan society." A few years later Mrs. Houston
wrote of attending a memorable and "most enjoyable" dinner party that was totally unlike anything she had ever attended in Europe: "There was no want of refinement either in the conversation or the dinner itself; on the contrary, the wines were so excellent and the 'table talk' so varied and so intelligent, that we could hardly realize the fact that we were in a wooden house, with nothing better than a wilderness around its rough and unpretending walls." Hayes noted the same contrasts between society and surroundings. "It is surprising to find the refinement one meets everywhere in a country newer in appearance than any part of Ohio you ever visited," he wrote home, and in an entry in his diary he exclaimed, "City refinement and amusements in a log cabin on the banks of the Brazos, where only yesterday the steam whistle of the steamboat was mistaken for a panther!"

Other visitors found similar contrasts in culture. Roemer was amazed when he visited Ashbel Smith's plantation house, "a common two-roomed log cabin, built of partly-hewn logs," and simply furnished with a bed, a table, and a few chairs with raw-hide seats. It was a typical frontier establishment except for a tall cabinet the contents of which gave Roemer a start. "It contained chiefly books which formed a small but carefully selected library," he wrote. "Not only were the Greek and Roman classics represented, but also the best and choicest selections of English and French literature."
After the influx of German intellectuals in the late 1840's, visitors to central Texas were often surprised at the evidences of culture they found there. In a log cabin with neither floor nor glass windows and with a "rude platform covered with corn husks for a bed," John Russell Bartlett found some excellent paintings and a library that "would have been a very respectable one in one of our large cities, where books are easily procured"; and in a neighboring cabin, he heard a fine harpsichord "played with a master's hand." Olmsted was struck by the same contrasts when he visited the area and saw a book case half filled with classics and half filled with sweet potatoes. "You are welcomed by a figure in blue flannel shirt and pendant beard, quoting Tacitus, having in one hand a long pipe, in the other a butcher's knife," he wrote, "Madonnas upon log-walls; coffee in tin cups upon Dresden saucers; barrels for seats, to hear a Beethoven's symphony on the grand piano."

Sharp contrasts such as this and the diversity of the population confused the thoughtful visitor who attempted to generalize about the inhabitants of the country. "No general and uniform character can be ascribed to the people of Texas," concluded one whose vocabulary did not include the word individualism. "The new settler in mingling with his fellows witnesses no common or uniform manners, customs, or language, sees no pattern to which he may conform, and hence each one
retains his own previously formed habits, nor even thinks of adopting any model. Thus, was the most salient characteristic of the new-born race defined.

Travelers who attempted to generalize about the Texan often seemed to speak in paradox by calling him indolent on one page and enterprising on another. Mrs. Houstoun, for example, after describing large segments of the population as indolent, borrowed a phrase from Davy Crockett to praise their "go-a-head" spirit. "No one is stopped in this country by anything short of a bowie-knife, or a rifle ball," she wrote on one occasion, and on another, "The Texans are an impatient people; they drive to and at their end, with greater velocity than any individuals I ever saw or heard of." The same seemingly contradictory characterization was employed by Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels, who first called the Anglo-American lazy and then commended his enterprising spirit and persistence: "No privation, no fatigue, no danger will deter him."

Neither Mrs. Houstoun nor the Prince saw any paradox in the characterization, however, for, as their texts make clear, they meant by indolent that the inhabitants did not apply themselves diligently to improving their standard of living, an impression that countless other writers confirmed. Rather than cultivate gardens and milk cows, the majority of the inhabitants preferred a monotonous diet of meat and cornbread; and few of them were inclined to improve their dwellings.
Joshua James met a man who owned half a league of excellent land but who, "like most pioneers, lived in a miserable hovel." Another writer was shocked at the condition of a log cabin that had been occupied by respectable citizens for some ten years. "Between the logs no plastering had ever been done, and between the top of the logs and the roof was an open space on both sides of the house, and its whole length of about one foot and a half wide. At the end next to the chimney the weather boarding was gone for more than two feet in width." Because the wind would not permit a lamp to burn, family and guest ate supper by firelight. Yet, said the visitor, "From no expression of the lady or her family, did it appear that a better house was desirable." Most writers attributed Texan indolence to the environment, and, indeed, this seems to be a major factor, for throughout the hundred years before 1860 travelers called the residents indolent without regard for race or social standing. "They are all barbarians, given to idleness, lazy, indolent," said Fray Gaspar José de Solís of the Indians, an opinion echoed by almost every other traveler who saw them; "The Mexicans are commonly very indolent," wrote Mrs. Holley, another opinion shared by many writers. David Barnett Edward thought the Texas men "indolent" ("no woman can, if she would, be lazy in a new country"); Amos Andrew Parker called both Mexican and American inhabitants "indolent."
Mrs. Houstoun thought both masters and slaves "indolent"; and so it goes from 1761 to 1860. Every visitor who traveled and wrote extensively felt impelled to use the word indolent, or its foreign equivalent, to characterize some segment of the population. "Their most prominent fault is, in being too fond of pastime and hunting, to the neglect of tilling the land, building decent houses, and procuring the conveniences of life," said Parker of the Anglo-Americans, a statement that could have been made by almost any traveler about some portion of the inhabitants.39

The German element of the population was usually excluded from the indictment of laziness, but the writings of some Germans suggest that even this traditionally industrious breed occasionally fell victim to the indigenous shortcoming. Roemer observed that some Germans of the intellectual and noble classes failed in Texas because they were unwilling to work; and Louis Reinhardt ascribed the failure of the communist colony of Bettina to the fact that each colonist could "work or not as he pleased with the result that less and less was done."40

Living was so easy in the country, a good many writers observed, that the inhabitants saw little reason to exert themselves. They could usually fill their stomachs with wild game, beef, or pork; and, if they desired bread, they could with a minimum of effort raise enough corn to satisfy
their needs. As the climate was mild, simple housing sufficed for all except a few days of the year. Thus, they saw little need for improved dwellings. Moreover, as the raising of livestock was profitable and required little effort, there was little incentive to plant crops except in the richest soils. "Indeed, the ease with which a mere living can be made has retarded the improvement of the country, led to idleness, dissipation, dependence on the land, speculation and hunting," said one critic.\[41\]

In the opinion of some writers, the fault of indolence was curiously linked with the virtue of enterprise in the Anglo-Americans. The typical American's head was so full of grandiose schemes—of laying out paper cities, of speculation in land, of making fortunes in cotton or sugar—that he was little concerned with creature comforts. Thus, he grandly ignored the wind whistling through his house and felt milking a cow beneath his dignity. Looking toward the future and always westward, he seldom felt himself permanently enough located to improve his dwelling, dig a well, or build fences. And he was ever ready to sell his holdings or to make an advantageous trade. Hayes commented humorously on the frontiersman's penchant for moving by observing that he, Hayes, had passed the house of a Texan whose chickens from force of habit came up every spring and crossed their legs to be tied, "their owner having moved once a year a day's journey
(or week's) until he reached Texas, all the way from Kentucky. The average Texan could see no point in improving property he might soon leave. Moreover, he had imported from the South the idea that manual labor was Negro work, and, although relatively few Texans owned slaves, the idea prevailed. "I had a strong aversion to tearing up God's earth, to which fact I owe what little schooling I got," one Texan admitted in his memoirs.

Early in the Anglo-American era the image of the freewheeling Texan, contemptuous of authority and confident of his own worth, began to take form. Eight years before the Texan Revolution, a proud Mexican official, José María Sánchez, seethed with indignation at the arrogance he met at Jared Ellison Groce's Brazos bottom plantation. "They did not deign to offer us shelter in the house, even though they saw us camping under the trees," he wrote. "Later, they asked us into the house for the sole purpose of showing us the wealth of Mr. Groce and to introduce us to three dogs called Ferdinand VII, Napoleon, and Bolivar." Something more than two decades later another visitor who was received with every courtesy in Texas noted the same quality of arrogance among the Brazos planters. After visiting a shrewd, intelligent, cynical old bachelor who had come to think that he was "the be-all and end-all," Rutherford B. Hayes commented, "The haughty and imperious part of a man
develops rapidly on one of these lonely sugar plantations, where the owner rarely meets with any except his slaves and minions."

Nor was this independent spirit confined to men of means. Noah Smithwick told of an occasion when a tavern keeper almost precipitated a crisis by his disrespect for church authority at a time when the Roman Catholic religion was established in Texas. Father Michael Muldoon, the priest who occasionally visited Austin's colony, entered a tavern at San Felipe and was invited to join the proprietor at the bar. "No, I never drink with any but gentlemen," replied the priest, whereupon the tavern keeper drew back and hit him between the eyes. Although Austin feared that the incident would prejudice the Mexican government against the Americans, the good-natured priest chose to overlook the matter and soon joined the colonists at the bar."

A few years later the characteristic attitude was noted in the class known as loafers, "young men who feel it beneath them to dig & are ashamed to Beg,—altho' not to borrow." A hotel keeper told Mrs. Houston that, when he asked one man of this class to pay his bill, the loafer replied, "If you come to insult me again sir, by ____, I'll shoot you sir." Europeans often saw evidence of the American's restless spirit in his personal habits. He bolted his food, they
complained; he was forever chewing tobacco and spitting; and he was never still. "I believe it is not in the nature of an American to sit still, or to sit straight," remarked Mrs. Houston after watching men "in every variety of bodily contortion" read their newspapers at the Tremont Hotel in Galveston. "They are perpetually either rocking or balancing themselves in their chairs, or, with legs hanging over the railing of the veranda."

Nor was the Texan still when he talked. "I rarely stopped to talk to one of my Galveston friends without seeing him whip out a penknife and commence cutting his nails or a piece of tobacco, or picking his teeth with it," said Francis C. Sheridan. Other visitors commented on the constant whittling of the Texans. If sitting in a chair, one writer observed, the Texan was likely to put down his hand and bring it up again with a long splinter off one of the chair legs, which he then began whittling. The members of the Texas Congress whittled incessantly, Mrs. Houston reported with amusement. "A piece of wood is placed before each senator, who, were it not for this necessary precaution, would very soon, in common with his honourable friends, cut the table to pieces. No sooner is a member seated than he takes out a knife, and never leaves off cutting away, whether speaking or silent."

Strangers were always interested in talking to the residents and in listening to their conversations in taverns and
around camp fires. It was the opinion of Europeans that all Americans spoke with a nasal twang, but by the 1850's even visitors from the United States were commenting on a distinctive twang in the Texan voice. Mrs. Houston attributed it—as she did almost everything else she disliked in Texas—to the habit of tobacco chewing. "The fact is," she wrote, "their mouths are so full of the favorite weed, that they cannot open them to speak without disagreeable consequences, they are therefore obliged to employ their noses to perform the duty."54

Her English ear noted other peculiarities of Texan talk. "Do you liquor, mam?" she was asked before being offered eggnog. And when Texas gentlemen were talking with each other, she observed that they used the word sir a great deal. If they were in a dispute, they repeated it every third word, mixing it with oaths and denunciations to give a curious effect. Moreover, they always ended their anecdotes with "and that's a fact sir by G__," pronounced with great energy—the more unfathomable the falsehood, the greater is the energy they employ in the utterance."55

Other visitors noted additional Texan expressions. A new arrival was likely to hear himself described as "green from the states"; and if he met a Texan, he might be greeted by "how does your copperosity sagaciate this morning?" or "a pretty considerable of a jug full of sun this morning." If
he were highly esteemed, he might be called "an up-street man," "a right smart man," "a pretty considerable of a man," or "a tarnation tall man" even though he was rather small. 56

The stranger who stopped at a settler's cabin in north Texas, might be told "We ha'nt got nar an egg," or "that thar war narry show of vittle in the house barrin some sweet taters and a small chance of corn"; and if he chatted with a belle of the area, she might intersperse the conversation with ejaculations such as, "Oh, get out!" "You go-long now!" "Look at him!" or, slapping his knee, "The he--e--e--ll you say, stranger!" 57 If he visited western Texas, he might meet a man who had been to the head of the Guadalupe "heaps and cords of times," who had seen "any dimensions" of wolves, and who owned a mule noted for "damnation cussed-ness." 58

The most distinctive expressions recorded by strangers were animal metaphors. Mrs. Houstoun was amused to hear Texans say they "saw the giraffe ahead," meaning that they had spotted a sharp practice. "Ah, Miss Delia, I see the giraffe a'head, I do," a card player would say when the game took a definite turn. 59 Randolph B. Marcy heard a double animal metaphor. "I'm afraid of wolves, ole hoss," a north Texas belle told him when he invited her to inspect his tent. Marcy, a good family man, professed not to understand the remark, but the young woman's demeanor was so fierce that he dared not ask what she meant. 60
George Wilkins Kendall heard his most memorable Texas expression as the members of the Santa Fé expedition were making their way through the cross timbers. After spending a day "cutting away trees, crossing deep ravines and gullies, and turning and twisting some 15 or 20 miles to gain five," the men camped by a mudhole of bad water and learned their scouts had found no water beyond. "Well, I've seen the elephant," said one old timer. Kendall sensed that the expression had some metaphorical meaning, but, having seen some rather strange sights in Texas, he was half prepared to take it literally. A younger in the party was of the same mind and threw the camp into a fit of hilarity by asking, "But not a real sure-enough elephant, have you?" Kendall soon learned the meaning of the expression and incorporated it into his vocabulary, explaining: "When a man is disappointed in anything he undertakes, when he has seen enough, when he gets sick and tired of any job he may have set himself about, he has 'seen the elephant.'"61

The most distinctive characteristic of Texan talk noticed by strangers was the widespread use of profanity. "High and low, senators and judges, officers and citizens, masters and the negro servants" had acquired this deplorable habit, one visitor wrote,62 while another lamented that as soon as the inhabitants crossed the Sabine River they forgot, "if ever they did know or pretend to believe, that there was
either a God or a devil, except in trying who will call on
their names in the most daring and preposterous manner."63
Even the children used profanity, observed Mrs. Houstown:
"It is very distressing to hear little children practising
their first powers of utterance in mocking their Creator,
and older boys, in almost every class, vying with each other
in taking his Name in vain."64

Not only was profanity used by all, but it was the
opinion of even worldly visitors that the oaths were highly
original. Charles Hooton thought them "of a character so
entirely new and diabolical, that one would be apt to imagine
the genius of Depravity herself had tasked her utmost power
to produce them for the especial use of this rising State."65
Kendall was of the same opinion. "It appeared to be the only
study of some of our teamsters to invent the most blas-
phemous oaths; and the cool, slow, and decided manner in
which the imprecations were uttered, showed that they wished
all within their hearing to have the full benefit of their
studies . . .," he wrote. "I have heard swearing in many
quarters, but for originality, deliberate utterance and deep
wickedness, I have never heard that of some of the drivers
on the Santa Fé Expedition equalled."66

The most general subjects of conversation when Zebulon
M. Pike visited Texas in 1807 were "women, money, and horses."67
According to subsequent travel accounts, money and horses
retained their prominent place in the conversations of Texans until 1860, but there is every indication that after the advent of the Anglo-Americans, a man discussed women—or, at least, ladies—only at great personal risk. One of the most prominent characteristics of the Texas man, travelers often noted, was his exaggerated courtesy to females. "Respect for the gentler sex is general, and is held as sacred as respect for the law of the land," said Viktor Bracht. "Any one guilty of insulting a lady in the presence of an American would soon be an object of contempt, hate, and disgust, in the entire community."

Some travelers attributed this trait to the Southern background of many Texans, and others to the scarcity of women. Amos Andrew Parker estimated in the early 1830's there were ten men to each woman in the country. "Could the surplus maiden population of New England be induced to emigrate to Texas, they would meet with a cordial reception," he wrote, "and it might prove not only advantageous to them, but highly beneficial to the country." It was the impression of one lass, thirteen years old and worried about being an old maid, that the city of Houston was "overrun" with New Orleans widows in the years immediately following the Revolution, but more objective observers continued to find women in short supply. A partial census of 1847 indicated there were about forty-three males to every thirty-four
females in the white population. At least one visitor, however, believed that these figures were deceptive. The women were usually stationary at home and were properly enumerated, Viktor Bracht pointed out, but, as the men were often away on business, many of them were not counted. It was Bracht's opinion that there were about two men to every woman. By the 1850's women were still in short supply. Texas was a bad place for widows and old maids, Jacob de Cordova observed humorously, for the men of the country had a "perfect horror" of such females and always took "the most energetic steps to get rid of them."  

Women travelers were usually charmed by the gallantry of the Texan man. Mrs. Houstoun's attitude toward the country in general changed perceptibly after a bartender built a flight of steps at a Galveston wharf solely for her benefit and without expecting any remuneration whatever. And Mary Helm and Jane Gammeau, both Northern born, could not say enough about the courtesy accorded them. Mrs. Helm found every boy a "knight errant," while Mrs. Gammeau effused, "Southern gentlemen shame the boasted chivalry of the knightly ages. This high-toned deference is paid not only to the young, beautiful and distinguished, who command politeness anywhere but to the poor, lowly and unknown."  

Even sensible German women adjusted easily to the preferential treatment, Ferdinand Roemer discovered to his
annoyance. On a stage journey from New Braunfels to Houston he traveled in company with a German woman who had been intrusted to the protection of an Austin merchant. "With true American gallantry he was very attentive to her, and she in turn was Americanized enough to accept these attentions with a most condescending air, as if he were merely doing his duty," commented Roemer. Later, when a thunder-storm burst over their open coach, Roemer tried to protect himself with his cloak and buffalo robe. "But to no avail," he wrote:

for the attentive merchant from Austin held a large umbrella over his "lady" in such a manner, that the water fell like a cascade upon unfortunate me. All remonstrances, even calling attention to my fever-ridden condition, would have been to no avail when it involved "protecting a lady" and I resigned myself to the inevitable with Christian fortitude. 74

While accepting as their due the attention showered upon them, women writers--and even a few men--were often of the opinion that Texan women could look out for themselves without a great deal of protection. The wild country called for courage and hardihood in women, Mary Austin Holley observed, and those in Austin's colony possessed both in full measure. They rode, hunted, camped out, and fished with their husbands, and, when necessary, fought Indians. She mentioned a Kentucky widow with six sons and little else who
had come as an early settler. When Indians camped near her farm made a nuisance of themselves by demanding provisions and other things, she requested them to move. Upon their refusal, she armed herself and her household, went for the chief, and commanded him to evacuate. The Indians left at once and did not trouble her again. 75

Mrs. Gazneau noted the same self-sufficiency in some of the Texan women she met. One pioneer woman had lost one husband to the Indians and another in defense of the Alamo, and at the time of Mrs. Gazneau's visit was presiding over an estate that "extended like a small German principality, a mile or two in every direction from her log castle." In discussing Indians, she told Mrs. Gazneau quite philosophically that it was very well for bachelors with good horses and no families to run away from the Indians, but when people had stock, children, household plunder, and a good cabin, the best thing for a woman to do was to sit by the fire and cast bullets for her husband to give the Indians. "There is a heap less trouble to it, and less scare too, than to be scattering off, and letting the hogs and cattle off, every time the Indians come about." 76

Nor did the Texan female hesitate to take on other forces in the country. Mrs. Gazneau's hostess at Matagorda, Mrs. Angelina Eberly, had fired the cannon that prevented the removal of the national archives from Austin a few years
previously. If Mrs. Gazneau knew this, she did not mention it, but in what was probably the understatement of travel literature between 1761 and 1860 she observed that the lady was "not used to rebellion in her household."

Other writers who passed by the San Jacinto battlefield either met or heard tales of that indomitable widow, Peggy McCormick, on whose land the battle had been fought and who objected strenuously that the hundreds of unburied Mexicans ruined the value of her property. As John Joseph Linn told the story, she called on Sam Houston shortly after the battle, requesting him to remove "them stinking Mexicans."

