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JANE MCMANUS STORM CAZNEAU (1807-1878): A BIOGRAPHY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the  
University of North Texas in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Linda Sybert Hudson, B.S. Ed, M.A.

Denton, Texas

May, 1999

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Jane Maria Eliza McManus, born near Troy, New York, educated at Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary, promoted the American maritime frontier and wrote on Mexican, Central American, and Caribbean affairs. Called a "terror with her pen," under the pen name of Cora Montgomery, she published 100 columns in 6 newspapers, 20 journal articles and book reviews, 15 books and pamphlets, and edited 5 newspapers and journals between 1839 and 1878. Textual analysis indicates that she, rather than John L. O'Sullivan, coined the term "Manifest Destiny" in United States Magazine and Democratic Review.

Divorced from Allen Storm in the early 1830s, she traveled to Mexican Texas, and obtained land grants for German immigrants. When gossip that she was Aaron Burr's mistress drove her from Texas, she wrote for Horace Greeley's New Yorker, advocated Texas Annexation in the New York Sun, and promoted territorial and commercial expansion in the Democratic Review. She was the only reporter to cover the Mexican War from behind enemy lines and may have been the first woman war correspondent. In 1848, she edited the Cuban newspaper, La Verdad. She urged gradual emancipation and the relocation of slaves and free blacks in Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic as a way to expand the American maritime frontier. In 1850, she married William L.

Cazneau and moved to Eagle Pass, Texas, where she urged revolution in Mexico and wrote on peonage for the New York Tribune. In 1853, the Cazneaus moved to the Dominican Republic and worked to establish Samana Bay as a coaling station. She supported William Walker in Nicaragua and Benito Juarez in Mexico. During the American Civil War, she wrote pro-Union editorials in the Sun and opposed Spanish occupation of Santo Domingo. She supported plans by the Johnson and Grant administrations for expansion into the Caribbean. After spending her last years in Jamaica, she died at sea in 1878 when the Emily B. Souder sank off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION:

#### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JANE MCMANUS STORM CAZNEAU

A braver, more intellectual woman never lived . . . but a born insurrecto  
and a terror with her pen.

--Henry Watterson<sup>1</sup>

Although several articles focus on her career, no complete biography exists of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau (1807-1878).<sup>2</sup> From the late 1830s to her death in 1878, however, she published more than 100 signed newspaper columns in 6 metropolitan newspapers, more than 20 journal articles in 3 national journals, 15 or more books and pamphlets, and edited 5 or more newspapers and journals. As she researched and wrote on the extension of the United States maritime frontier, she became a specialist in the affairs of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. As a journalist, her life intertwined with the struggle of New York merchants, shippers, and shipbuilders to maintain trade and commerce, convert to steam and iron vessels, and establish coaling stations.<sup>3</sup>

The central theme of Jane Cazneau's life was promoting the territorial and commercial expansion of the United States that became known as "Manifest Destiny." In 1927, Julius Pratt traced the first use of the term to the anonymous article, "Annexation," in the July-August 1845 issue of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. Pratt assumed that the editor, John L. O'Sullivan, wrote the article, and historians have since given credit to O'Sullivan. A textual analysis of articles signed by Mrs. Cazneau,

O'Sullivan, and the anonymous "Annexation," however, showed that her writing style had a 79.6 percent similarity to the anonymous article with the famous phrase, whereas O'Sullivan displayed only a 41.5 percent similarity. Further analysis and research indicated that she wrote the expansionist articles attributed to O'Sullivan.<sup>4</sup>

Historians and critics have formed no consensus about Jane Cazneau. In Notable American Women, historian Merton Dillon portrayed her as a "dim figure on the fringes of the journalist circles of her day" whose life was a "comedy of grandiose plans and bungled opportunities." Texas historians Seymour Connor and Odie Faulk labeled her "perhaps the most unusual and mysterious woman in the nineteenth century." In American Women Writers, literary critic Rose Kavo called her a defender of the down-trodden masses. C. L. Sonnichsen, Southwest historian, praised a reprint of Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border (1852) as a minor borderland classic, but added, "her real talent was for international intrigue." Historian Anna Kasten Nelson wrote that most historians have assumed that she was "merely a colorful female companion." Popular historian Edward S. Wallace, however, praised her "bravery and brains," and Purdue University historian Robert E. May asserted that she influenced the direction of American foreign relations in the nineteenth century. Compiling a record of her life has been possible only with help of fellow researchers because Jane McManus Storm Cazneau left no collection of papers, had several names, published under pen names, often signed her letters with initials, and although her married name was Storm, called herself Storms. A study of Jane Cazneau's life fills a gap in the history of the United States, Texas, the Southwestern Borderlands,

Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in the fields of social, political, diplomatic, maritime, journalism, American Civil War, Labor, and Women's history.<sup>5</sup>

Jane Maria Eliza McManus was born April 6, 1807, near Troy, New York. Her parents, William and Catherine Coons McManus, a local politician and his wife, were of New York Irish and Palatine pioneer stock who migrated to British America decades before the French and Indian War and settled along the Hudson River. A persistence of Indian folkways by her paternal family suggests that she possibly had a Native American heritage. Her formal education began at age five. In 1823 she entered Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary where she received one of the best educations available for women at that time. She did not complete her studies, but married Allen B. Storm in 1825, and they had a son, William M. Storm, the following year.<sup>6</sup>

By 1831, for reasons that remain unknown, the Storms moved to New York City where the marriage failed, and their son then lived with relatives. Using her maiden name, she kept books for Anthony Dey, director of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, formed to colonize European settlers in Mexican Texas. According to witnesses, she was a frequent visitor at the home of Aaron Burr. In 1832, she and her brother, Robert McManus, traveled to Texas and obtained an Eleven-League Mexican land grant to develop with German immigrants. Unable to develop that grant near the Waco Indian village because of a dispute over settlement rights in the area, she then applied for additional land near Matagorda on the Texas coast.<sup>7</sup>

In 1834, Aaron Burr's wife of less than a year filed for divorce to regain control of her finances and named Jane McManus in the divorce Bill of Complaint as having had an

affair with Burr. Although the charges were questionable, the scandal tainted her reputation. While her brother became a hero of the Texas Revolution, Jane McManus lived in New York and traded room and board for Texas land. After Texas independence was established, the Republic of Texas awarded soldiers and settlers titles to land, but holders of the Mexican grants had to sue for possession through local courts. Jane McManus filed claims to more than 83,272 acres of Mexican grants, but rumors of the Burr divorce scandal almost caused a duel in Matagorda when friends, who understood the political circumstances of the gossip, defended her honor. In 1839, with no hope of a local jury awarding clear titles to her land claims, she left Texas.<sup>8</sup>

Jane McManus again used the name Storm and assumed financial responsibility for her son. She embarked on a career in journalism and wrote for Horace Greeley in the New Yorker Magazine. She next worked as a secretary and staff writer for John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. By 1843, she had added the New York Sun to her portfolio, and perhaps for anonymity signed her work as "Storms."<sup>9</sup>

While leading the Texas annexation campaign in the New York press, Mrs. Storm published the "Presidents of Texas" in the March 1845 issue of the Democratic Review, as "C. Montgomery." Although she was not part of the woman rights movement in that she did not advocate suffrage for women, in March 1845, she and her best friend, author Ann S. Stephens, helped organize the Women's Female Industrial Association in New York. She held meetings at the mayor's office, made speeches, and publicized the organization in the Workingman's Advocate and the New York Sun. She advised women to improve

their skills and take men's better-paying clerical jobs. After a month-long boycott, stores on Broadway hired young women to wait on female customers. Throughout her career, Mrs. Cazneau mentioned the working women that she encountered in daily life.<sup>10</sup>

In the July-August 1845 edition of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, Mrs. Storm published anonymously, "Annexation," an article urging that agitation over Texas annexation and slavery should cease. Textual analysis indicates that it was she, and not John L. O'Sullivan, who asserted that the nation had a manifest destiny to fulfill, and should not be distracted by the slavery issue which would end as more economical European immigrants replaced slave labor. Because she saw the nation's greatest social problem as that of racial prejudice, she advised the relocation of freed slaves in the American tropics where they would find greater acceptance in Catholic society and help secure an expanding zone of United States trade and commerce.<sup>11</sup>

Later in 1845, as Corinne Montgomery, she published Texas and Her Presidents (1845), a book Sam Houston advised his wife not to read because it contained an unflattering view of him. Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Washington Daily Union, offered Mrs. Storm a staff position on that paper, but she preferred to write for the independent New York Sun where she was not required to support the administration's viewpoint. By December 1845, she signed her bi-weekly column on national politics written from New York and Washington as "MONTGOMERY."<sup>12</sup>

From December 1846 to April 1847, Mrs. Storm and Moses Y. Beach, publisher of the New York Sun, were on a mission of peace to Mexico for President James K. Polk. As "MONTGOMERY," Mrs. Storm wrote from behind enemy lines. When General

Winfield Scott invaded Vera Cruz, she traveled alone from Mexico City and advised him of political conditions. Although Scott ignored her advice about the capture of Vera Cruz and called her a “plenipotentiary in petticoats,” the army took the route to Mexico City that she suggested. Before the war ended, Cuban republicans hired Mrs. Storm to publicize their press campaign for independence in the New York press.<sup>13</sup>

As Cora Montgomery, in 1848, Mrs. Storm edited the New York revolutionary newspaper, La Verdad [The Truth] financed by Cuban republicans. On behalf of the Young Democrats of Tammany Hall and the Friends of the Union, she wrote King of Rivers (1850) and Queen of Islands (1850) in which she claimed that slavery was draining southward and that Cuba could be an outlet for slaves relocated from the United States. She criticized sectional politics as "geographical morality" and claimed that strife came about because of politicians more interested in being elected than in serving the best interests of the nation. In Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, she wrote of Cuba's importance to steamship and mail routes to the Pacific.<sup>14</sup>

After Cuban revolutionaries and their supporters led a series of raids into Cuba, in September 1849, President Zachary Taylor had participants arrested for violation of the neutrality laws. As spokesperson for the Cubans, federal authorities in New York threatened Mrs. Storm with prosecution unless she would implicate others. She fled New York and married long-time Texas friend and border trader William Leslie Cazneau. As it was the peak of the California gold rush, they sailed to North Africa, purchased camels, and delivered them to Panama for transport to California and use in the American southwest. She recorded their adventure as The Camel Hunt (1851) and Life on the



Isthmus (1853). For anonymity, Joseph W. Fabens, Cazneau's business partner, was listed as author.<sup>15</sup>

From 1850 to 1852, Mrs. Cazneau lived at Eagle Pass, the frontier trading post her husband co-founded on the Rio Grande next to Fort Duncan at the intersection of the Chihuahua and California trails on the northern edge of the Coahuila Desert. From the banks of the Rio Grande she advised New York Senator William H. Seward on peonage-- a labor system that existed in the territories acquired from Mexico. He passed her letters on to Horace Greeley, who published them in the New York Tribune. From Eagle Pass, she also wrote on Mexican republicans in the New Orleans Delta and on European encroachments in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic for the United States Magazine and Democratic Review.<sup>16</sup>

Jane Cazneau's most famous publication, Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border (1852), resulted from her living among the runaway peons in their camp on the Rio Grande. In her book, she suggested that Seminole Chief Wild Cat be placed in charge of a border police of "tame Indians" to control the "wild Indians." She also advised that vocational education was a less costly and more honorable solution to the Indian problem than what she termed the extermination tactics used by the government.<sup>17</sup>

In 1852, Mrs. Cazneau returned to New York and helped organize the Franklin Pierce presidential campaign while her husband remained with his Mexican trading business. She worked with the New York Union Committee to unite the feuding Democrats, published Eagle Pass, and edited Our Times, a journal featuring the expanding maritime frontier. In April 1853, pro-French Mexican authorities seized William

Cazneau's trade goods and jailed his men. He traveled to Washington and filed a claim with the government. Knowing of Cazneau's knowledge and experience in commercial penetration, Secretary of State William L. Marcy appointed Cazneau special agent to the Dominican Republic to negotiate a treaty of trade and commerce. Jane Cazneau traveled with her husband to the Caribbean, and while she handled public relations, he worked to lease Samana Bay as a coaling station for United States merchant vessels. Europeans interfered, and the mission failed. The Cazneaus next supported William Walker in Nicaragua and Benito Juarez in Mexico because each would allow unrestricted commerce and military transit to and from the Pacific. In May 1859, the Cazneaus returned to the Dominican Republic, and while William supervised the building of wharves and warehouses for New York merchants and steamship companies at Samana Bay, Jane wrote on the Dominican Republic for the New York Sun.<sup>18</sup>

Shortly before the American Civil War began, Spain regained control of the Dominican Republic. While William Cazneau remained in the renamed colony of Santo Domingo, in February 1861, Jane Cazneau returned to New York and wrote rousing Unionist editorials in the New York Sun. By 1862, she had returned to the tropics and wrote In the Tropics: By a Settler in Santo Domingo (1863) as a guidebook for freed slaves paid to emigrate to the tropics by the Lincoln Administration. The Cazneaus aided Dominican republicans in a guerrilla war against Spain, and in late 1863, Spanish troops burned their home causing them to flee to Jamaica with the few black settlers that had migrated from the United States. In Jamaica, Mrs. Cazneau wrote The Prince of Kashna:

A West Indian Story (1866), about a former slave who once lived at Kieth Hall, the bankrupt plantation where they took refuge.<sup>19</sup>

After the American Civil War ended, Spanish troops fled Santo Domingo, and the Cazneaus helped reestablish the Dominican Republic. They worked with the Andrew Johnson and U.S. Grant administrations to have Samana Bay made a United States naval and coaling station. Also, the republic was to be a refuge for freed slaves from the United States who could live in a country free of prejudice. The project failed because the United States Senate refused to lease the bay or accept the annexation of the multiracial nation. Opponents in Congress portrayed the Cazneaus as opportunists who would benefit at taxpayers's expense. With the financial collapse of the New York Tileston and Spoffard Shipping Company, European-backed forces invaded from Haiti and overthrew the government friendly to the United States. In 1872, the Cazneaus returned to Jamaica and purchased Keith Hall, their former refuge.<sup>20</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau restored the old plantation house as a residential hotel and welcomed tourists and friends to the mountains above Spanish Town. She also established Cazneau Park and Cazneau Gardening School that continued until at least 1897 when record keeping of individual schools ended. When William Cazneau died in 1876, the Cazneaus were settling their affairs in the tropics and returning to Texas to reclaim their Eagle Pass ranch land which was being occupied by a foreign-owned cattle syndicate. Mrs. Cazneau sold Keith Hall to Wesleyan Missionaries and published Our Winter Eden: Pen Pictures of the Tropics (1878) to promote travel and investment in the Dominican Republic where she still had investments in property.<sup>21</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau drowned at sea on December 10, 1878, when the Emily B. Souder, built as an American Civil War coastal supply ship, broke apart in a heavy gale off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, in the area of the Bermuda sea lanes. Mrs. Cazneau led an adventurous life across five decades of United States history, and her death made front page news in the New York press. Two seamen survived and told of her death at sea. They described the seventy-two-year-old woman as a middle-aged, slender, dark-complexioned woman who faced death with calm resignation.<sup>22</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. Henry Watterson quoted in Edward S. Wallace, Destiny and Glory (New York: Coward-McCann, 1957), 251.

2. Most authors use "Storms," one of her pen names, rather than her married name. See: Tom Reilly, "Jane McManus Storms: Letters from the Mexican War, 1846-1848," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 85 (July 1975): 230-245; Patricia Kinkade, "Jane McManus Storms Cazneau," Essays in History: The E.C. Barksdale Student Lectures (Arlington: University of Texas-Arlington, 1987-1988); Anna Kasten Nelson, "Jane Storms Cazneau: Disciple of Manifest Destiny," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives 17 (Spring 1986): 25-40; \_\_\_\_\_, "Mission to Mexico--Moses Y. Beach, Secret Agent," New York Historical Society Quarterly 59 (July 1975): 227-245; \_\_\_\_\_, "President Polk and the War," in Robert E. Burke and Frank Freidel, eds., Secret Agents: President Polk and the Search for Peace with Mexico (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988); Peggy M. Cashion, "Women in the Mexican War," (unpublished M. A. thesis University of Texas at Arlington, 1990); Edward T. James, ed., Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), s.v. "Jane McManus Cazneau," by Merton L. Dillon; Linda Mainiero, ed. American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide, 4 vols. (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing, 1979), s.v. "Jane Maria McManus Cazneau," by Rose F. Kavo; Ron Tyler, ed., The New Handbook of Texas (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1996), s.v. "Jane McManus Cazneau," by Robert E. May; Robert E. May, "Plenipotentiary in Petticoats: Jane M. Cazneau and American Foreign Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Women and American Foreign Policy, ed. by Edward L. Crapol, 2nd ed. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992): 19-44; \_\_\_\_\_, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire: Jane Cazneau, William Cazneau, and U.S. Caribbean Policy, 1846-1878," Pacific Historical Review 48 (1979): 383-390.

3. Published works by Jane McManus Storm Cazneau by year of publication and pseudonym. (See Appendix A for signed newspaper articles; Appendix B for Grammatical Analysis.) Anon., "The Great Nation of Futurity," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 6 (November 1839): 426-430. (The United States Magazine and Democratic Review hereinafter abbreviated as USMDR.); \_\_\_\_\_, "Free Trade," USMDR 9 (October 1841): 329-342; \_\_\_\_\_, "Hurrah for a War with England," USMDR 9 (November 1841): 411-415; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Home League," USMDR 9 (December 1841): 539-553; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Gypsies," USMDR 10 (July 1842): 58-68; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Coup-De-Grace," USMDR 11 (November 1842): 542-544; \_\_\_\_\_, "Rambles in Yucatan," USMDR 11 (November 1842): 529-539; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Oregon Question," USMDR 12 (April 1843): 339-359; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Texas Question," USMDR 14 (April 1844): 423-430; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Legal Wrongs of Women," USMDR 14 (May 1844): 477-483; C. Montgomery, "The Presidents of Texas," USMDR 16 (March 1845): 282-291; Anon., "The Mexican Question," USMDR 16 (May 1845): 419-425; \_\_\_\_\_, "Annexation," USMDR 16 (July-August 1845): 5-10; Corinne Montgomery, Texas and Her Presidents (New York: E. Winchester, New World Press, 1845); Anon., "Principles,

Not Men," USMDR 22 (July 1848): 3-12; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Mosquito King and the British Queen," USMDR 25 (Nov. 1849): 405-416; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Mosquito King and the British Queen, concluded," USMDR 25 (Dec. 1849): 529-538; \_\_\_\_\_, "The King of Rivers," USMDR 25 (Dec. 1849); Cora Montgomery, "The Union of the Seas," The Merchant's Magazine 12 (February 1850): 145-154; \_\_\_\_\_, The King of Rivers (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, The Queen of the Islands (New York: C. Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, The King of Rivers and the Queen of Islands (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); Anon., "British Aggression in Central America," USMDR (Jan. 1851): 3-14; Joseph W. Fabens, The Camel Hunt; a Narrative of Personal Adventure (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1851); Anon., "Soulouque and the Dominicans," USMDR 30 (Feb. 1852): 187-149; \_\_\_\_\_, "Soulouque and the Dominicans, contd.," USMDR 30 (Mar. 1852): 234-9; Cora Montgomery, Eagle Pass, or Life on the Border (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852); Cora Montgomery, ed., Our Times: A Monthly Review of Politics, Literature, & Etc 1 (Oct. 1852): 97-192; Anon., "On the Rumored Occupation of San Domingo by the Emperor of France," USMDR 32 (Feb. 1853): 173-192; Joseph W. Fabens, A Story of Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853); Cora Montgomery, Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border, 2nd Ed., published with Joseph W. Fabens, Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 1853); Joseph W. Fabens, Facts about Santo Domingo (New York: George P. Putnam, 1862); Anon., In the Tropics: By a Settler in Santo Domingo (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1863; London: Bentley Publishing, 1863); Joseph W. Fabens, The Uses of the Camel: Considered with a view to his Introduction into our Western States and Territories. A paper read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society March 2, 1865 (New York: Carleton, 1865; Washington: Frank Taylor, 1865); Anon., The Prince of Kashna: A West Indian Story (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1866); Joseph W. Fabens, Resources of Santo Domingo (New York: Major & Knapp, 1871); Mrs. William Leslie Cazneau, Our Winter Eden: Pen Pictures of the Tropics (New York: Author's Publishing, 1878).

4. Julius Pratt, "The Origins of 'Manifest Destiny'," American Historical Review 32 (July 1927): 795-798. (See Appendix B for Textual Analysis.)

5. Nelson, "Mission," 230-245; May, "Lobbyists," 387-390, 383-412; \_\_\_\_\_, "Plenipotentiary," 19, 39; Reilly, "Jane Storms," 21-44; Cashion, "Women,,"; Kincade, "Jane Cazneau," 7-34; Dillon in James, ed., Notable Women; Kavo in Mainiero, ed., American Women; C. L. Sonnichsen, review of Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border, by Jane Maria (McManus) Cazneau, Southwestern Historical Quarterly 70 (October 1966): 343-345; Wallace, Destiny and Glory, 247-248, 250-251; Seymour V. Connor and Odie B. Faulk, eds., North American Divided. The Mexican War 1846-1848 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 156-157. An obstacle in researching Mrs. Cazneau's life has been her many names. Although she was separated, or divorced from Allen Storm, she used her maiden name in Texas, then after the Burr scandal, she again became Mrs. Storm. She published anonymously, as Josephine, an American lady, as Storms, J. M. Storms, Montgomery, C. Montgomery, and Corinne Montgomery before settling on Cora Montgomery, the name by which she is best known. After her second marriage, she published as Cora Montgomery, Joseph W. Fabens, Schoolmaster, and anonymously. As a widow, she published as Mrs. William L. Cazneau. She signed letters as J. M. Storm, J.M.S., J. M. Cazneau, Jane Montgomery Cazneau, and J.M.C.

6. Doris R. Sheridan, comp., The William McManus Account Book, 1810-1816 (Troy, NY: By Author, 1992). The original account book is in Manuscript Section, #16840, New York State

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## CHAPTER 2

### THE EARLY NEW YORK YEARS (1807-1832)

I was born and reared on a large farm in the heart of the State of New York, and all my tastes are for the independent life and tranquil occupations of the country.