"Madam, your land will be famed in history as the classic spot upon which the glorious victory of San Jacinto was gained!" he replied. "To the devil with your glorious history!" exclaimed the lady. "Take off your stinking Mexicans." 78

For all her self-sufficiency, the Texan female did not relinquish her claim on femininity, and certainly not her claim on the courtesy of her menfolk. Only six years after Austin's settlers had established themselves on the Brazos River, Joseph Chambers Clopper found Jane Long, the widow of filibusterer James Long and niece of James Wilkinson, presiding over a "first class or higher circle" of society at San Felipe. Clopper listened sympathetically while she told how she had accompanied her husband as far as Bolivar Point
in 1819, and how alone except for her young daughter and a Negro serving girl, she had waited for him during a long winter, warding off hostile Indians, providing herself with food, and giving birth to a second child. She was a "wholly feminine woman with masculine energies," Clopper thought, and "the gayest and most splendid Lady in the whole colony."79

A few years later Mary Austin Holley commented on the "free spirits," and "spontaneous gaiety" of the women of the Austin colony, who, on occasion, would ride horseback fifty miles to a ball with a silk gown in their saddlebags. Nearly two decades later, Hayes found the ladies of the Brazos bottom still keeping the tradition alive. "The ladies particularly noticeable for the possession of the winning qualities," he noted in his journal on one occasion, and on another, "The ladies were like ladies anywhere else; fewer wall-flowers and more life than is usually found in our gatherings, owing doubtless to the greater frequency of such things here."80

The endurance of the Texas woman and the tough fiber of the entire race are perhaps best set forth in the reminiscences of Dilue Harris, who, as an old woman, recalled her experiences during the Texan Revolution. When news arrived of the fall of the Alamo, young Dilue and her family set out with other settlers on the nightmarish journey toward the United States known as the Runaway Scrape. Spring rains had
swollen the rivers and flooded the prairies, and, at the Trinity River "measles, sore eyes, whooping cough and every other disease that man, woman or child is heir to" broke out among the refugees. Dilue's young sister became ill with convulsions and died, and the family stopped to bury her at Liberty. The refugees were on the way east again when news came of the victory at San Jacinto. They turned around and four days after the battle camped on the battlefield, where Dilue was invited to visit the Texan camp and see Santa Anna and the Mexican prisoners. She refused--but not because of any squeamishness about some six hundred dead Mexicans "lying around in every direction," and certainly not because the experiences of the past weeks had left her with complexes or psychological scars. Dilue had lost her bonnet, and after six weeks on the road her clothes were "very much dilapidated." Of course, she explained as if anyone could understand, she could not let the young men of the army see her in such a state.
CHAPTER VI

"A HIDEOUS SORSE THAT CONSUMES"

Human bondage existed in the forms of Indian captivity, Mexican peonage, and Negro slavery in Texas between 1761 and 1860; and throughout the century travelers were disturbed by it. But the Indian and Mexican forms receded during the century and were observed only by the few who visited the periphery of Texas. Negro slavery, by contrast, increased until it became a burning issue that preoccupied the minds of many travelers. A few Negro slaves had been introduced into Texas during the Spanish era, but not until the influx of Anglo-Americans in the 1820's after Mexican independence from Spain did the institution become firmly established. Because American colonization followed shortly after the Missouri Compromise had called attention to the issue, and because slavery was later so closely linked with the furor over annexation and over the settlement of the Mexican War, Texas was uniquely associated with Negro slavery in the minds of most visitors.

Indeed, as a few accounts suggest, Texas was uniquely associated with it even before Stephen Fuller Austin established his first colony. With the outlawing of the foreign slave trade in the United States in 1808, the adjoining coast of Texas—virtually unprotected and unoccupied
became the special haunt of illicit traders. When George Graham visited Galveston Island in 1818, he found Jean Laffite engaged in the profitable business of smuggling slaves into Louisiana. Not only pirates but the "whole country" was engaged in the practice, Graham reported to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Smuggling was the avowed occupation of many, extending even to planters who entered the trade in the first instance to obtain Negroes for themselves and remained in it because of the handsome profits.

During the Mexican period, the law strictly prohibited slavery as well as the slave trade, but nevertheless during this very time slavery took root in Texas. Anglo-American colonists brought their Negroes with them, evading the law by the simple expedient of binding the blacks as indentured servants for life. Benjamin Lundy, who visited Texas in the early 1830's, took a sanguine view of the lot of the Negro on Mexican soil. Mexican officials assured him that all colors were treated the same, and Lundy's observations led him to accept this as fact. He talked with a former slave at San Antonio who said he received the same wages and same respect as other laborers, and he found other Negroes who had amassed considerable fortunes in the province.

But other travelers contemporaneous with Lundy, especially those who visited only the cotton-growing areas, did not
agree with him. Both Amos Andrew Parker and Mary Austin Holley found that slavery existed in fact if not in law, and both expressed misgivings that the future of the country would be blighted by it. Another visitor of the same period wrote that Negroes were publicly sold at auction after wide publicity. "The blacks are ignorant, and the whites are generally in favor of slavery and sustain the master in his usurped authority," he explained. "The province is so distant from the capital, and has been for some time so little attended to by the government, that the laws on the subject were ineffectual." A few years later William Kennedy wrote that the ruling classes in Mexico had never intended enforcing the law, that they were, in fact, indifferent to Negro slavery, as their own peonage system offered all the advantages of the institution without the outlay of capital for purchase or the risk of loss by death.

With the founding of the Republic of Texas, slavery gained legal sanction, and thereafter every visitor viewed it with growing concern against a backdrop of national and international politics. No traveler, it is safe to say, entered Texas between 1836 and 1860 without preconceived ideas on the subject, ideas that usually reflected his place of origin. Europeans found the extension of the institution on the North American continent disturbing, for their awareness of Texas had coincided with a growing awareness of the evils of the system and it did not fit in with their ideas.
of American democracy. "The American, whose country is the freest on the globe, and whose laws and institutions are the most liberal of the world, does not see any contradiction in the law forbidding the unhappy negro, even after being interbred with whites to the fifth generation, to be free," remarked a German prince.6

But European reactions were seldom based on principle alone. Even Britons, whose nation had led the world crusade against slavery and had only a few years previously abolished it throughout the empire, found their disapproval tempered by an interest in the slave-cultivated cotton of the Texas bottomlands and by an eagerness to see a new nation block the westward expansion of the United States. Individual reactions were also tempered by self-interest. Thus, William Kennedy, who had a speculative interest in Texas lands, thought the Texas variety of slavery extremely mild, while his fellow Briton, Nicholas Doran P. Maillard, who had interests in Mexican bonds, described the horrors of slavery that no other traveler saw—-not even abolitionists Benjamin Lundy and Frederick Law Olmsted.7

For American visitors slavery in the Republic of Texas and later in the state posed an even more difficult problem, as it was inextricably interwoven with the explosive sectional issue that was then disrupting the Union. A disillusioned Benjamin Lundy, bitter at seeing the Texan Revolution blast
his hopes of a free Negro colony, charged that the Revolution and the consequent founding of the Republic were part of a conspiracy by Southerners to bring more slave territory into the United States. Thus, he and a noisy, high-principled coterie, among whom was William Ellery Channing, made Texas a focal point in the sectional dispute and delayed annexation for almost a decade. But among Northerners, as among Britons, mere principle was not the only consideration. Manifest Destiny impelled the Yankee as well as the Southerner westward, and no patriotic citizen of the United States could sit idly by and watch Texas come under British domination. Texas was annexed, but the issue of slavery was by no means resolved. Instead, it became more explosive and more ever-present in the minds of Americans traveling in Texas, until some visitors, as one writer pointed out, were "inclined to set down every fault of church and state, as well as every mischance by land and sea, to the sin of slaveholding."^8

Although the majority of the travelers came from Europe and the Northern states, and thus heartily condemned the principle of human bondage, most of them agreed with Kennedy that slavery in Texas was milder than elsewhere. Mrs. Holley compared it favorably with that of the Southern states, and Oreeneth Fisher declared that it existed "in as mild a form in Texas as in any other part of the world."^9 Fairly typical was the comment of German immigrant Viktor Bracht that "aside
from the thought of perpetual slavery," the slave's lot in Texas was "undoubtedly far better than that of many servants and most factory workers of Europe."\textsuperscript{10} Visitors in western areas usually concurred with Albert Richardson's statement that slavery was "nominal" there, and even Lundy, after visiting a Brazos bottom plantation, wrote that the owner treated his slaves "very much like other people."\textsuperscript{12}

Travelers attributed the comparative mildness of the institution to several factors. Mrs. Holley thought at the time of her first visit that the Mexican law, even though inoperative, rendered the slave less liable to abuse, while later writers usually listed the geography of the country as a restraining influence. West Texas lands were unsuitable for cotton or sugar cane, they pointed out, and, as slavery was profitable only for those crops, the river bottoms of central Texas marked the natural limits of the institution. Furthermore, the owner could not afford to reside near Mexico, for his slaves could then free themselves by simply crossing the border. Other visitors mentioned the considerable number of German and British immigrants, both traditionally opposed to slavery, as a mitigating influence, while still others observed that the law protected the slave's life and that, as he represented a substantial investment, it was to the master's interest to treat him well.
Some visitors seemed almost disappointed at not seeing in Texas the horrors of slavery as described in abolitionist literature. Mrs. Gazneau called attention to this tendency. A fellow traveler, a gentleman from Pennsylvania, "had come out with his head full of whips and chains" and prepared to be "agonized by the shrieks and sufferings of the slaves," she wrote, and, when he saw only "laughing, well-clad blacks," he was "ready to be angry with them all." Somewhat the same tendency was displayed by Francis Cynric Sheridan, no particular friend of Texas, who saw only the slaves of Galveston. These were "very kindly treated . . . & happy & cheerful," he said, but he added almost hopefully, "I have been told that in the country the reverse is the case & I think it highly probable. The great demand for labor, the immense price it fetches, the poverty & covetousness of the Proprietors, all militate against the poor nigger, and I fear his leisure moments are few & his lashes frequent." But according to many other accounts, even rural slaves were fairly well treated. The average slaveholder owned only a few blacks and lived in close contact with them. "With few exceptions they are kindly treated, are not over-worked, and have an abundance of food, clothing and efficient medical attention," reported Edward Smith after inspecting a number of small farms in northeast Texas. He found that slaves were allowed to work for themselves after hours, some of them
earning from $50 to $250 a year which they spent as they pleased. If their lot was drab, their cabins crude, and their food simple, then so was their master's, for all lived in much the same manner. Never having tasted freedom, observed Smith, they did not feel the want of it, "and to be as 'happy as a nigger,' is a common phrase in free and slave States alike."

Those who visited the few large slave establishments told much the same story. Young Rutherford Birchard Hayes, who visited one of the oldest and largest plantations in the Brazos bottom, assured his Ohio family that he had not changed his Northern opinions, but, he said, "We have seen none of 'the horrors' so often described." Nor did British-born William Bollaert, one of the few to describe the routine of plantation life, see any "horrors." "I can bear witness that they are not over-worked, or ill-used," he wrote.

The Negro is allowed Saturday after 12 o'clock until Monday morning to arrange his or her own domestic affairs, but if they choose to pick cotton on Saturday afternoon, they are remunerated for it, and on some plantations all the cotton they thus pick is given to them and may amount to 30 dollars for the season. On well-regulated plantations, each Negro family has its log house, half an acre of land behind it for a garden to support some stock, pigs,
poultry, which the Negro consumes or sells on his own account. 17

No doubt because they found slavery less oppressive than they had expected, the attitude of many travelers changed perceptibly after seeing it at close quarters. The somewhat cynical Mrs. Gazneau—quipping that American morality on slaveholding topics was "curiously geographical" and that apples and antislavery were the "natural growth" of Northern climates while oranges and servitude were that of Southern ones—recorded the change in views of a fellow traveler as he progressed southward. In Philadelphia he was an able and sincere advocate of "immediate emancipation"; after two months in Washington listening to Congressional debates, he was inclined to "leave emancipation to the progress of light and God's Providence"; as he floated down the Ohio River, with slavery on one side and free soil on the other, he grew in the faith "that each State should be left to regulate its own morals." At Memphis, "with slave-cultivated cottonfields on either bank, and slave-holding gentlemen on either side of him at the table, and lovely slave-tended damsels glancing in beauty opposite him," he decided that "it would be highly absurd to insist on breaking up the Union for the sake of helping such pretty girls to black husbands, and he began to think this would be the prominent result of the wholesale levelling system." At
Natchez he conceded that some laws were necessary for white self-preservation and to guard against insurrection; and upon reaching New Orleans, he was "perfectly tranquil, if not slightly indifferent, about the 'spread of Slavery.'" In the meantime he had dropped the polite phrase "colored brethern" for that of "blacks." American consciences were capable of enormous expansion on the subject, Mrs. Cazneau concluded. "They stretch indefinitely when they come among cotton fields, and melt altogether in the ardent heat of sugar and rice plantations." 18

Mrs. Cazneau believed that British consciences were much less flexible, but it was an English lady, and a most unlikely one at that, who showed the most complete reversal in sentiments. A lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria and one who had taken an active interest in all the reform movements of her own country, the Honourable Amelia Matilda Murray arrived in Boston in 1854 a confirmed abolitionist with Uncle Tom's Cabin fresh on her mind. "Christianity will and must subdue" slavery, she declared, by "enlightening the darkened, and instructing the ignorant... No individual selfishness, and no political intrigues, can prevent the wished-for consummation." But as she progressed westward and southward she changed her opinion even more dramatically than Mrs. Cazneau's Pennsylvania gentleman. By the time she reached Niagara Falls, she had already modified her views somewhat.
Seeing a large number of Negroes ("all the lowest population appears to consist of them; they are idle, and very insolent in manner"), she observed that one of the evils of Southern slavery was that it thrust an "ignorant and miserable set of coloured people" into Canada. "I must regret that the well-meant enthusiasm of the Abolitionists has been without judgment," she wrote. It was not a "question between the wickedness of a system of human bondage and the duty of shaking it off" but rather of using common sense in curing the evil. By the time she arrived at Albany she was reflecting that "Slavery existed and does exist in Africa" in a more degraded form than in the Southern states and that the Negroes had actually benefited from the change of servitude—"That was the first step towards ultimate freedom." At Baltimore she commented favorably on the black servants, writing that "certainly the relation of mistress and servant in the South has a more agreeable aspect than that of the same station in the Northern States." As she moved southward her attitudes continued to soften until, upon reaching Charleston, she confessed that her "compassionate feelings" were rapidly changing sides. "It appears to me our benevolent intentions in England have taken a mistaken direction, and that we should bestow our compassion on the masters instead of on the slaves." The blacks were a "set of grown-up children," she concluded, and Uncle
Tom's Cabin was indeed an unfair picture—a libel on the slaveowners. Topsy was a perfect illustration of the Negro's character, but if a real Uncle Tom existed, he was as "great a rarity as Shakespeare among whites." By the time she finished a whirlwind tour of Texas, she had decided that the foreign slave trade should be reopened, an astounding position for an Englishwoman. Texas seemed to her the most likely place for slave imports. "Perhaps some Africans might be benefited and improved by being brought there," she wrote. "The old settled States are naturally unwilling to be troubled with fresh importations; but I think Texan agriculturists might be willing to take charge of them." 19

Although no other traveler changed his views so completely as Miss Murray, a good many consciences expanded under the warm Southern sun. After all, visitors were inclined to rationalize, importation of blacks from abroad was illegal, and slaves could be brought to Texas only from the United States. Slavery in Texas, then, was not really an increase but merely a dispersion of slavery that already existed. As British land speculator Arthur Dkin observed ("without reference to the evident abstract wrong, or to the alleged practical evils"), Texas had simply transferred slave labor from one state to another; "and it may be argued, that, owing to the more productive soil and temperate climate,
the condition of the slave is by this transfer greatly improved." How, others asked, were the resources of the new country to be developed if the labor supply were cut off? Was slave labor not essential to the economy, and would the institution not die of its own inherent limitations once its mission was accomplished? Others decided that the blacks were not really worse off than the laboring classes in any other land, and still others mulled over the problem of what would be done with the slaves if they were freed. "The danger lies in turning loose upon the world a race of beings, without houses, lands, or any kind of property," said Amos Andrew Parker. "If slaves be emancipated, it must be the work of time; and provision must be made, temporarily at least, for their support." 21

The visitor's tendency to rationalize was abetted by what he saw of the Negroes, for, if he saw little injustice to excite his sympathy and indignation, he saw even less to arouse his admiration for the bondsmen themselves. Indeed, he rarely saw them as individuals, viewing them instead as integral parts of a loathsome institution—and often his dislike for the institution seemed to include the parts. Miss Murray and her compatriot, Matilda Charlotte Houstoun, both accustomed to civil and efficient servants at home, were decidedly irritated by the careless ways of black serving girls. "It is usually necessary to scold or speak
sharply before they will bestir themselves to 'fix the
chamber'," complained Miss Murray, "and if you are not care-
ful to put your things out of the reach of curiosity, a bevy
will assemble as soon as your back is turned, to amuse them-
selves with your cap, bonnet, or perhaps your combs and
brushes." 22 Even Olmsted found the Negroes inefficient and
trying to his patience, although he blamed these traits on
the institution itself. Upon arriving at a plantation for
the night, he wrote of the general confusion and of the
exasperation of the master and mistress as they attempted
to make arrangements for him. "Here were thirty or forty
slaves, but not an order could be executed without more
reiteration, and threats, and oaths, and greater trouble
to the master and mistress, than would be needed to get a
squadron under way," he said. He found that his animals
were not properly attended to by the stable hands and, after
leaving, discovered that a rope attached to his saddle had
been stolen and a shorter one substituted for it. Slave
labor was not only uneconomical and cruel in his opinion,
but it was to a Northern man "to the last degree, an
irritating annoyance, which, when choosing for a lifetime,
he should not voluntarily inflict upon himself." 23

A fairly typical reaction was that of Hayes:
It is often thought with us that Southern ladies
have an easy time of it with their "help," but it
is not so. A good "manager" here has quite as much "vexation of spirit" as ever you have who are changing "girls" once a fortnight. Mrs. James Franklin Perry, for example, instead of having the care of one family, is the nurse, physician and spiritual adviser of a whole settlement of careless slaves. She feels it is her duty to see to their comfort when sick or hurt, and among so many there is always some little brat with a scalded foot or a hand cut half off, and "Missus" must always see to it or there is sure to be a whining time of it in the whole camp. Besides, to have anything done requires all time. It may be I am mistaken, but I don't think Job was ever tried by a gang of genuine "Sambos"! 24

Although most travelers never relinquished the principle that slavery was inherently evil, they characteristically shifted their arguments from the horrors it inflicted on the black to the detrimental effects it had on the white. Olmsted was especially insistent on this point, saying that slavery debased labor and degraded the lower class of whites. "No slave country, new or old," could be free of the exasperating nuisance of poor whites who subsisted by pilfering from their more affluent neighbors, he believed, and to prove
his point he contrasted the slovenly, improvident, mis-
managed slave establishments with those of the clean,
thrifty, non-slaveholding German households in central
Texas. Where the Southerner tied up his capital in Negroes,
the German invested in land, which he worked with his own
hands; where the sons of the slaveholder were uncouth, degen-
erate, and illiterate, those of the German were "as fine
pictures of youthful yeomen as can be imagined—tall, erect,
well knit, with intelligent countenances, spirited, ingenu-
ous, gentle and manly." In all his travels in the South,
Olmsted had found no other place except the German com-
munities in Texas where white agricultural laborers could be
hired. The contrast between the German and Southerner was
proof positive, he maintained, that slavery had a debili-
tating influence on the white. 25

Other travelers substantiated Olmsted's general opinion.
Mrs. Houston believed that slavery made the white indolent
and despotic, while Edward Smith said that even slaveholders
acknowledged that the free states enjoyed greater morality,
wealth, intelligence, and higher standards of living than
the slave states. 26 Slavery was, said another writer, "a
hideous sore that consumes." 27 That at least some slave
owners agreed is substantiated by John Howell McLean, an
itinerant Methodist preacher and scion of an east Texas
family. One of the few writers who held slaves and the
only one who included a portrait of a family slave in his book, McLean wrote in his reminiscences, written years after slavery had disappeared, that

Slavery was an evil to the slave owner. The owner was liable to become an autocrat, being in full control of the slave, and having him responding to his every beck and call. The young owners were liable to idleness and needless self-indulgence. The liberation of the slave threw the former owners, young and old, upon their own resources, teaching them the duty of self-reliance. 28

Whether or not slavery was profitable was a matter of debate among travelers. Kennedy said that a planter with fifty slaves realized about $5,000 annually from their labor, and it was certainly the opinion of Texans that the institution was profitable. 29 It was also their general opinion, Bollaert observed, that the lands along the coast and to a considerable distance inland could only be worked by Negroes; the white man, even if from Mississippi or other Southern states, was unable to tolerate continual exposure to the sun. Furthermore, the white was subject to debilitating fevers, emanating from the river bottoms, which seldom attacked the Negro, and during the busy seasons on the cotton and sugar plantations there was not enough white labor to supply the demand. 30
Many travelers were inclined to accept the residents' belief that the economy of the country would collapse without slavery, but others took issue on the matter. Roemer heard Mrs. Houston's husband discussing the probable cost and returns of a sugar plantation with James Morgan. Such an establishment would cost about $50,000, allowing for fifty Negroes at $600 each, $10 an acre for Brazos bottom land, and for the necessary buildings. The maintenance of a Negro would amount to $30 a year, $20 going for food and $10 for clothing. After getting these figures, Mr. Houston, a shrewd and wealthy businessman, considered importing free labor from Mexico on the grounds that it would be cheaper—and besides as a British subject, he probably could not hold slaves. Mrs. Houston was definitely of the opinion that slave labor was inefficient and hence unprofitable.

Olmsted scoffed at the idea that whites could not endure the heat of the cotton fields, thus making black labor a vital necessity to Southern economy. Much cotton was in fact produced by whites alone or by small farmers working beside their few Negroes, Olmsted observed. Furthermore, such cotton, "owing to the more careful handling of white and personally interested labor," brought more at the market. He cited as an example the experience of German farmers in the vicinity of New Braunfels, who in the year of his visit sent eight hundred bales to Galveston. Their cotton
brought from one to two cents a pound more than slave-produced cotton, and, except for the expense of hauling it so great a distance, it would have paid a handsome profit. There was hardly another so striking an instance of pure free labor in all the South, he believed. As the Germans sent their cotton to market in a body, he thought it could be considered as the product of one large plantation, worked by white hands.

"These 800 bales . . . are a very substantial evidence of the possibilities of not only white, but of well-regulated free-labor in the South." He concluded, however, that in Texas stock raising was, on the whole, more profitable than cotton planting. His observations and inquiries led him to believe that $9,000 invested in a stock farm, with free labor, would yield thirty per cent on the investment, while the same amount invested in a cotton plantation, with slave labor, would yield barely eight per cent. 32

Writers were also divided on the extent of the foreign slave trade in Texas. Under Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the United States, such trade was strictly forbidden by law, and after 1836 slaves could be legally imported only from the United States. But there were many who maintained that Texas never completely lost her connection with the illicit trade that flourished under Jean Laffite. In the late 1830's rumors circulated that no fewer than 15,000
slaves had been imported to Texas from Africa in 1837 and 1838. William Kennedy and other friends of the country stoutly denied this, Kennedy calling the tale a "monstrous extravagance." As the best estimates place the total population of the country at only about 50,000, the figure mentioned in the rumor was indeed unreal, but one visitor bears witness that at least a few Negroes were imported from Africa in the mid-1830's. When William Fairfax Gray visited the Thomas Earle family on Buffalo Bayou in the spring of 1836, he found "four young African negroes, two males, two females," that had recently been brought from the West Indies by the notorious blackbirder, Monroe Edwards. "They are evidently native Africans, for they can speak not a word of English, French or Spanish," Gray wrote.

They look mild, gentle, docile, and have never been used to labor. They are delicately formed; the females in particular have straight, slender figures, and delicate arms and hands. They have the thick lips and negro features, and although understanding not a word of English, are quick of apprehension; have good ears, and repeat words that are spoken to them with remarkable accuracy.

Gray was less favorably impressed when he saw about fifty more of the imported Negroes, "living out of doors, like cattle," at another plantation. When a beef was killed, the
Negroes wrangled over the raw meat, catching and drinking the blood. "This is the nearest approach to cannibalism that I have ever seen," Gray wrote in his journal. 35

Although Kennedy continued to minimize the extent of the African slave trade, he wrote in 1843 that he had reliable information that at least 504 Negroes had been brought to Texas from the West Indies between 1835 and 1838. 36 Another British writer suggested that the trade was even more extensive and that the Texas government made few efforts to enforce the laws. During the short time that his vessel lay off the coast at Galveston in 1839, Francis C. Sheridan wrote, two slave ships from the French West Indies unloaded cargoes in perfect security, one landing below Velasco and the other at the Sabine. 37

When the stranger examined the attitudes of Texans toward slavery, he discovered first of all that they were sensitive about abolition talk. Benjamin Lundy traveled incognito on his first two visits because of his reputation as an abolitionist. Even so, he ran into trouble when he could not suppress his sentiments on the subject. On board ship en route to Texas he at first had kind words for the captain, but after Lundy became involved in an argument with a Missouri-Texan about slavery, the passengers complained about having to associate with the abolitionist, and Lundy suddenly found the captain discourteous. On a third visit
when he traveled under his own name, he was almost tarred and feathered at San Felipe. "I was told that a proposition had been made by some one to buy a barrel of tar for me," he wrote. "Something was said in my favour, by the only two persons in San Felipe who knew me; and this probably saved me some trouble. I gave them all to understand, however, that I was not to be easily intimidated." Although Lundy later recalled that on several occasions his life was endangered by his sentiments, he found a few Texans who were sympathetic. William Stafford, a Brazos planter, who had once been a Quaker and who owned ten or twelve slaves, agreed with Lundy that slavery was evil, but said that until all agreed to abolish it, he saw no harm in his holding his slaves and treating them well. The Negroes of another citizen, Francis Berry, had run away, but Berry told Lundy that he considered himself as well off without them.\(^{38}\)

Although several visitors thought they saw hopeful signs of the eventual end of slavery in Texas, Kennedy reported in 1843 that there was no recognized party in favor of it, and that when two men unfolded such a project in Galveston in the spring of that year, they found virtually no supporters. The leader of the movement, Stephen Pearl Andrews, was forced "by the unlicensed interference of the populace, to enter a boat and proceed to the Mainland, under an injunction not to revisit the Island," while his colleague, Thomas M. League,
"quietly withdrew, without abiding the risk of ejection by a Mob."37 As far as Kennedy knew this was the only agitation for emancipation that had found public expression in Texas. Galvestonians even refused the right to talk of the subject, Mrs. Houstoun observed. One respected townsman, she wrote, who declared himself opposed to abolition but willing to listen to both sides of the argument, was ordered to keep silent. When he protested that he was a free citizen living in a free country and would say what he pleased, he too was put in a boat and sent to the mainland.40

Texans became more intolerant of discussion of the subject in the years that followed. By 1850 Mrs. Gazneau was cautioning a fellow traveler, an outspoken British abolitionist, not to be rash in his arguments, for they might be misunderstood in a country where the people were "almost absurdly sensitive and irritable on those points." At first he was inclined to disregard her warning, thus giving her an opportunity to record some typical reactions on the part of the citizens. When he brought up the subject at a hotel in Matagorda shortly after his arrival, a lady suggested to him that divine wisdom had decreed slavery. "Divine plan? Ordinances of Heaven? Surely, Madame, you do not believe slavery was created by God?" he exclaimed. "Only as it is claimed for the docility of the elephant, the endurance of the camel, the fleetness of the horse, and the fidelity of
the dog . . . ," was the reply, "thus far and no farther; . . . white men—the sovereigns of the inferior human races—are endowed with the gift and power to reduce them."

When the Englishman on another occasion attempted to enlighten a pioneer woman, she nodded pleasantly at his grand words that were beyond her vocabulary. Then suddenly she realized what he was talking about. It was, said Mrs. Cazneau, like throwing a shell into the "very magazine of the prejudices of a woman 'born in Tennessee, raised in Alabama, married in Mississippi, and settled in Texas.'" The lady's reaction was so violent that the Englishman retired from the scene convinced that "self-interest and a broiling sun" discomposed the Southern mind. "Did you ever hear such narrow and bigoted ideas?" he asked, but afterwards he was more inclined to avoid the subject. The pioneer woman, for her part, remarked after his departure that he must be a minister "or something of that sort, whose head was turned by hard study."41

A few years later, Olmsted found that the German settlements in Texas were the only place in the South where the relative advantages of white or slave labor could be discussed in a peaceful manner—and even there they could not be discussed freely in the press. Abolitionism was "of a very mild type, confined to the belief . . . that slavery was an evil," he wrote. The intellectual exiles of the 1848
revolutions had the strongest aversion to the institution, but they were not eager to embroil themselves immediately in the internal squabbles of their adopted land; and the mass of Germans, living in their own communities and not seeing slavery at first hand, were rather indifferent. "Few of them concern themselves with the theoretical right or wrong of the institution," Olmsted said, "and while it does not interfere with their own liberty or progress, are careless of its existence."[42]

Although white Texans frankly considered the Negroes their inferiors, travelers noted curiously that a close, family-type relationship often existed between the two races. "In the eastern counties they are principally 'family Negros,' or brought up by their owners," said Bollaert,[43] while Edward Smith wrote, "As a whole, the slaves are deeply attached to the place of their birth, and to the planter's children, with whom they are raised or whom they nursed in infancy; and this attachment is commonly returned." Others noted that the slaves were even referred to as part of the family. Roemer heard a neighbor ask Ashbel Smith, "Well, Mr. Smith, you have no white family?" and observed that people spoke of a black family in the same manner, "meaning, of course, the slaves belonging to the house."[45] This phraseology was unconsciously adopted by young Hayes who wrote home, "Guy, Uncle, and myself complete the white portion of the family."[46]
That a close personal relationship did exist between black and white in many instances is confirmed by the account of slaveholder John H. McLean. "I had, and still have a kindly feeling for negroes," he recalled long after emancipation. "They were my nurses and playmates." He went on to describe his distress when, in the division of his father's estate, an old playmate went to his brother, and inadvertently, to suggest the place of the Negro in the Southerner's scheme of things:

I can never forget my pathetic parting with Pete, who was on his way to my brother's home, four hundred miles away, and I was not likely to see him soon, if ever. He had been the main one in our coon, possum and rabbit hunts. He felled the trees when necessary to catch the game treed by the dogs. He was so kind and obliging, and gave us so much pleasure. But Pete and I must part, which was done in silence. I choked up and could not speak, but thrust my hand into my pocket and emptied at his feet all the change I had, and rode silently away without speaking a word.47

McLean recalled individual Negroes with affection and even included the picture of one, whose "name will ever be a household word with the Rose family," in his book, but the thought of miscegenation was "repulsive" to him.48
accounts of other travelers indicate, however, that at least a few Texans did not share his view. Lundy, who saw more of the half world where the races mixed than most visitors, stopped with William Goyens, a free and "very respectable coloured man" of Nacogdoches who had a white wife, a native of Georgia. "'Amalgamation,' even by marriage, is not at all dreaded here," said Lundy. Even Mrs. Goyens' brothers approved her choice, he reported; and the free, mulatto daughter of another white man had even refused a marriage proposal by a white suitor because of the man's intemperance. Lundy found the Negroes mingling freely with the Mexican population, but he either ignored or was oblivious to a social distinction noted by one of his contemporaries. 49

There was "no social intercourse" between the Anglo-Americans and Mexicans at Nacogdoches, observed William Fairfax Gray, who was favorably impressed by the white society there. Gray thought the Mexicans resembled "our mulattos" in appearance and manners. "Yet there are among them some intelligent, respectable people." 50

No other traveler found as much tolerance for amalgamation as Lundy. When Olmsted visited southeast Texas in the mid-1850's, he heard of the wealthy and extensive Ashworth family, a family then several generations removed from black blood. "There were some white people, good-for-nothing people, that married in with them," Olmsted was told, "but
they couldn't live in Texas after it; all went over into Louisiana. 51 Although court records show that Olmsted was misinformed, that the racially-mixed Ashworths continued to reside in Texas, the records also show that they were harassed by court actions growing out of their miscegenetic marriages. 52

A story told by Noah Smithwick suggests that the white population grew less tolerant of miscegenation as the country filled with people and as the Civil War approached. Smithwick wrote a sympathetic account of John Ferdinand Webber, who established himself on the edge of civilization not far from Austin in the early 1830's. After becoming "entangled in a low amour" and fathering a child by another man's slave, Webber purchased the woman and child, took them home, and openly acknowledged them. As long as the country was thinly settled, the whites were tolerant of the situation, and the Webbers enjoyed the goodwill and respect of their few neighbors. But as the frontier receded, there was a growing intolerance. Webber's children were not allowed to attend school, and even the tutor he hired to teach them was threatened by a mob. Smithwick, who "abhorred the situation" but honored the man for "standing by his children whatever their complexion," was angered by white injustice, but he could foresee no peace for the family in Texas. Upon his recommendation, Webber sold his holdings and moved his family to the Rio Grande. 53
Although few strangers understood the peculiar mixture of apprehension, affection, and superiority with which the Southerner viewed his slaves, they substantiated the popular thesis that the worst masters were usually born elsewhere than in the South. After talking to a Northern woman who owned slaves, Olmsted wrote that she "entirely sustained the assertion that Northern people, when they come to the South, have less feeling for the negroes than Southerners themselves usually have." He later met an Irish woman, a former abolitionist turned slaveholder, who thought Negroes "all deserved to be whipped; if they were whipped more they'd be better; unless they was whipped they was good for nothing."  

Although Olmsted commended the Germans for their anti-slavery principles, it was the opinion of Roemer that his fellow countrymen made poor masters. They seldom understood how to handle Negroes, he said, "it requiring a combination of great determination and a certain amount of indulgence in order to strike a happy medium and one must have an intimate knowledge of the disposition of the Negro." Roemer cited as an example a valuable slave, a blacksmith worth about two thousand dollars, who was one of nineteen slaves on the plantation of Count von Boos Waldeck near Rutersville. The Negro had always conducted himself properly and had been treated with consideration until an inexperienced German overseer decided to administer a whipping for some fancied dis-
obedience. Irate at being treated like an ordinary fieldhand, the blacksmith departed and could be induced to return only after considerable bargaining and upon being assured that no punishment would be administered. 55

Whatever the visitor's opinion of slavery, and whatever else he discovered about it in Texas, he learned soon after his arrival that the slave was a universal prestige symbol among the residents. The social standing of the planter was entirely different from that of the farmer who worked his own fields, and, said Roemer, "The wish to possess slaves is inherent in all Texas farmers." 56 His fellow countryman, Viktor Bracht, noted that the same desire was also inherent in Texan women. As soon as her husband was financially able, the female Texan would insist that he procure a Negress for her; and once she had secured one, she would fold her hands and pursue her favorite occupation—that is, "sit unthinking and at ease in her rocking chair," said Bracht, no particular admirer of Texan women. 57

Whatever their place of origin, immigrants often adopted the Texans' social distinctions in the matter, Mrs. Houstoun discovered. While talking with two women, recent settlers from the North, she saw several white men approaching and, turning to the older woman, complimented her on her good fortune in procuring white labor. "Those gentlemen happen to be my sons and my brothers," was the indignant reply. Mrs.
Houstoun's best efforts at making amends proved unsuccessful. She departed without removing the impression that she had "wantonly and designedly insulted" the family. 58

Although travelers thought slavery in Texas comparatively mild, their accounts leave no doubt that, even without gross mistreatment, the lot of a slave was an unenviable one. Writer after writer told of slovenly slaves and indifferently performed tasks. "Their time isn't any value to themselves," a woman complained to Olmsted, and he seized on the sentence as a key to one of the greatest evils of the system. They had no motivation to perform tasks well, for they could not better themselves. 59

Nor did all Negroes meekly accept the idea of perpetual servitude. Zebulon Montgomery Pike found runaway Negroes from Louisiana at the crossing of the Trinity River in 1807, and the accounts of later writers are sprinkled with allusions to runaways. Mexico promised freedom to the enterprising Negro who could make his way there; and, according to many writers who visited the Mexican border, not a few Negroes attempted the journey. On the night that Olmsted reached the Rio Grande two Negroes crossed the river, and, upon talking to a freeman on the other side of the river, Olmsted learned that as many as forty had crossed in the previous month. They were always crossing there, he was told. 61 Unfortunately, there is no first hand account of a slave trek across Texas to
freedom, but the journey could not have been an easy one. In addition to the usual hazards of the journey, the Negro had to travel at night, to avoid all settlements, and to watch for unscrupulous white men who followed the profession of nigger catcher, that is, of hunting fugitive slaves along the border for the reward offered. "Seen any niggers?" two armed, mounted men asked Olmsted near the border. "No." "Nigger-hunting--poor business." "Poor business?" Olmsted inquired. "Yes; it's more trouble to get the money, after you've jugged 'em, than it's worth." 62

In central and western Texas Olmsted found the loss from runaways so great that several conventions and public meetings had been held to consider the problem. One plan called for a body of rangers to be organized by slaveowners and stationed along the Rio Grande; another proposed that the slaveholders west of the Colorado organize an insurance company to offer a reward attractive enough to induce hunters to pursue the fugitives. Olmsted quoted a newspaper as saying, "One thing is certain, unless something be done to arrest the escape of slaves, this class of property will become valueless in Western Texas. As yet, but few of those escaping have been caught." 63

Olmsted was told that once across the border some of the Negroes made a new life for themselves, sometimes succeeding in business and marrying into good Mexican families. But
some of the refugees did not fare so well. Being in a
strange land and not knowing the language, they found them-
selves poor, miserable, and caught up in Mexico's peculiar
form of slavery. A few, crestfallen, returned to their old
masters. Mild though the institution seemed to most trav-
elers, there can be no doubt that it was an oppressive one
to the silent human beings who played the central role.
CHAPTER VII

G. T. T.

Between the early 1820's and 1860 the letters G. T. T. scrawled on empty Southern houses meant that the occupants had Gone to Texas or, to use another current expression, had contracted Texas fever. In some instances, the man of the house had departed one jump ahead of the law after having become involved in what his neighbors called a difficulty, a euphemistic way of saying he had killed a man; in other instances, he had left in stealth, taking his family and chattels, because he was deeply in debt, and archaic debtors' laws gave him no hope of relief; in still other instances, he and his family had simply heard the siren call of the West with its promise of a new beginning and fresh opportunity.

When Frederick Law Olmsted passed along the Old San Antonio Road in the mid-1850's, migration to Texas had passed its peak, but immigrant trains were still one of the common sights of the road. "Before you come upon them you hear, ringing through the woods, the fierce cries and blows with which they urge on their jaded cattle," Olmsted wrote.

Then the stragglers appear, lean dogs or fainting negroes, ragged and spiritless. . . . Then the active and cheery prime negroes, not yet exhausted,
with a joke and a suggestion about tobacco. Then the black pickininnies staring, in a confused heap, out at the back of the wagon, more and more of their eyes to be made out among the table legs and bedding as you get near; behind them, further in, the old people and young mothers, whose turn it is to ride. As you get by, the white mother and babies, and the tall, frequently ill-humored master, on horseback, or walking with his gun, urging up the black driver and his oxen. . . .

The masters are plainly dressed, often in homespun, keeping their eyes about them, noticing the soil, sometimes making a remark on the crops by the roadside; but, generally, dogged, surly, and silent. The women are silent, too, frequently walking, to relieve the teams, and weary, haggard, mud be-draggled, forlorn, and disconsolate, yet hopeful and careful.¹

Although most of the immigrants came from the Southern United States, that area was not the only one to feel the effects of Texas fever. G. T. T. could well have been scrawled on countless doors in the Northern United States and in Western Europe, for the opening of Texas to colonization coincided with one of the great periods of migration in history. During that period Western Europeans and their
New World descendants moved in one last, mighty rush to complete the process of filling the empty parts of the world, a process begun when Columbus discovered America. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century Manifest Destiny and periodic economic depressions were turning Americans westward, while the industrial revolution, spreading over Europe, lent emphasis to Thomas Malthus’ theories and set thoughtful men to thinking about over-population. Revolutions in Europe in 1830 and 1848 and famine in the 1840’s underscored the fact that the world was neither so empty nor so vast as it had seemed three centuries earlier. To the land-hungry population of America and Europe, Texas represented one of the last places on earth where arable land was plentiful and virtually free. Thus, the rush to populate Texas in mid-nineteenth century was not only a part of the westward movement of the United States but an episode in the closing of what Walter Prescott Webb has called the Great Frontier.²

Although travelers in Texas were little concerned about historic movements, the mass of their writing is closely connected with the empty land. Indeed, the empty land inspired more words of travel literature than any other single factor before 1860. Many real estate promoters—among them Arthur Goodnall Wavell,³ the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company,⁴ and Jacob de Cordova⁵—wrote descriptions of the
country to advertise their product. Other writers came to Texas as advance agents for immigration societies. Joshua James and Alexander McCrae, for example, inspected the land on behalf of the Wilmington Emigrating Society; John Barrow and Edward Smith inspected northeast Texas on behalf of prospective British immigrants; Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels and Friedrich W. von Wrede were connected with the Mainzer Verein. Other travelers—including Benjamin Lundy, Victor Considerant, and Johan Reinert Reiersen—saw the empty land as the answer to social problems, while still others—among them, members of the Clopper family, Gideon Lincecum, and Micajah Autry—saw it as a solution to personal problems. "Be of good cheer, Martha, I will provide you a sweet home," Autry wrote his wife shortly before his death at the Alamo, thus catching in one sentence the yearning that brought immigrants to Texas from both sides of the Atlantic. Even writers who were not primarily interested in the land recognized the yearning, and, aware of the fact that prospective immigrants meant prospective book buyers, included a few words of advice to the immigrant in their works.

Either because so many writers had a selfish interest in the land or because of the notorious gullibility of all travelers, a good many extravagant stories found their way into travel literature. Several writers reported that Irish
potatoes turned sweet in Texas soil; Philander Priestly heard of a sweet potato twenty-nine inches in circumference; Mary Austin Holley wrote of pumpkins as large as a man could lift; Arthur Kin told of cotton plants twelve feet high and turned perennial, of hogs that multiplied fifty fold in a year's time, and of a single hen that, counting the chicks of her chicks, produced more than a hundred progeny a year. Moreover, said Kin, "Olives, almonds, nectarines, apricots, plums, cherries, papaws, &c. will thrive equally well in almost every locality."  

Printed stories such as these and similar word-of-mouth tales spread abroad by Texans eager to see their country populated led to the disillusionment of many newcomers. A visitor of 1837 was angered by the "disappointment and distress" he saw among immigrants brought to Texas by false representations. "Such a course to allure immigration deserves no better name than cruelty and merits the most severe reprehension," he wrote. Typical of many others were the immigrants sent by the Germania Society of New York, whom Gustav Dresel saw in Galveston in the winter of 1839-1840. The society had sent "tailors, shoemakers, confectioners, saddlers, painters, and suchlike artisans" to clear the primeval forest, Dresel noted with dismay.

Neither the leader nor any of his companions had ever been in Texas before. Their heads full of
illusions, their pockets practically empty of money, these people thought that all that was needed to make one's fortune was to take possession of the 320 acres granted by the government. It was not decided yet in what region they were to settle. None of them had an independent judgment on the conditions of the country; everyone therefore eagerly listened to the advice that the newcomers were plentifully given, partly from selfishness, partly from sympathy. The discord that had already broken out at sea now greatly spread. The company drifted.