--Jane Cazneau<sup>1</sup>

The early life of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau (1807-1878) helps explain why she would become an expansionist, an advocate of gradual emancipation, and a republican revolutionary. The year she was born, Thomas Jefferson was president, the British warship HMS Leopard attacked the USS Chesapeake in United States territorial waters, Aaron Burr, former vice-president of the United States, stood trial for treason because he allegedly organized an expedition against Spanish territory, and Robert Fulton launched his first steamship on the Hudson River.<sup>2</sup> These people and events seemed to influence her adult life. As a neo-Jeffersonian journalist and protégé of Aaron Burr, she promoted republican revolutions in the former Spanish colonies where Great Britain restricted the expansion of United States steamship lines, commercial markets, and republican ideals. Family and friends helped Jane McManus exceed the expectations of most women of her era. She received a classical education that stressed Jeffersonian ideals, yet she admitted a Jacksonian ambition for fortune and fame many justified as “The Spirit of the Age.” With grit and intelligence she overcame life’s difficulties through what she called, “philosophical gymnastics.” She described the process as “walking round an obstacle, or jumping it.”<sup>3</sup>

To critics she was Cora Montgomery, the female journalist, who did not know her place. Nonetheless, colleagues appreciated her wit, gift of expression, and ability to influence the masses. She was not part of the woman's suffrage movement; their goals were too narrow for her vision of worldwide republicanism achieved through free trade. For her, like those of her generation whom historian Merle Curti labeled the "Young Americans," the American Revolution was not over, because the principles of the Declaration of Independence did not extend to all Americans or throughout the world. She referred to herself and her like-minded associates as "Progressives," and they raised questions later addressed by Populist, Progressive, and Civil Rights groups. Before she set out to revolutionize the world, however, Jane McManus was a little girl in Troy, Rensselaer County, New York, on the Hudson River.<sup>4</sup>

Jane McManus's family was not unlike other pioneers who settled on the Hudson River near Albany. Both her maternal Kuntz, later Americanized to Coons, and paternal McManus families had lived near Albany since before the French and Indian War (1756-1763). While the Kuntz family were pacifists, the McManus men joined the militia. As an adult, she opposed United States involvement in foreign wars, yet promoted republican revolutions abroad--a paradox, but not out of keeping with her character. Jane's maternal Kuntz family descended from Palatines who fled the Catholic and Lutheran church wars ended by the Peace of Westphalia (1648). England became a refuge for those who refused to join either the official Lutheran or Catholic churches. Beginning in 1709, her family migrated from along the Rhine to London where they lived in tents on the Black Heath, the former jousting ground of the nobility. The British government shipped 30,000

Palatines as indentured servants to Ireland, Jamaica, New York, Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup>

In 1710, Jane's Kuntz ancestors were to collect naval stores of pine tar and timber for the stock company that financed their voyage to New York. The company began with 3,000 refugees, but only 1,400 survived the voyage because of typhus. Mathias Kuntz and his wife, Margaretha, Jane's great-great-grandparents, were assigned to a work camp on the Hudson River above Fort Albany. Queen Anne bonded them to Colonel Robert Livingston who was to furnish food, clothing, and shelter, but provided nothing.<sup>6</sup>

Johann David Kuntz (1711-1788), Jane's great-grandfather, was born at West Camp, ten miles upriver from Fort Albany. With the approach of winter, the Kuntz family crossed the Hudson River to a native village where family lore tells of Indians who fed and clothed them. By a 1670 Dutch and English treaty, the Mahican Indians [not as misspelled by James Fenimore Cooper in Last of the Mohicans (1826)] remained at the confluence of the Hudson and Hoosick rivers. Their homeland once extended from the Hudson River valley eastward to the Housatonic River valley of Massachusetts and Connecticut.<sup>7</sup>

The Indians were part of the local culture. The original Van Rensselaer Dutch patroon owed his wealth to the fur trading ability of the Mahicans, and his descendants held in trust for the Indians land at Scaticook, a Mahican word meaning "fork of the river." Mahicans had a reputation as cunning night fighters. An honored position within the tribe was that of messenger, or crier, who spread news of danger and current events. The official tribal spokesperson was called the owl, a position gained by merit because of a strong memory and good speaking ability. The owl sat beside the sachem, the civil chief

of the tribe, and proclaimed orders to the people. The sachem was a hereditary position descended through the female line and often occupied by the oldest female tribal member who was in charge of peace and diplomacy. Mahican women often married younger men and they obtained divorce through a council of women. As an adult, Jane married a younger man, divorced, represented her family, called herself an owl, counseled government leaders, wrote on diplomatic matters, and yearned for a diplomatic post.<sup>8</sup>

When the Kuntz family arrived in 1711, only about two hundred Indians remained on the Hoosick River. They served as scouts for the British, and they paid token rent to the Van Rensselaer family. The village became a refuge for New England tribes, but by 1736, one group of Mahicans had moved to Gnadenhutzen, Ohio, with Moravian missionaries. Another group migrated to Connecticut, where they joined with other tribes to become the Stockbridge Indians. Others merged with the Oneida tribe in western New York. Some had married into pioneer families or had taken Dutch names. Local farmers pushed the Indians into less desirable areas and regarded them as social outcasts.<sup>9</sup>

The remaining Indians served the British as scouts and auxiliaries during the French and Indian War (1756-1763), but in the American Revolution (1776-1783), they served the United States as rangers, irregulars, spies, and soldiers. With their women camping with them, they fought at Lexington, Bunker Hill, White Plains, and Barren Hill. They helped defeat General John Burgoyne at the Battle of Saratoga (1777), which was actually fought nearer the old Mahican village of Scaticook than Saratoga. They had a personal interest in defeating Burgoyne because he, like the French, used the Hurons and Mohawks as terrorists, thereby creating prejudice against all Indians. Eventually, the

former Indian land became the township of Schaghticoke when Rensselaer County was formed from Albany County in 1791. The democratic structure and terminology of the Mahicans and their Delaware cousins became the basis of the Tammany Society organized by Aaron Burr to protect the suffrage and property rights of common soldiers from the aristocrat Alexander Hamilton and Federalists who sought to remove the rights for which the soldiers had fought. As an adult, Jane wrote pamphlets for the Tammany Society.<sup>10</sup>

As an adult, Jane's great-grandfather, Johann Kuntz, settled fifteen miles southeast of the former Indian village of Schaghticoke and leased land from the Van Rensselaer family. He married Catharina Hagedorn and their son, Phillip Henry Kuntz (1758-1842), was Jane's grandfather. Phillip changed Kuntz to the English Coens, and then the American Coons as local politics changed. Phillip married a neighbor girl, Elizabeth Wheeler, and the couple had nine children including Catherine (1784-1839), Jane's mother, who was christened in the Lutheran Church at Churchtown in adjoining Columbia County where the family had moved during the American Revolution for safety.<sup>11</sup>

Jane's paternal great-grandfather Cornelius McManus (1721-?) was born in Ireland. He migrated to America at age twenty-five, served in the Albany militia, and married Rebecca Norton sometime before Hugh McManus (1747-1826), Jane's grandfather, was born. During the French and Indian War, Cornelius served in the Albany Militia and fought alongside the local Indians. Around 1788, Hugh leased Van Rensselaer land two farms away from the Coons and Wheeler families. He married Mary (1751-1834) about 1776. No public or private records list her birthplace or surname, and she was possibly a member of the local Indian tribe. Grandfather Hugh was a corporal in

General Stephen L. Schuyler's Regiment of Albany Militia when Jane's father, William Telemachus McManus (1780-1835), was born during the American Revolution.<sup>12</sup>

William T. McManus received a classical education and graduated from nearby Lansingburgh Academy. He studied law with John Bird in Troy, the county seat of Rensselaer County. On February 24, 1805, William McManus and Catherine Wheeler Coons began their life together. Their first child, Philip Coens William Telemachus McManus, was born in May at the McManus farmstead. Obviously, Phillip Coons did not approve of McManus as he charged him interest on a small debt for many years. Two years later, Jane Maria Eliza McManus was born on April 6, 1807, at the farm of her McManus grandparents and christened in the Gilead Lutheran Church. When Jane was eighteen months old, Nicholas Wheeler Hugh McManus was born on the same leased farm. By 1812, Jane's youngest sibling, Robert Orson William McManus, was born in Troy where McManus managed the family businesses. In the first year of the War of 1812, William McManus served as a Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Battery, Troy City Flying Artillery, First New York State Militia.<sup>13</sup>

William McManus also practiced law, surveyed, was a stockholder in the Farmer's State Bank, managed the family-owned brickyard, and kept the extended family's business accounts. The surviving "William McManus Account Book, 1810-1816," detailed the family's daily life. Mary McManus, Jane's grandmother, had frequent entries in the ledger and made loans and dealt in real estate--an unusual circumstance in that in New York where everything a woman owned became her husband's upon marriage. Upon his death in 1826, Hugh left no property, but upon her death in 1834, Mary left property to family

members in Connecticut and Western New York. Since the McManus family had lived and fought with the Indians in two wars, it is possible Mary was at least part Indian. Mahican women owned property, spoke in council, and conducted business. The traits exhibited by Mary showed a persistence of Mahican folkways, and as an adult, Jane exhibited these same traits.<sup>14</sup>

According to the "McManus Account Book," William McManus conducted business at Schaghticoke, the former Indian village. The ledger mentions Indians and payments to criers, rituals, and runners, as well as Dutch names taken by Indians. In 1812, Aaron Burr represented the Van Rensselaer family against the City of Albany trying to gain possession of Indian lands. In 1812, McManus drew petitions, served subpoenas, took affidavits, and had extensive business in Albany. From November to January, William and his mother reimbursed Van Rensselaer for some reason. Shortly thereafter, McManus paid for land surveys and ceased paying the token rent to Van Rensselaer equaling twenty-two bushels of buckwheat, four fat hens, and one day's service.<sup>15</sup>

If Mary was part Indian and had a dark complexion, it is likely that Jane resembled her paternal grandmother. Perhaps, Jane's Indian heritage was a source of insecurity and the basis of her driving ambition, her liberal attitude toward Native Americans, and her physical features. As Jane never thought herself beautiful, no photographs, drawings, or portraits are known to exist of her. She was described as "a Spanish looking woman" with violet eyes, and she listed herself as dark complexioned on ship manifests. She never admitted having a Native American ancestry during an era when, according to literary critic, Richard Slotkin, the "only good Indian was a dead Indian."<sup>16</sup>



Jane appeared to be her grandmother's favorite grandchild. Whereas her brothers attended school in Troy at a combined cost of \$5.00 per month to their father, Mary McManus financed Jane's early education. Traditional Mahicans had sent their girls to boarding school where they learned the domestic arts. Grandmother Mary paid \$12.50 each month to Sarah Starr for Jane's schooling. While attending school in Litchfield County, Connecticut, Jane lived with her father's youngest sister, Brittanica McManus Sherman, and her husband, Lemuel Hawley Sherman, in Brookfield until at least 1816 when the family account book ended. There, Jane formed a lifelong friendship with Ann Sophia Winterbotham (1810-1886), the author and editor, better known as Ann S. Stephens. Ann, like Jane, was a precocious child and lived with an aunt, but attended school in South Britain five miles north of Brookfield.<sup>17</sup>

During the War of 1812, McManus purchased meat from the local cannery owned by Samuel Wilson, who was called "Uncle Sam" by townspeople. During the war, workmen thought barrels of meat for the army depot marked "U.S." stood for "Uncle Sam." The joke spread to the troops, and Uncle Sam became the new symbol of the United States. Uncle Sam replaced Columbia, the Indian maiden of the Revolutionary War era, and Brother Jonathan, the republican offspring of John Bull. The new symbol represented changing attitudes toward women, Indians, and Britain. In the War of 1812, Britain again used Indians as terrorists and heightened prejudice toward all Indians.<sup>18</sup>

McManus was a busy but generous father. While McManus had his boots mended, a shoemaker made new shoes for the family. He had his watch repaired again and again. On Christmas Eve, 1815, McManus burned candles to St. Nicholas. For the

first time, he made no ledger entry on Christmas Day. He had listed no religious activities other than his mother attending a drowned land ritual, a rite of passage whereby Indian girls proved their marriageability by locating arrowroots underwater in winter. Although the McManus clan were christened in the Episcopal Church, the Kuntz family in the Dutch Reformed Church, and Jane, her mother, and father in the Lutheran, by 1822, William McManus was a founder of the First Restorationist Church of Troy. The next year, the congregation changed the name to the First Universalist Church in honor of the Universal Friend, Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819), who served as another role model for Jane. In 1788, Wilkinson formed a colony amidst the Indians in Western New York where the British still maintained forts and she established a United States claim to that area.<sup>19</sup>

Jane had a doting grandmother, a father who spoiled her, and a local culture that gave rise to magical stories such as “The Night Before Christmas,” “Rip Van Winkle,” and “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow.” With sleigh rides, silk for dresses, bonnets, and private schooling, Jane’s childhood appeared as perfect as a Currier and Ives print of a peaceful Hudson River scene. The McManus household was not all joy, however. In February 1813, four-year-old Nicholas died, less than six months after Jane left for school in Connecticut and two months after Robert was born. The day after his son’s death, McManus shipped books to five-year-old Jane presumably with the sad news. No clues explain why Nicholas died, but at that same time neighbors and relatives died of typhoid fever. In 1813, Troy had a population of less than 5,000 persons, but 6,000 soldiers camped nearby. The United States Arsenal lay across the Hudson, and General Henry Dearborn’s army used Greenbush as a staging area for transport up the Hudson River. A

little over a hundred miles upriver on Lake Champlain the war seemed very near. The powder mill operated by the Indians at Schaghticoke blew up and shattered windows for miles around, but glass workers at Sand Lake provided more window panes and life went on, but Jane's father rented a wagon to fetch his father, apparently injured.<sup>20</sup>

Neither Jane, her brothers, nor her son, ever mentioned Catherine Wheeler Coons McManus. Jane described her Aunt Brittanica as "the dearest guide of my youth." Jane's mother showed little interest in the domestic arts of home or family. McManus paid for a washer woman, a cleaning woman, and paid also for flax washing, spinning, weaving, cutting, and sewing clothes. The account book showed that Catherine received cash almost daily, but seldom for necessities. McManus paid the grocer bill and his monthly tab for food and drink at Moulton's Tavern. Then, while Jane's father worked, read, and spent his spare time at the tavern, her mother shopped and purchased patent medicine. In addition to an unforgiving father, a dominant mother-in-law, and a workaholic husband, the ledger suggests that Catherine had other problems.<sup>21</sup>

As Jane grew up, she witnessed the process of gradual emancipation in New York. Beginning in 1799, all male slaves upon reaching age twenty-eight, and all females at age twenty-five, were to be freed. No slavery was to exist in New York after July 4, 1827. Although Black Codes were proposed, none passed, and New York allowed suffrage, jury service, and intermarriage up to 1848 when the state constitution changed. With full citizenship rights, the black population of New York soared, but with emancipation of unskilled workers, the status of free blacks declined as trade guilds and professions barred

them from membership. Although Jane's grandfather Hugh McManus listed three slaves in 1800, the family owned no slaves during her lifetime.<sup>22</sup>

During Jane's teenage years her father held several local political offices. William McManus served as Troy's first surveyor and city engineer from 1816 to 1819, surrogate judge from 1815 to 1818, and district attorney from 1818 to 1821. William Marcy studied law under McManus, and in 1816, the future governor, U. S. senator, secretary of war, and secretary of state, was elected Troy's first city recorder. Marcy once filled in for McManus with a stirring speech that launched his political career, and he remained a close friend of the McManus family.<sup>23</sup>

Beginning in 1817, the construction of the Erie Canal brought temporary wealth to the McManus family. The Farmer's State Bank paid dividends on stock and interest on deposits. McManus purchased haircuts, silk ties, and new clothes. When the Panic of 1819 hit, the Farmer's State Bank failed, and in 1820, Mary transferred land to William to cover liabilities. In 1821, the City of Troy purchased the bankrupt Moulton Coffee House, formerly Moulton's Tavern, and converted the structure into the Troy Female Seminary. Emma Willard's school for women was the first women's college that provided women with an education somewhat comparable to that of men.<sup>24</sup>

A broadside promoting the institute listed Miss Jane M. McManus as one of 138 young women attending the 1824-1825 school term. Fifty-two women listed their home address as Troy, and the majority came from New York and neighboring states. Elizabeth Cass and Catherine Sibley attended from Michigan Territory, and Jane Skinner traveled from Georgia, while the Krause and Van Brakle women lived in the West Indies. The

institute emphasized manners, morals, self-help, baking, and simple dress in addition to such subjects as algebra, geometry, mineralogy, zoology, astronomy, chemistry, philosophy, history, maps, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Greek, drawing, and painting. Willard taught that women should be useful to themselves and others. She taught that the character of citizens was formed by well-educated mothers steeped in the ideals of republicanism. In turn, students learned that the government had a duty to promote the present and future prosperity of the nation. American classical republicanism stipulated that citizens should exercise public and civic virtue, subordinate their private needs to the public good, participate in government, and remain free of the will of others. In addition, all citizens were equal under a representative system of laws. In the 1820s, however, republican values were being replaced by a new materialism.<sup>25</sup>

In 1824, the City of Troy purchased the bankrupt Farmer's State Bank Building to house the Rensselaer School for men. The institute was not the equivalent of Willard's Seminary but, instead, an outgrowth of the building of the Erie Canal and the need for technical training. Initially, ten to twelve boys had an intense one-year technical and science program taught by Professor Amos Eaton and financed by Stephen Van Rensselaer. While Jane's brothers entered the school, only Philip graduated in 1826 as an agriculturalist. Robert argued with the professor and left to become a surveyor.<sup>26</sup>

In October 1824, Jane's father helped organize the People's Party of Rensselaer County, a group which consisted of mostly tenant farmers and factory workers. They voted for Andrew Jackson for president, and although Jackson won the popular vote, he did not carry the electoral college and he lost in Congress where the election was settled

by the House of Representatives. Stephen Van Rensselaer, a Federalist, cast the deciding vote for John Quincy Adams. Locally, the elite were losing control of the government as is indicated by the fact that the agrarians of Rensselaer County elected William McManus to represent them in Congress (1825-1827). During his one term in Congress, McManus proposed a constitutional amendment for the election of the president by a popular vote of the simple majority of the voters. His proposal attracted the attention of Vice President John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, but got no farther with politicians dependent on the patronage system. In 1826, McManus, a Freemason, was defeated by anti-Masonic Federalists organized to defeat the anti-rent Indians who were trying to reclaim their land held by trustees.<sup>27</sup>

Because Jane had skills she later used as a secretary and bookkeeper, it is likely she developed those skills in her father's law office. While McManus was in Washington, the twenty-two year-old Jane became romantically involved with Allen B. Storm, a young man four years her junior and studying law under her father's direction. Consequently, Jane did not graduate from Willard's Seminary. A marriage notice in the Troy Sentinel announced that on August 22, 1825, Miss McManus, daughter of Representative McManus, married Allen B. Storm, also of Troy, in the First Universalist Church. From 1826 until 1832, the Troy City Directory listed Storm as an attorney on 2nd Street, the same address as William McManus's law office. According to registrar's records at Rensselaer Institute, on August 2, 1826, Jane gave birth to William McManus Storm.<sup>28</sup>

Nothing more is known about Jane Storm until 1832. After that year Storm was no longer listed in Troy business directories, and Jane resumed her maiden name and

began keeping account books for Anthony Dey in New York. Years later, she published “A Gauntlet for Men” in the Washington Daily States that provides a clue to her failed marriage. She asked, “What does a woman do who has had a bad, improvident husband?”

She works all the harder to make up his deficiencies . . . works day and night . . . smiles when her heart is breaking. Grits her teeth at fate, and defy it to do its worst, because they chattered so . . . speaks hopeful words when her soul is dying . . . denies herself . . . to increase her child’s portion . . . and crushed neither by poverty nor lured by temptation, hopefully puts her trust in Him who feedeth the sparrows. . . . Poor fellow! . . . fond of wine but had to drink beer, rushed out of the world and left his wife and children to battle with the fate his coward soul was afraid to meet.

No divorce record can be found for Jane and Allen Storm, and nothing more is known of Storm until his death in New York City in 1838.<sup>29</sup>

By late 1832, Jane McManus had begun to visit Aaron Burr in his apartment over his law office. Gore Vidal, who based the novel Burr on the memoirs of Burr’s associate, Charles Schulyer, portrayed Mrs. McManus as a central figure in the aging Burr’s life. Vidal described her as a large, blond, heavy-set woman with an Irish brogue. In reality, Jane McManus was five foot three inches tall, dark complexioned, and had dark hair and violet eyes--a high-spirited type of woman often described as “feisty.” Vidal insinuated that Burr and Jane were lovers and that Burr had been intimate with Mary McManus. Jane’s grandmother and Burr likely knew one another because Burr served in the same military campaigns as Hugh McManus. Burr began his law practice in Albany, and as New York’s first Land Commissioner dispensed public lands to Revolutionary War soldiers. Whatever gossip may or may not have been true, in 1831, Jane and Burr were

working on a project whereby the McManus family could acquire large amounts of land in Mexican Texas at little expense.<sup>30</sup>

On January 17, 1821, Moses Austin, a former Spanish Missouri lead mine operator, also ruined by the Panic of 1819, and who had journeyed to Spanish Texas the month before, received permission from Spanish authorities to settle three hundred former Spanish Louisiana subjects in Texas. Austin died of pneumonia, and Mexico gained its independence before settlement began, but, Stephen F. Austin received verification of his father's empresario contract from the Mexican government. Texas became a magnet for land speculators, farmers, and women, who as head of households received title to thousands of acres of land by paying survey and registration fees. By comparison, public land in the United States sold in blocks of 80 acres for \$1.25 an acre in gold.<sup>31</sup>

Immigrants from the United States poured into Texas during the late 1820s. Alarmed by the growing population of Anglos and their lack of adherence to Mexican law, the Mexican national government on April 6, 1830, restricted immigration from the United States. Thereafter, only Europeans or Mexicans could settle in Texas. In New York, Anthony Dey, an attorney, combined the empresario grants of an American, David G. Burnet, a German, Joseph Vehlein, and a Mexican, Lorenzo de Zavala, and formed the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company for European settlement. The company controlled thirteen million acres covering twenty present-day East Texas counties in an area that stretched from the Louisiana border westward to the Brazos River and from the Gulf of Mexico to north of Nacogdoches. The company sold land scrip for five cents an acre to prospective settlers who reserved the right to settle a certain number of acres.<sup>32</sup>



In September and October 1832, Jane and Robert McManus purchased Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company scrip from Dey. Robert's certificates were sent to Troy in care of U. S. Senator William L. Marcy. Jane McManus proposed to the company trustees that she sell scrip in England and Ireland while Robert served as company agent and surveyor in Texas. Dey issued her a power of attorney to do so, but the other trustees, William H. Sumner and George Curtis, rejected her proposal. They recommended that Robert be hired, however, as surveyor for George N. Nixon, the company's land commissioner in Nacogdoches, Texas. Nixon represented the Mexican government, recorded land claims, and authorized possession of land by settlers. Dey's records of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company stockholders, their addresses, the amount of stock they held, and company expenses were entered in Jane McManus's handwriting--distinctive with a turned-back "d". Whether she sold those shares is not clear, but she also entered expenses of Dey's Florida Spanish Moss Company.<sup>33</sup>

The exact nature of the relationship between McManus and Burr where Texas lands were concerned may never be known, but Burr and her father were fraternal brothers and political allies. According to Dey's records, neither Burr nor McManus's father owned shares in the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company. Jane later claimed that she and Burr translated promotional materials into German, and Dey had scrip and a guidebook printed in German. The pamphlet directed immigrants from LeHavre to New Orleans up the Red River and across the Texas border to Nacogdoches, where scrip would be exchanged for land. Texas und Einlandung zu einer vortheilhaften Unsiedelung daselbt (1835), by a Mexican citizen, offered the advantages of settlement in Texas. Burr

had visited the German states during his exile in Europe and perhaps stirred German interest in Texas.<sup>34</sup>

In 1832, Grandmother Mary made her will, and at eighty-one years of age did not mention Jane. The strange omission may have been to prevent Allen Storm from laying claim to his wife's inheritance. In Texas, Spanish Law allowed married women to own separate property, unlike in New York where everything a woman had became the immediate property of her husband upon marriage to sell, control, or squander. Robert and Jane McManus made plans to acquire land for their family in Texas. Before Jane McManus left New York in November 1832, Burr warned that her enterprise had "the air of Romance and Quixotteism [*sic*]," but added that it was not without precedent. He reminded her of the young Rhode Island woman, Jemima Wilkinson, who had established a similiar colony in western New York shortly after the American Revolution.<sup>35</sup>

Around mid-November 1832, Jane and Robert McManus traveled from New York to New Orleans where they met Burr's former partner in intrigue, Judge James Workman. Workman, an Englishman and former resident of Charleston, was a member of the Mexican Association, which he, Louis Kerr, David Clark, and Edward Livingston organized after the Louisiana Purchase did not include Texas. The 300-member group planned to liberate Texas from Spain. Burr, Workman, Burr's secretary, Samuel Swartwout, and others were among those who had been tried for treason in 1807, but acquitted. Burr's recruits had received land in Arkansas and Louisiana that had been acquired by Phillip de Neri, the Baron de Bastrop, and continued their military forays into Texas. In 1821, the baron assisted Moses Austin in obtaining the empresario grant in

Texas for 300 Louisiana settlers that led to the Anglo settlement of Texas. Officially, Judge Workman translated Louisiana Spanish law written in the French language into English for American judges to interpret. Unofficially, he directed illegal immigration into Mexican Texas. It was a process of economic penetration that Jane would repeat many times in her life.<sup>36</sup>

In his letter of introduction to Workman, Burr introduced Mrs. McManus as “A Lady!” and “a woman of business.” Burr assured Workman that she could “send out one or two hundred substantial settlers in less time . . . than any man or half a Dozen men whom I this day Know.” Burr explained that Mrs. McManus was her family’s pioneer and agent, and he requested that Workman write letters of introduction to Colonel Austin. Burr invited Workman to form his opinion of “her talents and of her competency.” Burr thought she was “eminently qualified” and had “that peculiar discernment or tact in the Character and disposition’s of men--a talent peculiar to her sex.” She “also had (which is more rare) courage, Stability and perseverance. . . . But enough,” Burr advised, “Judge for yourself and act accordingly.” Workman wrote contacts in Texas to expect the potential buyers from New York. In December 1832, Jane and Robert McManus sailed from New Orleans to Mexican Texas.<sup>37</sup>

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## CHAPTER 3

### TEXAS (1832-1840)

As a female--I cannot bear arms for my adopted country--but if the interest I possess in her soil, will be a guarantee for any money, I will with joy contribute my mite to the purchase of arms for her brave defenders.

--Jane M. McManus<sup>1</sup>

When Jane and Robert McManus arrived in Texas in December 1832, the Mexican government was in turmoil, and the conflict that would become revolution was stirring. Texans and Mexican troops had clashed at Anahuac and Velasco in June when Kentucky-born Mexican Colonel Juan D. Blackburn arrested William B. Travis and Patrick Jack at Anahuac for defying Mexican authority and organizing a citizen's militia. The Battle of Velasco occurred when friends coming to the aid of Travis encountered resistance at the Mexican fort at the mouth of the Brazos River. Not only had Texas drawn those in search of cheap land, but the province had become a refuge for reckless men and adventurous women. Mrs. McManus and the men with whom she conducted business--Samuel May Williams, William B. Travis, Sam Houston, and Sterling C. Robertson--came from questionable pasts to start a new life in Texas.<sup>2</sup>

Williams, having taken funds from his former employer, had departed New Orleans using the assumed name of his unsavory woman companion. Travis had left an unhappy wife and unpaid debts in Alabama. Houston had, among other things, a notorious drinking habit, and he had caned a Congressman on Pennsylvania Avenue for remarks made in the

House of Representatives. Robertson was a convicted murderer when he came from Nashville to regain the area of the Robert Leftwich Grant that Mexican officials had transferred to Stephen F. Austin. Mrs. McManus had broken no laws, but she was divorced, and stirred imaginations further as the protégé of Aaron Burr, a man three times her age and noted for his political intrigues and “libidinous passions.”<sup>3</sup>

The political conflict in which the McManus siblings found themselves emanated from more than a clash of cultures as Mrs. McManus later suggested in Texas and Her Presidents (1845), a history, geography, and guidebook for investors and settlers. The issues involved Mexican centralists, federalists, republicans, monarchists, immigration, and the slavery issue. In January 1821, Spanish authorities granted Moses Austin permission to establish a colony. After two years of revolution, Augustin de Iturbide, as head of the Mexican Imperial government, transferred the authority to Stephen F. Austin. A coup removed Iturbide and the Republic of Mexico came into being. A federalist Congress created the Constitution of 1824 giving states the right to dispose of public land within their borders. Texas was combined with Coahuila and governed from Saltillo. Austin and other empresarios received contracts for settlement under the state colonization law of March 1825 and in 1828 were allowed to bring slaves to Texas as indentured servants for life. The Mexican government was stable under federalist President Guadalupe Victoria (1824-1828), but in 1829, Gómez Pedraza, a moderate supported by conservatives, served three months of his term before being removed by federalists led by Vicenté Ramón Gueréro. After eight months, opponents removed Gueréro from office and the centralist Vice President Anastacio Bustamente served two years before Antonio López de Santa

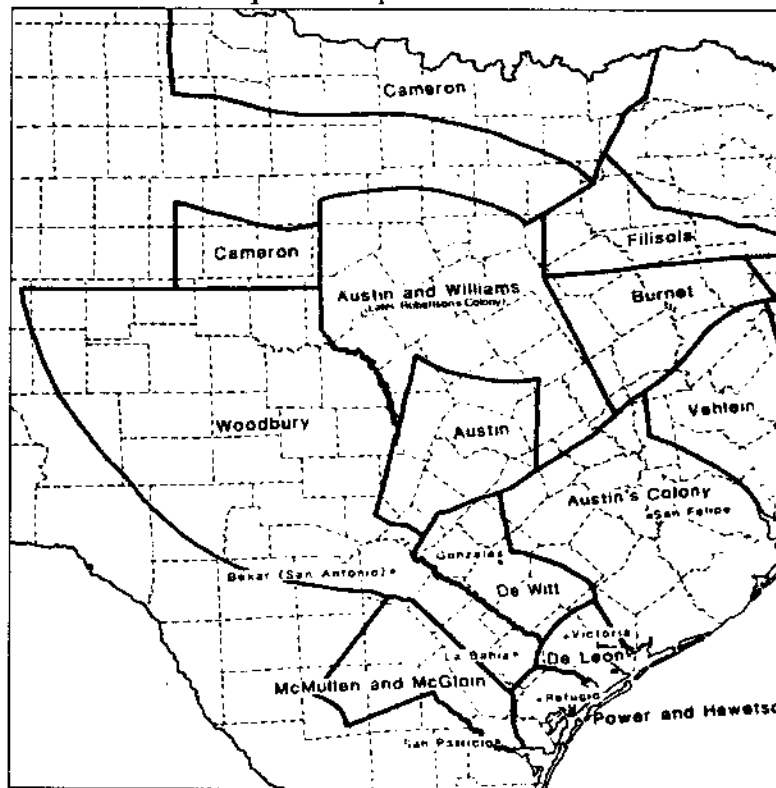
Anna called for a revolt that coincided with the Anahuac disturbances. In June 1832, as head of the army, Santa Anna installed Pedraza to serve the remaining six months of his original term. When federalist Colonel José Antonio Mexía arrived with Mexican troops in July 1832 to put down the Anahuac revolt, he instead celebrated the Turtle Bayou Resolutions in which Anglo settlers pledged their lives and their fortunes to uphold the Mexican Constitution of 1824.<sup>4</sup>

In October 1832, Austin presided over a convention held in San Felipe to resolve differences with the national government that had led to the Anahuac disturbance. Representatives of sixteen settlements voted to follow the chain of command through sympathetic federalists rather than resort to violence. The delegates requested that exemption from tariff duties be extended another three years, a jury system be enacted, modification of the immigration law, Texas be allowed separate statehood, and other measures. Austin was to carry the petition to Mexico City, but got no further than the political chief at San Antonio. Ramón Músquiz was so upset by the unauthorized meeting and by land advertisements placed by the Nashville Company in United States newspapers that he ordered the land commissioner at San Felipe to cease issuing titles and bring the land records to San Antonio.<sup>5</sup>

In February 1831, authorities in Saltillo had granted the sparsely-settled area of the Robert Leftwich Grant, or Nashville Colony, to Austin for settlement. The area extended 200 miles upriver from Austin's four other colonies that lay between the Colorado and Brazos Rivers. Austin instructed Samuel May Williams--who had gained respectability, shed his unsavory woman companion, and worked as Austin's assistant--to locate three

eleven-league grants for Austin, but otherwise left development to Williams in lieu of salary. Austin made Williams a partner, and the area was renamed the Austin and Williams Colony, but called the upper colony in correspondence (See Map I).<sup>6</sup>

Map 1. Empresario Grants.



Austin sold an interest in the new colony to Captain John Austin, and with the help of unnamed sympathetic Mexican authorities the land records stayed in San Felipe. When Jane and Robert McManus arrived in December 1832, Williams had just recently ordered the survey of nineteen eleven-league grants in the upper colony, some designated for helpful Mexican officials. The McManus siblings agreed to purchase one of these grants, but unbeknownst to them, Sterling C. Robertson had arrived from Tennessee that same

month and was taking depositions from settlers to prove that the Leftwich area was not unsettled when granted to Austin. Also that month, Sam Houston came to parley with Comanches and investigate Indian migration to Mexican Texas.<sup>7</sup>

Williams and John Austin located the eleven-league state land grants of 48,712 acres for fifty pesos per league plus surveying fees (See Figure 1). On January 22, 1833, Charles Sayre, whose syntax suggests that English was his second language, informed Williams that the “New York Commission” was in Brazoria, and two weeks later wrote that Mrs. McManus was visiting San Felipe to finalize a purchase. He was “much pleased with her” and described her as “a very intelligent Lady.” He urged Williams to hurry the forms because she wished to return to New Orleans with Captain Samuel Fuller who transported trade goods to Texas and hides and cotton to New Orleans on the schooner Nelson.<sup>8</sup>

By February 8, 1833, Jane and Robert had arrived in San Felipe, the headquarters of Austin’s colonies. About thirty single and double log cabins surrounded the main square. Williams operated the land office out of his home where he lived a respectable life with a wife and children. Austin’s original headquarters, a two-story double log cabin, had become a hotel operated by Jonathan Peyton and his wife Angelina, two of Austin’s first colonists. They, too, invested in an eleven-league grant in the upper colony. Probably, Mrs. McManus stayed at the inn, for she became friends with Angelina and wrote fondly of her for the next twenty years.<sup>9</sup>

The day the McManus siblings arrived in San Felipe, Williams transferred an eleven-league grant, recently purchased by Samuel Sawyer, to Doña Jane M. McManus.

Sawyer held a position similar to that of Dey with several land companies. The transfer document contained the signature of the Alcalde, Luke Lessasieur, and was witnessed by Isaac Jones and W. Barret Travis. Travis then resided in San Felipe where he practiced law, gambled, and kept a tally of female conquests. As his surviving diary does not begin until the next August, it is not known if Mrs. McManus was one of his “amorous adventures,” but she never mentioned meeting Travis.<sup>10</sup>

Figure 1. Texas Land Measure.

<p>Eleven Square Leagues = 48,712.4 Acres</p> <p>One Square League = 4,428.2 acres = 25 Labors = 5,000 Varas</p> <p>One Square Labor = 177.1 acres = 1,000 Varas</p> <p>One Square Mile = 640 acres</p> <p>One Vara = 33 1/3 inches</p> <p>One acre = 208.71 square feet</p> <p>One Statute Mile = 5,280 feet</p>
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Although Mrs. McManus was already Catholic, she declared her Catholicism and loyalty to Mexico, and received the maximum amount of land a Mexican citizen could own. The national Law of April 6, 1830 stated that only Mexicans could own land, and

the state law set the maximum an individual could own at eleven square leagues. In 1830, the State of Coahuila y Texas had issued the large grants to finance the state government. Purchasers located the grants on unoccupied land or issued a power of attorney to others. After paying survey and registration fees, land commissioners granted possession to the holder of the grant. Because Austin and Williams' new colony with less than 100 families had no commissioner, the nearest Alcalde, a magistrate, certified documents. Jane and Robert McManus probably paid two thousand dollars for the grant because a week earlier, Robert McAlpin "Three Legged Willie" Williamson quoted that amount to his client, Edward Hanrick, director of the Alabama Land Company in Montgomery. Williamson informed Hanrick that Austin had only four more of the large grants available.<sup>11</sup>

The eleven-league grant Mrs. McManus purchased had been originally issued to Perfecto Valdez by the State of Coahuila y Texas on July 13, 1830. On July 29, Valdez transferred his power of attorney to Samuel Bangs and Isaac Donoho. Bangs was an associate of Benjamin Lundy who planned a free black colony in Texas, and Donoho was a Santa Fe trader. Samuel Sawyer had purchased the Perfecto Valdez grant in November, and it was one of those Williams had ordered surveyed in December. Field Notes in the Spanish Collection of the Texas General Land Office show that William Moore and his assistants surveyed the McManus grant exactly where Williams instructed, slightly above the Waco Indian Village and across from the mouth of the Bosque River.<sup>12</sup>

Jane and Robert possibly visited the Waco area. Although buyers of eleven-league grants did not normally inspect their land, Williams testified that some did. Settlements existed the 200 miles up the Brazos from San Felipe to the Waco Indian village. Above

Austin's headquarters lay Groce's Landing at the Coushatta Indian crossing. Next, Andrew Robinson had a ferry near the mouth of the Navasota River on the Spanish La Bahía Road. Farther upstream, a trading post identified the abandoned Mexican Fort Tenoxtitlan at the crossing of the Old San Antonio Road. At the falls of the Brazos, Francis Smith had a trading post where the Comanche Trail ran eastward to Nacogdoches. Another twenty-odd miles upriver was what remained of the Waco Village. In 1829, mixed-blood Cherokee farmers from Tennessee, including the Chisholm family, had killed most of the Waco and Tehuacano Indians after they raided their farms along the Red River. John Boyd remained on the Brazos and had a blacksmith shop in a Cherokee settlement about four miles below the Waco village. Perhaps Mrs. McManus had planned to settle among the Indians all along, a possibility that would explain Burr's comparing her venture to that of Jemima Wilkinson in western New York.<sup>13</sup>

Williams created a power of attorney for Robert to act in his sister's absence. Robert had loaned his sister the money to purchase the large grant, and they were to share their land purchase and their headrights as settlers. R. O. W. McManus began surveying with John Austin in the area of the Trinity Land Company. Jane returned to Brazoria and presumably sailed to New Orleans with Captain Fuller as planned. By May 20, 1833, she was in New York and entering expenses in Dey's ledger.<sup>14</sup>

Mrs. McManus was not the only woman to hold an eleven-league grant in Texas. For example, María de la Concepción Márquez located such a grant in present-day Leon County. Moreover, of the 4,313 First Class Headrights of one league and one labor, or 4,605.5 acres, issued by the General Land Office for heads of households who settled in



Texas prior to independence, 4 percent, or 176, were women. Women came because of cheap land, or to control their own destinies under Las Siete Partidas, the thirteenth-century Spanish law that allowed married women to own separate property. Mary Austin Holley, propagandist for her cousin's colonies, urged women to come to Texas where "more Dianas and Ester [*sic*] Stanhopes than one" existed, and women could be "free spirits" and have a "capacity for greatness."<sup>15</sup>

William H. Wharton presided over a convention held in April 1833 and the repercussions altered forever Mrs. McManus's life. Delegates drew up a petition in which they asked that the tariff exemption be extended another year, requested separate statehood, and asked for repeal of the section of the Law of April 6, 1830 forbidding Anglo immigration. Stephen F. Austin agreed to carry the petition to Mexico City. He journeyed by way of Matamoros where he contracted cholera. Austin learned that land and slave speculations in the upper colony had ruined his reputation with authorities. On May 31, 1833, Austin wrote Williams to locate no more eleven-league grants and "keep clear of all speculations." He specifically named Jim Bowie and Ben Fort Smith whose "cursed foolish trip" to Cuba for slaves had called attention to Texas.<sup>16</sup>

In Williams's haste to locate the cotton lands in the upper colony for the planter syndicates before Robertson reclaimed the area for the Nashville Company, Williams accepted payment for more grants than he had available--a matter of lasting consequence for Mrs. McManus. While Austin carried the petition on to the Mexican capital, Williams disregarded Austin's orders and traveled to Mobile where he met with Williamson's client Edward Hanrick, director of the Alabama Land Company--a syndicate financed by the

Bank of the United States. Hanrick introduced Williams to James W. Fannin--a man Hanrick described as "desperate," and with "nothing to lose and all to gain," and who would smuggle slaves from Cuba to Texas for the planters. In Mexico, Austin presented the Texans' petition to Santa Anna who agreed to all the requests except separate statehood. The Mexican Congress had adjourned because of the cholera epidemic. To cover additional expenses, Williams sent Austin \$2000 in letters of credit from Samuel St. John, who was married to Williams's sister Sophia in Mobile.<sup>17</sup>

Back in Texas, on July 14, 1833, Samuel Sawyer had written John Austin that Robert McManus was with Sawyer in San Bernard. In bad health and planning to return to New York, McManus wanted Austin notified that Williams's surveyor, Francis Johnson, was requesting payments for surveys he had not made in the upper colony. Robert also wanted Austin to locate his sister's headright claim as head of the McManus family--4,605.5 acres--on the Trinity River. That summer, Austin and his children died of cholera, as did Lessasier, Sawyer, countless Texas settlers, 6,000 in New Orleans and 16,000 in Mexico City as an epidemic spread from India to Europe to America. Mrs. McManus' headright claim was not located, but on the last day of August, Williams billed her \$150 in fees for the survey of the Perfecto Valdez grant. When paid, he would issue a title of possession and the grant would be finished. Meanwhile, Williams carried her note, presumably, as he did that of others at 5 percent interest plus a service fee.<sup>18</sup>

In New York, on July 3, 1833, seventy-seven-year-old Aaron Burr eloped with the fifty-six-year-old widow, Eliza Jumel. Jumel had a questionable reputation and a nasty disposition, but she was rumored to be the richest woman in America. Her fortune came

from smuggling during Jefferson's embargo. New York marriage laws gave Burr immediate control of her wealth, and their honeymoon consisted of a tour of her possessions. Before the wedding trip ended, Burr began selling her assets and investing in Texas real estate.<sup>19</sup>

Because of fraud and traffic in counterfeit eleven-league grants, on September 21, 1833, Jane McManus took her copy of the Perfecto Valdez Grant to the Mexican Vice-Consulate in New York where August Radcliff certified it to be true and valid. Mrs. McManus then began indenturing German immigrants for \$12 per year for two years service in return for passage to Texas. The presence of these particular German immigrants cannot be explained, but in general, Germans came to America at this time because of high unemployment, bad harvests, marginal-sized farms, and a romantic vision of America after the republican reforms failed in 1830.<sup>20</sup>

Since 1821, Germans had migrated to Texas, and by 1826, more than two hundred residents had German surnames. In 1831, 15,000 Germans came to the United States, and that year, the Galveston Bay Company had one ship load of almost sixty settlers turned away by Mexican customs officials because the ship had disembarked from New York. Most Germans entering New Orleans settled in Missouri, but a few came to Texas. One group camped near Anahuac. On Mill Creek, in present-day Austin County, Germans had a colony later named Industry where they raised tobacco and manufactured cigars. In Matagorda, F. W. Grasmeyer operated a general store with William Leslie Cazneau, a Boston cotton buyer. Germans also settled on Cummins Creek in the Frelsburg community. Lorenzo de Zavala, Mexican minister to France, promoted European

migration to Texas as did José Antonio Mexía in Matamoros. Since December 1832, newspapers in Germany had advertised Texas land for sale, and in June 1833, Johann von Racknitz sailed from Le Havre with 200 Germans to settle an eight-league grant on the Colorado River near Bastrop. The colony failed because of the cholera epidemic and a lack of funds for supplies and transit inland.<sup>21</sup>

In late September 1833, Mrs. McManus chartered a vessel to transport her German indentures and supplies from New York to Texas. Charles Sayre, also bringing Germans and supplies to Texas, was to share the cost of the ship, but he was delayed and withdrew his freight and passengers. In panic, Mrs. McManus wrote Burr for an additional \$250 and pleaded, "I cannot go home, you are aware it drained their means to pay for the land." Contrary to Mrs. Burr's later charges, McManus did not receive the funds to carry on from Burr, but returned to Troy, and on October 2, 1833, deeded 500 acres of an unidentified and unlocated eleven-league grant to Justus Morton for \$250. Although the land was not hers to deed, Morton had a paper deed that he later sold and that eventually appeared in the Deed Records of Matagorda County, Texas. Morton was Grand Commander of the New York Commandery of Knights Templar and a fraternal brother of Jane's father, William McManus, a 32nd degree Mason.<sup>22</sup>

In November 1833, Jane, Robert, Judge McManus, an undisclosed number of German indentures, auctioneers, Logan and C. H. Vandever, and unidentified settlers from Kentucky arrived in Matagorda. Elias Wightman and William Selkirk had established the town in 1829 with fifty-two families from New York and New England. Because of a shortage of timber and poor anchorage, the town had grown little.<sup>23</sup>

Although Mrs. McManus left no memoirs, Mrs. Annie Fisher Harris recalled the arrival of her party in Matagorda. The harbor was not deep enough for ships, so small boats, called lighters transported freight and passengers to and from the deep water to the landing on the Colorado River. A seven-mile log jam blocked the river's mouth and created a giant marsh. The McManus pilgrims walked two miles into town along a path newly cut through the six-foot tall marsh grass from which the town derived its Spanish name--a place of reeds. While some settlers lived in sheds, tents, and in the open because of a shortage of timber and lumber, Mrs. Fisher and her children shared a room with Judge McManus and his daughter, Jane, at Grasmeyer's store. Mrs. Harris described Jane McManus as a "woman adventuress" who was "young and handsome" with letters from important people. According to Harris, McManus was "useful and agreeable," "possessed of much fascination," and disclosed that Grasmeyer's partner, the Boston cotton-buyer William Leslie Cazneau, was in love with Jane McManus. Harris also said that Karankawa Indians still lived less than a mile from town, and when the women came to trade, they camped beneath the store which was also raised on stilts. The Indian women had Spanish names, yet they wore only animal skin skirts and wreaths of leaves around their necks. During the full moon, Matagorda residents could hear the Indians singing, and as they danced and beat their drums, coyotes howled in the distance.<sup>24</sup>

The German indentures broke their contracts with Mrs. McManus and refused to go inland. Either they were frightened by Josiah Wilbarger, the local school teacher who was scalped by Comanche Indians while on a survey party upriver and lived to tell of it, or word spread that Robertson had gained control of the upper colony and refused to honor

transactions made by Williams. Perhaps the Germans learned they could have land simply by filing a claim at the land office.<sup>25</sup>

Judge McManus served as Samuel Swartwout's Texas agent after Sawyer's death from cholera. Swartwout, once Burr's private secretary, and in 1833 the United States customs inspector for the Port of New York, held shares in the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company and in those formerly under Sawyer's direction--the Arkansas & Texas, the Rio Grande & Texas, and Colorado & Red River land companies. Presumably, Judge McManus also handled the preliminaries for development of the New Washington Association in which Swartwout also invested. First discussed in 1829, this project was the work of Dr. Thomas Cooley, a social architect, and John R. Bartlett (1805-1886), later founder of the American Ethnological Society. They visited Matagorda in 1833 and selected the 1,600 acre site of Clopper's Point on Galveston Bay for a social experiment to blend Europeans and free blacks in an agricultural and a commercial venture. The directors were Lorenzo de Zavala, John P. Austin, James Treat, Stephen Sicard, James Watson Webb, editor of the New York Courier & Enquirer, and Mordecai Noah, editor of the New York Star. Joseph L. Joseph was a financier, and the general manager was James Morgan, who operated a store at Anahuac for Union and Trinity Land Company settlers. Impressed with McManus, on March 31, 1834, the City of Matagorda deeded him twelve acres of city lots for his building a sawmill. In April 1834, Jane and her father returned to New York, and she again entered expenses in Dey's ledgers. In October, the New Washington Association was chartered in New York and began development.<sup>26</sup>

Because of New York's liberal laws, the state's black population had grown by 65 percent in a decade. In 1830, New York had 44,870 African Americans, one-third of the black population of the northern states. Until 1848, blacks with \$250 in property could vote and Whigs labeled them, "Jackson whites," because they voted Democratic. Free blacks were encouraged to migrate to Liberia and create a black republic in Africa, but British abolitionist George Thompson, funded by the London-based World Anti-Slavery Society, toured the United States and declared the American Colonial Society, "the enemy of the people of color." In Catholic countries and Europe, no stigma was attached to being black; thus, the New Washington venture which proposed relocating New York's growing population of unskilled blacks and European immigrants on agricultural land in Mexican Texas was a viable solution to New York's racist and immigrant problems.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, Jane McManus encountered more difficulties in July 1834. Grandmother McManus died the first week of July. Then, on July 12 Mrs. Burr filed for divorce and named Jane McManus, a divorced woman, in the Bill of Complaint filed against Burr. Burr had sold bridges, land, and buildings, but selling her fine carriage and matched pair of high-stepping horses was the last straw. Although Mrs. McManus never mentioned Burr, Ann Stephens, her best friend, later explained that divorce was the only way Mrs. Burr could regain control of her finances. While Mrs. Burr could have used the name of a servant girl, Burr requested that she name someone who would do him honor. Thus, Jane McManus became a part of the Burr divorce scandal.<sup>28</sup>

Mrs. Burr's attorney was Alexander Hamilton Jr. the son of Burr's old nemesis and a leader of nativist Whigs who formed in opposition to Burr's Tammany Hall

Democrats. By association, the divorce scandal connected Burr and the Democrats to an Irish Catholic divorcée, and the 70,000 Irish-Catholics who controlled a growing proportion of New York votes, lower government offices, and street vendor licenses. According to Burr's friends, his wife, the former Madam Jumel had played a part in the Burr-Hamilton duel by spreading the rumor that Burr's daughter, Theodosia, was also his lover. Hamilton then used the gossip in a nasty campaign to destroy Burr and the Chase Manhattan Bank that Burr had created as a rival to Hamilton's Bank of the United States. Thus, Burr's spending Mrs. Jumel's ill-gotten gains on Texas real estate was one way of getting even with her and countering the expansion of the Bank of the United States into Texas.<sup>29</sup>

By late July 1834, Mrs. McManus wrote Williams from New Orleans that her agent, Ira Randolph Lewis of Matagorda, would select eight leagues of land for her along the coast that did not have the problems of the upper colony. The new leagues were not substitutes for the Brazos River land, but additional ones that Jane and Robert financed by selling their share of the McManus family estate to their brother, Phillip McManus.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, relations between the Mexican government and the Texans deteriorated. Since January 1834, Austin had been held in prison in Mexico City and charged with treason because he requested Hispanics in San Antonio to join with Anglo-Texans in a petition for separate statehood. Austin was caught in the power struggle between centralists and federalists. By March 1834, the legislature of Coahuila y Texas had moved from Saltillo, which had centralists to federalist Monclova and sold 400 unlocated eleven-league grants to arm a state militia. John T. Mason, agent for the



Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company, purchased all 400 of these grants. Meanwhile, Santa Anna had assumed control of the government, ordered new state elections, named his brother-in-law, Martín Perfecto de Cós, Commander-General of the Mexican Army, closed Congress, and suspended all liberal laws passed by his predecessor, Valentín Gómez Farías.<sup>31</sup>

Jane and Robert McManus sold their shares of the family farm in November 1834 and planned to return to Texas, but their father was in poor health. On January 18, 1835, William McManus died of a heart attack. The obituary described a loving father and a man of good humor and keen wit. Word quickly spread of the death of McManus and by the end of January, Swartwout wrote East Texas surveyor José María Carvajal that Colonel Frost Thorn of Nacogdoches had assumed McManus's former duties.<sup>32</sup>

In March 1835, Ira Lewis applied to the land office at San Felipe for eight leagues of land near Matagorda for Jane McManus. When she arrived in June, McManus discovered that the land had no timber. She explained to Williams that she could not attract settlers without timber. She complained, "not one has a stick of timber--not even large enough for a walking cane or poles for a mosquito [sic] bar." One can imagine her anger as she examined the marshy leagues west of the Colorado River. As for the payment of fees, her brother would handle that when he was done surveying on the Neches River.<sup>33</sup>

At the start of 1835, Santa Anna had ordered the customs houses in Texas reopened. Meanwhile, two state governments now existed; centralists governed from Saltillo and federalists from Monclova. The Monclova federalists sold 800 additional

eleven-league grants to finance resistance to Santa Anna. Samuel May Williams, William Durst, and Dr. James Grant purchased these grants. Santa Anna then ordered the Monclova government closed and the arrest of the federalists. Williams, Francis Johnson, Ben Milam, Thomas J. Chambers, and Ben Fort Smith fled northward with Mexia, Fariás, de Zavala, Martín de León, Juan Seguin, and José Antonio Navarro. Federalist Governor Agustín Viesca pleaded for Anglo support in establishing a true republic in Mexico. While most settlers wanted peace, Travis organized a militia at Anahuac and obtained the surrender of Mexican troops at the customs house. In early July, Williams left for New Orleans and began raising funds and recruiting armed men. Only a month after she arrived, Mrs. McManus returned to New Orleans on July 29, and listed her occupation as "traveler." She had not paid Williams for the survey of the land that had reverted to Robertson, nor was her headright claim yet located.<sup>34</sup>

In August 1835 friends secured Austin's release in Mexico City. After twenty-eight months of prison and house arrest, he no longer advised cooperation with Mexican officials. Austin urged the formation of a militia against the troops of General Cós that Santa Anna had ordered to go to Texas to remove Anglos who had settled since 1830. By October 2, 1835, General Cós had sent a detachment to Gonzales to recover a cannon lent the colonists for defense against Indians. The Mexican troops encountered Texans who defied him with their flag picturing a cannon, a lone star, and the challenge, "Come and Take It," painted by Naomi DeWitt on a scrap of silk cut from her wedding dress. From November 3 to 14, Texans held a Consultation and called for the restoration of the Constitution of 1824. Delegates ordered the land offices closed because of confusion and

arguments over land claims that distracted participants. During Williams' absences to New Orleans and elsewhere, Gail Borden Jr., the son of the local blacksmith, maintained the land records, but primarily coordinated the committees of correspondence. Therefore, many claims in the San Felipe land office were unfinished. In Nacogdoches, George Nixon, land commissioner for the Galveston Bay settlers, issued titles beyond the closing date. In all, 1,400 claims in the Spanish Collection of the General Land Office were "unfinished," including the eleven-league and eight-league claims of McManus.<sup>35</sup>