By the mid-1830's conscientious writers, even some who gave generally favorable reports themselves, began warning their readers against believing everything they read or heard about Texas. "All the books I have ever met with on the country have rather tended to mislead the inquirer after truth than afford him any true information," advised an anonymous visitor of 1837. A British traveler of a few years later was even more emphatic in his warning: "What I would impress upon any person intending a visit to Texas, is to believe as little of the accounts given of it, as his credulity will permit of--not that there is not a good deal of truth in these accounts, but that there is a great deal
more falsehood. Other writers, among them erstwhile British immigrant Charles Hooton, were bitter in their denunciations of accounts which, they felt, had deliberately misrepresented affairs in Texas. Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century a reaction against Texas as a place of immigration was evident in some quarters. A British writer, who did not pretend to have visited Texas but who specialized in advising his countrymen on matters pertaining to emigration, gave Texas a negative report. According to his information, said Sidney Smith, "It [Texas] is comparatively unsettled, it is a border debatable land betwixt Mexico and the United States, and it is peopled by the scum and refuse, the daring, adventurous, and lawless of other lands."

If the immigrant could not trust the printed word, he certainly could not believe everything the Texans told him, many travelers cautioned. Edward Smith observed that, as every Texan was a landowner and nearly every one a land speculator, one could not rely on information received, while Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels expressed the opinion that the Anglo-American, either because of his own or another's interest, would pervert the truth ninety-nine times out of a hundred. Nor was it only Europeans who distrusted the Texans. "When people at a distance depend upon the citizens of Texas for their information or upon those who have an interest there, it is taking a too favorable view of human
nature to expect the truth and nothing but the truth," wrote an

European and American writers were in further agreement
that the innocent and gullible immigrant was no match for
the Texan in business deals. Matilda Charlotte Houston and
Prince Solms-Braunfels, both of whom were inclined to lump
Texans and all other Anglo-Americans together, warned their
readers against Yankee shrewdness. As almost all Americans
were "more or less crafty," said the Prince, the German
immigrant who did business with them could be sure of being
stripped of his "last shirt." Yankees were "always on the
look-out for a good thing," agreed Mrs. Houston; the English
settler would come out short nine times out of ten when
dealing with them.

American visitors, while substantiating the general
European opinion, expressed not approbation but a certain
grudging admiration for the Texan's shrewdness. One
frontiersman had not ridden a hundred miles into the country
before he was reminded of the saying, "He who goes in
search of fools and greenhorns need not come to Texas." Another American observed during the course of his tour that
the character of Texans had not been generally understood
abroad: "He who goes to Texas presuming on his own intelli-
gence and their want of it, will find himself mistaken. I
am acquainted with no community of the same number, which
embodies more shrewd, intelligent men than that of the single star republic."³⁰ It was not that everyone in Texas was a rascal, a friendly German writer pointed out, but the Texans did employ their "native shrewdness" in dealing with others. "I must warn against trusting people blindly."³¹

Travelers were of the general opinion that the newcomer was more likely to be fleeced in the purchase of land than in anything else. Thus, writer after writer warned the prospective immigrant of the pitfalls of buying Texas land. No visitor pretended to understand the intricacies of the Texas land system that were to keep the legal talent of the country busy until well into the twentieth century, but all who considered the problem realized that the buyer should be wary. William Fairfax Gray commented on the careless manner of keeping land titles when he visited Nacogdoches on the eve of the Revolution,³² and later visitors called attention to other factors that complicated Texas land titles --Spanish land grants, Mexican empresario contracts, revolutionary land scrip, veterans' bounties, headrights, questionable or fraudulent land companies, and faulty surveys. "The impression has become general that the people of Texas will have great difficulty to contend against in the uncertainty of their land titles," wrote a prophetic visitor of 1837.³³ The confusion was such that even honest vendors were likely to convey questionable titles, some travelers
observed. Mrs. Houston was told by "some of the cleverest lawyers in Texas, that the titles of three-fourths of the 'located' lands in Texas were of a doubtful character; not perhaps absolutely invalid, but admitting of a lawsuit." 34

Although land was the first commodity of Texas and the chief attraction to immigrants between 1820 and 1860, the more judicious writers began warning their readers by the mid-1830's not to be deluded by promises of free or extremely cheap land. A visitor of the early Republican era called attention to the disappointments that awaited the land-hungry newcomer at that time. The Texas government had offered a generous gift of land to entice immigrants, but this offer was effectively nullified by the fact that the land office was closed for an indefinite period, and the immigrant could not make his claim until it reopened. Moreover, all previous claims took precedence over the newcomers', and it was the opinion of the writer that when those were satisfied, there would be little desirable land remaining. The new settler would find himself relegated to the Indian frontier or to poor land, deficient in wood and water. "If the emigrant has no other object in going to Texas than to secure this gratuity of land," advised the writer, "it is a matter of great doubt whether it will ever prove an equivalent for the sacrifices he must necessarily make before he can expect to find himself comfortably situated
in the country."  

Later travelers found land still plentiful, but some of them pointed out that speculators had purchased large tracts of the most desirable land and, conscious of its future value, showed little inclination to sell at low prices. The free or cheap land lay beyond the line of settlement, had doubtful title, or was undesirable because of unhealthful location or the lack of fertility, water, or wood. Furthermore, on the interior the difficulties of transportation caused the settler to pay high prices for merchandise and made it difficult for him to get his produce to market.  

The prospective immigrant was warned time and again to be wary of land speculators, with the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company coming in for considerable unwelcome attention in this connection. An anonymous traveler of 1831 presented himself as an example of one victimized by the fancy scrip issued by this company. Thinking that he had purchased ten thousand acres of land, he arrived in Texas to select his acreage only to discover that his claim as well as that of the company was worthless. The company's claim was based on the acquisition of several empresario contracts, but whether these were negotiable was debatable. Furthermore, the company either misunderstood or was unaware of Mexican colonization laws. By law the empresario was given no title to land, only the right to introduce colonists to a designated area.
After introducing at least a hundred families, whose land titles emanated from the sovereign, the empresario was entitled to a specified amount of land. As none of the empresario contracts acquired by the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company had been completed, the company's claims were nebulous. Undeterred by this fact, the company sold scrip covering more than ten million acres at a few cents an acre, a circumstance that led to numerous legal complications and to the disillusionment of investors like the anonymous visitor to Texas in 1831. In spite of this writer's story and similar warnings by other travelers, however, unsuspecting buyers continued to invest in worthless Texas real estate schemes. As late as 1850, Jane Cazneau traveled to Texas with a man who had bought lots in a paper city and who was puzzled and then bitter when, after his arrival, he could find no trace of the metropolis.

Granted that the newcomer did not fall into the clutches of speculators and that he found satisfactory land with a sound title, what did Texas have to offer him? In considering this question, writers usually pointed out first of all that it offered him the opportunity to begin life anew on an equal footing with his fellow citizens. "There are no poor people here, and none rich; that is, none who have much money," wrote Mrs. Holley. "The poor and the rich, to use the correlatives, where distinction, there is none, get the
same quantity of land on arrival, and if they do not continue equal, it is for want of good management on the one part, or superior industry and sagacity on the other. Later writers echoed her sentiments, sometimes without bothering to change her words. Europeans, with a few disillusioned exceptions, saw Texas as a haven for the residue of poor deposited on their continent by the industrial revolution.

"Poverty in the European sense of the word, hopeless poverty and vulgar disgusting thievery" did not exist in Texas, observed a German writer. "The question of whether a diligent strong man can easily make a living in this country seems ridiculous. In answer to this it may be said that a man can earn more in Texas in three months than he can during a whole year in Germany."

In surveying the resources of Texas, travelers agreed without reservation that it was a natural livestock country. Indeed, even the most objective writers sometimes sounded like promoters for the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company when they considered the prospects for stock raising. Those from the northern regions of either the United States or Europe were always amazed that cattle could be raised with so little human effort. "No country in the world can be compared to this in the ease and facility of raising stock. All the herdsman has to do is to look after them, so they may not stray, and some portion of the year, yard them to
prevent their growing wild," said Amos Andrew Parker. The European standards of stock raising, "connected with much work," simply did not apply, observed Ferdinand Roemer, for in Texas cattle grazed out of doors on prairie grasses the year round, and, because of the mild climate, no one ever thought of feeding them in barns.43 Instead of toiling six months to raise what is indispensable to keep his stock alive the other half of the year, his cattle are fat all the year without a feed of grain or fodder, or a lick," said another enthusiastic visitor,44 while yet another vouched for an old Texan saying: "In Texas cattle live for the sake of man; but in all other countries man lives for the sake of his cattle."45

To illustrate the profits to be made from livestock, several writers cited the phenomenal success of James Taylor White, a settler living about five miles from Anahuac. A traveler of 1831 reported that although White had been in the country only three or four years, he owned three or four thousand head of cattle.46 Something more than a decade later, another visitor gave a more detailed report on White, showing that in spite of war and economic depression, he had continued to prosper:

Taylor White moved here nineteen years ago his whole fortune was three cows and calves two small poneys a wife and three children, he now
owns about 40,000 acres of land upwards of 90 negroes about thirty thousand head of cattle, has sixty thousand dollars in specie deposited in new orleans, marked and branded thirty seven hundred calves last spring, and sold last fall in new orleans 11 hundred steers weighing about 1000 lbs each which he says cost him not more than 75 cents a head to drive them to market [at] orleans and what is extraordinary he cannot read or write and has made his fortune raising stock alone.  

Many writers pointed out that the Texas farmer was also well paid for his efforts. No clearing of forests was necessary before he planted crops on the prairies, and because of the abundance of deep, rich soil he never had to manure his fields. Only the most rudimentary cultivation was necessary, and the mild climate insured good crops. Mrs. Houstone thought the production of crops required less labor in Texas than in any other place on earth, an opinion shared by at least a few of those who tilled the soil.  

"This country makes easy work for farmers," a Negro told one stranger. "Everything grows here 'out much trouble."  

To give the prospective immigrant some idea of what he could expect for his labor, some writers cited examples. Mrs. Holley reported that in 1831 one planter who had ninety-three acres cultivated by seven laborers made eighty bales of cotton,
two thousand bushels of corn, and five hundred bushels of sweet potatoes in addition to minor crops. According to other writers, the small farmer could also do well. Amos A. Parker, expressing fear that his readers would question his veracity, wrote that one man with the aid of a ten-year-old boy raised and gathered fifteen hundred bushels of corn, while Viktor Bracht reported that another man, "with the help of a boy who was too small to plough," produced seven bales of cotton, four hundred bushels of corn, forty-seven bushels of wheat, and food crops.

For all the productivity of the Texas soil, however, writers warned again and again that the immigrant could not expect to prosper without working. "Whoever does not work in Texas also will not harvest," said Bracht. Land promoter Jacob de Cordova agreed. The land, noted for its cattle and bee trees, was literally one that flowed with milk and honey, he advised his audiences, but it was necessary for the immigrant to milk the cows and gather the honey before he could enjoy one or the other—"neither can be obtained without labor." At the same time that they pointed out the opportunities in Texas, thoughtful travelers warned that everyone was not adapted to immigration. "Emigration, like matrimony, ought to be fully considered, as a bad move in this particular, is attended by many evils, and cannot well be remedied,"
advised Parker.\textsuperscript{55} Gustav Dresel was of the opinion that of a hundred who considered moving, at least fifty would do better to stay at home. "Only determined, energetic people are fit for a country where unwonted troubles and hardships of all kinds await the newcomer," he wrote. "Let whoever is not prepared for work and privation stay at home."\textsuperscript{56} Travelers were of the general opinion that those who were comfortable, successful, and contented where they were should stay there, but that those who were disappointed in the present circumstances and had little to lose would find gratification in Texas.\textsuperscript{57}

The more objective writers did not advise artisans or professional men to immigrate. "Unless the emigrant has made up his mind to give his attention to the cultivation of the soil or to the growth of stock, it would be difficult to say in what other way he could employ his time to advantage," wrote a visitor of 1837. A few years later Ferdinand Roemer rendered much the same opinion, advising his readers that farming was the only occupation in Texas that assured an "independent living." The writer of 1837 thought that carpenters and possibly blacksmiths could find employment, but that Texas had a "full share of physicians," an over supply of lawyers, and offered few opportunities for printers. "Let no young man go to Texas to obtain . . . 'a Situation,' without preparing himself to meet with disappointment," he
wrote. Roemer echoed this opinion. "May all who have not the firm intention and the necessary qualifications to establish themselves as farmers, remain away . . . nothing but disappointment and a tragic end await them."59

Travelers found representatives from many nations in Texas. Francis C. Sheridan noted "English, American, German, Italian, Dutch &c." immigrants in Galveston when he visited in 1839-1840. Other writers saw Irish, French, and Scottish settlers; and, by 1860, Czechs, Poles, and a few Wends and Norwegians had added further variety to the population. In generalizing about the adaptability of the various nationalities to conditions in Texas, most writers agreed that Americans, especially the "arrant Emigrant rovers" of the Western and Southern United States, made the best pioneers. They were already conditioned to the demands and perils of frontier life, and they were familiar with the process of selecting suitable land, providing themselves with food and shelter, and protecting themselves. Moreover, as they were near at hand, the man of the house could make a preliminary trip to the country to consider its advantages and to select his land before moving his family.62 Previous experience had taught the American to take the frontier in stride, observed Prince Solms-Braunfels. Occurrences, such as Indian attacks, which the German would view as major tragedies were considered by the American as "pertinent to the
general run of affairs," and naturally to be expected. 63

Although English immigrants because of their language usually blended into the American population, British writers were often of the opinion that their countrymen did not adjust well to frontier conditions. The English made "indifferent settlers" at first because of their previous habits of life and their inability to evaluate the real state of affairs in a new country, Arthur Ekin thought. He found them less hardy and enterprising than the American and Scot and less easily satisfied than the German. 64 Mrs. Houstoun thought the French also more fit for life in the new country than her countrymen. The French were more lighthearted and less easily depressed, and they had fewer wants and those more easily satisfied. "If a Frenchman, in the distant and scarcely inhabited prairie, finds himself in want of dinner, he takes his rifle, cries 'a la chasse,' and is as proud and happy if he returns with a small lark, to regale himself after his toil, as an Englishman would be had he brought home a fat buck," she wrote. 65 Of the European groups the Germans received the most general praise. "The Germans are infinitely superior as settlers, whether as agricultural laborers or tradesmen & mechanics. You never see a German idling, added to which he is sober, peaceable & persevering," was a typical comment. 66
When Europeans moved to Texas in groups and settled in colonies, they tended to cling to the customs and language of their native land. On the other hand, when they came as individuals or single families they readily assimilated and their peculiarities appeared no more than those of other individualistic Texans. Some German writers were perturbed to note the degree of assimilation of a few of their countrymen. Dresel was dismayed to find Germans Anglicizing their names. Steiner, for example, was changed to Stoner, while Miller became Miller; Bauer, Bower; Fischer, Fisher, and so on. Roemer was equally dismayed when he met a native German who had married an American woman and who refused to speak his native language, claiming he had forgot it. "It is unfortunately true that Germans in Texas, as well as in other parts of the United States, renounce their German origin and think it more honorable to pass as native Americans," he wrote. The Prince Solms-Braunfels roundly condemned the Anglicized Germans he met as being lower than Americans, a very low estate indeed. 67

Travelers recorded many instances of individual hardship among the immigrants. Amos A. Parker wrote with compassion of a young immigrant woman who died beside the road, leaving two young children in the care of her husband. It was sad to die in a lonely country far from home, Parker thought. Similar stories were told by other compassionate
travelers, and sometimes the tragedy was on a much larger scale. Several writers were particularly touched by the plight of some three to four thousand German immigrants who arrived in the fall of 1844 under the auspices of the Mainzer Verein, a German colonization society. As the society had failed to make adequate arrangements for the supply and transportation of the immigrants, they remained on the coast without adequate food and shelter until the following summer when fevers and dysentery began taking an alarming toll. "Who would not grieve over the sorrowful sight that we daily have to witness!" exclaimed Mrs. Houstoun who saw some of the immigrants in Galveston.

The poor women, still retaining their national costume, bareheaded, and ill-clothed, are most of them surrounded by shivering children, and are almost destitute of the means of subsistence, while the men are always out shooting, endeavouring in this manner to procure some slight repast for their hungry families; but as human beings have increased in the little island, the wild animals have become proportionately scarce, and the daily search of the German emigrants for food, fully accounts to us for the diminution of game on the island. . . . Everything has been destroyed, or scared away by the hungry Germans.69
In desperation, some of the immigrants abandoned their property on the coast and headed inland for New Braunfels, a journey beset by hardship and tragedy. "Entire families died during the journey . . . , and the course along the Guadalupe was marked by countless German graves," wrote Roemer. "All moral ties were dissolved and the prairie was witness to deeds of violence from which the natural feelings revolt and which sullied the German name in the far-away country." Roemer was of the opinion that more than a thousand of the immigrants died and that not more than twelve hundred actually settled upon the land secured for them by the Mainzer Verein.\textsuperscript{70}

Because Germans formed the most numerous body of European immigrants and because so many of the Germans were literate, their experiences are better documented in travel literature than those of other European groups. Other immigrants, however, encountered many of the same hardships. Henry Castro's colonists, primarily Alsatians, endured the difficult journey to the seat of his colony twenty-five miles west of San Antonio only to face a prolonged drouth that reduced them to eating rattlesnakes and bird eggs. After the drouth broke, a visitation of locusts devoured their harvest, and shortly afterward an epidemic of cholera devastated the settlement.\textsuperscript{71} Castroville and a few other European settlements—among them, New Braunfels and Fredericks-
burg—persisted in spite of these trials, but others dis-integrated under the ordeal of the frontier.

One of the most interesting of the failures was the socialistic colony of La Réunion, founded near present Dallas by Victor Considerant, a disciple of Charles François Fourier. Mismanaged and led by a dreamer, this colony, like the earlier communistic colony of Bettina, failed because the frontier of Texas was no place for utopian experiments.\textsuperscript{72} The abundant land which made such experiments possible also doomed them to failure for the laborers could easily obtain land of their own and were not inclined to work for the group when they could see greater advantages for themselves under the capitalistic system.

Travel accounts leave little doubt that many of those who came to Texas as prospective settlers failed in their purpose. Although there are no statistics as to how many changed their minds or met with defeat, the experience of Benjamin Lundy suggests the ratio between those who made the attempt and those who accomplished their mission. Of ten immigrants who sailed for San Patricio on Lundy's schooner, only two reached their destination. Of the others, five died of cholera, one became insane, and two returned to New Orleans or elsewhere.\textsuperscript{73} The immigration process was a "barbarizing scramble," wrote Olmsted after talking to some of those who had survived it. Surely, he
suggested, there was some more humane way of settling the
country. 74

In spite of all the difficulty and heartbreak, immi-
grants continued filling the country. A few Wends came be-
cause of religious persecution; some Germans came as
political exiles; other Europeans, like Johan Reinert
Reiersen, came because they felt oppressed by the "old
monarchical, aristocratic, and hierarchic institutions,"
and the "old class- and caste-systems" of their homeland; 75
Still others, like the colonists of La Réunion and Bettina,
came in pursuit of ideas. By far the majority of both Ameri-
cans and Europeans, however, came because of economic pres-
sures. The Panic of 1819 sent the first wave of Anglo-
Americans into Texas, and outdated debtors' laws and depleted
cotton lands continued the movement. The Panic of 1837,
accompanied as it was by a tightening of credit regulations
and high land prices in the United States, added impetus to
a movement already in progress, while the Texan Revolution,
the annexation controversy, and Mexican War kept Texas in the
public eye. 76 European migration was closely linked to the
economic displacements caused by the industrial revolution.
Mechanization made Europe seem over-populated and created a
class of poverty-stricken for whom there seemed no future at
home. Texas offered an opportunity for these surplus people,
and their migration worked for the good of the laborers left
at home in that it lowered the labor supply. Although life in Texas was not easy, the fact that migration continued indicates that life was harder elsewhere. Travelers who asked settlers if they were glad they had migrated usually received an affirmative answer.

"And you are glad you left Germany?" Olmsted asked a young immigrant.

"O, yes; very glad! a thousand times better here."

"You can have more comfort here?"

"Oh, no; not so much."

"Why, then, do you like it better to be here?"

"Because here I am free."

"In Germany, too, I suppose, you had to work very hard."

"Oh, we work harder here; but, by-and-by, when we get fixed, then we will not have to work hard then, it will be very easy." 77

The writings of those who came first as visitors and then decided to stay are indicative of the mass of immigrant opinion. Near the end of a long life one American, recalling the time when he made the difficult decision to immigrate, wrote: "After much prayer and meditation my mind was made up, and I thank God yet for the decision." 78 A Norwegian, after first telling of his poor choice of land and the hot climate, said much the same thing: "I do not regret that I migrated thither, because I realize quite well that the
possibilities for the future are far better here than in Norway." Viktor Bracht echoed this opinion and spoke for the mass of immigrants. "It is almost two years since I left the home of my parents for this glorious country," he wrote from Fredericksburg in the winter of 1847. "You know well that my expectations were not small; but, honestly, I must solemnly affirm that not only have I not been disappointed, but that my expectations have in many instances been far surpassed. Every hour and day that I live here, I learn to love my new home better."
NOTES

CHAPTER I


7 Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York, 1857).

8 Mary Austin Holley, Texas: Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive . . . (Baltimore, 1833; reprinted in Mattie Austin Hatcher, Letters of an Early American Traveller, Mary Austin Holley; Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846 [Dallas, 1933]) and Texas (Lexington, Ky., 1836).