Mrs. McManus had more difficulties than unfinished land grants and the Burr divorce scandal. Williams had altered the land office copy of the Perfecto Valdez Grant. He had erased Perfecto Valdez on the first page and inserted Rafael de Aguirre. Years later, Williams claimed that Perfecto Valdez was inserted in error on subsequent pages, but, as Gaylon Greaser, translator of Spanish documents in the General Land Office explained, mistakes were never erased, but lined through and explained at the end of documents in a way similar to endnotes. The best explanation is that Williams needed four grants to give members of Hanrick's Alabama Land Company in April 1833 when they came to inspect the land for which they had made a deposit in the form of drafts that Williams had cashed. Williamson, their agent, stalled the planters by his participation in the convention of April 1833, perhaps while Johnson made the fake field notes to which forgery Robert McManus had alerted Sawyer and John Austin. With the three grants of Tomas de la Vega, Raphael de Aguirre, and Jose Maria Aguirre still unlocated and with that of Mrs. McManus altered as the second Rafael de Aguirre grant, Williams had four grants for the Alabama land syndicate. Asa Hoxey located the altered grant on the San

Gabriel River in present-day Williamson County, and Williams showed the grants as finished, although the Alabama syndicate had not paid in full for the forty-four leagues or the survey and location fees.<sup>36</sup>

Back in New York and unaware of Williams's duplicity, in October 1835, Jane McManus offered a thousand acres of land at an undisclosed location to Joseph D. Beers, of Beers, St. John and St. John for arms and ammunition for the Texas Revolution. Joseph D. Beers was president of the North American Trust & Banking Company, with advertised capital of \$50 million. With paper claims of more than 80,000 acres, Mrs. McManus appeared a wealthy woman, but she had no money to pay room and board. She turned to her father's last employer, Swartwout, who paid her living expenses in exchange for land. When Mrs. Fisher and the children arrived from Matagorda, Mrs. McManus discreetly visited them on their way to stay with Mrs. Fisher's parents in Philadelphia.<sup>37</sup>

Gossip about the Burr divorce had grown more caustic with each court hearing. Toward the end of December 1835, Mrs. Burr gained control of her assets through testimony of her maid. Burr then had a massive stroke, and his friends moved him from Jersey City to New York. With Burr unable to defend himself, Mrs. Burr continued her public tirades against Mrs. McManus and him as she walked the streets of New York rather than ride in her former aristocratic splendor.<sup>38</sup>

As 1836 began, Mrs. McManus was discouraged and had doubts of ever returning to Texas. Santa Anna would soon enter Texas with the Mexican Army. She was still in default on her note for survey fees, and Williams, who lived in New York, dunned her for payment. He located her headright claim near Matagorda, and she wrote Williams

thanking him for his advice to sell her claims for what she could get. She was playing one side against the other of those who wished to purchase her land, she explained. At the moment, she wished to “settle down to a much neglected, though dearest duty, the care of my child’s education.” William was then nine years old and presumably had been living with his grandmother and uncle on the family farm near Troy.<sup>39</sup>

In Texas, Robert joined the Texas Volunteer Army four days after the Texas Declaration of Independence on March 2, 1836. He served in Captain William M. Logan’s Spy Company and with Erastus “Deaf” Smith at the Battle of San Jacinto. While her brother fought for their land and became a hero, Jane McManus gave land away and became notorious. The details of Burr’s divorce became public on September 14, 1836, the day of Burr’s death. The Lewis sisters, Ellen and Hannah, had testified that Mrs. Burr’s maid told them Dr. Ezekiel Johnson had seen Burr with his trousers lowered standing before a seated Mrs. McManus. McManus won a perjury indictment against the maid, Eliza Johnson, but it did not erase the scandal nor end the gossip that has since immortalized her as Burr’s young paramour.<sup>40</sup>

In October 1836, Sam Houston became president of the Republic of Texas. Although Texans overwhelmingly supported annexation, the United States government did not extend an offer. The government of Mexico did not recognize the independence of Texas, and annexation would mean war. John Quincy Adams, William Lloyd Garrison, and Benjamin Lundy claimed that the Texas Revolution was part of a plot to extend slavery. The Texas government made it appear that slaveholders had enacted a constitution for their benefit. Instead of Texas being a refuge for free blacks, or as an

outlet for slaves whose children would be free, the Texas Constitution made slavery perpetual and free persons of color were denied residency without the approval of the Texas Congress. The government refused to honor eleven-league grants because Texans thought the 1,100 grants issued by the Monclova Legislature in 1834 and 1835 caused Santa Anna's march north and the war. Section 10 of the Constitution of the Republic essentially denied the claims of the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company, whose agent was John Mason, and the General Land Office shows that claims by the company's settlers were denied. Furthermore, only Texas residents could own land, and claimants had to register in local county offices where conflicts over land would be settled in local courts.<sup>41</sup>

In New York, on September 20, 1837, Jane McManus paid expenses incurred during the revolution and the extended legal battle to clear her name. She deeded one-half of League No. 4, Carancahua Survey, in what was then Matagorda County, to James Morgan to hold in trust for Swartwout. The land was the headright Williams located for her as the head of the McManus family and consisted of approximately 4,600 acres. Although Morgan bonded the deed for \$10,000, he wrote Swartwout that it was worth more as a possible port.<sup>42</sup>

Three days before Christmas 1837, Jane and Robert McManus returned to Texas and established their residency and registered their land claims. Although she was thirty years old, she listed herself on the ship's manifest as J. Maria McManus, age 27, a Texas resident, occupation, spinster. She gave her description as "5 ft. 3 in," but lined through and wrote above, "complexion dark." She also signed for Robert, age 24, a surveyor, described as five foot seven inches tall and dark complexioned. With free blacks

prohibited, the shade of one's color had become important. Thus, Mrs. McManus also signed for her servants, Betsy Stewart, age 38, and her son, William H. Stewart, age 10, both listed as colored. Nothing more is known of the Stewarts, but they were not slaves. Slaves were listed under a master and had no last names given.<sup>43</sup>

In January 1838, Mrs. McManus registered the eight leagues that Lewis had selected for her with the Matagorda County Land Board clerk, Thomas E. Davis, who was also a shareholder in the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company and the New Washington Association. County Commissioners recognized as valid her eight-leagues of claims, her one league and one labor as a colonist, and the eleven-league Perfecto Valdez grant that was in limbo because the Williams and Robertson feud would have to be settled in court. In February, Thomas Morewood, of the Texas Land Board at Houston, certified that the claims of Mrs. McManus, her brother, and the William McManus heirs were valid. Robert surveyed around Houston, and in July, married Sarah Spinks whose parents came from Mississippi as Austin's first colonists. Robert brought his mother Catherine and his sister's son, William, to live with him on his smaller headright claim established as a single man on the Trinity River. Twelve-year-old William helped his uncle run survey chains. That fall, Catherine McManus died of yellow fever.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, Jane McManus lived in Matagorda with her agent, Ira Lewis, his wife, and their four daughters, Laura, Louisa, Cora, and Stella. Others had filed claims against the eight leagues that would have to be settled in court. Morton had sold the \$250 deed to an unlocated Mexican land grant to Charles Howard, newly-elected president of the Matagorda Land Board, for \$100. He then sold it for a profit. Although a deed was

merely a piece of paper, survey notes helped produce a clear title when recorded at a courthouse and recognized by a local jury.<sup>45</sup>

Mrs. McManus's Perfecto Valdez claim was in legal flux because Congress had authorized Robertson to sue Williams for control of the area. The former Leftwich grant had shifted from Williams to Robertson and back in 1831, in 1834, and in 1835. Added to the suits of Robertson and Williams were those of Thomas Chambers for town sites located at the junctions of major rivers, plus the Mississippi, Alabama, Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company clients, their settlers against the companies and other settlers. Texas was a lawyer's paradise. President Houston ordered that the land offices remain closed until the land records were gathered, sorted, and organized. The chaos explains why the Texas Congress voted to allow local juries to award titles to settlers in adverse possession of their land, meaning persons living on the land had a valid claim against someone with a paper deed. Land wars began, family feuds developed, and every means were used to sway juries to award clear titles to deeds.<sup>46</sup>

When Mrs. McManus arrived at the Matagorda City Ball with the Lewis family in late November 1838, the managers of the ball turned her away because rumors of the Burr scandal made her unacceptable for respectable society. Mrs. McManus was crushed, and Lewis was angry. The Virginia gentleman and protector of his family honor demanded an apology or that he be met on a field of honor by the manager of the ball, a noted duelist, Colonel Volney Howard, former Mississippi state representative and currently reporter for the Mississippi Court of Errors and Appeals. Lewis issued a formal challenge the next day in which he wrote, "the laws of society precluded her from adjusting her own wrongs."



As Mrs. McManus was a guest in his home, and a member of his household, he too was insulted. Lewis had "heard the rumors that had turned her into a recluse, investigated, found them false, and to be based on political motivations." Cazneau and Major Charles DeMorse, later editor of the Northern Standard, agreed to serve as Lewis's seconds.<sup>47</sup>

Colonel Howard left town, and Lewis challenged the next person on the list, George W. Collingsworth, son-in-law of newly-elected Matagorda Mayor Harvey Kenrick. Collingsworth, a hero of Velasco and Goliad, decided that he had urgent business in Houston at the inauguration of President Mirabeau B. Lamar. No one wanted to face Lewis. The matter was resolved without a duel, but Jane's honor was not avenged. An article appeared in the Matagorda Bulletin the first week of December reporting that Justice of the Peace Silas Dinsmore presided over a public meeting where the matter of Mrs. McManus's lack of an invitation to the ball and Lewis' challenge was settled. A resolution passed stating the situation was not within the code of honor. On New Year's Eve 1838, Jane and Robert McManus, as heirs of William McManus, deeded twelve acres of Matagorda city lots to J. T. Belknap. Mrs. McManus left town, for she stood little chance of receiving a title to her land claims by a jury of her peers.<sup>48</sup>

A Matagorda County map drawn by County Surveyor James H. Selkirk in 1839 showed the eight leagues that Mrs. McManus claimed as vacant. Who later patented the land explains the politics she faced. League No. 6 went to planter John D. Newell. Collingsworth patented League No. 12 on Trespalacios Bay. League No. 20 went to three members of the Yeamen family, one of whom then served on the Matagorda County grand jury. Silas Dinsmore, the justice of the peace, received a portion of League No. 25.

And, the league from which Mrs. McManus had deeded James Morgan half for the Swartwout debt went to Nancy A. McFarland, wife of salt works operator Dugold MacFarland.<sup>49</sup>

Ironically, Matagorda, the town that rejected her, has the only known monument that honors Jane McManus Storm Cazneau. The Texas State Historical Commission Marker is within sight of Grasmeyer's store where she first met Cazneau. While Jane went on to live a life of adventure, Robert McManus settled on the Trinity River with his wife and boys and operated a sawmill. He received all land due him as a settler and a soldier of the Republic of Texas and one who served at the battle of San Jacinto.<sup>50</sup>

From 1838 until 1847, Swartwout and Morgan gossiped about Mrs. McManus as they corresponded about the deed that she had issued Morgan for Swartwout's paying her expenses during the revolution. While Swartwout called her that "Bitch of an Angel, the Copper Captain," Morgan labeled her Captain Copperhead, which in that era meant one who made false claims about themselves. According to Morgan, she could have gotten title to her land had she married Anthony Butler, the former minister to Mexico who had settled in Washington County, or a wealthy New Orleans man worth \$300,000--both of whom wanted to marry her. Morgan did not explain whether they desired her or her claims totaling some 80,000 acres of cotton land and coastal frontage. To Swartwout and Morgan it was practical for her to marry and secure her land claims. Like Cora in James Fenimore Cooper's novel, Last of the Mohicans (1826), however, when faced with the allegorical choice of marriage or worse, McManus did not choose marriage to a man old enough to be her grandfather. The "Copperhead" could not compare, however, to a

“Swartwouter,” --a new term coined for a swindler, when the Port of New York was found short in customs receipts. Swartwout then spent several years in Europe because allegedly he used public funds for private use.<sup>51</sup>

Just as her failed marriage led Jane McManus to Texas, her failed Texas venture led her to perform her mental gymnastics, and “grit her teeth at fate.” Although the ideal of the Republican mother and wife had begun to dominate prescriptive literature, working women were more a reality. For example, Mrs. McManus’s friend, Ann S. Stephens wrote to supplement her husband’s income as a New York customs house clerk. In “Woman of Genius,” published in The Hesperian in 1839, Mrs. Stephens explained that a woman of genius must write as a bird must sing. Fanny Fern, a contemporary wrote, however, “No happy woman ever writes.” An established serial writer in newspapers and magazines, Stephens perhaps helped Mrs. McManus find work as a journalist.<sup>52</sup>

In 1839, Mrs. McManus again called herself Mrs. Storm, either to avoid the Burr scandal or because she now had responsibility for William. She enrolled him in Rensselaer Institute in Troy while she traveled to the Mediterranean as a journalist for Horace Greeley, editor of New Yorker, a weekly magazine of literature and current events, where she wrote “Letters From An American Lady,” which she signed as “Josephine.” Because she traveled to Aleppo in the Ottoman Empire with a group including John Bartlett, she likely visited United States Consul Commander David Porter in Izmir, whose extended family lived with him in the ancient port of Smyrna. She also said that she worked at one time as a governess for a diplomat. Porter’s daughter had married the brother of Jane’s classmate at Willard’s Seminary, Cornelia Van Ness, then living in San Antonio. As

Mexican Naval Commander (1826-1829), Porter had received land grants in Texas as payment for his services. Mrs. Storm was close to the Porter family and later intervened on behalf of a state department job for Porter's secretary, his nephew George Porter.<sup>53</sup>

She also visited Consul Horatio Sprague and his wife in Tangier. Mrs. Sprague suggested that Mrs. Storm's son William be placed in the College of San Augustin in Cadiz. The boy was exceptionally bright, but his mother would later label his condition as "peculiar." His second wife's family called him "eccentric and unpleasant" and revealed that he was "in and out of institutions" most of his life.<sup>54</sup>

Mrs. Storm also met a woman who changed her life. In Syria, where the Knights Templar had their origins, Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839), the daughter of British nobleman and inventor Charles Stanhope, lived with Druse tribesmen near Aleppo on the trade route between Baghdad and the Mediterranean Sea. Mrs. Storm later published details of Aleppo and of meeting the famed eccentric in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review and in her journal, Our Times. Lady Hester had an extensive library of Masonry, told fortunes, and predicted that the United States was "to cut a great figure" in the millennium. She encouraged Mrs. Storm, telling her that God had given her ambition for some great purpose.<sup>55</sup>

Returning to New Orleans in May 1840, as J. Maria McManus, Mrs. Storm wrote Sam Houston from New Orleans requesting letters of introduction to the minister of France and his Holiness the Pope [Gregory XVI], then a friend of masonry, showing her father's rank and her Texas citizenship. She explained that she wanted to enter William in an exclusive European school and that she had letters from New York Governor William

L. Marcy and the bishops of New York and New Orleans, John T. Hughes and Antoine Blanc. The coy and flirtatious letter suggests that she and Houston were acquainted and knew one another very well.<sup>56</sup>

With Mrs. McManus gone from Texas, Williams declared the Waco area of the Perfecto Valdez grant vacant. The legal battle between Robertson and Williams was not easily settled, and legal battles continued. Only in the 1850s did Williams' forgery of Mrs. McManus's grant and Johnson's fake surveys come to light in Williamson County court cases involving suits of possession by subsequent buyers of Asa Hoxey's land. Hoxey had gone bankrupt in 1837 and the land reverted to Hanrick, then on his bankruptcy to the Bank of the United States. The Ufford Brothers of Connecticut thought they had acquired a bargain in rich cotton lands from the Bank of the United States, but then had to sue settlers for possession of the land in local courts. Jane and Robert McManus never recovered any land or funds from their eleven-league or eight-league claims although they battled in and out of court for the remainder of their lives.<sup>57</sup>

## ENDNOTES

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## CHAPTER 4

### MANIFEST DESTINY (1840-1846)

I have the satisfaction of believing myself useful and acceptable in my own circle, and if that is not quite equal to the attractions of Matagorda and Galveston it is at least as good as New York has to show and suits me admirably.

--J. M. Storm to Mirabeau B. Lamar (1845)<sup>1</sup>

After meeting Hesther Stanhope and being encouraged to follow her ambitions in 1839, Jane McManus Storm had a new sense of purpose. Instead of allowing the Burr scandal to turn her into a recluse or cause her to seek escape abroad or rush into marrying someone whose wealth and prestige would insulate her from reproach, she became more quixotic than before. Between 1839 and 1846 she wrote for New Yorker, The Daily Plebeian, the Workingman's Advocate, and the New York Sun. Mrs. Storm also wrote for the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, edited by John L. O'Sullivan.<sup>2</sup>

Most likely, Governor William L. Marcy provided Mrs. Storm with her first opportunity to publish in the Democratic Review. In January 1839, O'Sullivan published an article critical of Marcy after his defeat by Whig candidate William H. Seward. After being reprimanded by President Martin Van Buren, O'Sullivan offered Marcy, or someone of his choosing, equal pages in the magazine. Anonymous articles published in September and November 1839 editions resembled in tone Marcy's letter to O'Sullivan, but textual analysis indicates that more likely Mrs. Storm wrote the articles.<sup>3</sup>

Marcy had reminded O'Sullivan that all in the party were in a line of march, some faster than others. After traveling abroad and being aware of Stanhope's optimism for America, Storm saw the United States as the harbinger of the future. "The Course of Civilization" in the September 1839 issue follows Marcy's line of thought in Storm's style: "The history of humanity is the record of a grand march, more or less rapid." In a November 1839 article titled "Great Nation of Futurity" Storm asked, "Who will, what can, set limits on our onward march?" She portrayed the nation "in its magnificent domain of space and time" as "the nation of many nations destined to manifest to mankind . . . the sacred and the true . . . a union of many republics." She declared, "America had been chosen for a blessed mission to the nations of the world to carry freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits."<sup>4</sup>

After an 1840 fire burned the Washington facilities of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, O'Sullivan's brother-in-law, Samuel Daly Langtree, withdrew from the magazine. New Yorker O. C. Gardiner thereafter published the journal printed by H. G. Langley. Publication resumed in New York in July 1841 with O'Sullivan as editor. The journal's motto, "The best government is that which governs least," explained its Jeffersonian stance against the Whig's view of a strong central government. From the beginning, the magazine had the patronage of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren to provide democratic literature for the middle class.<sup>5</sup>

Textual analysis identifies Mrs. Storm as the author of three 1841 economic articles in the Democratic Review. In October, she introduced a report of the "Select Committee of the House of Commons." Titled, "Free Trade," the article began with her

prose style written as if in step with the marching feet of progress. “Our subject is free trade,” she began, and launched into the ways free trade was a world-embracing revolution of political and social improvement that would lead to universal peace. She portrayed the United States as being composed of twenty-six sovereign states that lived in peace as a model for other nations. In November, “Hurrah for a War with England” represented a sarcastic response to calls for war over encounters between English and American logging companies in Maine. “By all means. Let us have a war,” she jeered, “Let us read or hear again some daily new tale of battle and blood.” Instead, she urged, “The true glory of a nation is to be found in the great moral principles which govern its conduct and mould its character.” In December, she explained the protective tariff policy of “The Home League” was an outdated approach scorned by Adam Smith in The Wealth of Nations (1776).<sup>6</sup>

The stated aim of the Democratic Review was to create an American literary culture and spread democratic ideals at home and abroad. The magazine published the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Herman Melville. Not all the writers were Democrats, but the magazine was designed for a broad readership. It also included women authors and articles of interest to women. Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, the most prolific woman writer in American publishing history, was divorced and wrote about abandoned women who became strong and self-reliant. By 1929, fifty of her novels each had sold 100,000 copies, and some were still in print. Mrs. Storm’s childhood friend, Ann S. Stephens, wrote some twenty-five historical romances, one described as a “book no father would allow his daughter to read.” Her



1840s serial, "Maleska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter," would become the first Beadle paperback in 1860 and sell 300,000 copies, thereby launching the American genre of the dime novel. Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet, wife of Columbia University professor Henry Ellet, translated French and German democratic literature, and Lydia Sigourney's poems were found in most publications. These were but a few of "the damned mob of scribbling women," as Hawthorne termed them, whose publications outsold those of the men in the 1840s and 1850s. Mrs. Storm wrote on popular government and the expansion of commerce and democratic ideals, but, unlike George Bancroft, Lewis Cass, Samuel J. Tilden, William Cullen Bryant, and other political leaders, she did not receive credit for her work until March 1845, and then under the generic pseudonym, "C. Montgomery."<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Storm's distinctive writing style, best described as utilitarian or modern, was a sharp contrast to the verbosity of the Romantic style of the era. She used short words and with a haughty tone delivered messages more resembling stump speeches than formal essays. Her sentences carried the reader directly to the point with themes of unity, peace, and progress achieved through republicanism. Literary critic Rose Kavo, who analyzed Storm's books in American Women Writers, found her style "simple and direct" and with arguments based on research and knowledge of economics. To Kavo, Storm's "straightforward prose" was her strength. In assessing Storm's newspaper columns, journalism historian Tom Reilly described her writing as "fluid and forceful, heavily laced with opinions, insight, predictions, and on occasion, biting sarcasm."<sup>8</sup>

Storm made frequent grammatical errors in punctuation and verb tense. Although her work did not show the educational polish of other contributors, her messages appealed

to the patriotism of readers. When comparing the grammar, mechanics, style, and substance of signed articles by Mrs. Storm with those signed by O'Sullivan, textual analysis suggests that articles previously attributed to O'Sullivan on commercial and territorial expansion were actually written by Mrs. Storm (See Appendix B: Textual Analysis). Landon Edward Fuller who examined the United States Magazine and Democratic Review's "History, Contents, and Significance," for a Ph.D. dissertation in English, considered the unsigned articles "a major problem." Nevertheless, Fuller and others have failed to compare the style and substance of articles with O'Sullivan's signature to those written on expansion. Authorship is significant because Mrs. Storm's contributions to the magazine have gone unrecognized, while O'Sullivan, received credit for her work when he wrote editor's notes and sentimental fluff, for example, "Seeing a Friend off in a Packet," about his fiancée, and "Poor Esther, The Jewess--a Reminiscence of Morocco" about his wet nurse.<sup>9</sup>

Robert Dean Sampson, in the most recent research on O'Sullivan, a Ph.D. dissertation in history from the University of Illinois-Urbana, repeated Hawthorne's first impression of O'Sullivan as "charming, but superficial." To Sampson, O'Sullivan was a social butterfly who avoided editorial responsibilities when possible. Sampson also pointed out that the Democratic Review first reflected the editorial style of William Leggett, a radical with a fiery style who edited New York newspapers from 1829 to 1837, the year the Democratic Review began.<sup>10</sup>

For much of 1842, Mrs. Storm was concerned with family matters, and no major articles in the Democratic Review reflected her style. According to James Morgan, who

kept up with her until the matter of Swartwout's deed was tended to, she traveled to Europe and to Mexico that year. In May 1842, Eliza, Philip McManus's wife died of consumption and William Storm graduated from the College of San Augustin at the head of his class in the Castilian language. Upon his return from Europe, William lived with his Uncle Robert McManus in Texas, but soon moved to Troy where he lived with his Uncle Phillip on the family farm after his aunt's death. On Christmas Day, Jane's grandfather, Philip Coons, died at age ninety-five. Although the McManus siblings were named in his will, no records reveal what they received from their grandfather's estate, but Mrs. Storm next lived in Park Place, a gated complex in lower Manhattan.<sup>11</sup>

In July 1842, William Cullen Bryant, editor of the New York Evening Post, criticized O'Sullivan in the Post for neglecting the Democratic Review. Since early 1841, O'Sullivan had served in the New York Assembly where he worked to remove the death penalty and for married women's rights. He also courted Miss Annie Ward, younger sister of Julia Ward Howe and wrote lengthy and intricate laws and a book on corporal punishment. Beginning in 1841, Mrs. Storm possibly worked as O'Sullivan's bookkeeper or secretary. As no body of papers exists for either Storm or O'Sullivan, the exact nature of their business arrangement may never be known, but Hawthorne's biographer, Edward H. Miller, called O'Sullivan a "con artist." Sampson also described O'Sullivan as urbane, ambitious, vain, impulsive, highly susceptible to fads; and always with an air of mystery and unanswered questions about him. He escaped his duties as editor when possible. When Leggett, whose tyle the Review resembled in the beginning, died in 1839, O'Sullivan left the magazine and tried to establish a law practice in New York, asked for a

diplomatic post, and even sought the New York U.S. Marshall position. Thus, with Mrs. Storm absent in 1842, perhaps because O'Sullivan failed to pay her an equitable salary, it was not out of character for O'Sullivan to hire Orestes A. Brownson, former editor of the Boston Quarterly Review. Later, when Mrs. Storm left O'Sullivan to have her own column in the New York Sun, he hired two well-known editors to replace her.<sup>12</sup>

Brownson was an intellectual and elitist with a negative view of "the people." A November 1842 article on President John Tyler titled "A Political Portrait With Pen and Pencil," is an example of Brownson's style.