10 Henry Castro, Le Texas (Anvers, 1845).


12 Melinda Rankin, Texas in 1850 (Boston, 1850) and Twenty Years Among the Mexicans, a Narrative of Missionary Labor (Cincinnati, 1875).

13 Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, or, Recollections of Old Texas Days (Austin, 1900; reprinted, 1935).


16 Charles Hooton, *St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana; with Additional Observations Made in the United States and in Canada* (London, 1847).


21 See Texas in 1837, an Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative, Andrew Forest Muir, ed. (Austin, 1958), 206-207, n. 4; and Andrew Forest Muir, "In Defense of Mrs. Mann," in Mexican Border Ballads and Other Lore, Mody C. Boatright, ed. (Austin, 1946), 103, n. 21.


23 Gaspar José de Solís, "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in the Years 1767-68," Margaret Kenney Kress, trans., Ibid., XXXV (July 1931), 28-76. For another translation, see "The Solís Diary of 1767," Peter P. Forrestal, trans., Texas Catholic Historical Society, Preliminary Studies, I (March 1931), 3-42.

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25 [Benjamin Lundy], The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy ... (Philadelphia, 1847).

26 Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies ... (2 vols., New York, 1844; reprinted, 1905) and Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg, Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847, Maurice G. Fulton, ed. (Norman, Okla., 1941).
27 James W. Parker, *Narrative of the Perilous Adventures, Miraculous Escapes and Sufferings of Rev. James W. Parker* . . . (Louisville, Ky., 1844; reprinted, 1926).

28 For a biography of Mrs. Holley, see Rebecca Smith Lee, *Mary Austin Holley, a Biography* (Austin, Tex., 1962).

29 For a review of the controversy surrounding Pike's journey, see W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder, Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (Norman, Okla., 1949).

30 For biographical information about Pagès, see *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* (45 vols., Paris, n. d.), XXXI, 612; and *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus recules jusqu'à nos jours* (46 vols., Paris, 1855), XXXIX, 42-44.


34 Johann Rachnitz, *Kurze und getreu Belehrung für deutsche und schweizerische Auswanderer* . . . (Stuttgart, 1836).


(5 vols., Columbus, Ohio, 1922). See also Claude M. Bruener, "Rutherford B. Hayes's Horseback Ride Through Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVIII (January 1965), 353-62.

40 Cora Montgomery [pseud., Jane (McManus) Gazneau], Eagle Pass: or, Life on the Border (New York, 1852). Watterson said further that she was "a born insurrecto and a terror with her pen" and that Thomas Hart Benton said she did more to make and end the Mexican War than anyone else. Henry Watterson, "Marse Henry," an Autobiography (2 vols. in 1, New York, 1919), I, 56-58.

41 Lydia Spencer (Elaney) Lane, I Married a Soldier, or, Old Days in the Old Army (Philadelphia, 1893).

42 Zachariah N. Morrell, Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness . . . (Dallas, Tex., 1886).

43 George W. Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition . . . (2 vols., New York, 1844). For a biography of Kendall, see Fayette Copeland, Kendall of the Fiasyme (Norman, Okla., 1943).

44 Pages, Travels, I, 466.

45 William B. Parker, Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Capt. R. B. Marcy . . . (Philadelphia, 1856), 10;


49 Sánchez, "Trip to Texas," 271.


51 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houstoun, *Hesperos; or, Travels in the West* (2 vols., London, 1850), II, 121-29.

Mr. Houstone was also interested in a beef-packing plant at Galveston. See the Houston Morning Star, March 18, 1843, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

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54 Edward Stiff, The Texan Emigrant . . . (Cincinnati, 1840); and Francis Moore, Jr., Map and Description of Texas . . . (Philadelphia, 1840). See, also, Samuel W. Geiser, "Note on Dr. Francis Moore," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVII (April 1944), 419-24; and note by Andrew Forest Muir, ibid., XLVIII (October 1944), 288-89

55 Houstone, Hesperos, II, 127.


57 Cornelius C. Cox, "Reminiscences of C. C. Cox," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, VI (October


61 Ibid., 175; Roemer, *Texas*, 34.


63 Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas*, III, Pt. 2, 348-49 (No. 1382), identifies Hartnel as the author of *Texas and Mexico, a Few Hints to the Creditors of Mexico . . .* (London, 1841), published a few months earlier.

64 Tkin, *Texas*, vii.


73 See Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas*, III, Pt. 1, 20–21 (No. 1042) for a discussion of Pike's indebtedness to Humboldt.


75 Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ix.

76 Roemer, *Texas*, 32.

78 Amos A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas* . . .
(Concord, N. H., 1835).

79 Roemer, *Texas*, 301.
CHAPTER II

1 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houstoun, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico; or Yachting in the New World (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 205.


4 Carl Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 1844-1845 (Houston, Tex., 1936), 8.

5 [Asahel Langworthy], A Visit to Texas . . . (New York, 1834), 202.


7 Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York, 1857), 364, 366-367, 381.

8 Nettie Lee Benson, "Bishop Marín de Porras and Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LV (July 1917), 29.


11 Amos A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas* . . . (Concord, N. H., 1835), 164.


15 A. A. Parker, *Trip to the West*, 129.

16 Lydia Spencer (Blaney) Lane, *I Married a Soldier, or Old Days in the Old Army* (Philadelphia, 1893), 168.


19 Lane, *I Married a Soldier*, 81. Mrs. Lane rode the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway, which ran from
Harrisburg to Richmond at the time of her visit in 1859.

In an address made at the opening of Rice Institute, Thomas Jefferson Brown recalled that when he traveled from Jasper County, Georgia, to Washington County, Texas, in 1846 he saw his first railroad track at Atlanta, Georgia, and did not see another railroad on his journey. His trip took three months. See Thomas Jefferson Brown, "Education and the State," in The Book of the Opening of the Rice Institute (3 vols., Houston, Tex., 1912), I, 115-22. The article is also in Rice Institute Pamphlets, I (April 1915), 28-35.

20 Lewis B. Harris, "Journal of Lewis Birsdall Harris, 1836-1842: Personal History for My Sons," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXV (October 1921), 142.


22 [Benjamin Lundy], The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including His Journeys to Texas and Mexico . . . (Philadelphia, 1847), 46.

23 Julius Froebel, Seven Years in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States (London, 1859), 427, 433.


27 Mary Austin Holley, *Texas; Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive . . .* (Baltimore, 1833) in Mattie Austin Hatcher, *Letters of an Early American Traveller, Mary Austin Holley, Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846* (Dallas, 1933), 104-18.


32 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 218.

33 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 90. For a detailed account of the potentials and hazards of the Colorado, see William C. McKinstry, The Colorado Navigator . . . (Matagorda, Tex., 1840).

34 Houston, Texas, II, 90-91.


36 Page, Travels, I, 47.

37 Texas in 1837, an Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative, Andrew Forest Muir, ed. (Austin, 1958), 193-94, n. 5; and Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 70-72.

38 George W. Kendall, Narrative of an Expedition Across the Great South-Western Prairies, from Texas to Santa Fé . . . (2 vols., London, 1845), I, 45.

39 Lane, I Married a Soldier, 12-26.

40 Ibid., 27.

41 William F. Gray, From Virginia to Texas, 1835 . . . , A. C. Gray, ed. (Houston, Tex., 1930), 142.
42 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 97.

43 Lane, I Married a Soldier, 23-24, 161.

44 Houston, Texas, II, 189.

45 Texas in 1837, 30.

46 Houston, Texas, II, 173.

47 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 32; and Francis C. Sheridan, Galveston Island, or, A Few Months off the Coast of Texas; the Journal of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839-1840, Willis W. Pratt (Austin, 1954), 40.

48 James O. Andrew, Miscellanies: Comprising Letters, Essays, and Addresses . . . (Louisville, 1854), 107.

49 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houston, Hesperos; or, Travels in the West (2 vols., London, 1850), II, 120-21.

50 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 131.

51 Andrew, Miscellanies, 102.

52 Houston, Hesperos, I, 101-102.

54 Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, or, Recollections of Old Texas Days (Austin, 1900), 43.

55 Kendall, Expedition, I, 274.

56 Ibid., I, 274.
CHAPTER III

1 Bryant wrote this poem after a visit to Illinois in 1832. It is included in [A. B. Lawrence], Texas in 1840 . . . (New York, 1840), 274-75, as "Prairies of Texas."

2 Amos A. Parker, Trip to the West and Texas . . . (Concord, N. H., 1835), 135.

3 Rutherford B. Hayes, Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes . . . , Charles R. Williams, ed. (5 vols., Columbus, Ohio, 1922), I, 245-46.

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5 Texas in 1837, an Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative, Andrew Forest Muir, ed. (Austin, 1958), 127.

6 [Asahel Langworthy], A Visit to Texas . . . , (New York, 1834), 186.

7 Amelia Matilda Murray, Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada (New York, 1856), 300.

8 Zachariah N. Morrell, Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness . . . (3 ed., St. Louis, 1882), 38.

9 Texas in 1837, 131.
10 Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country*, Oswald Mueller, trans. (Houston, Tex., 1936), 162.


17 Mary Austin Holley, *Texas; Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive . . .* (Baltimore, 1833) in Mattie Austin Hatcher, *Letters of an Early American Traveller*,
Mary Austin Holley, Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846
(Dallas, Tex., 1939), 125.

18 For a summary of Texas geography, see Robert T. Hill,
Physical Geography of the Texas Region (Washington, D. C.,
1900), and Elmer H. Johnson, "Toward an Understanding of the
Geography of Texas," Texas Geographic Magazine, III (Autumn
1939), 22-42.

19 Emmanuel H. D. Domenech, Missionary Adventures in
Texas and Mexico . . . (London, 1858), 27; and Morrell,
Flowers and Fruits, 38.

20 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 18.

21 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 147.

22 Domenech, Missionary Adventures, 27.

23 Hayes, Diary and Letters, I, 263.

24 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 27.

25 Domenech, Missionary Adventures, 27.

26 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 184.


31 Ibid., 124-25.


33 Solís, "Diary of a Visit," 36.


36 Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1874), 169.


39 Ibid., 32.

40 David B. Edward, *The History of Texas ...* (Cincinnati, 1836), 83.


43 Ibid., 99, 108.


47 Lydia Spencer (Blaney) Lane, *I Married a Soldier, or, Old Days in the Old Army* (Philadelphia, 1893), 80.


50 *Texas in 1837*, 8-10. For another description of the damage done by this storm, see Frédéric LeClerc, *Texas and Its Revolution*, James L. Shepherd, III, trans. (Houston, Tex., 1950), 43-44.


52 *Din, Texas*, 37.


54 *Texas in 1837*, 75; Roemer, *Texas*, 83; and Hayes, *Diary and Letters*, I, 263.

55 Ellis P. Bean, "Memoir of Colonel Ellis P. Bean . . .," in Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846*

56 Pike, Expeditions, II, 782-83.


58 [Lawrence], Texas in 1840, 73-74.

59 Kendall, Narrative, I, 83.

60 Pagès, Travels, I, 110.

61 Edward Nicholas Clopper, [II], in Edward Nicholas Clopper, [IV], An American Family (Cincinnati, 1950), 168.

62 I'kin, Texas, 36.

63 Kendall, Expedition, 98-100. For an equally hair-raising story about the javelina, see John James Audubon and John Bachman, The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America (3 vols., New York, 1846), I, 238-39.

64 William B. Parker, Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Capt. R. B. Marcy . . . (Philadelphia, 1856), 32. For similar accounts of this insect, see Charles Lyell, A
Second Visit to the United States of North America (2 vols., New York, 1849), II, 89; and [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 183.

65 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 154; Roemer, Texas, 185; and Solís, "Diary of a Visit," 55.

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67 Ibid., 148; Texas in 1837, 94; and John R. Bartlett, Personal Narratives of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California . . . (2 vols., London, 1854), I, 38.

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69 Joseph C. Clopper in Clopper, American Family, 191.

70 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 152.

71 Pike, Expeditions, II, 698.


73 Solís, "Diary of a Visit," 50.

74 Pike, Expeditions, II, 697-98, 784.

75 Gregg, Diary & Letters, 234-35.

77 Solís, "Diary of a Visit," 48-49.


80 *Texas in 1837*, 113, 115.


84 Kendall, *Narrative*, I, 74-75. This is one of the passages Frederick Marryat stole from Kendall. See Marryat, *The Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California*,
Sonora, and Western Texas (London, 1843), 145-46.

85 Morrell, Flowers and Fruits, 166; and Ikin, Texas, 28.

86 Thomas A. Morris, Miscellany (Cincinnati, 1852), 340.

87 Gregg, Letters & Diary, 106.


89 Morrell, Flowers and Fruits, 56.
CHAPTER IV

1 Gaspar José de Solís, "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in the Years 1767-68," Margaret Kenney Kress, trans., Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXV (July 1931), 67.

2 Ferdinand Roemer, Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country, Oswald Mueller, trans. (San Antonio, Tex., 1935), 130.

3 Randolph B. Marcy and George B. McClellan, Adventure on Red River . . . , Grant Foreman, ed. (Norman, Okla., 1937), 176. See, also, William B. Parker, Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Capt. R. B. Marcy . . . (Philadelphia, 1856), 241.

4 Melinda Rankin, Texas in 1850 (Boston, 1850), 98.

5 [A. B. Lawrence], Texas in 1840 . . . (New York, 1840), 255.


8 L. Hartmann and [?] Millard, Texas, or, An Historical Study of Champ d'Asile, in Fannie E. Ratchford (ed.), The Story of Champ d'Asile as Told by Two of the Colonists (Dallas, Tex., 1937), 128, 146.


10 Solís, "Diary of a Visit," 43.

11 W. B. Parker, Notes Taken, 111.


13 Roemer, Texas, 273.

14 Gustav Dresel, Gustav Dresel's Houston Journal, Adventures in North America and Texas, 1837-1841, Max Freund, trans. (Austin, Tex., 1954), 34. See, also, W. B. Parker, Notes Taken, 68-71.


17 Stephen F. Austin, "Journal of Stephen F. Austin on His First Trip to Texas, 1821," [Eugene C. Barker, ed.], Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, VII (April 1904), 305.

18 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 297.


20 Lyder L. Unstad, "Norwegian Migration to Texas: A Historic Resumé with Four 'America Letters,'" Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIII (October 1939), 185.

21 Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, or, Recollections of Old Texas Days (Austin, Tex., 1900), 280-81.

22 Francis C. Sheridan, Galveston Island, or, A Few Months off the Coast of Texas; the Journal of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839-1840, Willis W. Pratt, ed. (Austin, Tex., 1954), 107-108.
23 For example, see Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 280.


25 Mary Austin Holley, *Texas* (Lexington, Ky., 1836), 148.

26 [Asahel Langworthy], *A Visit to Texas* . . . (New York, 1834), 240.

27 [Lawrence], *Texas in 1840*, 46.

28 Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 122. For evidence that this idea persisted on the frontier after 1860, see note by Elliott Coues in his edition of Zebulon M. Pike, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* . . . (3 vols., New York, 1895), II, 747-48 n. "There is no historic period when the Apaches were not the scourge of the country . . . ," says Coues. "We continually hunted Apaches and killed a good many." Coues boasted of a friend who had "at least twenty 'good' (dead) Apaches" to his credit.

29 Amos A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas* . . . (Concord, N. H., 1835), 155.


32 Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 40.

33 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 131-32.

34 The best brief summary of the Indians of Texas in the 1760's is found in Herbert E. Bolton, Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780 (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1914), I, 17-122. See, also, Herbert E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century (Berkeley, Calif., 1915; reprinted, 1962), 281-386; and William W. Newcomb, The Indians of Texas, from Prehistoric to Modern Times (Austin, 1961).

35 Lafora, Frontiers of New Spain, 79-80.

36 Bolton, Athanase de Mézières, I, 218-19, 297-98; II, 146.


38 Ibid., 41-42, 58, 61, 70; and Fagès, Travels, I, 69.


40 Pike, Expeditions, II, 784-85.
41 Holley, Texas (1836), 159. For another version of the end of the Karankawas, see Smithwick, Evolution of a State, 22.

42 Ibid., 248.

43 Lafora, Frontiers of New Spain, 185–86.


45 Rachel (Parker) Plummer in James W. Parker, The Rachel Plummer Narrative (Palestine, Tex., 1926), 94.

46 Marcy and McClellan, Adventure on Red River, 169.


48 Roemer, Texas, 242–43.


50 Domenech, Missionary Adventures, 129.

51 Cora Montgomery [pseud., Jane (McManus) Gazeau], Eagle Pass, or, Life on the Border (New York, 1852), 141.


56 Rutherford B. Hayes, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* . . . , Charles R. Williams, ed. (5 vols., Columbus, Ohio, 1922), I, 260.


64 Solms-Braunfels, *Texas*, 8. For other travelers' views of Hays, see William Bollaert, *William Bollaert's Texas*, W. Eugene Hollon and Ruth Lapham Butler, eds. (Norman,


66 Roemer, Texas, 278. See, also, Domenech, Missionary Adventures, 130; and W. B. Parker, Notes Taken, 115.
CHAPTER V

1 Stephen F. Austin, "Journal of Stephen F. Austin on His First Trip to Texas, 1821," [Eugene C. Barker, ed.], Texas State Historical Association Quarterly, VII (April 1904), 286.

2 Herbert E. Bolton, Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780 (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1914), I 302.

3 A fragmentary, first hand account of Nolan's last expedition is found in Ellis Peter Bean, "Memoir of Colonel Ellis P. Bean . . . ," in Henderson Yoakum, History of Texas from Its First Settlement to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846 (2 vols., New York, 1855), I, 403-52.
A description of Texas by Nolan, of which there is no known copy and which probably never existed, is listed by Thomas W. Streeter, Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845 (3 vols. in 5, Cambridge, Mass., 1955-1960), III, Pt. 1, 18 (No. 1028).

John Sibley (1754-1837) was born in Massachusetts but moved first to North Carolina, where he established a newspaper, and later to Natchitoches, Louisiana, where he served as Indian agent from 1805 to 1814. Like James Wilkinson, Sibley was closely connected with almost every aggression by Americans into Spanish territory in the early part of the nineteenth century. See G. P. Whittington, "Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, 1757-1837," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly, X* (October 1927), 467-512.

5 Thomas Freeman, *An Account of the Red River, in Louisiana...* (Washington? 1807?).

Thomas Freeman (-1821), an Irish-born surveyor, immigrated to the United States in 1784. He surveyed the District of Columbia in 1794 and was appointed to help Andrew Ellicott chart the boundary between the United States and Spain in 1796. His careful notes on his exploration of Red River resulted in the first accurate mapping of the river. See Albert T. Witbeck, "Thomas Freeman," *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols., New York, 1931), VII, 13-14.


21. Mary Austin Holley, Texas (Lexington, Ky., 1836), 139.

22. Sheridan, Galveston Island, 45.


29 Roemer, *Texas*, 60.


32 [A. B. Lawrence], Texas in 1840 ... (New York, 1840), 229. For a similar statement, see Edward Smith, Account of a Journey Through North-Eastern Texas (London, 1849), 71.

33 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico ... (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 275, 262, 307; and Houston, Hesperos, II, 119, 121.

34 Carl Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 1844-1845 (Houston, Tex., 1936), 66.


36 [Lawrence], Texas in 1840, 235.

37 Gaspar José de Solís, "Diary of a Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar José de Solís in the Years 1767-68," Margaret Kenney Kress, trans., Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXV (July 1931), 40.

38 Holley, Texas (1836), 128.

39 David B. Edward, The History of Texas ... (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1836), 79; Amos A. Parker, Trip to the West and Texas ... (Concord, N. H., 1835), 148, 121, 170; Houston, Hesperos, II, 119, 121.
40 Roemer, Texas, 100-102; and Louis Reinhardt, "The Communistic Colony of Bettina (1846-8)," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, III (July 1899), 53-40.

41 Thomas A. Morris, Miscellany (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1852), 344.

42 Hayes, Diary and Letters, I, 259.

43 Smithwick, Evolution of a State, 19.

44 Sánchez, "Trip to Texas," 274. For the view of another traveler who found Groce's hospitality lacking, see Gray, Virginia to Texas, 142.

45 Hayes, Diary and Letters, I, 254.


47 Sheridan, Galveston Island, 34.

48 Houstoun, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, II, 187.

49 Ibid., I, 271-72.

50 Sheridan, Galveston Island, 47.


52 Houstoun, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, II, 171-72.
53 William B. Parker, Notes Taken During the Expedition

54 Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, II, 210-11.

55 Ibid., 107.


57 W. B. Parker, Notes Taken, 87; and Randolph B. Marcy,
Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border (New York, 1866),
372-73.

58 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 385.

59 Houston, Texas the Gulf of Mexico, II, 108, 185-87.
This expression appears in Mitford M. Mathews (ed.), A
Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles (2 vols.,
Chicago, 1951), I, 699.

60 Marcy, Thirty Years, 372.

61 George W. Kendall, Narrative of an Expedition Across
the Great South-Western Prairies, from Texas to Santa Fé . . .
(2 vols., London, 1845), I, 116-17. See, also, Mathews (ed.),
Dictionary of Americanisms, I, 550; and Archer Taylor and
Bartlett J. Whiting, A Dictionary of American Proverbs and
62 [Lawrence], Texas in 1840, 236.

63 Edward, History of Texas, 296.

64 Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, II, 110-11.

65 Charles Hooton, St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana . . . (London, 1847), 23.

66 Kendall, Narrative, I, 97.

67 Pike, Expeditions, II, 790.

68 Bracht, Texas in 1848, 72.

69 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 178.

70 Dilue Harris, "The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, VII (January 1904), 217.

71 Bracht, Texas in 1848, 63-64.

72 Jacob de Cordova, Lecture on Texas (Philadelphia, 1858), 17.

73 Mary (Sherwood) Wightman Helm, Scraps of Early Texas History . . . (Austin, Tex., 1884), 44; and Cora Montgomery [pseud., Jane (McManus) Gazeau], Eagle Pass; or, Life on the Border (New York, 1852), 16.

74 Roemer, Texas, 295-97.
75 Holley, Texas (1836), 145, 146-47.

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77 Ibid., 16.

78 John J. Linn, Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas (New York, 1883), 264. For similar references to Peggy McCormick, see Lewis Birdsall Harris, "Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836-1842: Personal History for My Sons," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXV (January 1922), 188; and Robert H. Hunter, Narrative of Robert Hancock Hunter, 1813-1902 (Austin, Tex., 1936), 24-25.

79 Joseph C. Clopper in Clopper, American Family, 181-82.

80 Hayes, Diary and Letters, I, 246, 248.

81 Harris, "Reminiscences," 162-70.
CHAPTER VI


2 [Benjamin Lundy], The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy ... (Philadelphia, 1847), 130, 48.

3 Amos A. Parker, Trip to the West and Texas ... (Concord, N. H., 1835), 162; and Mary Austin Holley, Texas (Lexington, Ky., 1836), 133.

4 [Asahel Langworthy], A Visit to Texas ... (New York, 1834), 110, 187.


6 Carl Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 1844-1845 (Houston, Tex., 1936), 50-51.

7 Kennedy, Texas, I, xxv; and Nicholas Doran P. Maillard, The History of the Republic of Texas (London, 1842), 263-64.

9 Holley, Texas (1836), 133.


11 Albert Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean, 1857-1867* (New York, 1867, 239.

12 [Lundy], *Life, Travels, and Opinions*, 38.


16 Rutherford B. Hayes, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes...*, Charles R. Williams, ed. (5 vols., Columbus, Ohio, 1922), I, 255.


21 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 200.

22 Murray, Letters from the United States, 298.


24 Hayes, Diary and Letters, I, 255.


26 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houstoun, Hesperos: or, Travels in the West (2 vols., London, 1850), II, 121; and E. Smith, Account of a Journey, 76.


37 Sheridan, *Galveston Island*, 89-90.

38 [Lundy], *Life, Travels, and Opinions*, 31, 35-36, 38, 44, 121-122.
William Kennedy to the Earl of Aberdeen, September 6, 1843, in Adams (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 261-62.

Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houstoun, *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, or, Yachting in the New World* (2 vols., London, 1844), II, 244-45.


Bollaert, *Bollaert’s Texas*, 271.

E. Smith, *Account of a Journey*, 84.


Hayes, *Diary and Letters*, I, 248. The family relationship was such that Anson Jones referred to sexual relations between members of the white and black family as incest. See his *Memorandum and Official Correspondence* . . . (New York, 1859), 627.


Ibid., 131, 137.

[Lundy], *Life, Travels, and Opinions*, 116-17.

Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 94.

52 For a detailed account of the Ashworths, see Andrew
Forest Muir, "The Free Negro in Jefferson and Orange
Counties, Texas," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXV (April
1950), 183-206.

53 Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State, or,
Recollections of Old Texas Days* (Austin, 1900), 225-26. For
other references to the Webber family, see John Salmon Ford,
*Rip Ford's Texas*, Stephen B. Oates, ed. (Austin, Tex., 1963),
362; and Elma Turley Carpenter, *Tales from the Manchaca
Hills*, Jane and William R. Hogan, eds. (New Orleans, 1960),
26-27.


55 Roemer, *Texas*, 164.


57 Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 69.


60 Zebulon M. Pike, *The Expeditions of Zebulon
Montgomery Pike*, ..., Elliott Goues, ed. (3 vols., New
York, 1895), II, 708.
61 Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, 324.

62 Ibid., 313-14.

63 Ibid., 331-32.
CHAPTER VII

1 Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York, 1857), 55-57.


4 The Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company printed several promotional pamphlets, among them Address to the Reader of the Documents Relating to the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company . . . (New York, 1831), and Emigrant's Guide to Texas . . . (New York, 1834). Also promoting the company is [Asahel Langworthy], The Constitution of the Republic of Mexico . . . (New York, 1832).

5 Jacob de Cordova, Lecture on Texas (Philadelphia, 1858). See, also, James M. Day, Jacob de Cordova, Land Merchant of Texas (Waco, Tex., 1962).

7 John Barrow, Facts Relating to North-East Texas ... (London, 1848); and Edward Smith, Account of a Journey Through North-Eastern Texas (London, 1849).

8 Carl Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 1844-1845 (Houston, Tex., 1936); and Friedrich W. von Wrede, Lebensbilder aus Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und Texas (Cassel, 1844).

9 [Benjamin Lundy], The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy ... (Philadelphia, 1847).

10 Victor Considerant, Au Texas (Paris, 1854) and The Great West (New York, 1854).

11 Johan Reinert Reiersen, Velviser for Norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas (Christiana, 1844).

12 The Texas journals and letters of the Cloppers have been printed in Edward N. Clopper, An American Family (Cincinnati, 1950).

14 Adele B. Looscan, "Micaiah Autry, a Soldier of the Alamo," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, XIV (April 1911), 319.

15 For example, see [Asahel Langworthy], A Visit to Texas . . . (New York, 1834), 24; and David B. Edward, The History of Texas . . . (Cincinnati, 1836), 47.

16 Philander Priestly, "Texas," American Farmer, XIV (June 29, 1832), 127.

17 Mary Austin Holley, Texas, Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive . . . (Baltimore, 1833), in Mattie Austin Hatcher, Letters of an Early American Traveller, Mary Austin Holley; Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846 (Dallas, Tex., 1933), 162.


19 Texas in 1837, an Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative, Andrew Forest Muir, ed. (Austin, Tex., 1958), 163.

21 Texas in 1837, 163.

22 Francis C. Sheridan, Galveston Island, or, A Few Months off the Coast of Texas; the Journal of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839-1840, Willis W. Pratt, ed. (Austin, Tex., 1954), 105.

23 For examples of embittered writers, see Charles Hooton, St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana . . . (London, 1847); Richard Hartnell, Texas and California . . . (London, 1841); and Nicholas Doran P. Maillard, The History of the Republic of Texas (London, 1842),


25 E. Smith, Account of a Journey, 7; and Solms-Braunfelds, Texas, 8.

26 Texas in 1837, 163.

27 Solms-Braunfelds, Texas, 48.

28 Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) FraserHouston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, or, Yachting in the New World (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 122-25.

29 Zachariah N. Morrell, Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness . . . (Dallas, Tex., 1886), 37.
30 Thomas A. Morris, *Miscellany* (Cincinnati, 1852), 345.


33 *Texas in 1837*, 153.

34 Houston, *Texas and Gulf of Mexico*, II, 121. For a review of the complications surrounding Texas land titles, see Aldon S. Lang, *Financial History of the Public Lands in Texas* (Waco, Tex., 1932).

35 *Texas in 1837*, 164-65.


37 [Asahel Langworthy], *A Visit to Texas*, 49-51. See, also, Chester Newell, *History of the Revolution in Texas* . . . (New York, 1838), 185-88, 196; and David Woodman, Jr., *Guide to Texas Emigrants* (Boston, 1835), 102-103. For the legal aspects of the company's claim, see John Bassett Moore,
History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party (6 vols., Washington, D. C., 1898), IV, 3434-55.

38 Cora Montgomery [pseud., Jane (McManus) Gazneau], Eagle Pass; or, Life on the Border (New York, 1852), 19-20.

39 Holley, Texas (1833) in Hatcher, Letters, 167-68.

40 For example, see Edward, History of Texas, 277.

41 Bracht, Texas in 1848, 113-14.

42 Amos A. Parker, Trip to the West and Texas ... (Concord, N. H., 1835), 139.

43 Roemer, Texas, 55.

44 Morris, Miscellany, 344.

45 Bracht, Texas in 1848, 120.

46 [Langworthy], Visit to Texas, 116.

48 Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, II, 115.

49 [A. B. Lawrence], Texas in 1840 . . . (New York, 1840), 54.

50 Holley, Texas (1833), 168.

51 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 141.

52 Bracht, Texas in 1848, 113-14.

53 Ibid., 113.

54 Cordova, Lecture on Texas, 8.

55 Parker, Trip to the West, 165.

56 Dresel, Houston Journal, 124.

57 Holley, Texas (1833), 168-69; Bracht, Texas in 1848, 117; Parker, Trip to the West, 165.

58 Texas in 1837, 165-67.

59 Roemer, Texas, 100-102. For a similar discussion of possible occupations for the immigrant, see Bracht, Texas in 1848, 58-59.

60 Sheridan, Galveston Island, 64.

(Dallas, Tex., 1934); Edward J. Dworaczyk, The First Polish Colonies of America in Texas (San Antonio, Tex., 1936); George C. Engerrand, The So-Called Wends of Germany and Their Colonies in Texas and in Australia (Austin, Tex., 1834); Anne Blasig, The Wends of Texas (San Antonio, Tex., 1954); and Lillie Moerbe Caldwell, Texas Wends, Their First Half Century (Salado, Tex., 1961); Lyder L. Unstad, "Norwegian Migration to Texas: A Historic Resumé with Four 'American Letters,'" Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIII (October 1939), 176-95.


63 Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 95.

64 Irin, Texas, 59-60.

65 Houston, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, I, 281.

66 Sheridan, Galveston Island, 46.

67 Dresel, Houston Journal, 73; Roemer, Texas, 84-85; Solms-Braunfels, Texas, 49.

68 A. A. Parker, Trip to the West, 127.


73 [Benjamin Lundy], *The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* . . . (Philadelphia, 1847), 102.


75 Unstad, "Norwegian Migration to Texas," 189.


78 Morrell, *Flowers and Fruits*, 45.

79 Unstad, "Norwegian Migration to Texas," 187.

80 Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, 175.
CRITICAL ESSAY ON SOURCES

I. Bibliographic guides

Two recent bibliographical works are of invaluable assistance in compiling a bibliography of travel literature for Texas, 1761-1860. Thomas Winthrop Streeter, Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845 (3 vols. in 5, Cambridge, Mass., 1955-1960) is of first importance as a guide to books published within the period indicated in the title. Streeter's notes indicate whether the item falls within the range of travel literature. He not only identifies, if possible, the author, editor, and printer, but provides information on the historical background of each work and suggests other works that are relevant. The second bibliography, Thomas Dionysius Clark (ed.), Travels in the Old South, a Bibliography, 1527-1860 (3 vols., Norman, Okla., 1956-1959), supplements Streeter in that it covers a longer period of time and is not limited to works published within the period. As Texas is on the periphery of the South, however, Clark gives the state incomplete coverage. Eastern Texas, the section most closely related to the South, receives better treatment than western Texas. Of limited use because of the years treated and because of its emphasis on a more southwesterly region of the United States is Henry Raup Wagner, The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794 (Albuquerque, N. M., 1937).

Two unpublished theses written in the English department
of the University of Texas are also helpful for the periods indicated in their titles. Sister Generoso Callaghan, The Literature of Travel in Texas, 1803-1846 (Ph. D. thesis, 1945), includes some manuscript items and gives special attention to fiction; Agnes Marie Kasten, Texas Travel Literature, 1830-1860 (M. A. thesis, 1954), includes a highly selective bibliography of thirty-seven items. The pioneer work in Texas bibliography, Cadwell Walton Raines, A Bibliography of Texas . . . (Austin, 1896; facsimile reprint, 1934), is helpful for some of the comments on the various works, and this is also true of Frank Monaghan, French Travellers in the United States, 1765-1932; a Bibliography (New York, 1933; reprinted with supplement, 1961).

Other specialized bibliographies covering certain periods or areas are also of use. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century (New York, 1962; first published, 1915) and Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936 (7 vols., Austin, Tex., 1936-1958) are guides to manuscript material, some of which has appeared in print since the works were published, dealing with the eighteenth century. Rudolph Leopold Biese, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861 (Austin, Tex., 1930; reprinted, 1964) includes a lengthy bibliography of German writings about Texas and comments in the text on many of the books. German books are further evaluated in Selma Metzenthin

II. Primary Sources

The first problem that confronts one compiling a bibliography of Texas travel literature for 1761-1860 is to decide what falls into that category. As the country was virtually uninhabited in 1761 and only began filling with people after 1820, the greater portion of the adult population in 1860 had come as strangers and could recall their first impressions of the land. Old settlers who left memoirs customarily began with an account of their journey to Texas, and, because of the mobility of the population, adventures along the roads play a prominent role in all reminiscences. Other works do not specifically describe a journey but are based on the author's observations while in the country. Still others are based on material the writer gathered from travelers or their writings. On the grounds that all travel accounts are subjective in nature, and, thus, that the more different views the historian has, the more likely he is to arrive at a semblance of the truth, the following bibliography gives a broad interpretation to the term travel literature. The bibliography is not exhaustive, but it is designed to
suggest the variety of writers, their diverse motives, and
to present as many different viewpoints as possible. The
accounts are presented in chronological order, with the
century 1761-1860 broken into four major divisions according
to national sovereignty: A. The Spanish era (1761-1821);
B. The Mexican era (1821-1836); C. The Texas Republic (1836-
1845); D. Statehood in the United States (1845-1860). Only
printed material is included.

A. The Spanish era:

Three visitors who toured Texas within a period of a few
months in 1767-1768 give a fairly well-balanced picture of
the land and its inhabitants before Spanish withdrawal from
east Texas as a result of the Seven Years' War. Nicolás de
Lafora, a cartographer who accompanied the expedition of the
Marqués de Rubí, toured every outpost of civilization in
Texas and wrote an account which has been translated and
edited by Lawrence Kinnaird as The Frontiers of New Spain,
Nicolás de Lafora's Description, 1766-1768 (Berkeley, Calif.,
1958). Opposed to the military view presented by Lafora is
that of Franciscan missionary Gaspar José de Solís, who in-
spected the Texas missions shortly after Lafora's visit.
Solís' account appears in two translations: "Diary of a
Visit of Inspection of the Texas Missions Made by Fray Gaspar
José de Solís in the Years 1767-68," Margaret Kenney Kress,
trans., Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXV (July 1931),
284-70; and "The Solís Diary of 1767," Peter Forrestal, trans.,
Texas Catholic Historical Society, Preliminary Studies, I
(March 1931), 3-42. Yet another view of the country is given
by Pierre-Marie-Francgis de Pagès, Travels Round the World in
the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771 (2 vols., London, 1791).
Although Thomas Winthrop Streeter marks Pagès off as worthless,
the account seems authentic and presents the view of an
enlightened Frenchman that contrasts with that of the soldier
Lafora and the missionary Solís. The three accounts taken
together are interesting for their views on religion,
aborigines, and the Spanish population of Texas in the 1760's.

Particularly valuable for its description of the
Indians in the latter half of the eighteenth century is the
-correspondence of Athanase de Mézières, a Frenchman in the
service of Spain, who traveled extensively while making
treaties and arranging trade agreements with the aborigines.
This correspondence appears in Herbert Eugene Bolton,
Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-
1780 . . . (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1914). Pertaining to
the same period is Juan Agustín Morfi, History of Texas, 1673-
1779, Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, trans. (2 vols., Albuquerque,
N. M., 1935). Although not strictly a travel work, Morfi
wrote his history after accompanying Theodore de Croix on a
tour as far as San Antonio in 1777. More limited in interest
is the account of the problems of a frontier soldier

With the beginning of the nineteenth century, travel accounts reflect the crumbling authority of Spain in Texas and the growing interest of the United States. Ellis Peter Bean, "Memoir of Colonel Ellis P. Bean, Written by Himself, About the Year 1816," a fragmentary firsthand account of the first filibustering expedition, is included in Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (2 vols., New York, 1855), I, 403–52, and was separately reprinted in 1930. An intriguing work that probably never existed is listed by Thomas Winthrop Streeter as Philip Nolan, [Description of Texas with Topographical Map] (Natchez, Miss., 1799). Although Streeter finds mention of this work by Texas' first filibusterer, he knows of no copy and suggests that the work was never printed and probably never even written.

Two writers wrote accounts of their explorations on the Louisiana-Texas border in the early nineteenth century. Dr. John Sibley described the Indians of Texas and his explorations on the Red River in two letters to Thomas Jefferson published in *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, IV (Washington, D. C., 1832), 721–30, and included in [Meriwether]

The most successful of the early nineteenth century American explorers in Texas was Zebulon Montgomery Pike who, like Nolan, Sibley, and Freeman, was connected with James Wilkinson and through him with Thomas Jefferson. Taken Spanish prisoner, possibly by design, in New Mexico, Pike was escorted across Texas by way of the Camino Real. His description of Spanish Texas stands as a classic. First published in 1810, the most useful edition by far of Pike's account is that edited by Elliott Coues and published as *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-6-7* (3 vols., New York, 1895). Unfortunately, this well-edited work has become rare. Many later writers indicated their familiarity with Pike, and a few leaned heavily on his observations.

Two other American travelers of the Spanish period touched widely separated parts of Texas. Edwin James,
Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820 ... (3 vols., London, 1823; reprinted, 1905) describes a journey across the Texas Panhandle with an expedition headed by Major Stephen Harriman Long, U. S. A. The report of an American agent to Galveston in 1818 is edited by Walter Prichard and published as "George Graham's Mission to Galveston in 1818: Two Important Documents Bearing upon Louisiana History," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XX (July 1937), 619-50. Graham's report is not only the first American account of a sea journey to Texas, but it gives interesting information on Jean Laffite, the French colony of Champ d'Asile, illicit slave-trading operations, and United States interest in acquiring Texas. An additional work of the late Spanish period, Henry Ker, Travels Through the Western Interior of the United States ... (Elizabethtown, N. Y., 1816), is of extremely doubtful authenticity, indeed, so doubtful that it needs to be proved authentic rather than spurious.

That Europeans as well as Americans were interested in Spain's unprotected empire is indicated by several additional travel accounts. The failure of the Champ d'Asile colony attempted by Napoleonic exiles on the Trinity River is described by two colonists identified only as L. Hartmann and Millard. Their account has been translated by Donald Joseph and edited by Fannie E. Ratchford as The Story of Champ d'Asile as Told by Two of the Colonists (Dallas, Tex.,

Spanish problems in Texas are reflected in several reports translated and printed in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Nettie Lee Benson, "Bishop Marín de Porras and Texas," LI (July 1947), 26-40, describes the reactions of a Roman Catholic bishop to Anglo-American and Franco-American encroachments on the Louisiana-Texas border. Two works translated by Mattie Austin Hatcher suggest further the state of affairs in Texas. "Texas in 1820: Report of the Barbarous Indians of the Province of Texas, by Juan Antonio Padilla, Made December 27, 1819 . . . ," XXIII (July 1919), 61-68, reports on the aborigines at that time. "Letters of Antonio Martinez, the Last Spanish Governor of Texas, 1817-1822," XXXIX (July 1935), 66-73; (October 1935), 139-47; (January 1936), 228-38; (April, 1936), 327-32, sets forth the weakness of Spain's authority.
B. The Mexican era:

The beginning of official Anglo-American colonization coincided with the separation of Mexico from Spain. Stephen Fuller Austin gives an account of the most historically significant journey in Texas between 1761 and 1860 in "Journal of Stephen F. Austin on His First Trip to Texas," [Eugene Campbell Barker, ed.], Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, II (April 1904), 287-303. Austin's more formal descriptions of the country, descriptions aimed at prospective immigrants, have been edited by Barker as "Descriptions of Texas by Stephen F. Austin," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (October 1924), 98-121. A number of other items relating to journeys to Texas by Austin and his associates are scattered through The Austin Papers, also edited by Barker. The first two volumes of this work were published in Annual Reports of the American Historical Association (Washington, D. C.), for the years 1919 and 1922, respectively. The third and last volume was published in Austin, Texas, in 1926.

A writer, unfortunately identified only as J. C. L____, gives an interesting description of the Indians and flora of the Trinity River area in a letter dated December 10, 1822, and printed in American Farmer, IV (February 14, 1823), 375. An unsatisfactory travel account of the 1820's is that of Maurice Persat, whose reminiscences were published as Memoires
du Commandant Persat, 1806-1814 . . ., Gustave Schlumberger, ed. (Paris, 1910). Persat, one of Napoleon's veterans, passed through Nacogdoches at the time of the Fredonian Rebellion. Unfortunately, his recollections are hazy, and the editor of the work was so completely oblivious of Texas history that he could not identify the Fredonians.