The invaluable practical services recently rendered by Mr. Tyler to the cause of those principles which have always been advocated by this Review, and sustained by its political friends, have attached to his position an interest which necessarily extends in no slight degree to his person also.<sup>13</sup>

Sampson described Brownson as "dense, intricate, and difficult." The article contrasted sharply to a filler which followed written by Storm. In "The Coup-De-Grace," she asked, "Has the reader ever seen a Spanish bull-fight? Probably not!" she answered. She compared Daniel Webster's latest speech with the matador who killed the bull after everyone had weakened the beast. After outlining Whig disasters, she predicted the death of the party. After letters of complaint and dropped subscriptions because of Brownson's subject matter and elitist attitude, O'Sullivan let Brownson go, and the journal again reflected Mrs. Storm's clear and distinct style. As several of O'Sullivan's rambling letters to President James K. Polk were in her handwriting, it appears that Mrs. Storm worked as O'Sullivan's secretary or assistant. As Storm next became the political editor of the New

York Sun, and O'Sullivan hired John Bigelow as political editor to replace her, she was probably the unofficial political editor of the Democratic Review.<sup>14</sup>

Mrs. Storm wrote for a living and not for fame, but seeing her name in print was not an option for her or her publishers. According to Hazel Dicken-Garcia, in Journalist Standards of the Nineteenth Century, unsigned articles were more the rule than the exception before the American Civil War. From 1841 to 1846, the United States Magazine and Democratic Review had its most successful years with the largest circulation of any of the political and literary journals. Monthly, its 112 pages went to 6,000 patrons in all parts of the United States and Europe. The second largest journal, the Southern Literary Messenger had a circulation of 5,500. Because of the success of the Democratic journal, Whigs revamped the American Whig Review. Therefore, her work was influential, but her name was unknown to the public and few associates.<sup>15</sup>

In the increasingly conservative atmosphere promoted by the Whig Party, no woman should be concerned with the political sphere and no man would take a woman's opinion seriously. Therefore, it was to Mrs. Storm's advantage to remain anonymous when O'Sullivan paid \$2 per manuscript page, or about \$25 an article, at a time when working women in New York, primarily employed in the needle trades, made on average \$2.50 for a six-day week of twelve and fourteen-hour days.<sup>16</sup>

Jane Storm represented the radical, or Locofoco faction of Democrats with a tradition of sexual equality. In the 1830s, working women had a champion in Frances Wright (1795-1852), the Scottish heiress who migrated to the United States in the early 1820s and helped organize the People's, or Workingmen's, Party in which Jane's father,

William McManus, had been active. Wright established the Hall of Science in New York City for evening educational lectures, and by day, the former Methodist Church building was a school for children of working mothers. By 1840, Whigs denounced Wright as the “petticoat leader” of the Locofoco Democrats, so named because they once used Locofoco matches to carry on their political caucus after a faction of Tammany Hall conservatives turned off the gas lighting in the meeting hall. Locofocos called for honest friendship with the American Indian and popular sovereignty for all adult males regardless of property ownership. By 1842, the “Cult of True Womanhood” with its admonitions to piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity was the prescriptive behavior for women, and while literature was an acceptable profession for single and widowed women, journalism was not.<sup>17</sup>

In April 1843, the Democratic Review published an expansionist editorial connecting the Oregon Territory with Texas annexation. The article focused on Britain’s interference with the expansion of the United States, Washington’s lack of initiative, and the duty of the people to act. “The importance of the Oregon Territory has not been duly considered, nor its value properly estimated by the people of the United States,” the article began. The tone and speech patterns resounded as if written by Mrs. Storm. As a habit, she took long walks each day and wrote after dinner. When books, magazines, and newspapers were read aloud, one can almost hear her words echoing through homes, on the tenement steps, and in the saloons. She appealed to the people, she wrote, “because narrow-minded politicians” would “give England all it demanded.” Britain had no legal claim, she wrote, only an agreement to hold the territory jointly with the United States.

“What constituted a valid title?” she asked. “Possession,” she answered, “Britain pressed its claim for the territory north of the Columbia River only by right of possession.” Her Texas experience with the law of adverse possession enabled her to foresee the loss of Oregon as the Hudson’s Bay Company encouraged French Canadian trappers to marry into native tribes, take possession of the land, and establish farms and communities.<sup>18</sup>

Although Oregon was 150 sailing days out of Boston and New York, farms and missions to the Indians would secure the land, Mrs. Storm wrote. She scoffed at those who said, “Britain will rise up in wrath and threaten us with annihilation.” She argued, “The question is not what will England do? but what ought the United States to do?” A little over a month later, the great migration to Oregon began, and 2,000 settlers established a United States presence that secured ports on the Pacific for United States trade with Asia. Mrs. Storm did not originate the surge to the Pacific, but her publication was in support of commercial expansionists in the Democratic Party. In 1844, Caleb Cushing would negotiate the Treaty of Wanghia with five Chinese ports open to American ships. Britain had won the Opium War and acquired Hong Kong as its trade base and was moving to secure the exclusive control of Chinese ports. The editorial verifies Norman Graebner’s thesis that expansion to Oregon had commercial aspects.<sup>19</sup>

In May 1843, Samuel Swartwout, William L. Marcy, John C. Calhoun, Robert J. Walker, and Mirabeau B. Lamar were members of a committee formed to promote Texas annexation in the press. Andrew Jackson directed the campaign, and circulated letters to Sam Houston, Senator Walker, and Duff Green. Jackson feared Britain would “place an iron hoop around the United States” and prevent its growth to the Pacific. In the New

York press, Mrs. Storm tied British interest in Oregon to Texas. She knew three members of the committee very well and communicated with Lamar, Green, and Mayor William Havemeyer of New York.<sup>20</sup>

In 1843, Mrs. Storm sent pro-annexation letters to James Morgan that he forwarded to Dr. Francis Moore, editor of the Houston Telegraph and Texas Register. Morgan replied that he preferred independence because settlers from Europe would pay cash for their land, increase his land values, and help end slavery. Morgan claimed that he was no Abolitionist but that one need only to compare the prosperity of Ohio with the poverty of Kentucky to see the weakness associated with slavery. Mrs. Storm also inquired about old beaus. Morgan lied that he knew nothing of William Cazneau or Anthony Butler. He knew, however, that Butler had become a planter in Washington County and had married a grandmother of his own age. After the Matagorda incident, Cazneau moved to Austin. He represented Travis County in the Republic of Texas Congress and was a warden in the Royal Arch Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons, Lone Star Lodge No. 3. Also, he was Commissary General for the 1841 Texan Santa Fe Expedition that failed to establish trade between Texas and Santa Fe.<sup>21</sup>

As of 1843, Samuel Swartwout still considered Mrs. Storm a "Copper Captain" because he did not yet have a clear title to the deed she issued Morgan for him in 1837. In January 1844, Morgan assured Mrs. Storm that she could get a good lawyer to handle her land problems if she came to Texas. "Texas owes you a debt of gratitude and if she don't pay it I Will," he vowed. Morgan described property he had on Galveston Bay with a frame dwelling and brick chimneys, "Do come," he purred, "and 'claim my hospitality' --I



dare you to do it!" Mrs. Storm had more important tasks than catering to Morgan's illusions of her settling down as his spouse on Morgan's Point.<sup>22</sup>

In the April 1844 edition of the Democratic Review, Mrs. Storm summarized the thirty-two-page pamphlet, "Letter of Mr. Walker, of Mississippi relative to the Annexation of Texas: in reply to the Call of the People of Carroll County, Kentucky, to communicate his views on that subject." Her seven and one-half-page summary titled "The Texas Question" coincided with the United States-Texas Annexation negotiations between Secretary of State John C. Calhoun and Texans Isaac Van Zandt and James P. Henderson. She began, "Que sara, sara--what must be, must be--and in general, the sooner therefore it is, the better." The position of the magazine was neutral, she stated, "We are neither Southerners . . . nor Abolitionists. We occupy a position midway between the two, and . . . overlooking both." She used Walker's argument that Texas was the key to the defense of the Mississippi Basin because the Sabine River was too near New Orleans for adequate defense, and the uppermost boundary of Texas was "only twenty miles from South Pass, the overland route to Oregon and the Pacific." To refuse Texas, she quoted, was "to lower the flag of the union to the red cross of St. George," and "surrender Florida Pass, the mouth of the Mississippi, the gulf, and Texas into the hands of England." Parts of Walker's letter issued by the annexation committee resemble her style, and she possibly composed the passages that she quoted.<sup>23</sup>

To counter objections that Texas meant the extension of slave territory, Mrs. Storm quoted, "The question of slavery is not a federal or national, but a local question." She ignored the pages of statistics and fearful predictions of the cost of abolition when

hordes of free blacks would descend on the north to compete for work and fill asylums and prisons. Instead, she emphasized the positive “safety-valve” aspect whereby slavery would drain through Texas and end as peonage in Mexico. Later, as she witnessed its destruction firsthand, she would change her opinion of peonage. “For ourselves,” she repeated, “we do not regard the question as a federal but a local one.” Her viewpoint reflected that of New York merchants and shippers dependent on Southern business. Other parts of the Walker letter reflected the Van Buren Barnburner faction who feared abolition would inundate the north with free blacks who would be “paupers, beggars, thieves, assassins, and desperadoes; all, or nearly all, penniless and destitute, without skill, means, industry, or perseverance to obtain a livelihood.”<sup>24</sup>

Mrs. Storm assured readers that Texas could be annexed without a war. “Surely Mexico could be induced to surrender title to territory already lost,” she argued. She claimed Mexican officials had mortgaged Texas and California to British holders of Mexican bonds. In 1839, Bernard Bee, Texas minister to the United States, had met with the British Lizardi & Co., holders of the bonds, and proposed \$5 million for recognition of the Rio Grande as the Texas boundary.<sup>25</sup>

With annexation a national topic of discussion in April 1844, Mrs. Storm traveled to Texas and engaged an attorney to handle her land claims. She also wrote on annexation from Galveston. In May 1844, Morgan wrote Swartwout, “Do you see the New York Sun and the letters of the Copper Captain from Galveston . . . if Texas should be annexed you will be a rich man yet.” Morgan urged Swartwout to hold his Texas bonds, sure to be funded at full value upon annexation. Marginal investors, and those like James Watson

Webb who faced bankruptcy, sold their bonds for a fraction of their value. Financiers bought the bargains and pushed for annexation. When arranging for a lawyer, Mrs. Storm paid Morgan a brief visit. Morgan soon advised Swartwout that the matter of the deed would be handled. She possibly swapped land for attorney fees as she deeded the other half of the headright claim to Thomas J. Chambers, Cazneau's commanding officer in the Texas Revolution. Needless to say, Robert who was to share in the claim was upset. Mrs. Storm had met with Cazneau, who was serving as Travis County representative in the Texas Congress and who agreed to help her with her land claims.<sup>26</sup>

From at least 1843, or about the time O'Sullivan hired Brownson, Mrs. Storm had written for the New York Sun. Benjamin Day had established the Sun as a Loco-foco paper in 1833 with Robert Owen and Frances Wright. Since 1835, Moses Y. Beach, a self-made man, had been publisher and owner. An orphan of a Danbury hatter, Beach indentured himself as a cabinet maker's apprentice and eventually had his own business. He married Nancy Day, his future partner's sister. He sold his cabinet works, but when his next business failed, he moved his family to New York and ran the press department of his brother-in-law's newspaper. He purchased Day's interest in 1835 and first used paperboys which provided orphans with work. He used a pony express, carrier pigeons, and the telegraph to deliver news first to the streets of New York. Although Beach was a director of four banks, his working-class background and lack of formal education made him an outsider in New York society. As historian Anna Kasten Nelson wrote, "Beach was a businessman, not a journalist."<sup>27</sup>

From 1840 to 1855, the Sun also published directories of the most wealthy merchants as a credit rating for New York merchants. The Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of the City of New York, edited by Beach, exaggerated his wealth, omitted others, and was not an accurate list. Mrs. Storm may have compiled parts of the publication noted for establishing the literary genre of the pioneer compendium and for providing a social doctrine to the poor of the value of virtue and honest effort.<sup>28</sup>

The Sun was independent in that Beach received no political funding or government printing contracts, but profited from classified advertising and steamship notices. Thus, readers looked to the Sun for unbiased information as opposed to the slanted news of Horace Greeley's Whig Tribune and J. Gordon Bennett's Democratic Herald. While, neither Democrats nor Whigs advocated annexation, Mrs. Storm kept the issue before the public in the independent Sun.<sup>29</sup>

Since 1843, Mrs. Storm's letters in the Sun had been written as if from the public and sometimes signed "Storms." Whether she added the "s" to alter her identity, or because typesetters mistook her scribbled "m" as plural is unknown, but Storms she became until she married William Cazneau in 1849. Like the Democratic Review, the Sun supported free trade and commercial and territorial expansion. She identified the policy as that of the Free Trade Democrats or Young Democracy--programs thought to help the working poor, New York merchants, shipping, and the ship-building industry. In a March 1845 editorial she would sum up the lengthy annexation campaign by saying that Texas would provide a balance of power between north, south, and west; a safe southern

boundary, a carrying trade in American bottoms and new markets for manufacturing; and an opportunity to extend the doctrine and principle of free institutions.<sup>30</sup>

The Van Buren-Albany Democrats opposed Texas annexation, however, and labeled the urban New Yorkers as “hunkers,” or those hankering for the rewards of office through their alliance with southern Democrats. In turn, hunkers labeled the upstate faction “barnburners” who would destroy the party to get rid of slavery like the Dutch farmer who burned the barn to get rid of the rats. Mrs. Storm was determined to maintain a middle ground in the independent press until the slavery issue was resolved, which she believed would happen as European labor replaced slaves drawn into the tropics of Africa and the Americas.<sup>31</sup>

In 1844, annexation was not approved by the U.S. Senate as Whigs and Van Buren’s Democrats defeated the treaty that became entangled with the presidential election of 1844. In October, Morgan wrote Mrs. Storm thanking her for copies of the Sun. Morgan thought it a joke that the Mexican navy had claimed to blockade Galveston as a means to discourage the senate from confirming annexation when he thought they only put into port for repairs. Although Morgan said he had no interest in politics, and a stage ran to the Texas capital, he invited Mrs. Storm to ride with him and attend the Anson Jones inauguration. “I have a fine ladies saddle horse at your service” and “your friends Cazneau and McLeod will be there,” he cooed. She did not accept his invitation.<sup>32</sup>

In November, New York was the key state that voted for James K. Polk as a pro-annexation president and created a mandate for annexation. Although, the Liberty Party pulled votes from Henry Clay and allowed James K. Polk to carry New York and the

election, Beach boasted that his press had secured the annexation of Texas. O'Sullivan also took credit for the victory in the New York Morning News, a campaign paper for which he and Samuel J. Tilden were listed as editors. Beach, O'Sullivan, Senator Walker, and members of the annexation committee received public congratulations for their success. Her editor-colleagues, Greeley at the Tribune, Thurlow Weed at the Albany Whig, Colonel Webb editor of the Courier and Enquirer, Bennett at the Herald, and Erastus Brooks, editor of the Express, however, knew that Mrs. Storm was the political editor of the Sun and the Democratic Review. Thus, she achieved a level of respect and power experienced by few women of her era.<sup>33</sup>

In his 1844 state of the union address, President John Tyler urged Congress to annex Texas by joint resolution, and when Congress convened, annexation was the foremost topic of discussion. On February 28, 1845, Congress passed a joint resolution inviting Texas to join the Union. "The Presidents of Texas," by C. Montgomery, appeared in the March issue of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. It was a history of the Texas Republic as told through the administrations of the presidents. Why Mrs. Storm chose "Montgomery" is a mystery unless she did so in honor of General Richard Montgomery who captured Montreal during the American Revolution. She began:

The four men who, in turn, have been called to the highest place in the Land of the Lone Star, are as diverse as men can well be in mind and lineaments, but they are agreed on three points--in their strong love for Texas--in a devout faith in the glories of her future destiny--and in the extraordinary littleness of their faith in each other.<sup>34</sup>

Mrs. Storm presented the presidents of Texas as folk heroes and not as noble or faultless men of an earlier era. She described the "True Texians" as "fearless, witty and affable, open of speech, and prompt in generous deeds," but also they had "a quick relish for scandal" and could "out gossip an army of old women." She portrayed David G. Burnet as an elegant and forceful orator with a fiery temper. She described Mirabeau B. Lamar as an impractical dreamer who mounted huge debts and involved Texas in wars with Indians and Mexicans, also one who brought education and foreign recognition to Texas. Anson Jones was a practical man, like Houston in many ways, but a speculator. Houston had the most detailed biography as she described his voice, his manner, his charm, his lovely wife, Margaret, and his drinking habits. Lamar's biographer thought that the poetic Lamar inspired her to write the article and believed their relationship more than a casual one. Her letters to Lamar were friendly, but businesslike, and less suggestive than those written to Houston.<sup>35</sup>

When Lamar traveled to Washington in February 1845, Mrs. Storm and Ann Stephens met with him. Returning to New York, Mrs. Storm wrote Lamar while she and her friends waited for the train in Baltimore. While Mrs. Stephens was pregnant and complained of the cigar smoke, Mrs. Storm mimicked her friends' writing styles. She admitted she valued Lamar's "fame, that came from duty done." One can empathize with Mrs. Storm as she returned to New York to do the work for which her editors took credit. She channeled her disappointment, however, into a project to help other women less fortunate than she.<sup>36</sup>

Upon her return to New York in March 1845, Mrs. Storm directed her energy into a project to improve the conditions of working women. Mrs. Stephens, Mrs. Carolyn Sawyer, Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth, and others joined with her in organizing the Female Industrial Association with Elizabeth Gray as president and Mary Graham as secretary. Mrs. Storm publicized meetings in the Sun, attended rallies at City Hall, made speeches in the Hall of Science, and helped organize benefits. Mrs. Stephens and Mrs. Southworth agreed to write stories about working women. Mrs. Storm did not advise women to form combinations or withhold their labor from the market as did Horace Greeley and his feminist writer, Margaret Fuller, in the Tribune. In basic economic articles in the Sun and The Workingman's Advocate, she explained that if women formed combinations to increase wages, they would attract more workers and lower wages or would be replaced by others willing to work for less. She suggested that women educate themselves, improve their skills, and enter professions that paid more money. She wrote that low pay "drove many virtuous females to courses which might, otherwise, have been avoided" as they "supported families, aged parents, and younger siblings." The women of the association were dressmakers, shirtmakers, cap makers, straw workers, fringe and lace makers, book folders, and book stitchers. The working women, Mrs. Storm wrote, were the true "Women of the Nineteenth Century," and not those of wealth and prestige found in Margaret Fuller's book by that title.<sup>37</sup>

While Greeley advised women to go west where they could find husbands, Mrs. Storms advised women to enter men's professions. As clerks and bookkeepers, she jeered, they would hardly be taking "a real man's job," and, she said, women could "surely



sell lace and ribbons.” The association organized a boycott, and the Sun reported that by May 1, 1845, New York stores would begin hiring young ladies to sell ribbons, lace, and other notions to women customers. The results of the boycott was a small victory, but it started a trend for the acceptance of women in the public workplace.<sup>38</sup>

Not only did the United States Magazine and Democratic Review publish works by women authors, it addressed women’s issues. In May 1844, O’Sullivan had endorsed “The Legal Wrongs of Women,” as an article worthy of consideration. It appeared as Mrs. Storm traveled to Texas on land business and reflects her writing style. The “woman problem” was not one of equal faculties, political suffrage, or divorce, because, as she said, children needed both parents. She explained that a laboring woman supporting aged parents or children or the wife of a drunkard needed special consideration under the law for protection of their children and wages. Married women in New York had no power over their property, earnings, or children--a situation that led to the 1848 women’s convention in Seneca Falls, New York.<sup>39</sup>

After the final Congressional vote on annexation, Lamar traveled to New York and attended one of Mrs. Greeley’s Saturday afternoon teas where the literary elite met. He snubbed Margaret Fuller, the feminist who had declared a war of the sexes and bragged she knew everyone worth knowing. Lamar greeted, however, Mrs. Stevens, Carolyn Sawyer, and Mrs. Southworth. Sawyer wrote children’s literature. Mrs. Stephens then edited Peterson’s Magazine with a larger circulation than Godey’s Ladies Book. Mrs. Storm also attended these gatherings, much to the chagrin of Fuller, who called Mrs. Storm’s group the “Ionian distingués.”<sup>40</sup>

The literary women formed two factions. Mrs. Storm and her friends were Democrats who advised self-reliance and concrete solutions for women. The activists ridiculed Fuller and the Whig feminists with their attitude of noblesse oblige as the solution for society's ills. In 1843, Greeley had hired Fuller, former Boston editor of The Dial, as literary critic for the Tribune. Fuller and Storm were both journalists, aided revolutions abroad, and died at sea, but they had little else in common. Fuller was an elitist, racist, ethnocentric snob who advocated same-sex love. Storm identified with the working-class, treated everyone the same, whether newsboys or presidents, urged racial tolerance, and believed other races and ethnic groups were capable of republican government. Storm could be termed a coquette, if not a femme fatale, but as popular historian Edward Wallace wrote, she had "bravery and brains as well as beauty."<sup>41</sup>

"Annexation," an article in the July-August issue of the Democratic Review, was Mrs. Storm's response to the continued agitation against Texas annexation. David Lee Child, who with Benjamin Lundy and George Thompson had planned a colony of free blacks in Mexican Texas, titled a pamphlet:

THE TAKING OF NABOTH'S VINEYARD, OR HISTORY OF THE TEXAS CONSPIRACY, AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE REASONS GIVEN BY THE HON. J. C. CALHOUN, HON. R. J. WALKER, AND OTHERS, FOR THE DISMEMBERMENT AND ROBBERY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

The tirade was first published in the Northampton Gazette in 1842, then printed at Washington in 1843, and reprinted in 1845.<sup>42</sup>

Mrs. Storm chastised those who stirred up the sectional debate in "Annexation":

It is time now for opposition to the annexation of Texas to cease, all further agitation of the waters of bitterness and strife, at least in connexion with this question . . . It is time for the common duty of Patriotism to the Country to succeed; . . . it is at last time for common sense to acquiesce with decent grace in the inevitable and the irrevocable. Texas is now ours.<sup>43</sup>

Mrs. Storm called for common sense to resolve the slavery issue. The real enemy was “England, our old rival and enemy,” she wrote, and “France, strangely coupled with her,” whose object was one of “thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent.” She urged tolerance for “one of the most difficult of the various social problems.” The greater adjustment, she believed was “the coexistence of the races with social equality as it existed in Mexico, Central and South America.” Furthermore, “Until a still deeper problem shall have been solved than that of slavery,” she wrote, it was best “to guard against its abuses, to mitigate its evils, . . . by prohibiting the separation of families” and “the licentiousness of mastership.” She concluded by predicting that the Mississippi River valley would soon be connected to the Pacific by rail. It was an effort to refocus attention on commercial expansion.<sup>44</sup>

In 1927, Julius Pratt was intrigued with finding the author of “manifest destiny,” because “One can hardly read a work on the history of the United States in the two decades before the Civil War without meeting the phrase.” Pratt thought O’Sullivan authored the phrase because he traced its first appearance in print to “Annexation” in the July-August 1845 edition of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. Neither Pratt, nor O’Sullivan’s biographers were aware of Mrs. Storm’s association with O’Sullivan. Those who knew her well were aware that Beach hired her away from

O'Sullivan at a time when Thomas Ritchie of the Washington Daily Union also sought her talents for his paper. Henry Watterson, winner of the second Pulitzer Prize awarded for editorial writing in 1918, wrote, "whatever I may have attained in that line I largely owe to her for she had learned the value of the short descriptive phrase." As Sampson pointed out, O'Sullivan's obituaries in 1895 did not mention his being the editor of the Democratic Review, Morning News, nor contain the term "manifest destiny."<sup>45</sup>

Comparing the grammar, mechanics, and style of signed articles by O'Sullivan and Mrs. Storm with "Annexation," strongly suggests that she wrote the article. By comparing the first 300 words of "Annexation" and those articles signed by O'Sullivan and Mrs. Storm using "Grammatik," a computer grammar checking program, flags and errors provided data. The differences and similarities in mechanics and style between the three articles were significant. While O'Sullivan showed a 41.5 percent similarity to the anonymous article, Mrs. Storm showed a 79.6 per cent similarity to "Annexation" (See Appendix B: Textual Analysis). With a preparatory education in France, attending Westminster School in London, and a master's degree from Columbia University, O'Sullivan made no punctuation and few stylistic errors. Mrs. Storm made the same types of basic errors found in "Annexation." Their styles differed also in that O'Sullivan consistently used the nominative case, "we," to refer to national matters or the magazine and Mrs. Storm more often used the possessive pronoun, "our." O'Sullivan wrote in a formal style, but used jargon, whereas Mrs. Storm wrote informally and used slang and metaphors.<sup>46</sup>

In the same July-August 1845 issue as "Annexation," O'Sullivan contributed "Seeing a Friend Off in A Packet." The thirty-two-year-old editor would marry Miss Susan Rogers the following year and honeymoon in Cuba at his sister's home. "One of the commonest incidents in life for a New Yorker," he began, "is to find himself occasionally at the foot of Marketfield Street, in the midst of a crowd of mail bags, trunks, porters, and poultry, making his way to a friend about to sail across the Atlantic." O'Sullivan's mind was not on annexation or the magazine that summer. In September 1845, O'Sullivan tried to hire Alexander Everett, Whig editor of the North American Review to take over his duties. He finally persuaded Evert Duyckink to take the literary and miscellaneous duties while John Bigelow became political editor and agreed to contribute twenty pages per issue. O'Sullivan then departed for Europe, not to return until late December. He had not made arrangements for the Morning News, but claimed later that Bigelow was supposed to do that as well. Nelson Waterbury, one of the investors, filled in at the newspaper, and Mrs. Storm wrote a few editorials on territorial and commercial expansion from October through December.<sup>47</sup>

During the summer of 1845, Mrs. Storm had expanded "The Presidents of Texas" into her first book, Texas and Her Presidents with a Glance at Her Climate and Agricultural Capabilities, published in September. Written as Corinne Montgomery, in one short volume she outlined the exploration and settlement of Texas, summarized the Texas Revolution, and included a short history and geography of the republic. The book was not popular with everyone in Texas. In November, Houston wrote Margaret not to read the publication from the pen of "the elegant Mrs. Storm." The Appendix contained

biographies of Texans with a pen portrait of Houston that was not flattering. The fine print at the beginning of the Appendix stated that Mrs. Storm only wrote the sketch of Branch T. Archer and declared it "true to the letter." It was someone else who described Houston as "a portly man of six-feet-two and fifty-four winters, twenty of which have been spent in whiskey drinking and opium eating." The notice in DeBow's Commercial Review was negative as well, but the reviewer admitted that he had not read the book. In Prominent Women of Texas (1896), however, her book was listed as one of the most reliable accounts of early Texas history.<sup>48</sup>