Of great interest for the late 1820's are three accounts by visitors whose paths crossed at San Felipe in 1828. José María Sánchez, "A Trip to Texas in 1828," Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, trans., Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX (April 1926), 249-95, gives a view of Texas and the Anglo-American colonists as seen by an intelligent Mexican official who recognized the threat of the colonists to Mexican sovereignty. Of less historical value but interesting because of the attention given the flora of the country is the account of two naturalists who accompanied Sánchez's party. This work appeared as Luis Berlandier and Rafael Chovel, Diario de viaje de la comisión de límites que puso el gobierno de la república . . . (Mexico, 1850) and was reprinted in 1948 as Viaje a Texas en el año 1828. The account of an Anglo-American who saw the Mexican party at San Felipe and whose view contrasts with that of Sánchez is given in Joseph Chambers Clopper, "J. C. Clopper's Journal and Book of Memoranda for 1828," [Edward Nicholas Clopper, ed.] Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XIII (July 1909), 44-80.
This journal and the writings of other members of the Clopper family who visited Texas are included Edward Nicholas Clopper, *An American Family* (Cincinnati, 1950). As the Cloppers were both observant and frank, the portion of this book dealing with the 1820's is especially interesting.

A conventional description of Texas by Arthur Goodnall Wavell, an empresario of the 1820's, appears as "Account of the Province of Texas," in Henry George Ward, *Mexico; with an Account of the Mining Companies, and of the Political Events in that Republic to the Present Day* (2 vols., London, 1829). Another work about Texas that was published in the late 1820's is Simon E. G. Bourne, *Observations upon the Mexican Province of Texas* (London, 1828).

Mary Austin Holley opened the great era of travel literature in Texas with *Texas: Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive...* (Baltimore, 1833), a work that has been reprinted, along with a biographical sketch and Mrs. Holly's letters describing her various journeys to Texas, in Mattie Austin Hatcher, *Letters of an Early American Traveller, Mary Austin Holley: Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846* (Dallas, Tex., 1933). Mrs. Holley's second book, *Texas* (Lexington, Ky., 1836), is an expansion of the first, including much of the same material but touching as well on the events of the Texas Revolution. Mrs. Holley gives a partial view of Texas—especially of Austin's colony. Even so, her books are
standard sources for the late Mexican period because they are based on the writer's observations and information obtained from her cousin, Stephen Fuller Austin. Many later writers borrowed from her, sometimes without giving proper credit.

One of Mrs. Holley's debtors is Neal John O'Neill, whose The Guide to Texas ... (Dublin, 1834) is correctly called "a scissors and paste job" by Streeter. O'Neill, who also borrowed from Zebulon Montgomery Pike, identifies himself as an LL. D. of the University of Indiana, but Streeter found no record of him there, possibly because some early records were lost by fire. Also indebted to Mrs. Holley is David Barnett Edward, author of The History of Texas; or, The Emigrant's, Farmer's, and Politician's Guide to the Character, Climate, Soil and Productions of That Country ... (Cincinnati, 1836). A Scottish schoolmaster who taught at Gonzales Seminary, Edward is inclined to moralize about the shortcomings of Texans, but withal he gives so pleasant a view of the country that one suspects him of protesting too much when he denies owning land there. A brief item giving a similar view of the land is Philander Priestly, "Texas," American Farmer, XIV (June 29, 1832), 126-27, describing a visit to the Yegua bottom--the present boundary of Washington and Burleson counties--with Nestor Clay in 1831.
Of interest both for style and because it describes a part of Texas not seen by Mrs. Holley is Albert Pike, Prose Sketches and Poems, Written in the Western Country (Boston, 1834). Pike traveled in northwest Texas and wrote an excellent description of both the land and people. The account of another of Mrs. Holley's contemporaries, Benjamin Lundy, is also of special interest because he saw things which she and her plagiarizers either did not see or ignored. Led to Texas by his interest in founding a colony for free Negroes, Lundy's accounts of his three journeys to Texas between 1830 and 1835 were published after his death as The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including His Journeys to Texas and Mexico . . . (Philadelphia, 1847).

Lundy visited all the settled parts of Texas, and his observations are basic to any study of the Negro there during the Mexican era.

The empty land was of primary concern to most travelers in Texas in the early 1830's. Amos Andrew Parker, author of Trip to the West and Texas . . . (Concord, N. H., 1835), toured Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana as well as Texas and evaluated the opportunities for immigrants in each area. Joshua James and Alexander McCrae visited Texas under the auspices of the Wilmington Emigrating Society of North Carolina and published their not altogether favorable conclusions as A Journal of a Tour in Texas; with Observations,

German interest in Texas in the early 1830's is evidenced in several travel accounts. A letter describing Texas in 1832 and credited with creating interest among prospective German immigrants is included in Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, Germans in Texas, a Study in Immigration (Philadelphia, 1909), 17-19. Although this letter is signed Fritz Dirk, both Benjamin and Rudolph Leopold Bieseis identify the writer as Friedrich Ernst, an early settler of Austin County. One of the Germans brought to Texas by Ernst's letter was Detlef Dunt, who tells his experiences in Reise nach Texas . . . (Bremen, 1834), a work written at Ernst's plantation. Dunt arrived in Texas in the spring of 1833, and his book describes the life of a German settler. He also prints the Ernst letter. A more discouraging picture is painted for the prospective immigrant in Eduard Ludeus, Reise durch die Mexikanischen Provinzen Tumalipas, Coahuila [sic] und Texas im Jahre 1834 . . .
(Leipzig, 1837). Ludecus relates his experiences in south Texas with John Charles Beales colony and describes the region through which he passed. Two additional works in German give advice to the prospective immigrant. Johann Rachnitz, a German baron who attempted a settlement in south Texas, wrote *Kurze und getreue Belehrung für deutsche und schweizerische Auswanderer*. . . . (Stuttgart, 1836) for German and Swiss audiences. C. C. Becher, *Mexico in den ereignissvollen Jahren 1832 und 1833*. . . . (Hamburg 1834), compares Texas favorably with Missouri as a place for German immigrants. The reminiscences of two German-born women who came to Texas before the Revolution are printed in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*: Rosa Kleberg, "Some of My Early Experiences in Texas," I (April 1898), 297-302; II (October 1898), 170-73; and Caroline von Hinueber, "Life of German Pioneers in Early Texas," II (January 1899), 227-332. Mrs. von Hinueber was the daughter of the letter writer, Friedrich Ernst.

Several interesting items concern the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company and its operations in Texas. Indicative of the efforts of the company to interest investors in its offerings are two pamphlets describing Texas in glowing terms, the first entitled *Address to the Reader of the Documents Relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company*. . . . (New York, 1831) and the second, *Emigrant's
Guide to Texas . . . (New York, 1834). Also aimed at furthering the cause of the company is a pamphlet published anonymously entitled The Constitution of the Republic of Mexico and of the State of Coahuila & Texas . . . with a Description of the Soil, Climate, Productions, Local and Commercial Advantages of That Interesting Country (New York, 1832). This pamphlet gives special attention to the immigration laws in Texas. Streeter identifies its author beyond reasonable doubt as Asahel Langworthy, a New York lawyer and land speculator who arrived in Texas on business connected with the company in early 1831.

Exposing the misrepresentations of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company is another work, published anonymously as A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller Through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers . . . (New York, 1836). The author of this standard source for the period has long been designated by bibliographers as Fiske, apparently on no other grounds than than a Fiske was among the publishers of the second edition and that Frederick Law Olmsted listed Fiske as the author in A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York, 1857). A similarity of content between this book and the pamphlet attributed to Asahel Langworthy suggests that the same person wrote both. Both, for example, include at the end a detailed meteorological chart covering the period from March 1 to
September 20, 1831, and kept at Anahuac. Although the Langworthy pamphlet is devoted mostly to a printing of laws pertinent to immigration, the seven pages of subjective description touch many subjects considered in *A Visit to Texas*. The visits of both writers centered about Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company operations at Anahuac; both mention John Davis Bradburn and David Gouverneur Burnet; both link Jean Laffite with Galveston Island; and both comment on a steam saw mill at Harrisburg, where the owner was selling lumber at forty dollars per thousand feet. Furthermore, both writers were Northerners who hated cold weather and were enchanted by the Texas climate. As letters in Barker (ed.), *Austin Papers*, II, 574, 741, indicate that Langworthy was indeed in Texas at the same time as the anonymous author of *A Visit to Texas*, it seems likely that he wrote that work as well as *Constitution of the Republic of Mexico*.

David Woodman, Jr., *Guide to Texas Emigrants* (Boston, 1835), was apparently written by a Boston agent of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. He borrows from the company’s *Address to the Reader* and includes extracts from newspapers favorable to Texas. One extract refers to *A Visit to Texas* as a libel on the company.

Although there is no shortage of reminiscences about the Texan Revolution that ended the Mexican era, there are few contemporary travel accounts. For this reason as well
as for the author's perception, a diary written by William Fairfax Gray and published as From Virginia to Texas, 1835. . . . Allen Charles Gray, ed. (Houston, Tex., 1909), is of great value. Gray's description of society and land speculations on the eve of the Revolution and his account of the Runaway Scrape merit special attention, while his description of Negroes recently imported from Africa is classic. Much briefer but equally of interest are the letters of Micajah Autry, describing his journey afoot from Natchitoches to Nacogdoches as he traveled toward the Alamo. These appear in Adele B. Looscan, "Micajah Autry, a Soldier of the Alamo," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, XIV (April 1911), 315-24. The originals of some of these letters are in Fondren Library, Rice University.

Three Texan soldiers who escaped the Fannin massacre wrote accounts of their adventures shortly thereafter. Joseph E. Field, Three Years in Texas . . . (Greenfield, Mass., 1836) describes his wartime experiences and gives a glowing account of his adopted country. This book was reprinted in 1935. The adventures of a young German who traveled to Texas with the New Orleans Greys and escaped the Fannin debacle are related in Hermann Ehrenberg, Texas und seine Revolution (Leipzig, 1843), an abridged translation of which was published as With Milam and Fannin (Dallas, Tex., 1935). The third firsthand account by one of Fannin's men has been edited by Hobart Huson as Dr. J. H. Barnard's Journal (n. p.,
1950). Although long recognized as spurious, a bit of fiction written by Robert Penn Warren and published as Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas (Philadelphia, 1836) deserves mention because as late as the spring of 1965 it was still accepted by Texas newspapers as a bonafide account of the last days of the Alamo.

Many reminiscences contain accounts of journeys made during the 1820's and 1830's. The author of a work entitled Roland Trevor; or, The Pilot of Human Life, Being an Autobiography of the Author . . . (Philadelphia 1853) is readily identified as Robert Triplett when the book is compared with references to Triplett in Gray, From Virginia to Texas, and additional references in William Campbell Binkley (ed.), Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-1836 (2 vols., New York, 1836). As Triplett was closely connected with efforts to finance the Texan Revolution, his recollections of his journey of 1835-1836 are of special interest.

One of the sprightliest memoirs about early Texas is Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, or, Recollections of Old Texas Days (Austin, Tex., 1900; reprinted, 1935). Although dictated when the author was blind and aged, Smithwick's reminiscences catch the spirit of the time and are, on the whole, reliable. Covering much the same period of time is John Joseph Linn, Reminiscences of Fifty Years in
Texas (New York, 1883). The adventures of a seaman during the Texan Revolution are recalled in Summer Webster Cushing, "Wild Oats Sowing: or, The Autobiography of an Adventurer" (New York, 1857). Other books recalling the Revolution and containing accounts of travels are Robert Hancock Hunter, *Narrative of Robert Hancock Hunter, 1813-1902* (Austin, Tex., 1936) and Walter Paye Lane, *The Adventures and Recollections of General Walter P. Lane, a San Jacinto Veteran* (Marshall, Tex., 1887; reprinted, 1928). Deserving special mention is William B. DeWees, *Letters from an Early Settler of Texas to a Friend* (Louisville, Ky., 1852). Although presented as a series of letters written between 1819 and 1852, this work was put together by DeWees and Emaretta C. Kimball, who used the pseudonym Cara Cardelle, in the early 1850's and is properly classified as reminiscences rather than contemporary writing.

The reminiscences of two women are of special interest because of their accounts of Texas society in the 1830's and the Runaway Scrape. Although not reliable as to dates, Dilue Harris, "The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris," *Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly*, IV (October 1900), 85-127; (January 1901), 155-89; VII (January 1904), 21-42, tells a great deal about a girl's life during the revolutionary period. Mary (Sherwood) Wightman Helm, *Scrapes*
of Early Texas History . . . (Austin, Tex., 1884) describes the writer's journey from New York to Texas where she and her husband founded the town of Matagorda.

Mexican travels in the mid-1830's are described in a few works. Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, Noticia estadistica sobre Tejas, por Juan N. Almonte (Mexico, 1835), translated by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda and printed as "Statistical Report of Texas, 1835," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (January 1924), 177-221, gives an official Mexican view of Texas for the year indicated in the title. Almonte's account of his movements in Texas with the Mexican army in 1836 were published in English translation in the New York Herald in June 1836 and reprinted in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVIII (July 1944), 1-32. Additional Mexican accounts of army movements during the Texan Revolution have been translated by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda and published as The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution, 1836, by the Chief Mexican Participants (Dallas, Tex., 1928). These are Ramon Martinez Caro, Verdadera idea de la primera campana y sucesos ocurridos despues de la accion de San Jacinto (Mexico, 1837); José Urrea, Diario de las operaciones militares de la campana de Tejas (Mexico, 1838); José María Tornel y Mendivel, Tejas y los Estados-Unidos de America (Mexico, 1837); and Antonio López de Santa Anna, Manifesto que de sua
operaciones en la campaña de Tejas y en cautiverio dirige a sus coninadnos el General Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna (Vera Cruz, 1837).

C. The Texas Republic:

Interest in Texas after the founding of the Republic found expression in a number of conventional descriptions of the country, most of them designed to guide the prospective immigrant. One of the most popular of these guides was Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel, *A New Guide to Texas; Consisting of a Brief Outline of the History of Its Settlement, and the Colonization and Land Laws* . . . (New York, 1839), prepared by residents of Houston who offered their services to those wishing to invest in land. Francis Moore, Jr., *Map and Description of Texas, Containing Sketches of Its History, Geology, Geography and Statistics* . . . (New York, 1840), a small book written by the editor of the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, describes the counties and towns of Texas at that time. Some of the sketches had previously appeared in Moore's paper. Three other small books, all reprinted in 1964, were also designed to introduce the immigrant to Texas. George William Bonnell, *Topographical Description of Texas to Which is Added an Account of the Indian Tribes* (Austin, Tex., 1840) was written by a man who later took part in the Santa Fé expedition and who was killed
as a participant of the Mier expedition. Orosmeth Fisher, *Sketches of Texas in 1840...* (Springfield, Ill., 1841) was written by a Methodist minister urging Christian immigrants to come to Texas. Arthur Ngin, *Texas: Its History, Topography, Agriculture, Commerce, and General Statistics...* (London, 1841) was designed for British emigrants. A book giving the same type of information to Germans is *Texas; ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (Bremen, 1845).

Ashbel Smith added two items to the long list of general descriptions written during the Republican era. His "Brief Description of the Climate, Soil and Production of Texas" is printed in Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans, or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the South-West...* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1841), a history based in part on Foote's travels in Texas. Smith's second description appeared in French as *Notice sur la géographie du Texas, sur la variété de ses productions, de ses animaux, de ses plantes, et de ses richesses naturelles et commerciales...* (Paris, 1844). Reviewing the history of the country as well as describing it is Chester Newell, *History of the Revolution in Texas...* (New York, 1838; reprinted, 1935).

Although most of the general descriptions were written with the immigrant in mind, a few had different motives. Henry Mason Morfit, "Extracts from the Report of the Agent Appointed to Collect Information Relative to Texas," House
Exe. Doc., 24 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 33 (Serial 302), 4-33, was written to give President Andrew Jackson information about the Republic of Texas and the possibilities of annexing it to the United States. \textit{Texas: Sketches of Character, Moral & Political Conditions of the Republic, the Judiciary, etc.}, by \textit{Milam} (Philadelphia, 1839) has been identified as the work of Henry Thompson, secretary to Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, and was apparently written in order to obtain financial aid for Texas. Written to glorify the Revolution is Hugh Kerr, \textit{A Poetical Description of Texas and Narrative of Many Interesting Events in That Country} (New York, 1838; reprinted, 1836), a work notable only because it is written in rhyme.

More interesting than the general descriptions are works that relate the writer's personal experiences as well as describe the country. One of the best of these accounts is a work first published as a series of articles in the \textit{Hesperian} between September 1838 and April 1839 and edited by Andrew Forest Muir as \textit{Texas in 1837, an Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative} (Austin, Tex., 1958). The anonymous writer saw the Houston-Galveston area and traveled as far west as San Antonio. Interested in the prospects of the future as well as the Revolution just accomplished, he stands as one of Texas' more objective visitors. Another of the better accounts, \textit{Texas in 1840, or, The Emigrant's Guide to}
the New Republic ... (New York, 1840), was also written anonymously, but the author has been identified as A. B. Lawrence, a Presbyterian clergyman. This work has long been a standard source.

Less well organized are two additional accounts that tell some of the writer's personal experiences. Prairiedom: Rambles and Scrambles in Texas, or, New Estramadura, by a Suthron (New York, 1845) has been identified as the work of Frederic Benjamin Page and is a rambling account of the author's adventures with considerable vagueness as to dates. Edward Stiff, a police officer in Houston in 1838, covers everything from Texas history to the author's vendetta with Francis Moore, Jr., then mayor of Houston, in The Texas Emigrant: Being a Narration of the Adventures of the Author in Texas ... (Cincinnati, 1840). Other personal experiences of a different nature are recounted in James W. Parker, Miraculous Escapes and Sufferings of Rev. James W. Parker ... to Which Is Appended a Narrative of the Capture and Subsequent Sufferings of Mrs. Rachel Plummer ... (Louisville, Ky., 1844), reprinted as The Rachel Plummer Narrative (Palestine, Tex., 1926). Parker traveled in north Texas in search of members of his family taken captive by the Comanches. His daughter, Mrs. Plummer, told of her wanderings as one of the captives in her account, written after her rescue.
Two personal accounts not intended for publication tell a great deal about society in the Galveston-Houston area. The journal of a young lawyer, John Hunter Herndon, who had recently arrived in Texas, has been edited by Andrew Forest Muir as "Diary of a Young Man in Houston, 1838," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LIII (January 1950). The second work is "A Letter Book of Joseph Eve, United States Chargé d'Affaires to Texas," Joseph Milton Nance, ed., *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 1939), 196-221; (January 1940), 365-77; (April 1940), 486-98.

The Republic of Texas attracted the attention of British travelers as both a source of cotton for British mills and a place for British emigrants. William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (2 vols., London, 1841), a work recommended by 'Kinn's guide book, had a greater impact than any other work by a British traveler to Texas. Painting a rosy picture of the Republic's future and of the prospects of British influence there, Kennedy worked for diplomatic recognition by Great Britain. Although he had not traveled extensively in Texas at the time he wrote, he utilized information obtained from reliable sources. Opposed to recognition of Texas, and thus to Kennedy, were British capitalists who owned Mexican bonds. *Texas and Mexico, a Few Hints to the Creditors of Mexico* . . . (London, 1841), identified by Streeter as the work of Richard Hartnel, states the bondholders' case. Another work by Hartnel, *Texas
and California (London, 1841) is a collection of letters that appeared in various newspapers regarding the controversy over recognition. Hartnel added bitter notes to the letters of Kennedy, Hkin, and others favorable to Texas. An even more bitter tirade against the Republic of Texas is Nicholas Doran P. Maillard, The History of the Republic of Texas (London, 1842). Maillard, who had visited in Texas during the first six months of 1840, was so prejudiced against all things Texan that his book must be used with extreme care by the historian.

A more balanced British view of Texas at the time when recognition was an issue is the account of Francis Cynric Sheridan, edited by Willis Winslow Pratt as Galveston Island, or, A Few Months off the Coast of Texas: The Journal of Francis C. Sheridan (Austin, Tex., 1954). Although Sheridan saw only the coastal area and took a condescending attitude, his account of his personal experiences is enlightening. His more formal impressions as well as other official British correspondence concerning the Republic appear in Ephraim Douglass Adams (ed.), British Diplomatic Correspondence Concerning the Republic of Texas—1838-1846 (Austin, Tex., n. d.), much of which appeared earlier as "Correspondence from the British Archives Concerning Texas, 1837-1846," Texas State Historical Association, Quarterly, XV (January 1912), 201-65; (April 1912), 294-355; Southwestern Historical
Quarterly, XVI (July 1912), 184-213; (January 1913), 291-327; (April 1913), 423-29; XXI (July 1917), 69-98; (October 1917), 185-213.

The personal experiences and observations of two other British writers give interesting details about the society and economy of the Republic of Texas. The writings of William Bollaert, who traveled extensively and saw many portions of the country, have been edited by W. Eugene Hollon and Ruth Lapham Butler as William Bollaert's Texas (Norman, Okla., 1956). Although the editing of this work is imperfect, Bollaert was a careful observer. Of a more superficial nature are the works of Mrs. Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houston. The wealthy Mrs. Houston describes her first trip in Texas and the Gulf of Mexico, or, Yachting in the New World (2 vols., London, 1844). Her second trip, that coincided with the annexation of Texas to the United States, is described in Hesperos: or, Travels in the West (2 vols., London, 1850). Although she saw only the Houston-Galveston area and wrote more to entertain her readers than to give insight, her comments on manners and people are of value. Another British traveler of the Republican era was George William Featherstonhaugh, who wrote a few pages describing his brief sojourn in northeast Texas in Excursion Through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico (2 vols., London, 1844). Giving a rosy
view of Texas for British emigrants is John Adamson, *An Account of Texas; with Instructions for Emigrants* (London, 1839).