Since Congress voted to annex Texas in March 1845, Mrs. Storm had kept the Sun's readers informed of Mexican reaction. When Mexican Minister Juan Almonte immediately broke diplomatic relations with the United States, she explained that Mexico did not recognize the Texas Republic nor accept that Texas was no longer part of Mexico. In the Sun, she urged the United States to purchase from Mexico territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Although the French had claimed the Rio Grande as the Louisiana border, Spain and Mexico considered the Sabine River as the national border and the Nueces River as the southern boundary of the Province of Texas. When Mexico refused to negotiate on any terms, Mrs. Storm's cousin, Secretary of State James Buchanan, used her columns in the Sun as trial balloons to test reactions and leaked that the Polk Administration had offered to lend Mexico fifteen million dollars to pay its debts and thus be free of European interference in internal affairs. In August 1845, she reported that the Mexican government regarded the public offer of a loan as an insult and had called for volunteers to defend the honor of Mexico.<sup>49</sup>

In the May 1845 issue of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, Mrs. Storm had minced no words in an article titled, "The Mexican Question." "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest," she wrote. The Texas Revolution came about, she explained, because the Mexican leaders set aside the Constitution of 1824. Furthermore, Mexico could not recover Texas, and it was recognized as a nation among sovereign nations. "Texas was no revolted province," she attested, "Away with this Mexican gasconading about pretended rights and pretended wrongs."<sup>50</sup>

In October 1845, Mrs. Storm wrote Lamar that the Polk Administration had offered her a place on the administration's organ, the Washington Union. She was flattered to be offered a staff position under editor Thomas Ritchie, but obtained a full-time position with a regularly scheduled column at the Sun. She explained to Lamar that she preferred the independent press where she was "free to write" as she had for "the U.S. Magazine." As she supported the Whig position that the western boundary of Texas did not include the Rio Grande or Santa Fe, she explained, "My loyalty is most uncertain I think, indeed they say, they would do something handsome if I will let certain vexed questions alone." She thanked Lamar for the invitation to join him in Texas, presumably as his wife, "This is my proper home, I have the satisfaction of believing myself useful." She added, "I would dearly love to see the Maffitts and Mrs. Eberly," and she sent news of Mrs. Stephens's new baby, Edward Lamar Stephens. She also explained that Polk's Cabinet represented shipping and canal interests desiring expansion into Texas, Lower Mexico, Oregon, Cuba, and California. She complained, "There is not a man in the cabinet who could not be blackballed in a month for his stupid unstatesmanship."<sup>51</sup>

On December 12, 1845, Mrs. Storm officially began a biweekly column called, "Correspondence From the Sun," signed, "MONTGOMERY." With her name in capitals, there was no mistaking the authorship. While Congress was in session, she commuted about every three weeks between New York and Washington where she lived with the family of Port Master General William J. Brown. At thirty-nine years old, she earned her byline and became the national news editor of the world's largest penny-press.<sup>52</sup>

When O'Sullivan returned from his ill-arranged trip to Europe, he found unhappy investors and disgruntled associates. In January 1846, O'Sullivan was surprised by the furor that "his editorials" had caused on "manifest destiny," but he immediately used the phrase in a published letter summarizing Mrs. Storm's expansionist articles. O'Sullivan's investors were not impressed, and he was removed as editor of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review and the New York Morning News. Through his social connections O'Sullivan became a regent of State University of New York and continued his courtship of Miss Rogers. In November 1845, his sister, Mary, the widow of Langtree, had married the wealthy Cuban, Cristobal Madan y Madan, who then supported the aristocratic but impoverished O'Sullivan and his mother.<sup>53</sup>

In the Sun, Mrs. Storm informed readers about the changes taking place in the Democratic Party. She explained that the party was passing through a period of realignment and that senators Thomas Hart Benton of the West, John C. Calhoun of the South, and Daniel Webster of New England had joined forces to counter President Polk's foreign policies in Oregon and Mexico. As December ended, MONTGOMERY announced that Secretary Buchanan, Senator Benton and Senator Lewis Cass had



declared their interest in being presidential candidates in 1848. In addition, Secretary of War William Marcy and others were contemplating the possibility of entering the race.<sup>54</sup>

“MONTGOMERY” announced on December 17, 1845 that the Mexican government had agreed to receive a minister from the United States. She next published the diplomatic instructions from Secretary of State Buchanan to John Slidell, Polk’s appointee. She was not impressed with Slidell and thought that Cornelius Van Ness, former minister to Spain and most recently collector of the Port of New York, should handle the negotiations. She promoted Buchanan’s plan—a cash settlement with Mexico for sale of the Rio Grande border and California. She promised, “Tomorrow, the other side of the political triangle.” On December 18, she identified “war-panic makers” as “contractors who wish to make fortunes in building forts, . . . green lieutenants burning for promotion” and “high tariff people” who need a war to justify higher rates. As December ended, her column reflected the growing impatience of the Polk administration to buy California; “Mexico sells because she knows if she does not it will be ‘annexed’ at no price at all in five or six years.” She suggested that Mexicans expected British support because of investment and trade and the unresolved Oregon question. She warned, “England will not interfere,” or “the Republican banner will go up in Canada.” Britain respected the fighting ability of the Americans and distrusted the Canadian republicans. Britain encouraged the Mexicans to avoid war and started a fort-building campaign in Canada.<sup>55</sup>

Mexican officials faced a dilemma. “MONTGOMERY” explained that any leader negotiating with the United States for the Rio Grande border could expect removal from office. In 1845, the current Mexican leader, General José Joaquín de Herrera, realized

that Texas was not recoverable. Previously, he had met with Samuel May Williams, an agent during Houston's second administration, and negotiated the recognition of Texas if it remained a republic. Herrera was unable to maintain his leadership, however, and comply with Slidell's public demands for action, she explained. On December 29, 1845, the United States Congress accepted the Texas State Constitution and the next day a conservative junta overthrew Herrera.<sup>56</sup>

In January 1846, Polk faced a more hostile Mexican government than before. In March, "MONTGOMERY" counseled Slidell to "bide his time in Mexico." She cautioned that "the new triumvirate of Mexico," wanted neither a monarchy nor "a downright, serious war." They would negotiate, but "with great caution because of the angry prejudice of the people." She suggested: "There may be a brush on the borders; just enough to prove to the Mexican people that peace and a treaty is desirable." As the prospect of war with Mexico increased, she played down the possibility of war with Britain over Oregon.<sup>57</sup>

In March, "MONTGOMERY" warned readers, "We have a class of politicians that are anxious to bathe the country in blood to win notoriety and office for themselves." She feared "men who would make powers of all the States of the union, and play them for peace or war . . . in their presidential game of chess." That same month, Storm wrote Lamar, "Polk is a base, narrow souled man and would sell his mother's grave to buy up a Senator." It is not clear to what she was referring, but she opposed the "Ten Regiment Bill," that would create ten permanent regiments and a 10,000 man army. Polk had ordered General Zachary Taylor to leave Camp Marcy on the Nueces and proceed to the

Rio Grande. Negotiations with Britain had settled the Oregon boundary dispute, and the forty-ninth parallel was far short of the bellicose slogan, "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight." She had been "Calhounized," she explained, and understood that with no real navy, the United States could not win a war with Britain. Merchants, shipping companies, and the working-class who pushed for all Oregon would suffer in any embargo or blockade.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile in Mexico, the conservative monarchist Lucas Alamán raised one million pesos from the Mexican clergy to finance a war against the United States. Taylor and his army arrived opposite Matamoros on March 28, 1846, and Taylor attempted negotiations. General Mariano Ampudia notified Taylor that arms alone must decide the question. On April 25, a skirmish took place between a United States scouting party and a Mexican force of 5,000 men led by General Mariano Arista moving north. On May 8, the two sides fought an artillery duel at the Battle of Palo Alto, and the following day, at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, 547 Mexicans and 33 Americans died. A volunteer army had defeated the Mexican professional army. War had begun.<sup>59</sup>

In Notable American Women, Merton Dillon called Mrs. Storm "a dim figure on the fringes of the journalistic circles of her day." The true identity of "MONTGOMERY" was unknown to all but a few colleagues, and only by comparing her writing with that of O'Sullivan and identifying her handwriting would one know of her work for O'Sullivan or contributions to the United States Magazine and Democratic Review during its years of greatest fame. While Mrs. Storm wrote for the Sun, from 1843 to 1847, the newspaper grew to have 8 editors and reporters, 16 pressmen, 12 female folders, 100 newsboys, and its daily circulation rose from 38,000 to more than 50,000.. With the largest daily

circulation of any newspaper in the world, editors quoted her columns, and three or four pages of the eight-page Sun were devoted to news, poems, book reviews, police reports, and serials while the balance was in advertisements. It is believed that each newspaper reached an additional eight readers as it passed from person to person and family to family. Thus, as many as 400,000 persons read her columns when, according to historian Allan Nevins, the penny press joined the pulpit, the pamphleteer, and the politician as a sphere of influence. The Weekly Sun reprinted her columns as a recap of the news as did The American Sun, the first United States newspaper printed abroad, and sold for two pence on the streets of London. As historian Tom Reilly pointed out, “her pseudonym ‘Montgomery’ was well established in the press at the time of the Mexican War.”<sup>60</sup>

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## CHAPTER 5

### BEHIND THE BATTLE LINES OF THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848

In the course of the summer a "*female*" fresh from Mexico, and with a masculine stomach for war and politics, arrived at Washington, had interviews with members of the administration, and infected some of them with the contagion of a large project --nothing less than the absorption into our Union of all Mexico, and the assumption of all her debts.

--Senator Thomas Hart Benton.<sup>1</sup>

Jane Storm was the "*female*" Senator Thomas Hart Benton criticized in his memoirs. Benton suggested that she advocated the Mexican War and led the movement to absorb all Mexico into the United States. An examination of forty-three of her columns in the New York Sun and more than twenty personal letters to members of the James K. Polk Administration do not support Benton's allegations. The peace mission to Mexico lasting from December 1846 to April 1847 that Mrs. Storm undertook with her publisher, Moses Y. Beach, however, became the best-known episode of her career.<sup>2</sup>

Benton was not a disinterested observer of Mrs. Storm's activities, nor was she one of his supporters. Benton had opposed Texas annexation, and he and Mrs. Storm differed on Mexican policy. In 1856 when Benton completed his view of politics, he was a bitter man having lost his senate seat because of sectional politics. Mrs. Storm and pro-slave advocates were promoting the southern rail route to the Pacific and filibuster operations into Mexico. Thus, his claiming a "*female*" led the All Mexico movement was one way of repudiating what he called, "the scheme" of "Mr. Calhoun and his friends."<sup>3</sup>

Benton's "view" of history was not always accurate. For example, John C. Calhoun and Mrs. Storm both opposed the Mexican War and the absorption of Mexico, but for different reasons. Calhoun thought the Mexicans incapable of republican government, and Mrs. Storm opposed the war because she thought diplomacy could accomplish the same goals and believed the Mexicans capable of republican government. When war came, she insisted that the moral aim of the war be the establishment of a republican government and that it not be a war of conquest. Her view of the Mexican War from behind closed doors and from behind the battle lines is not the one of bravery and valor as told by the war correspondents from official reports far from the front lines. Her view of the war was one of personal experience and intimate knowledge of backroom politics as well as the actual conditions of the soldiers that she witnessed as she passed through the lines of combat. She exposed the betrayals, ambitions, and greed of the war makers and those who would use the war to exploit Mexico and gain glory for themselves.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1846, chances of a peaceful settlement with Mexico diminished. Mrs. Storm wrote Robert Owen (1771-1858), the reformer and co-founder of the New York Sun that she was in such an ill-tempered mood she was not sure the world was worth mending. She proposed that she and the elderly reformer run away together. She could scold comfortably, and he could carry out his improvement in human nature by teaching her common sense. She was avoiding Washington because she "never had a taste for mad houses." Jokingly she added, "They say those who of right belong to them never have."<sup>5</sup>



After President James K. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to march from Camp Marcy at Corpus Christi on the Nueces River to the left bank of the Rio Grande, Mrs. Storm, writing as “Montgomery” in the Sun, accused the president of “withdrawing from the vulgar sympathy of the people.” (See Map 2) She opposed having ten permanent army regiments created in spring 1846 because Polk would have “a standing military force to do his bidding.” Mrs. Storm saw an all-volunteer army as “the strength of republicanism expressed through support or rejection of the executive’s call to military action.” In April 1846, she reminded readers, “This republic should teach the world that it will owe nothing to the sword.” The United States was “the guiding star to liberty” and should help others in obtaining republican government, she wrote. During her career, she called herself the Argus-eyed press, the pilot of the Fourth Estate, the warden in the watchtower, and the Owl of Fulton Street. She believed it her duty to inform the public of corruption. In a letter to Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, she labeled unidentified cabinet members as “demagogues” who “would corrupt the Republic.” She had written Mirabeau B. Lamar that the Cabinet represented steam ship interests intent on territorial expansion.<sup>6</sup>

Through informants, Mrs. Storm knew that certain Mexicans did not support a war with the United States. Historian Anna Kasten Nelson saw Mrs. Storm as the conduit linking the Polk administration to the Mexican peace groups. She was a friend of both General Lamar and William L. Cazneau who communicated with fellow Freemasons and traded with merchants in northern Mexico wanting peace. Her Catholicism and aid of the working class put her in contact with New York Bishop John Hughes who corresponded



with Mexican bishops. Hughes's best friend, Peter A. Hargous, operated a steamship line to Mexico and served as United States Consul at Vera Cruz. Hargous was then negotiating in Mexico for a Mexican land grant across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec that would establish a transit connection with steam lines on each coast.<sup>7</sup>

On May 13, 1846, after word arrived in Washington of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de las Palma which signaled the onset of hostilities, President Polk requested funds from Congress to defend the United States against Mexican aggression. That day, Secretary of State Buchanan wrote Bishop Hughes, then attending a Catholic conference in Baltimore, about parties in Mexico willing to recognize Texas, cede California, and have peace. Hughes conferred with colleagues and came directly to Washington. After several meetings with Buchanan and Polk, Hughes refused to undertake the task unless Polk granted him plenipotentiary status with full powers of negotiation. According to Hughes's biographer, Polk refused Hughes's request because of anti-Catholic prejudice.<sup>8</sup>

Once the fighting began, Polk ordered Colonel Stephen Kearny to occupy New Mexico and General Taylor to move deeper into Mexico. Taylor lingered a month near the mouth of the Rio Grande before moving upriver to Camargo. Polk ordered Taylor, like Kearny, to take advantage of republican allies. "MONTGOMERY" criticized, "We would not have had a war had Polk not sent Taylor to look one up." In the Sun, she claimed,

Our children's children will blush at the overbearing injustice of this year's history. But today the man does not stand in a high place that has the boldness to tell the truth . . . Neither Polk, his party in Congress, nor his cabinet will explain the exact nature of the jurisdiction of Texas over the country beyond the Nueces.<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Storm wanted William Cazneau appointed a secret agent to negotiate with the peace factions along the Rio Grande. Before the war began, she had informed readers that the northern states of Mexico had rebelled with the Texans in 1835 and in 1840 declared their independence as a Republic of the Rio Grande. Hugh McLeod, the former leader of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, served as Texas adjutant general in 1846 and set up a newspaper in Matamoros called the Republic of the Rio Grande. Taylor, however, would not negotiate with the republicans, nor would the administration appoint Cazneau as an agent. Mrs. Storm was furious. She accused Buchanan of having a secret agent on the border, "If I am right--I shall have him shot--I mean that exactly." With a fury she warned her cousin, "A great cause and true men were not to be endangered by untrustworthy rulers." Mrs. Storm cautioned against making Taylor a war hero, predicting that he would become the Whig presidential nominee. She concluded her letter by saying, "Taylor is a good soldier," but "Cazneau is worth forty of him in border negotiations."<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Storm and Cazneau had become engaged sometime earlier in the year. Cazneau had served as Travis County delegate in the Constitutional Convention of 1845, and in the First Texas State Legislature. In 1845, he became general of the Grand Royal Lone Star Chapter of Texas Free and Accepted Masons--the source of the honorary title of general that he carried the remainder of his life. He also became a partner of Henry Kinney at Corpus Christi and supplied contraband goods to merchants in northern Mexico. The business and fraternal ties in Mexico did indeed make Cazneau more qualified to conduct border negotiations with the Metizo republicans than Taylor, a Louisiana

plantation owner and Indian fighter. Cazneau would help set up a republic based on the Texas model, but without slavery--something Cotton Whigs and Calhoun Democrats opposed as did racially prejudiced Free Soil Democrats. Not getting a diplomatic appointment, Cazneau served on General Lamar's staff of the Lone Star Contingent of Texas Volunteers.<sup>11</sup>

As she commuted between New York and Washington in 1846, Mrs. Storm gossiped with fellow travelers. One such trip was in late June 1846 with Cornelia J. Randolph, Thomas Jefferson's granddaughter and sister-in-law of Nicholas P. Trist, Chief Clerk of the State Department. The week after Mrs. Storm's tirade against Buchanan, the women took the train from Baltimore to Havre de Grace, Maryland, then traveled by ferry to Philadelphia where they took a steamer to New York. Mrs. Storm gave Mrs. Randolph her version of the disagreement with Buchanan, and wished to speak with Trist, a close friend of the Secretary of State. Mrs. Randolph promised to arrange a meeting.<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Storm was certain the Polk administration would create a new republic on the Rio Grande before the end of autumn and worked to make it a reality. On June 29, 1846, she wrote Robert Owen that all of Mexico north of twenty-five degrees would soon establish an alliance with the United States. She assured the reformer, a native of England, that he was not to be concerned because the United States would protect the economic interests and safety of British citizens in Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

Storm perhaps made a public display of her wrath against Buchanan for on July 4, 1846, Trist contacted Senator Robert Dale Owen of Indiana, son of the English reformer. Owen then explained to Trist the source of Mrs. Storm's anger. Once frequent

correspondents, Owen and Trist had not written for six years when he remarked to Trist that women had a very different political style from men. Owen explained that she and Cazneau had been engaged for some time but had not married because she doubted his attachment was strong or that their characters were compatible. Cazneau had recently traveled to New York and pressured her about marriage, and she had again declined. Owen explained that Cazneau managed her Texas property and refused compensation, although his financial situation was not good. She sought a position that repaid him and knew that he was worthy of the appointment. Her failure to obtain Cazneau an appointment was the source of her bitterness, Owen explained. Apparently Trist and Owen knew of the informal talks with Mexican republicans and plans for further negotiations, for Owen advised Trist to judge for himself if she should be part of the mission.<sup>14</sup>

When General Taylor began his march toward Camargo on July 9, 1846, Secretary Marcy wrote Taylor reminding him that President Polk had ordered him to take advantage of any independence movements in Northern Mexico. Through July, "MONTGOMERY" pressed for recognition of a Republic of the Rio Grande in the Sun as if it actually existed. In her column of July 7, Mrs. Storm wrote that Polk had two paths, he could hew Mexico to fragments and take what he wanted, or plant "a new and grateful republic." She implored, "I would not see our eagle merely a bird of prey!" She further suggested, "a republic with stable laws, fostered industry, liberty of conscience, and proper education of all the children" would be a redeeming act of the war. She claimed the area would become Americanized through trade and commerce. In one column, she assured Horace

Greeley, editor of the Tribune, that the republic would not extend slavery; "That region is written free by the finger of its Creator." On July 17, "MONTGOMERY" challenged, "The President may make war. . . . He may kill the inhabitants, plunder the churches and desolate the towns of the friendly States of the Rio Grande," but he cannot "call a republic into being."<sup>15</sup>

In July, Mrs. Storm wrote Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft that she was returning to Washington to speak to him and Marcy of her intelligence from the border. She was confident that it was more reliable than his Cabinet information. Mrs. Storm urged Bancroft to remain in the Cabinet and continue his work on naval reform. Later that month, hearing rumors of his resignation, she wrote that if Slidell was his successor, "as there is a Sun on earth and in heaven it will be a costly whim if Mr. Polk takes it into his head to put that man in the Cabinet." She claimed she could "count the beats of the popular heart" and warned Bancroft that the Democratic Party was fragmenting. She claimed to control over half the country's daily circulation, and if he had doubts, he should ask Marcy or Robert Owen. The Secretary passed her letter to Marcy writing at the bottom, "Who is Storm?" Marcy scribbled below, "a prodigiously smart and keen writer for the newspapers in New York . . . . I studied law with her father when she was some 8 or 10 years old."<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, Polk sought ways to end the war. In July 1846, he sent Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, John Slidell's brother, to Havana to negotiate with the exiled General Antonio López de Santa Anna. Mackenzie arranged for the dictator's cooperation in ending the war and delivered orders that Bancroft wrote for Santa Anna's passage through

the United States naval blockade. After Taylor's capture of Camargo on July 14, the Paredes regime had fallen from power. Mrs. Storm informed readers that the past three Mexican administrations knew the right of the United States to annex Texas. "Had a good diplomatist been sent . . . in the first place," she reminded, "Mexican pride could have been soothed and war avoided." She predicted, "Mexico will debate," while our Congress votes appropriations.<sup>17</sup>

As Mrs. Storm observed the House of Representatives on the evening of August 8, 1846, Congress debated war expenditures. She described it as "A day of fearful significance" and "danger to the Union." Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania made "slavery the test of party" with his rider that banned any new lands acquired from becoming slave territory. As historian Albert Fried explained, Wilmot and his supporters were not Abolitionists, but racist Free Soil Democrats who believed in containing slavery within its present limits and limiting the power of slaveholders until slaves and free blacks could be transported out of the country. As Wilmot blurted in the House chambers, "By God, Sir, men born and nursed by white women are not going to be ruled by men who were brought up on the milk of some damn negro wench." Although it did not pass, "The Whiteman's Resolution" split the Democrat Party further. Mrs. Storm wrote, "The moderate and independent press must now stand forth the vigilant and faithful conservator of its country's peace." She reminded readers that the forefathers decided that each state should govern its own and answer for its domestic sins. "Shall we keep faith?" she asked, or "allow the ultraist to dash the Union to fragments."<sup>18</sup>

By the first of September 1846, Mrs. Storm saw no victors in the war with Mexico because, "Much treasure, much integrity and much harmony have been wasted." Polk had "blemished the hitherto spotless fame of our mother land" by "coveting our neighbor's soil." The people were the "deep losers," she lamented, "for they must pay the cost in tax and blood." She again promoted "a free and independent republic beyond the Rio Grande." On September 21, she sent Trist recommendations from Sam Houston's about peace and the results of negotiations with Mexican officials during his second presidential term. Evidence such as this would "never cease coming," she warned, "while I live and the press is free."<sup>19</sup>

After Taylor's victory at Monterrey on September 25 did not bring peace negotiations, Polk increased military pressure. He ordered General John E. Wool from San Antonio to Chihuahua and General Winfield Scott to lead a military force into the heart of Mexico from Vera Cruz. As a preliminary to negotiations, Buchanan made Moses Yale Beach, publisher of the New York Sun and a representative of New York bankers, a special agent to travel to Mexico City on a secret mission to end the war.<sup>20</sup>

The mission was a joint effort of the United States, Great Britain, and the Mexican peace factions. Mexicans who wanted peace were clerics, a faction within the Conservative Party, Liberals, and Moderates. The clerics had helped install Paredes who viewed the church as a source of income. Clerics were the official record keeping and educational bureaucracies of Mexico and charged fees to register and legalize baptisms, marriages, and burials. The church made loans for the fees and when not repaid, the debtors became peons kept in perpetual servitude by Conservative masters. Also, the

church made loans to Liberal and Moderate businesspeople whose foreclosures created enemies determined to break the power of the church. Liberals were European-educated professionals who wished to industrialize Mexico. The Moderates were middle-class merchants whose business the war disrupted.<sup>21</sup>

The cover for the peace mission was for Moses Beach, Mrs. Storm, and Beach's daughter Drusilla to pose as an English family traveling to Mexico on business. Officially, they were to evaluate the political climate in Mexico City, arrange for the sale of the Rio Grande border and California, and get verification of a land grant across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In September, Manning and Mackintosh, of London, had sold the José de Garay grant to Hargous Brothers of Philadelphia. Ewen C. Mackintosh was British Consul at Mexico City and Manning and Marshall was the company in charge of collection and readjustment of the Mexican debt owed British bankers. Beach was a director of several New York banks, and he carried \$50,000 to establish a National Bank of Mexico and make banking independent of the church. Mrs. Storm was interpreter and guide because neither Beach nor Drusilla spoke Spanish or had been to Mexico.<sup>22</sup>

Buchanan issued Beach formal instructions on November 21, 1846. Beach was to make peace on just and honorable terms. Also, he was to communicate all useful information he might acquire. That same day, Buchanan wrote Reverend Jonathan Serretta of St. Louis, in care of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Antoine Blanc, the Archbishop of New Orleans. Buchanan authorized passports for the reverends Serretta, Jonathan B. Figerola, and John Buguet of the Order of St. Vincent de Paul in St. Louis. Under the direction of Rev. John Timon of St. Louis, they were to go to Mexico and aid fellow priests of the



order and the Sisters of Charity. They would travel to Vera Cruz via Havana as auxiliaries of the mission. Mrs. Storm attended a White House reception on November 24, and Trist wrote to her that day concerning the Tehuantepec route and the spread of rational principles into Mexico--something he did not foresee happening in her lifetime. Polk jotted in his diary that it would be a good joke if Beach made a treaty. The agents steamed from New York on November 27, 1846, on The Southern, a new steamer put into operation by the New York-based Spoffard and Tison Shipping Company then converting its sailing fleet to steam vessels. While Beach's sons, Alfred and Moses S., were left in charge of the Sun, Henry served as cashier of the Plainfield New Jersey Bank from which Beach took the \$50,000 to finance the mission and to establish a bank in Mexico. Beach failed, however, to document the loan.<sup>23</sup>

Because newspapers had better news gathering techniques than the government, President Polk and government officials received the war news through their daily newspapers. Thus, "Tropical Sketches," written by Mrs. Storm as MONTGOMERY, unofficially reported the mission's progress as she promoted a winter vacation of steam travel, hotels, and sightseeing in the "Sunny South." Dated from December 1, 1846, to January 9, 1847, fifteen of Montgomery's sketches appeared in the daily and weekly Sun from December 11, 1846, to March 26, 1847.<sup>24</sup>