To a lesser extent than the British, the French were also interested in the Republic of Texas as a source of cotton and a place for French emigrants. Eugène Maissin wrote his impressions of the country, obtained when he visited briefly with Admiral Charles Baudin in May 1839, as "Suivi de notes et documents, et d’un aperçu général sur l’état actuel du Texas," in Pharamonde Blanchard and Adrien Dauzats, *San Juan de Ulua ou relations de l’expédition française au Mexique sous les ordres de M. le Contra-Admiral Baudin* (Paris, 1839). Maissin’s account, translated by James L. Shepherd, III, as *The French in Mexico and Texas* (Salado, Tex., 1961), gave a favorable report and influenced French recognition of the Republic of Texas. Shepherd’s translation of another French work, Frédéric Leclerc, *Le Texas et sa révolution* (Paris, 1840), has been published as *Texas and Its Revolution* (Houston, Tex., 1950). Leclerc, who visited Texas in 1838, describes the country and reviews its history. Although not altogether favorably impressed, he supported French recognition of the Republic. Designed to give general information about Texas are two small books by writers who probably did not visit the country. Théodore Barbey, Texas consul at Paris, wrote *Le Téxas . . .* (Paris,
1841) in order to answer questions often asked him. Henry Jerome Marie Fournel, *Coup d'œil historique et statistique sur le Texas* (Paris, 1841), gives a balanced description and reviews Texas history. The trials surrounding the colonization efforts of Henry Castro, founder of the Alsatian settlements of Castroville and D'Hanis, are related in his *Le Texas* (Anvers, 1845).

German travelers of the Republican era were primarily interested in Texas as a place for German emigrants. G. A. von Scherpf, *Entstehungsgeschichte und gegenwärtiger Zustand des neuen, unabhängigen Amerikanischen Staates Texas* (Augsburg 1841), borrowed in part from *Texas in 1840*, gives a rosy view of the land. A similar view is taken by Friedrich von Wrede, who was connected with the Mainzer Verein and who describes three visits to Texas between 1836 and 1841 in *Lebensbilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und Texas* (Cassel, 1844). Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels, *Texas ... ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas* (Frankfurt, 1846), translated into English as *Texas, 1844–1845* (Houston, Tex., 1936), agrees on the opportunities for the immigrant in Texas but criticizes the Anglo-American population and Americanized Germans. Two additional works also take a critical view. *Die Auswanderung der Deutschen nach Texas, Nordamerika und Ungarn* (München, 1844), a work attributed to Georg Franz, criticizes the efforts of the Verein
zum Schutze Deutscher Einwander in Texas and emphasizes the obstacles to immigration, among them the danger of war with Mexico. Friedrich Höhne, \textit{Wahn und Ueberzeugung; Riese des Kupferschmiede-Meisters Friedrich Höhne} . . . (Weimar, 1844) describes a journey from San Augustine to Galveston in early 1840 by one who was not altogether pleased with the climate or the people. Deserving special attention because of careful editing by Max Freund is \textit{Gustav Dresel's Houston Journal, Adventures in North America, 1837–1841} (Austin, Tex., 1954). Dresel, a German immigrant interested primarily in trade, traveled extensively in the United States and Texas and was usually pleased with what he saw.

The favorable impressions of the representative of another European group interested in colonization are presented in Johan Reinert Reiersen, \textit{Veiviser for Norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas} (Christiana, 1844). Reiersen, founder and editor of an influential newspaper in Norway, wrote his book to encourage Norwegian emigration to Texas after he had toured the United States and visited Nacogdoches, Austin, and Galveston. Italy is represented in Texas travel literature by Annibale Ranuzzi, \textit{Il Texas} (Bologna, 1842).

Interest in the Santa Fé trade inspired other travels in Texas. Josiah Gregg describes his adventures as a trader who crossed northwest Texas in \textit{Commerce of the}
Prairies, or, Across the Great Prairies and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico (2 vols., New York, 1844; reprinted, 1905). His other adventures in Texas in the interest of developing a new route to Santa Fé and as a soldier in the Mexican War are related in Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg: Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847 (2 vols., Norman, Okla., 1941-1944), a work edited by Maurice Garland Fulton. A number of writers accompanied the ill-fated Santa Fé expedition of 1841-1842. The classic account of this expedition is George Wilkins Kendall, Narrative of an Expedition Across the Great South-Western Prairies, from Texas to Santa Fé ... (2 vols., New York, 1844). Kendall's descriptions of the people, the route, and his adventures have made his book one of the most popular travel accounts about Texas. The writings of Thomas Falconer about the Santa Fé expedition have been collected and edited by Frederick Webb Hodge as Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, 1841-1842 (New York, 1930). Other accounts are "George W. Grover's 'Minutes of Adventure from Juhe, 1841,'" Horace Bailey Carroll, ed., Panhandle-Plains Historical Review, IX (1936), 2842; "Cayton Erhard's Reminiscences of the Texan-Santa Fé Expedition, 1841," Ford Dixon, ed., Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVI (January 1963), 424-56; (April 1963), 547-68, a work that first appeared in the San Marcos Free Press, November 16, 1882, to
July 24, 1884; Peter Gallagher and Stephen Hoyle, "Journal of the Santa Fé Expedition," in Horace Bailey Carroll, The Texan-Santa Fé Trail (Canyon, Tex., 1951), 169-70; and the narrative of Franklin Combs that is printed in George Folsom, Mexico in 1842 ... (New York, 1842).

The Santa Fé expedition was followed by hostilities between Texas and Mexico. Several soldiers have left records of their travels as soldiers in the various campaigns. Adrian Woll describes his invasion of Texas in Expedicion hecha en Tejas, por una parte de la 2. División del Cuerpo de Ejército del Norte (Monterey, 1842). A lengthy extract from this work has been translated by Joseph Milton Nance and printed as "Brigadier General Adrian Woll's Report of His Expedition into Texas in 1842," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LVIII (April 1955), 523-52. Accounts of Texan expeditions against Mexico include Thomas Jefferson Green, Journal of the Texian Expedition Against Mier ... (New York, 1845; reprinted, 1936); William Preston Stapp, The Prisoners of Pecosa: Containing a Journal Kept by the Author ... (Philadelphia, 1845); Thomas W. Bell, A Narrative of the Capture and Subsequent Sufferings of the Mier Prisoners in Mexico (De Soto County, Miss., 1845; reprinted, 1964); and Sterling Brown Hendricks, "The Somervell Expedition to the Rio Grande," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIII (October 1919), 112-40.
The account of a literate Indian, Co-chee-ah, who crossed Texas from Oklahoma to Mexico in the early 1840's, has been edited by Grant Foreman and printed as "The Story of Sequoyah's Last Days," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XII (March 1934), 25-41. This account first appeared as "The Narrative of Co-chee-ah" in the Cherokee Advocate, June 26, 1845.

As the Roman Catholic church had been established in Texas during the Spanish and Mexican eras, Protestant denominations in the United States saw the Texan Revolution as the opening of a new mission field and sent clergymen to visit the new republic. Many of these visitors wrote useful accounts of their journeys, usually giving special attention to religion and education. The Presbyterians were especially active. One of the most important accounts of the Republican period, the previously cited Texas in 1840, has been identified as the work of a Presbyterian clergyman by one of his fellows, William Youel Allen, founder of the first Presbyterian church in Houston. Allen's experiences in Texas have been edited by William Stuart Red and printed as "Allen's Reminiscences of Texas, 1838-1842," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XVII (January 1914), 283-305; XVIII (January 1915), 287-304; and "Extracts from the Diary of W. Y. Allen, 1838-1849," ibid., XVII (July 1913), 43-60. Daniel Baker's letters and journals concerning his efforts on behalf of the

The Methodist Episcopal church was represented by several writers in addition to Oreneth Fisher, whose conventional description has already been cited. The beginnings of the church in Texas as well as entertaining experiences are related in Thomas Asbury Morris, *Miscellany* (Cincinnati, 1852) and James Osgood Andrew, *Miscellanies: Comprising Letters, Essays and Addresses ...* (Louisville, Ky., 1854). Some of the experiences of Littleton Fowler, who was sent to Texas by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1837, are recorded in Dora Fowler Arthur, "Jottings from the Old Journal of Littleton Fowler," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, II (July 1898), 73-84. Zachariah Nehemiah Morrell's lively reminiscences, *Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness ...* (Dallas, 1886), tell of the author's adventures as a Baptist preacher and a settler.

Roman Catholic activity in Texas during the Republican
era is described in two letters by Jean Marie Odin, printed in *Annals for the Propagation of the Faith* as "Extracts from the Letter of Dr. Odin, Bishop of Claudiiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas, to the Rev. Mr. Etienne . . . April 11, 1841," III (November 1842), 33-38; and "Letter from His Lordship Dr. Odin . . . February 7, 1842," IV (September 1843), 334-40. Another letter of interest is that of John Timon printed as "Letter of Mr. Timon, Superior of the Lazarist Missions in America, to Mr. Nozo . . . 9 January, 1839," *ibid.* I (September 1839), 219-24, which appeals for "learned priests" to come to Texas.

A few men of science wrote accounts of their observations in the Republic of Texas. John James Audubon's account of a brief trip to the Galveston area in the spring of 1837 is included in *The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist . . .* (New York, 1869), a work edited by his widow, Lucy Audubon. Another brief account by a scientific observer is John Leonard Riddle, "Observations on the Geology of the Trinity Country, Texas, Made During an Excursion There in April and May, 1839," *American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXXVII (October 1839), 211-17. William C. McKinstry published his description of the Colorado River with emphasis on the possibilities of navigation as *The Colorado Navigator, Containing a Full Description of the Bed and Banks of the Colorado River . . .* (Matagorda, Tex., 1840).
D. Statehood in the United States:

Like Mrs. Houston's second journey to Texas, recounted in Hesperos, German geologist Ferdinand Roemer's journey coincided with annexation. His account, Texas; mit Besonderer Rucksicht auf Deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes nach Eigener Beobachtung Geschildert ... (Bonn, 1849), translated by Oswald Mueller and published as Texas; with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country (Houston, Tex., 1936), shows him to be one of the most objective travelers who wrote about Texas. Traveling from Galveston as far west as the site of the old Spanish presidio of San Sabá, Roemer gave special attention to the natural features of the country and to German immigration.

Ranking with Roemer's Texas as a standard work for the statehood period and more significant because the writer saw considerably more of the country is Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York, 1857). Having previously visited the deep South and formed a prejudice against all things Southern, Olmsted was less objective than Roemer. Olmsted's attitude is significant, however, because it represented Northern opinion and foretold the future.

Although much briefer and not written for publication, the journal and letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes relating
to his visit to Texas in 1849-1850 merit special mention. Edited by Charles Richard Williams and published as Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States (5 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1922), Hayes's observations are written with flashes of humor and a flare for brief description that would make them noteworthy even were it not for his later prominence. He ranks with Roemer as an objective observer.

The mid-century disorders in Europe increased German interest in Texas and sent many literate Germans to the country. Their accounts are heavy with advice to prospective immigrants. One of the most interesting and balanced of these accounts is Viktor Bracht, Texas im Jahre 1848; nach Mehriahringen Beobachtungen dargestellt ... (Elberfeld u. Iserlohn, 1849), translated by Charles Frank Schmidt as Texas in 1848 (San Antonio, Tex., 1931). Other works describing Texas for the prospective German immigrant and giving advice are Traugott Bromme, Neuesten vollständigester Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer aus allen Klassen und jeden Stande nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika (Bayreuth, 1846); J. Witlenbarger, Der Rathgeber und Wegweiser für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und Texas ... (Heilbroun, 1848); and George von Ross, Der nordamerikanische Freistaat Texas, nach eigener Auskunst und nach den neuesten und besten Quellen
für deutsche Auswanderer . . . (Rudolstadt, 1841).


British visitors continued to be interested in Texas as a place of immigration after annexation. Edward Smith, *Account of a Journey Through North-Eastern Texas* (London, 1849) and John Barrow, *Facts Relating to North-East Texas, Condensed from Notes Made During a Tour Through That Portion of the United States of America* (London, 1848) were written by Britons who traveled together to evaluate northeast Texas as a place for British immigrants. Smith's account is especially valuable for its objective description of the economy of the region. Although the Honourable Amelia Matilda Murray, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, was one of the few tourists who visited Texas before 1860, she too gave advice to the
prospective British immigrant in *Letters from the United States, Canada and Cuba* (New York, 1856). The experiences of a disillusioned British immigrant who felt Texas had been misrepresented to him are told in Charles Hooton, *St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana; with Additional Observations Made in the United States and in Canada* (London, 1847). The opinions of Hooton and other disillusioned immigrants are reflected in Sidney Smith, *The Settler's New Home; or, Whether to Go, and Whither*? (London, 1850). Smith did not pretend to have visited Texas but wrote his book as a guide to Britons contemplating immigration.

One of the more interesting colonization projects of the statehood period was the unsuccessful attempt of Victor Considerant to establish a Fourieristic colony near Dallas. Considerant's glowing descriptions of the country appear in *Au Texas* (Paris, 1851) and *The Great West* (New York, 1854). The most complete firsthand account of the colony is Augustin Savaran, *Un naufrage au Texas . . .* (Paris, 1858). Savaran was a physician and one of the colonists. A brief account by an American who accompanied an agent of Considerant to Texas is Arthur Lawrie, "Lawrie's Trip to Northeast Texas, 1854-1855," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (October 1914), 238-53. French interest in Texas during the statehood period is also reflected in a spurious work, J. Tolmer, *Scenes de l'Amerique de Nord en 1849* (Leipzig, 1850).
The experiences of Norwegian immigrants are related in four letters appearing in Lyder L. Unstad, "Norwegian Migration to Texas: A Historic Resume with Four 'American Letters,'" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLIII (October 1939), 176-95. Dutch interest in Texas is evidenced in a work by a writer identified only as Jonathan, *Brieven uit en over de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika, Door Jonathan* (Amsterdam, 1853).

One of the few conventional guides to Texas written for American audiences after annexation was Jacob de Cordova, *Lecture on Texas* (Philadelphia, 1856). Cordova, a promoter with land for sale on the upper waters of the Brazos, wrote this and several similar pamphlets to induce immigration. Less conventional is the book written by Jane (MoManus) Cazneau under the pseudonym of Cora Montgomery and entitled *Eagle Pass: or, Life on the Border* (New York, 1853). Mrs. Cazneau describes her journey as a bride to Eagle Pass, a town laid out by her husband. Evident in the book is her dissatisfaction with the United States border policy and her interest in extending United States influence further into Mexican territory.

That some travelers still considered Texas a mission field after annexation is evidenced in two books by Yankee school teacher and Presbyterian missionary, Melinda Rankin. Her experiences, with particular attention to education and
religion, are related in Texas in 1850 (Boston, 1850) and Twenty Years Among the Mexicans, a Narrative of Missionary Labor (Cincinnati, 1875). A bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, George Foster Pierce, tells of his extensive travels in the state in Incidents of Western Travel: In a Series of Letters (Nashville, Tenn., 1859). The reminiscences of another Methodist clergyman, John Howell McLean, who came to Texas as a child, are of special interest for the period immediately before 1860. McLean expresses a typically Southern attitude toward slavery in Reminiscences of Rev. John H. McLean (Nashville, Tenn., 1918).

Historical Quarterly, LXVI (April 1963), 516-46.

A number of soldiers who came through Texas during the Mexican War wrote accounts of their experiences. Josiah Gregg's account in his *Diary & Letters* has already been mentioned. Other accounts include George Wurtz Hughes, *Memoir Descriptive of a March of a Division of the United States Army, Under the Command of Brigadier General John E. Wool* . . . (Washington? 1846); Francis Baylies, *A Narrative of Major General Wool's Campaign in Mexico in the Years 1846, 1847, & 1848* (Albany, N. Y., 1851); *Encarnacion Prisoners; Comprising an Account of the March of the Kentucky Cavalry from Louisville to the Rio Grande . . . by a Prisoner* (Louisville, Ky., 1848); Ulysses Simpson Grant, *Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885-1886); Dabney Maury, *Recollections of a Virginian in the Mexican, Indian and Civil Wars* (New York, 1894); and Samuel Emery Chamberlain, *My Confession* (New York, 1956).


John Russell Bartlett, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua ... (2 vols., New York, 1854) deserves special attention as the work of a careful observer who crossed Texas from Matagorda to El Paso in order to survey the boundary between the United States and Mexico after the Mexican War. The survey of the Gadsden Purchase sent another surveying party from Texas to the southwest. The experiences of this party are recorded in William Hemsley Emory, "Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior," Senate Exec. Docs., 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 108 (Serial 832). The journey of a prospective immigrant to the Gadsden Purchase is detailed in John Coleman Reid, Reid's Tramp, or, A Journal of the Incidents of Ten Monthes Travel ... (Selma, Ala., 1858; reprinted, 1935). Reid followed roughly the same route as Bartlett.

The discovery of gold in California led still other travelers across Texas. An excellent map of routes through
1925), 36-50; (October 1925), 128-46; (January 1926), 201-23.

The defense of the Indian frontier in the 1850's brought other travelers to Texas. Martin L. Crimmins has edited two official reports on army installations, "W. G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," *ibid.*, LI (July 1947), 45-58; (October 1947), 167-74; (January 1948), 252-58; LII (July 1948), 100-108; (October 1948), 227-33; (January 1949), 349-53; LIII (July 1949), 71-88; (October 1949), 202-208; January 1950), 308-19; (April 1950), 443-73; and "Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's Report of the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856," *ibid.*, XLII (October 1938), 122-48; (January 1939), 215-57; (April 1939), 351-87. Crimmins has also edited the account of a clerk who toured the frontier posts with army paymaster Albert Sidney Johnston. This appeared as "Extract from the Diary of Charles A. Crosby," *West Texas Historical Association, Year Book*, XVII (1941), 100-107. The account of a similar tour, written by William Preston Johnston, is "With Albert Sidney Johnston in West Texas: Austin to Fort Chadbourne, March 1855," *ibid.*, (1964), 121-45. The experiences of Lewis Harvie Blair, an army clerk at Corpus Christi and San Antonio, have been edited by Charles E. Wynes and published as "Lewis Harvie Blair—Texas Travels, 1851-1855," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

Extracts from Robert Edward Lee's letters and diary describing his experiences in Texas appear in *Emily V.*

Two army wives have left records of their travels on the frontier. Eliza (Griffin) Johnston, "The Diary of Eliza (Mrs. Albert Sidney) Johnston; The Second Cavalry Comes to Texas," Charles P. Roland and Richard C. Robbins, eds., *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LX (April 1957), 463-500, describes a journey from Missouri to Texas in 1855. The reminiscences of another army wife, Lydia Spencer (Maney) Lane, have been published as *I Married a Soldier, or, Old Days in the Old Army* (Philadelphia, 1893).

The defense of the frontier as well as Manifest Destiny prompted exploration and trail blazing in Texas during the statehood period. Prominent among the army explorers is Randolph Barnes Marcy, whose experiences are recorded in
Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border (New York, 1866) and who gives advice to the traveler in the West in The Prairie Traveler (Philadelphia, 1856). The joint account of Marcy and George Brinton McClellan of an exploration of the Red River has been edited by Grant Foreman and published as Adventure on Red River ... (Norman, Okla., 1937). William B. Parker relates his experiences with Marcy in Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Capt. R. B. Marcy, U. S. A. ... (Philadelphia, 1856). The adventures of one who surveyed for a possible railroad across the Texas Panhandle are told in David Stuart Stanley, "Stanley Explores Oklahoma," Lona Shawver, ed., Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXII (Autumn 1944), 259-70.

Indicative of the many other official reports relating to army travels in Texas are Gouverneur Kemble Warren, "Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean," Senate Exec. Docs., 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 78 (Serial 768); and Nathaniel Michler, Jr., "Routes from the Western Boundary of Arkansas to Santa Fé and the Valley of the Rio Grande," House Exec. Docs., 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 67 (Serial 577).

The only through passenger on the first westbound stage along the Butterfield Overland Mail route tells his adventures in Waterman Lily Ormsby, Jr., The Butterfield Overland Mail,
Lyle Wright and Josephine Bynum, eds. (San Marino, Calif., 1942). Orme's account was first published as eight articles in the New York Herald between September 26 and November 19, 1858. Later stage passengers along the route tell their experiences in Raphael Pumpelly, Across America and Asia; Notes of a Five Year's Journey Around the World . . . (New York, 1870); and Albert Richardson, Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean . . . 1857-1867 (New York, 1867).

Other travelers crossed west Texas with cattle herds in the 1850's. James G. Bell's account of such a journey has been edited by J. Evetts Haley as "A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXV (January 1932), 208-37; (April 1932), 290-316. Similar experiences are related in "A Cattle Drive from Texas to California: The Diary of M. H. Erskine, 1854," Walter S. Sanderlin, ed., ibid., LXVII (January 1964), 397-412; and in "Wagon Trains and Cattle Herds on the Train in the 1850's," West Texas Historical Association, Year Book, XXX (1954), 141-54, a collection of accounts first printed in the Clarksville Standard and Dallas Herald in the mid-1850's.