The agents arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, on December 1 and remained two days before they sailed by schooner to Matanzas on the north shore of Cuba. They traveled on to Havana by small Cuban steamer because the road across the mountains was impassable. After a week of Cuban hospitality and tours of Catholic institutions, on

January 9, 1847, the secret agents steamed by a British mail steamer from Havana to Vera Cruz. Buchanan and Polk knew Mexican officials would meet with Beach.<sup>25</sup>

What readers did not know was that Mrs. Storm and Beach had met with Buenaventura Aroujo, the Mexican minister in Havana, who wrote the agents a letter of introduction to Liberal Vice President Valentín Gómez Farías. Aroujo introduced Beach as editor of the New York Sun and Mrs. Storm as an editor and writer of importance. He described them as “apostles of peace” for the American government. The designation linked them to an international movement to end warfare. Aroujo gave Gómez Farías the proposed plan by which 200 to 250 Mexicans were to foment a rebellion in Vera Cruz and lay siege to the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa guarding Vera Cruz. Aroujo complained of a lack of pay, but explained that he survived through speculations with the English minister in Havana and the governors of Nassau and Jamaica. Those officials fitted out privateers in Nassau and bought indentures, he explained, then seized their own ships and sold the cargo as slaves who were then smuggled into the United States.<sup>26</sup>

The British Consulate in Havana provided Beach and Mrs. Storm with passports and arranged passage to Vera Cruz on a British mail steamer. In addition to Aroujo’s letter, Beach carried letters from Catholic officials in the United States and Cuba to clergy in Mexico--all in a British diplomatic pouch. Beach wrote that Britain wanted to prevent France and Spain from establishing a monarchy in Mexico, and therefore was helping the United States end the war.<sup>27</sup>

On January 13, 1847, Beach, Drusilla, and Mrs. Storm arrived in Vera Cruz. The priests from St. Louis were on the same steamer. In her column, “MONTGOMERY”

described Vera Cruz with Spanish, English, and American houses stretched along the beach. She assured readers that the blockade was effective and that Vera Cruz had been defenseless for seven months, but the navy under sail was dependent on favorable winds and tides to land an expeditionary force. "The inefficiency of the navy added a year to the war," she complained. She blamed Congress for not having a steam navy. "I know what I am talking about," she wrote, "I have been to sea fourteen times and on every class of ship." In June, Mrs. Storm had promoted Secretary Bancroft's proposal to subsidize mail steamers run by auxiliary naval personnel that could have deck guns added in time of war. Instead, Congress voted to build ten war steamers that she claimed cost as much as 100 mail steamers and would not be as self-supporting as the merchant ships. The Oregon crisis had made the weakness of the navy apparent when Britain threatened to close the Straits of Florida, but she also promoted a steam navy because working conditions were more humane and democratic. "We shall return home in a few weeks by way of Tampico or New Orleans," she informed readers. Later that evening, the governor of Vera Cruz called at their hotel and talked privately while soldiers searched their baggage. An unnamed resident of Vera Cruz also met with the agents.<sup>28</sup>

It took eleven days for the agents to travel some 250 miles inland from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, a normal journey of six days by stagecoach. They did not take the most direct route, but followed the old Spanish National Highway through Jalapa. Hernán Cortéz took the same route in 1519 when he defeated Montezuma, and muleteers still used the road for trade goods. Persons carrying large sums of money traveled with the muleteers for safety. At Perote, soldiers threatened the agents with arrest and searched

their baggage. At Puebla they met Moderates who knew of their coming from General Lamar, an unnamed Mexican commander in the field, and others. The Moderates presented the terms under which they would agree to end the war. Beach labeled their proposal the "Three Points." The United States would occupy California and all territory above 26° north latitude. They would pay citizens' claims with an additional \$3 million for California. The United States would restore forts and public buildings to the Mexican government, and no forced loans would be placed on the Mexican people.<sup>29</sup>

The Moderates' proposal was similar to one Mrs. Storm had published in the Sun in December 1845. The condition for acceptance of the plan was that the United States should capture Vera Cruz and show their superior power and full preparation of a march to the capital while Santa Anna was engaged with the army in the north. At that point, Santa Anna could declare "a crisis," which would end the war by honorable terms. Moderates informed the travelers of the best procedure for completion of the mission. The Americans learned that baggage searches and threats of arrest at Vera Cruz and Perote were to prevent suspicion of Moderates in those cities. According to Catholic sources, Mrs. Storm met with the Bishop of Puebla, and he agreed to support the Americans in return for protection of church property.<sup>30</sup>

The agents arrived in Mexico City on January 24, 1847. On January 11, Vice President Fariás had the Mexican Congress pass a law calling for raising fifteen million pesos by the sale or mortgage of church property. Church officials refused to comply, and Moderates supported the Clerics and demanded a change in government. United States Consul John Black arranged for Beach to meet with individuals in congress, the

administration, and the church receptive to their mission. Beach, a self-made-man, did not play the role of the English businessman effectively. On February 4, 1847, Mrs. Storm and H. B. Sutton of the Louis Hargous Company in Mexico City signed an affidavit stating that Beach was a British citizen who lived in the United States. That day Beach sent a written proposal to Farias for a National Bank in Mexico City capitalized and controlled by Beach and his associates. The bank would assume the debts of the Mexican government and serve as the depository of the treasury. It appeared that Beach and his associates were taking over the debts and responsibilities of Manning and Marshall. Thus, Mrs. Storm's letter to Owen a year before about British debts being honored suggests that the project had been in the making for at least a year. Beach began talks on the government's recognition of the Hargous's land grant across Tehuantepec that had been pending, but the transfer had to be approved by the Mexican congress.<sup>31</sup>

On February 27, 1847, a civil uprising led by Santa Anna's elite National Guard began in Mexico City. Beach wrote that the purpose of the revolt was to bring about a change in the government to support the "Three Points," protect church property, and end the war. The revolt became known as the "Revolt of the Polkos," because the regiments of Santa Anna's elite National Guard danced the polka. The rebels occupied the convents and shelled government buildings, but "a crisis" did not develop--General Scott did not attack Vera Cruz on schedule. As Scott pondered tactics, a norther blew in and rough seas further delayed landing. In Mexico City, clerics, leery of their new allies, began rejoining the Conservatives. While waiting for Scott to attack, the peace coalition dissolved.<sup>32</sup>

On George Washington's birthday, apparently according to a pre-arranged plan, Santa Anna had attacked General Taylor's forces at Buena Vista some 600 miles to the north of Mexico City, captured battle flags, and withdrew claiming victory. On March 8, 1847, Scott finally landed at Vera Cruz, and Mrs. Storm wrote from Mexico City, "For three weeks we have been expecting 'the crisis'." That same day the rebel generals met in Mexico City, changed their strategy, and demanded the resignation of Fariás. With the coalition failing, friends wrote Santa Anna that he should return to Mexico City. Although Santa Anna had returned to Mexico under an agreement to secure peace with the United States, he changed his position and warned that cooperating with Beach was against the best interests of Mexico. Perhaps, transit rights to Tehuantepec had not been part of the pact with Santa Anna.<sup>33</sup>

When Scott landed at Anton Lizardo some twelve miles below Vera Cruz and began a landward approach to the city, Moderates and their remaining clergy allies in Mexico City thought Scott should know which Mexicans would cooperate with United States officials which was done by having members of the peace faction listed in a certain order on a program printed for a Grand Ball. Beach decided Mrs. Storm should travel to Vera Cruz and deliver the key to the ball program to General Scott while he continued negotiations. Thus, around March 13, Mrs. Storm left Mexico City with "fleeing citizens of many nationalities." Beach remained at the capital awaiting Scott's capture of Vera Cruz, and the peace commissioner he thought accompanied Scott.<sup>34</sup>

After a six-day journey by stage, Mrs. Storm reached the battle lines at Vera Cruz. Since March 9, General William Jenkins Worth and his New York volunteers had been

fighting sand fleas and blowing sand as they dug trenches on the landward side of the city. The day after her arrival, March 22, General Scott demanded the immediate surrender of the city and began a cannon barrage. According to Ernest Wallace's version of events, Mrs. Storm saw Scott upon her arrival in Vera Cruz, but her news columns did not disclose that she spoke with the general until after the surrender of Vera Cruz.<sup>35</sup>

Two days after her arrival in the port city, the words of Mrs. Storm's column reverberated with the sound of cannon fire. "The destiny of Mexico trembles in the balance," she wrote, because Mexico "lacked determined purpose and honest leaders." As she explained, "A revolt had not occurred in Vera Cruz, and the national guard had betrayed the peace effort in Mexico City. Yet, she wrote, "All the way down from Mexico City the road was strewn with houseless families blaming the Americans for their misery." For three nights, from a British vessel crowded with British citizens, she watched the city burn. She described an array of sailing and steam ships anchored beyond the sand bar that lay between the city and the gulf. From her description, one could almost hear the cannon fire, see the pounding surf, and smell the gun smoke as she pictured the scene of small boats filled with civilians paddling from ship to ship in search of refuge. The Spanish and French ships took care of their citizens, she wrote, and she was on the English man-of-war Daring because the U.S. Navy could not keep women and children on board. Exhausted after months behind enemy lines and days without rest on the stage from Mexico City, she directed her frustration at a Captain Bennett who refused her refuge on the Indiana "unless she could pay in dollars." The Yankee merchant captains were "already well-paid with contracts for supplying U. S. troops," she fumed.<sup>36</sup>

With no knowledge of events occurring in Vera Cruz or Washington, Beach waited in Mexico City for a peace envoy now two months late. General Scott acted as if he was unaware of any plan for cooperating with the Vera Cruz or Mexico City republicans. Possibly, like his Whig colleague General Taylor, Scott ignored Polk's orders. Meanwhile, Scott blasted homes and businesses along a path to the fort guarding the harbor.<sup>37</sup>

In Washington it had been politics as usual. Presidential aspirants fought among themselves for the opportunity of conquering the Mexican peace and gaining political advantage. Buchanan was checked by Benton. By his gossip, Buchanan had lost Polk's confidence, and Benton became Polk's unofficial advisor. When Polk tried to make Benton his chief of staff to negotiate peace, Benton's senate rivals, Lewis Cass and John C. Calhoun, thwarted his plans. Thus, while Beach waited in Mexico City and Mrs. Storm waited on a British man o' war, Santa Anna returned triumphant to Mexico City.<sup>38</sup>

On March 24, 1847, Santa Anna, with captured American flags from Buena Vista, entered Mexico City a hero and the staged revolt of his personal guard ended. Santa Anna declared the Moderates traitors. They went into hiding, and Farias went into exile. Upon his demand, clerics gave Santa Anna additional funds to continue the war. On March 25, Beach wrote from the Mexican capital that the "woman's revolution" had failed and predicted that Mexico would soon be under "a nation who could appreciate its value." Within days Beach received a message to meet with Santa Anna. U.S. Consul Black suspected treachery and convinced Beach that his life was in danger. In the middle of the night, Beach and Drusilla, leaving all their possessions behind, set out by horseback with a



party of Moderates leaving for Tampico. Under control of the United States, Tampico was three hundred miles to the northeast on the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

Mrs. Storm remained on HMS Daring and sent daily observations on the war to the New York Sun by supply ships that steamed daily to and from New Orleans. On March 29, the Mexican commander General Juan Morales surrendered the fortress guarding Vera Cruz. For the first time, Mrs. Storm revealed what she called, "The Plan of La Playa" as put forth by "the citizens and clergy of Mexico." The plan was similar to Beach's "Three Points," but in addition, she said the United States was to protect the border against Indian raids, ports would remain with the Americans, a tariff would pay all claims, and the United States would get a right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. She added, "no doubt General Scott has been consulted." The latest news in Vera Cruz was that Polk would appoint Benton to negotiate the peace. "This is so much better than anything Benton can do with his millions of bribe money," she announced. "The United States has to decide whether it will save or destroy the last hope of the Mexican people," she wrote. She did not mean the "30,000 officers who have devoured her wealth and strength," but, "her long suffering . . . working class." The next day she repeated, "The appointment of Benton with money paid to their corrupt rulers, means chains for the masses."<sup>40</sup>

On March 31, 1847, Mrs. Storm claimed that Mexicans first raised the issue of annexation. "I have had convincing proof, that the northern provinces of Mexico," she wrote, "would have declared in favor of annexation to the United States to escape the miseries of their present conditions." Mrs. Storm again urged Scott to adopt the system

Kearny used in New Mexico to take advantage of local republicans. Yet "If like old Rough and Ready, Scott will use no argument but the sword," she predicted, "it will cost many lives; much treasure, and much time to conquer peace."<sup>41</sup>

On April 8, 1847, the day after her fortieth birthday, Mrs. Storm sent a column on the "Plan of La Playa" to Horace Greeley at the New York Tribune. The plan also called for creating three Mexican republics of the Rio Grande, Vera Cruz, and Yucatan and ending the civil wars that had destroyed the "fine, but terrible abused country." She described the Mexican people as "generous to their friends and brave in a good cause." Greeley printed her letter with its warning, "There is danger of a strong military ascendancy in the United States and it will expand to control the destiny of the republic."<sup>42</sup>

Also on April 8, Scott ordered his army inland to a healthier climate. On April 10, a government vessel transported Beach and Drusilla from Tampico to Vera Cruz. The transport carried the Beaches, plus two military companies and 280 mules. Upon their arrival in Vera Cruz, the Beaches found Mrs. Storm quartered in the city. As Beach told the story, Scott had been slow to accept Mrs. Storm's statement about cooperation with peace factions and "uttered an epithet regarding her" which "had it found its way to the public press, would have become a by-word." When Beach located Scott, the general listened, but lectured, "Never send messages of such importance by a plenipotentiary in petticoats." Mrs. Storm described Scott as "Old Fuss and Feathers" in her column, and of his victory at Vera Cruz wrote, "European papers will say more women and children killed than soldiers . . . unhappily is true." Foreign consuls had raised a white flag and asked if women and children could leave the city, but Scott continued the shelling.<sup>43</sup>

After Beach conferred with Scott, Mrs. Storm returned to Puebla through enemy lines around April 13, 1847. She perhaps carried a message to the Bishop from Scott. Outside Puebla, a handsome messenger, whose bridle and saddle were covered with silver and gold, rode alongside the stage and delivered a message. Mrs. Storm described the equestrian as a Mexican Robin Hood who robbed the rich and gave to the poor. General Worth, recommended that Inspector General Ethan Allen Hitchcock use the local hero Manuel Dominguez. Conservatives had destroyed the business of the once respected merchant. As a highwayman, Dominguez he took revenge on wealthy Conservatives. Hitchcock estimated Dominguez controlled some 10,000 men along the trade routes of Mexico. His men communicated by sign and issued passports that allowed merchants to travel safely. Hitchcock made Dominguez a U.S. Army officer over a regiment of his men who served as guides, couriers, and spies. Thus, it was probably through Dominguez that Lamar and Cazneau knew of the peace factions, and the Bishop of Puebla and the Vera Cruz merchants were prepared for Beach's arrival. It is likely that Dominguez's men escorted Beach, his daughter, and Mrs. Storm in their travels to and from Mexico City and Tampico. Not everyone had the same view of Dominguez and his men. John Kenley described the spy company as "the worst-looking scoundrels I ever saw."<sup>44</sup>

While Mrs. Storm remained to await the results of Scott's meeting and further bribery of Santa Anna, on April 14 Beach and Drusilla sailed aboard the USS Massachusetts for New Orleans. Upon his arrival in the city, Beach wrote, "I am once more, thank heaven, . . . among white folks." Drusilla did not enjoy the mission and wrote unfavorably of the Mexican people in the Sun. Beach wrote of his travels in the Sun and

immediately returned to New York up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Unfortunately for Beach, during his absence New Jersey officials investigated his Plainfield Bank and found that it had questionable transactions and missing assets. Beach, Henry, and a brother, Asabel Beach had shifted funds between banks, and with the public investigation and withdrawals by depositors, the bank went into receivership while Beach was in Mexico. Thus, Beach found a scandal and disappointed financial associates upon his return.<sup>45</sup>

Mrs. Storm remained in Mexico and on April 16, 1847, wrote that the Polk administration had three options. The United States could recognize the independence movements in each section of Mexico and allow the republicans to handle their own affairs; U.S. troops could occupy all of Mexico until a stable government could be established and maintained for an estimated five years; or, Polk could take what he wanted and leave the rest for some European prince. If unwilling to recognize any new republics, she wrote, the United States “must control Mexico to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec or let some European power do it.” If yielded to a foreign friend, she predicted, the United States could expect perpetual war in Mexico.<sup>46</sup>

By mid-April, Mrs. Storm had been part of the daily life of Mexico for nearly four months. She had compassion for the people and predicted that Scott would face little opposition because of the tyrants that ruled Mexico. She warned, “This war lays a deep and nervous responsibility on the American nation. They decide the fate of Mexico.” On April 20, Mrs. Storm left Vera Cruz with news of Santa Anna’s defeat at Cerro Gordo. “The plan was for Jalapa and Puebla to declare independence when Scott took Vera

Cruz,” she explained, but like Taylor, Scott had “rejected the people as allies” and “turned them back to their enemies.”<sup>47</sup>

On May 6, 1847, more than a month after Scott captured Vera Cruz, President Polk appointed Nicholas Trist, the State Department clerk, as peace negotiator. Vice President George M. Dallas and Treasury Secretary Robert Walker, who representing shipping and canal interests, insisted the Tehuantepec route be part of a treaty. Nevertheless, Polk, now influenced by Senator Benton who favored a land route through Missouri to California, was adamant; the canal route had nothing to do with the object to secure the Rio Grande boundary and obtain California.<sup>48</sup>

As Trist traveled to Mexico, Mrs. Storm returned to New York by way of Havana. There, she met with her former employer, John L. O’Sullivan, U.S. Consul Robert Campbell, and Cuban republicans. The Cubans hired her to promote Cuban independence from Spain in the New York press. On May 11, 1847, Beach reported to Polk and Buchanan in Washington. Two days later, at Buchanan’s insistence, Polk had a private interview with Mrs. Storm. Although the President wrote he was impressed by her intelligence, he claimed she told him nothing he did not already know. Yet, his next diary entry was that Scott had taken Jalapa without resistance.<sup>49</sup>

After the Mexico mission, Mrs. Storm no longer worked for Beach. Perhaps he blamed her for involving him in the fiasco, his financial losses, and the bank scandal. Drusilla Beach and she had lasting differences. Also, Beach and Mrs. Storm had developed different views of Mexico. While Mrs. Storm promoted the creation of three Mexican republics, with annexation possible by future generations, Beach urged

occupation and annexation of all Mexico in his letters to the Sun. As early as March 31, 1847, Drusilla wrote that annexation would help end the anarchy in Mexico. Beach had urged annexation to prevent Britain from reaping “the harvest we have planted.” While Mrs. Storm wrote that the Mexican people probably would be better off under a republican government and reported that an annexation party existed, she supported the Moderates’ plan for creation of the republics of the Rio Grande, Vera Cruz, and Yucatan. The materialistic Beach, and not Mrs. Storm, led the All Mexico movement in the Sun. On April 5, 1847, he wrote, “Every foot of territory and every Mexican citizen . . . by coming under the United States government” would be a “great profit.”<sup>50</sup>

The letters by “MONTGOMERY” from behind the battle lines created a sensation in New York and circulation of the Sun rose to 55,000 per daily issue. Young Beach reprinted Mrs. Storm’s letters in the Weekly Sun of April 24, along with those of his father and sister, signed “M.Y.B” and “D.B.B.” Somehow it became known that “MONTGOMERY” was a woman and demand to read her letters brought another round of their printing on May 1 and in an Extra Edition May 8, but in the reprints, signatures were often omitted. On May 15, “MONTGOMERY” asked, “What is the government of the United States to do with or for the people of Mexico?” and continued her crusade for a Republic of the Rio Grande. Because young Beach printed the “All Mexico” letters of his family and those by Mrs. Storm advocating three republics, the paper presented no clear policy. Thus, after the senior Beach’s Washington conference with Polk and Buchanan, an editorial appeared on May 17, 1847, titled, “Our Position on Mexico.” The elder Beach urged the United States to take possession of Mexico and let their customs

pay the cost of the war, and he added, "Let the people remain under our starry flag." On May 22, 1847, Beach advocated that the United States "occupy Mexico and let the future determine how long." Beach reprinted the editorial again on May 29. Although the original letters by Mrs. Storm, Beach, and his daughter were reprinted in each Weekly Sun and American Sun for the balance of May, none carried a byline nor did those by Storm that mentioned the three Mexican republics.<sup>51</sup>

After her return from Mexico, Mrs. Storm wrote no more editorials in the Sun, but increased her correspondence to Buchanan, Marcy, and Bancroft. In May 1847, she wrote Buchanan to take care in dealing with the Yucatan people who wanted to trade recognition of their independence for a canal route. The cabinet should accept no undated instruments, she warned, since the Mackintosh Company still held the Garay land grant and canal rights with the conservative government that Santa Anna had returned to power. She also informed Buchanan, "the people who went for 'annexation' are now for the occupation of Mexico." Thus, New York financiers, steamship owners, and merchants advocated the "All Mexico" movement.<sup>52</sup>

Mrs. Storm, like many soldiers, "had seen the elephant," a popular saying that arose during the war to describe "one unduly disappointed by great expectations." When Buchanan asked her to return to Mexico in July, she suggested that he send her brother Philip McManus, although he had simple country manners, or as "a paid messenger," her son, William, who was a gentleman and fluent in Spanish. In May, June, July, and November she advised Buchanan to send Naval Lieutenant Richard Meade, a Pennsylvania Catholic and a Freemason, who would work with fraternal brothers to end the war. Mrs.

Storm also advised using Father Ellet in Rome, or Bishop Hughes. She wrote Marcy an angry letter because she had received a department form letter stating, "your letter is received and will be duly considered." Marcy sent an apology and explained the chaos in his office caused by the war.<sup>53</sup>

Mrs. Storm did not break all contact with the Beach family but sought to make amends for their financial difficulties. On July 8, she wrote Buchanan of Beach's disappointment that Buchanan did not appear at a reception prepared for him when he was in New York. In her next letter, she apologized, "I shall call with Beach's brother, Ashabel Beach, looking for a job in Washington. It will be the last demand the Beach's will make on the administration." Beach had requested an appointment for Henry and begged the president to attend another son's wedding in Boston. Mrs. Storm tried to get the Democrats to subsidize the Sun with printing contracts, but Beach had become a political liability. While their father was in Mexico, Alfred Beach had sold his share of the Sun to his brother, Moses S., and bought the Scientific American and escaped scandal.<sup>54</sup>

From June 1847 to February 1848, while the senior Beach promoted "all Mexico" in the Sun Mrs. Storm wrote on Cuba. Young Beach published a series of ten "Letters from Cuba," by MONTGOMERY. In August, Storm arranged for prominent Cuban leaders to meet with President Polk. Although Scott's forces captured Mexico City on September 14, 1847, still no peace came. Senator Benton later claimed in his memoirs that "the *female* had gone back to Mexico, with high letters from some members of the cabinet to the commanding general, and to the plenipotentiary negotiator." Mrs. Storm wrote from Havana on September 1 and again on October 26, during which time she



could have traveled to and from Mexico for Buchanan. She wrote Buchanan that every officer in Mexico that spoke Spanish and knew how to act like a gentleman was worth a company of soldiers. No special friendship had induced her to request Meade be sent to Mexico, she added, as if the gossipy Buchanan had inquired about her personal life. Meade likely wanted to serve with General Worth and his volunteers who were rumored to be organizing to aid the Cuban separatists. Buchanan probably chuckled as he read her next line stating that she did not meddle in affairs beyond her comprehension and had “avoided as much as possible the matter” of Mexico.<sup>55</sup>

Trist ignored the recall orders from Polk and Buchanan on the advice of Edward Thornton of the British Legation in Mexico. With help from Charles Bankhead, British Minister to Mexico, Trist brought the Mexican factions to the negotiation table with the threat that they had two choices, deal with Trist and have a chance for a republic, or fight with General Scott and lose their national identity. Meanwhile Scott’s generals declared in favor of the permanent occupation of Mexico. Benton wrote of difficulty in dissuading Polk from including the proposal in his December 1847 State of the Union address. In her December letter to Buchanan, Mrs. Storm was more concerned about the transit company in Tehuantepec in which she had invested than in affairs of state. She had invested in the Hargous Company then attempting to establish a freight line across the isthmus.<sup>56</sup>

In January 1848, Mrs. Storm set up the New York Cuban revolutionary paper La Verdad [The Truth], and as Cora Montgomery served as editor of the bilingual newspaper. Each cost six cents and was distributed in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, the Caribbean, and South America by George Law’s U.S. Mail Steamship Company. The

purpose of La Verdad was to help teach both Spanish and English and distribute news of republican activism in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, and South Africa.<sup>57</sup>

M. S. Beach, with editorial responsibility for the Sun, perhaps had respect for Mrs. Storm's ability and work ethic, and they remained friends. Several times she mentioned to the younger Beach her indebtedness to the Beach family. Thus, the Sun printed La Verdad on its new Hoe steam press purchased at the apex of the Sun's popularity. The Sun printed notices of La Verdad, and the editors exchanged news clippings. The Sun also published three of Mrs. Storm's Washington columns in early 1848.<sup>58</sup>

As "MONTGOMERY," Mrs. Storm analyzed the Mexican policies of the presidential aspirants. She reported that General Scott had dashed his hopes by arguments with his officers, that General Worth was for taking and keeping the whole country, and that General Taylor favored returning troops to the line of his victories. She still advocated Buchanan's proposal of making peace with each state, but "From the first our military men have thrown every obstacle in the way of such adjustment." She warned, "If they can prevent it, the pen will steal no laurels from the sword."<sup>59</sup>

On February 8, 1848, Mrs. Storm advised Polk on domestic politics, "The Democracy will mourn in 1848." She explained her method "of tracing public opinion" and how she was able to "feel the pulse of the nation." The hundred or more news carriers of the Sun in New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City were trained to report the results of each week's question for the public. "We have but to frame a simple inquiry," for example, "At this time, New York would go for Taylor" and "All Mexico." Thus, she used a form of polling to report public opinion, but did not advocate that position.<sup>60</sup>

In La Verdad, Mrs. Storm opposed ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was arranged by Trist on February 2, 1848, and arrived in Washington on February 19. Within four days, the treaty went to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by the end of February reached the Senate floor for discussion. From February 28 to March 10, Senators debated the treaty. Mrs. Storm did not think it was a legitimate treaty because it favored British interests and ignored Tehuantepec and republicans on the Rio Grande. As she explained to Polk, "the fruits of the war remain with the Whigs." She advised Polk to stall confirmation until after the presidential election in the fall. In La Verdad, she criticized the "closed door" discussions of the Senate. She wrote Polk, "New York and the West are for a very larger slice of Mexico and will count the country defrauded by this treaty. The people want results."<sup>61</sup>

Mrs. Storm wrote Bancroft while the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was under senate discussion. Although Bancroft resigned as Secretary of the Navy in September 1847 and became the Minister to the Court of St. James, she kept him informed of politics. He was not to be surprised, she wrote, when he read of her support and admiration for Sam Houston. Houston opposed the treaty as a matter of principle and supported incorporating Mexico as far as Tampico and Mazatlan--the area she had promoted as a Republic of the Rio Grande. "There is a fluent grace in Old Sam's morality that is perfectly irresistible. I am completely captivated," she confessed. The masses want to keep the whole of Mexico, she reported, "They paid for it in blood and treasure!" Our leaders, she wrote, "cannot compute the volcanic force, the onward, self-relying, fearless,

grasping, ambition of our republicans.” She predicted, “The masses will feel the loss of Mexico and woe to the party that tears it from them.”<sup>62</sup>

When John Quincy Adams, who opposed the treaty, collapsed in the House chambers and died of exhaustion on February 23, her tribute was to a great republican. She described Adams as “the president descended into citizen and the general who took his place in the ranks for the benefit of the commonwealth.” On March 10, 1848, the Senate ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by a vote of thirty-eight to fourteen. She reported in La Verdad that Senators had drunk “the finest wine ever seen in Washington” and “Mexican doubloons and British sovereigns were as plentiful as snowflakes.” When discussion began, she wrote, “only fifteen Senators had supported it.” She quoted a western Senator who, “as he reached for his seventh glass of brandy and water,” revealed to her the secrets of the closed door senate sessions. “Half the ‘uncertains’ never knew when or where they went to bed,” she quoted him as saying.<sup>63</sup>

In La Verdad, Mrs. Storm tried to console the confused veterans who won the war but had to turn the country back to their enemies. She tried to make the war one of republican ideals and not one “of a predatory nation upon a weak or treacherous one.” She insisted it was the destiny of the United States to help in raising up the temple of freedom in the world. In March, she reported on republican revolutions spreading through Europe. “We are the reserve corps . . . a light and fire illuminating their sails and warming their hearts . . . until they have dared to shout, we too are men . . . we will be free!”<sup>64</sup>

The next month in the Sun, Mrs. Storm urged that Mount Vernon become an asylum for soldiers disabled by the war. For example, one Patrick Walker lost both arms

in battle and had applied for a pension. She wished the “nation could but have heard the cold arithmetic, the heartless calculation” of those “who were so eager to present Mexico with fifteen millions and resign the Isthmus of Tehuantepec,” but “voted against giving \$480 to one of our own for one year.”<sup>65</sup>

In May, the cabinet voted to recognize the independence of Yucatan, but the Senate refused to hold hearings. Britain then established a protectorate over the region, republican activity ended, and the Hargous Transit ceased operation. As Mrs. Storm predicted, Europeans had filled the void left by the United States. She provided details in La Verdad in an article titled, “England is about to take possession of Yucatan.” She explained that British arms dealers supplied the natives, incited them against white leaders, then sold arms to the white authorities to protect themselves. When both sides were weakened, Britain offered the white administration protection. The scheme was similar, she explained, to that used by the British to take over India and other areas of the world where they achieved dominance.<sup>66</sup>

Jane Storm had tried to bring the peaceful annexation of Texas and prevent the Mexican War. When war came, she worked to end it through cooperation with the Mexican republicans who tried to curb the power of the church and the conservatives to create a true democracy in Mexico. Her mission to Mexico and letters written during the war provide a view of activities behind the battlelines and of backroom politics that help further explain the war and its consequences. Her activities during the Mexican War show the complexity of politics in Mexico and the United States that led to the war and illustrate the on-going negotiations that led to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

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26. Buenaventura Aroujo to Valentin G. Farias, 9 January 1847, Valentine Gomez-Farias Papers, Garcia Collection, Nettie Benson Library, University of Texas at Austin; [Anon.], "The Late William Ladd, The Apostle of Peace," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 10 (March 1842): 209-223. Ladd, an international figure in world peace, proposed a Congress of Nations to settle disputes.

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30. Beach, "Mission," 136-7; May, "Petticoats," in Crapol, ed., Women, 22.

31. Beach, "Mission," 138-9; Moses Y. Beach to V. P. V. Gomez-Farias, 4 February 1847, "Acto para Establecer el Banco Nacional de Mejico," 6 February 1847, Gomez-Farias Papers, Benson Library, UT-Austin; Nelson, "Beach," in Burke and Freidel, eds., Secret Agents, 82; Merk, Manifest Destiny, 134; John Black to James Buchanan, 28 January 1847, Consul Despatches, Mexico City, RG 59, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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37. Beach, "Mission," 139-140; Montgomery, "Vera Cruz," New York Sun 3 May 1847.

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50. "Our Position on Mexico," New York Sun, 17 May 1847; "What are we to do with Mexico," New York Sun, 22 May 1847; "Correspondence," New York Sun, 29 May 1847; D. B. B. [Drusilla Beach], "Extract from our private correspondence," New York Sun, EXTRA, 24 April 1847.

51. "The Sun and the Administration," New York Sun, 27 May 1847; J. M. Cazneau to Moses Y. Beach, 27 December 1849, Jane Cazneau Papers, New York Historical Society Library, New York, NY. Copies, originals property of Brewster Beach, Greenwich, CN. Not aware that Beach and his daughter wrote the "all Mexico" letters printed in the Weekly Sun without by-lines has led to the erroneous conclusion that Mrs. Storm advocated All Mexico.

52. J. M. Storms to James Buchanan, [May 1847], Buchanan Papers, HSP; Hamilton Holman, "Texas Bonds and Northern Profits," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 43 (March 1957): 580.

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57. Cora Montgomery, La Verdad, 9 January, 13, 26 February, 12, 26, March, 9, 27 April, 28 May, 17 June 1848.

58. Mrs. Storm and M. S. Beach corresponded from 20 February 1849 to 1 December 1865, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Montgomery, "Correspondence," New York Sun, 10 January 1848.

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60. J. M. Storm to James K. Polk, 8 February 1848, Polk Papers, NA; J. M. Storm to George Bancroft, 23 July 1848, Bancroft Papers, MHS.

61. Cora Montgomery, La Verdad, 26 February 1848; Storm to Polk, 8 February 1848, Polk Papers, NA.

62. J. M. Storm to George Bancroft, February 1848, Bancroft Papers, MHS.

63. "Correspondence," La Verdad, 28 March 1848. An examination of the library stacks of sources on the Mexican War do not substantiate her charges of corruption.

64. "Ireland," La Verdad, 13 February 1848; "News From Europe," La Verdad, 26 February 1848; "The Temple of Freedom," La Verdad, 12, 26, 28 March, 9 April 1848; "Political Revolutions," La Verdad, 28 May 1848; Montgomery quoted in Merk, Manifest Destiny, 200n.

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66. Montgomery, "England . . . Yucatan," La Verdad, 17 June 1848.

## CHAPTER 6

### CUBA, 1847-1850

Cuba belongs to the Cubans, and they have a right higher than human convention--a right directly from the throne of Divine Justice--to govern themselves.

--Cora Montgomery<sup>1</sup>

Before the Mexican War began, on December 22, 1845, Jane Storm first raised the subject of Cuban annexation in the New York Sun. In a column that focused on the purchase of California and the settlement of the Oregon dispute, writing as "MONTGOMERY," she predicted the United States would soon republicanize Canada, followed by "no more excitement until Cuba and Dominica give us a call." She opened an informal campaign for Cuban annexation in December 1846 with the fifteen "Tropical Sketches," printed in the Sun in conjunction with the Beach mission to Mexico. Upon completion of the Mexico assignment, Mrs. Storm wrote almost exclusively on behalf of the Cubans, and her pen name, Cora Montgomery, became synonymous with the cause of Cuban independence. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Cuban separatists thought they could best gain independence from Spain through annexation to the United States.<sup>2</sup>

The Havana Club, the New York Cuban Council, the Young Democrats of Tammany Hall, and the Friends of Cuba and the Union financed publications by Mrs. Storm writing as Cora Montgomery and stressing the importance of Cuban annexation to the United States. From 1846 to 1853, Mrs. Storm published at least thirty-eight signed

news columns on Cuba in the New York Sun, the New York Herald, and the New York Tribune. Between January and June 1848, she served as editor of La Verdad, the official newspaper of the New York Cuban Council, the governing body of republican exiles. In December 1849, she published anonymously "The King of Rivers" in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. The Democratic Republican Young Men of Tammany Hall financed its expansion into a pamphlet using her pen name, Cora Montgomery. Combining that pamphlet with another she wrote on Cuba, The Queen of Islands (1850), Charles Wood in New York and William Adam in Washington also published The Queen of Islands and The King of Rivers financed by New York merchants and shippers as the "friends of Cuba and the Union." In February 1850, Freeman Hunt, editor of The Merchant's Magazine, published "The Union of the Seas" in which Cora Montgomery promoted Cuba as essential to steamship routes to the Pacific. In addition, she advised cabinet members and presidents about Cuba and introduced prominent Cubans to United States officials.<sup>3</sup>

The publicity campaign for Cuban annexation followed the Texas model. Mrs. Storm emphasized that Cuba was essential to the national security of the United States and to the expansion of trade and commerce into the Caribbean, Central and South America, and the Pacific. She sought to enlighten readers about the realities of international trade warfare. She explained that Cuba lay fifty nautical miles across the Florida Straits midway between New York and New Orleans and separated the Gulf of Mexico from the Atlantic Ocean. In time of war, the sea lanes could be closed and devastate the economy. In the 1820s, Cuban republicans thought they could achieve

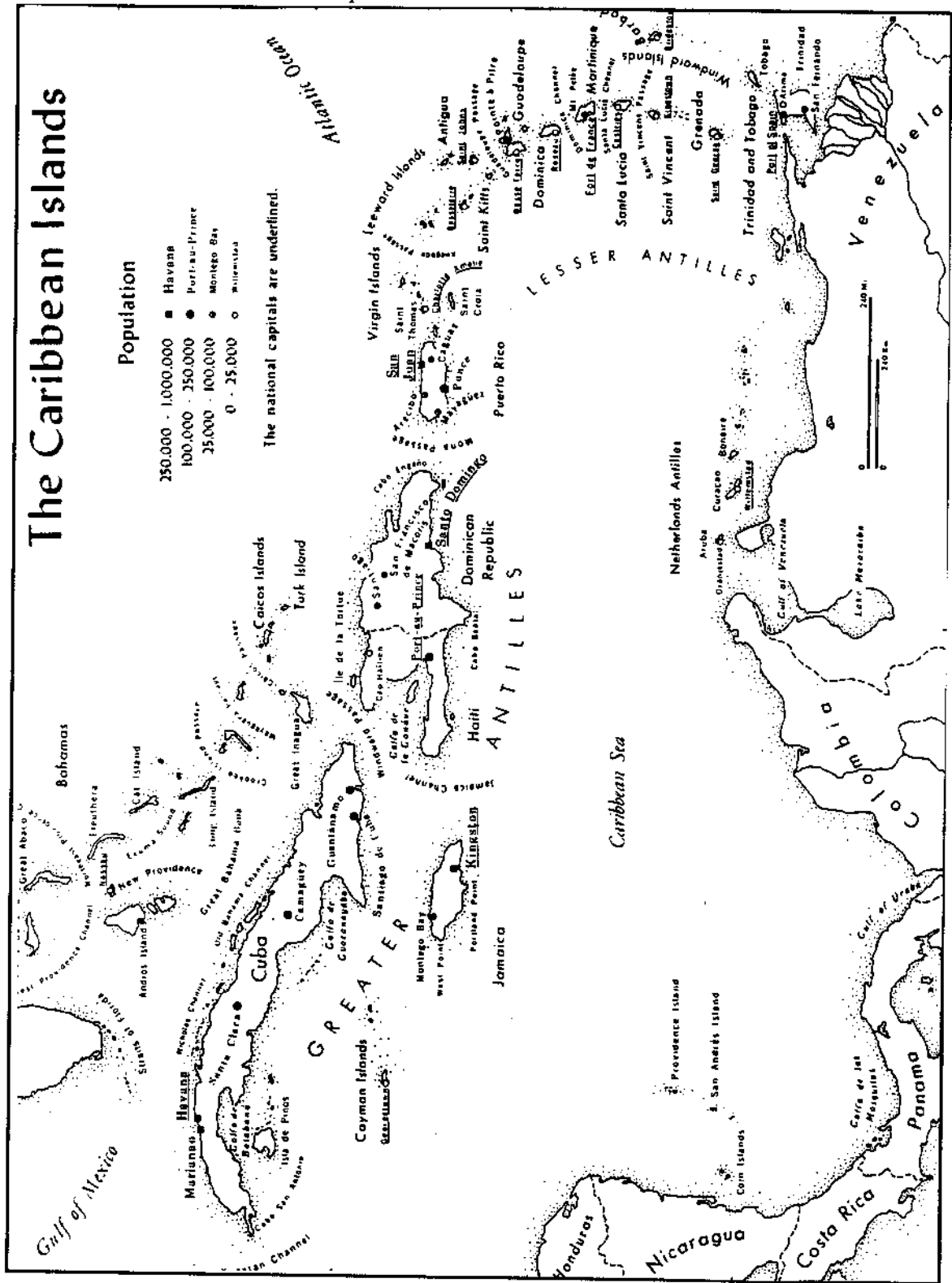


independence as had Spain's other colonies. Cuban rebels sought annexation to the United States, but fearing war with Spain's protector, the Adams administration established a "no transfer policy" with Great Britain. Because of its proximity, naive Americans thought Cuba would gravitate to the United States.<sup>4</sup>

With the coming of steam-powered merchant ships and the acquisition of California and Oregon, the need to control the Florida Straits and have secure coaling stations became more vital to United States trade and commerce. During the Oregon border dispute, the Polk Administration realized Her Majesty's Royal Navy could shut down the coastal trade between New York and New Orleans--the first and second ranked export and import points in the United States. Until the United States controlled the Florida Straits and Cuba, the nation did not control its destiny. Therefore, the Polk administration, backed by shippers and merchants, made the acquisition of Cuba a priority. Cuban republican planters pledged \$100 million toward the purchase of Cuba.<sup>5</sup>

Although naval strategists saw Cuba as a key to the defense of the Gulf of Mexico, it was also a steppingstone toward control of the Antilles, the island chain that linked North and South America and separated the Caribbean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean. Britain had no intention of losing control of the area and regarded Havana as vital to the Gulf of Mexico as Gibraltar was to the Mediterranean. After the defeat of the French fleet at Trafalgar in 1805, Britain had increasingly controlled the seven sea lanes of the Antilles that led to ports on the Gulf of Mexico and the three land bridges of Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec--the most direct sea route from Europe to China and Australia, and between North and South America (See Map 3).<sup>6</sup>

Map 3. The Caribbean Islands.



Because Cuba was the chief source of wealth for the Spanish royal family, Spain had no intention of selling its colony. Besides tariffs that supported the crown and made payments to the Rothschild bankers who had financed the First Carlist War (1833-1839), two-thirds of Spain's merchant marine depended on the Cuban trade. Also, importation fees on African slaves, smuggled illegally and imported as emancipated persons indentured for life, netted additional revenue of from three to four million dollars each year for Spanish officials. Some eighty wealthy Cubans purchased titles that offered them immunity from arrest and produced funds. Therefore, the Spanish monarchy did not want to sell Cuba and lose some ten million dollars in annual net revenue, and Britain did not want to lose the ports she controlled. United States imports from Cuba increased from \$6 million in 1845 to more than \$18 million annually in 1855--89 percent of which came from sugar. During the decade, United States exports to Cuba increased by less than \$1.5 million, creating an imbalance of trade. In 1847, more than 2,000 United States vessels entered Cuban ports, compared to 819 Spanish, 563 English, and fewer than 100 French ships.<sup>7</sup>

Not all Cubans wanted annexation to the United States, however, and Cuban separatists were divided into republican annexationists and liberal nationalists. After the 1820s rebellion failed, republicans fled to New York and Santo Domingo. In 1843, Cuban Liberals, educated in Europe, attempted an uprising to establish independence, but Spanish authorities put down their revolt. Liberals then went into exile in France or New Orleans. Thus, two Cuban exile groups found refuge in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

Mrs. Storm became acquainted with the New York Cuban exiles through her editors, Moses Y. Beach and John L. O'Sullivan. The "Tropical Sketches," published in the New York Sun from December 11, 1846, to March 26, 1847, when she traveled to Mexico with Beach and his daughter on the peace mission, are generally ignored by historians interested in United States expansionist history. The fifteen travel sketches promoted steam travel, tropical winter vacations, hotels, and tourist attractions, but they also acquainted readers with social, economical, and political conditions in Cuba.<sup>9</sup>

In "Tropical Sketches," Mrs. Storm depicted living conditions in Cuba for all social strata. She illustrated Spain's neglect of essential services. She and her companions could not travel the forty miles from Matanzas to Havana because the road would not accommodate wheeled vehicles. The railway from Matanzas connected to the other side of the island, but not to Havana. Therefore, the only transportation was one steamer that traveled irregularly between Matanzas and Havana. During the trip, a norther blew in and rough seas made the passengers ill. Undaunted, Mrs. Storm extolled the value of smoking cigars as a remedy for seasickness. Because the Havana customs house closed at two in the afternoon, the passengers were delayed another day. She described the bay as narrow with a wharf a half-mile in length and thirty to sixty feet wide constructed of new mahogany planks six to eight inches thick and held with copper bolts. In Havana, 25,000 soldiers, paid from tariff receipts, were present on all public streets, in front of the churches, and guarded the mental asylum that she visited. She also provided information about caves, vantage points, and a shortage of money in circulation.<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Storm described street scenes and daily life. She observed that Cubans lacked the “power of fusion” for joint action. They had not learned to pool their resources, she explained, but she believed that this would be corrected with republican laws. Upon hearing of the 1843 arrest, imprisonment, and beating of a free black American the Tyler administration had ignored, as “Montgomery,” she wrote Horace Greeley at the New York Tribune and asked, “Where do I look for an honest politician? Is our Eagle, after all nothing but a vulture in borrowed plumage, a vile bird of prey?” In reply, the Whig editor asserted, “had the author not consorted with Locofocos all his life, he would know where to look.” Greeley knew Mrs. Storm, but perhaps did not realize that she was “Montgomery.”<sup>11</sup>

As a female traveling in Cuba in 1846, Mrs. Storm felt restricted. Cuban ladies never walked, so she hired a carriage to drive her, “an hour’s walk from Havana,” to the village of Guanabaco where she walked to the mineral baths. There, she found no soldiers to question her walking. Not only did Cuban ladies never walk, they did not read, nor attend lectures, she wrote. Nevertheless, she added, they danced, smoked, went to church, and reared sons to be gentlemen instead of republicans.<sup>12</sup>

What Mrs. Storm did not report in the newspaper was that she met with members of the Havana Club, a group formed by wealthy sugar planters in 1837 to separate Cuba from Spain, abolish slavery, and encourage white immigration. In April 1847 when she left Vera Cruz for New York, Mrs. Storm returned by way of Cuba and met with John L. O’Sullivan, her former editor, Robert Campbell, the United States Consul at Havana, and members of the Havana Club. Campbell wrote Secretary of State James Buchanan that he

arranged the meeting of two Americans and two Cubans when they planned the revolutionary newspaper, La Verdad. The South Carolina native also advised that he knew more about the Cuban dissidents than they knew about each other. Beach did not attend planning sessions, and O'Sullivan wrote Buchanan that Beach was not involved. Mrs. Storm's letters and those of colleagues confirm that her role in Texas annexation was well known, and O'Sullivan, most of all, knew of her abilities. Therefore, perhaps on O'Sullivan's advice, the Cubans hired her to direct their press campaign in New York.<sup>13</sup>

Before she opened the formal campaign for Cuban annexation in the New York Sun, in July 1847, Mrs. Storm consulted with Secretary of State James Buchanan. She advised her cousin of changing attitudes in Mexico and the United States. Between July 19 and August 25, the New York Sun printed six numbered "Letters From Cuba," by "MONTGOMERY," dated June 20 to July 4, 1847. In the opening letter, she explained that for the next several months she would make Cuba known to the people of the United States as the fulfillment of her promise, "when in Havana last winter" to "lay the matter before the people of the United States." The "Letters" were not in the casual style of the "Sketches," but concise reports designed to inform readers of the causes for independence and annexation to the United States. She defined a Creole as a Cuban-born Spaniard, not one of Negro blood as was thought by many in the northern states. She explained that Spain taxed, through tariffs, the Cuban population an average of \$38 each per year, while in the United States each person paid about \$2 in taxes. In addition, she illustrated that soldiers allowed the Cubans no freedom of movement, speech, press, or assembly.<sup>14</sup>

Mrs. Storm also wrote about Cuban slavery. Unlike those in the family system of the southern United States that replenished itself, Cuban slaves were primarily men imported directly from Africa. As slavery ended in Haiti and Jamaica and their sugar production declined, the Cuban slave trade and sugar production increased. The Spanish government confiscated church lands and sold them to absentee landowners who hired overseers to operate the plantations. Thus, like the clergy in Mexico, the Cuban Catholic Church sought protection of property. Although prohibited under a treaty with England, the slave trade continued. Cubans who questioned the policy were imprisoned or exiled, as was the Liberal Don José Saco in the 1830s. According to Mexican Minister Buenaventura Aroujo in his 1847 letter that Beach carried to Vice President Valentín Gómez Fariás, corrupt British authorities in Havana, Jamaica, and the Bahamas profited from the slave smuggling.<sup>15</sup>

The Spanish government used slaves to intimidate the Cuban separatists. Mrs. Storm reported that Spanish authorities threatened to arm the slaves if the Cubans tried to establish independence. Slave trading had increased the slave population of Cuba from 32 percent of the total population in 1774 to 58 percent by 1842. She visited the eastern part of the island where privateers smuggled male Africans into Cuba or brought others into port legally where authorities taxed them as emancipated persons indentured for life. When authorities heard rumors of slave revolts, they flogged or executed slaves, or released them to their owners after paying heavy bribes to officials. Planters had to resupply their labor force with more slaves because Spain discouraged European emigration, claiming only Africans could work in the tropics. Thus, planters wanted

annexation to end the slave trade and blackmail, she asserted. Cuban republicans wanted the more humane form of slavery as practiced by the southern United States, she reported, and intended to make gradual emancipation a feature of their proposed state constitution. Until then, Cuba would be an outlet for slaves drained from the United States.<sup>16</sup>

After publishing the first six "Letters from Cuba," in July and August 1847, Mrs. Storm wrote four more columns from Havana. Mrs. Storm explained that Britain, in a strategy similar to that used against the Republic of Texas, offered to guarantee Cuba independence on condition they did not join the United States and agreed to abolish slavery. Free blacks and Liberal Cubans supported the official British plan that would someday make Havana the capital of the Republic of Antilla, encompassing the area of the West Indies, and blocking further United States territorial and commercial expansion. Cuban specialist Basil Rauch explained that Spain had only the loyalty of transients who came to Cuba to make fortunes.<sup>17</sup>

In August, Mrs. Storm reported that because of her previous letters in the Sun, Spanish authorities had banned American newspapers. As if answering a series of questions, she explained that Spain discouraged European emigration because European emigrants empathized with the Cubans. Also, she countered the apologists' justification of slavery--she had witnessed white men working in the tropical climate. Thomas B. Smith was an American who used free white labor in his copper mine. Cuba was then the world's largest producer of copper.<sup>18</sup>

At the time Beach was calling for the occupation of "All Mexico," Mrs. Storm campaigned for Cuban annexation. She wrote Secretary Buchanan, "The Cuba fever you



see is rising and sooner or later will stir the all embracing appetites of the nation.” In London, Lord George Bentinck had urged in Parliament that Spain be asked to sell Cuba to pay its debts to British bondholders. Tory opposition to the Carlist War (1833-1839) had forced Whig Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston to finance the ten regiments of the voluntary British Legion with loans from the Rothschild bankers. Thus, Storm advised Buchanan to “establish our country in the market.” She asked that he grant a passport to a Cuban gentleman more valuable than “the blockheads you sometimes employ.” Two days later, she introduced Don Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros to President Polk. He was a member of the Havana Club and had purchased his title for \$25,000. He was also a member of the New York Cuban Council. Other Havana Club and Council members were John L. O’ Sullivan and his brother-in-law, Cristobal Madan y Madan, president of the Council.<sup>19</sup>

The Havana Club committed \$30,000 for three newspapers established in the United States. Presumably, each had a budget of \$10,000. In New York, Mrs. Storm set up the most successful, La Verdad, and wrote most of the copy of the bilingual newspaper herself. She rented an office in the Sun Building at 124 Fulton Street, arranged for printing on the Sun press, and for distribution by George Law’s U.S. Mail steamers. The lesser known La Aurora [The Light] promoted Cuban annexation in Washington, and in New Orleans, the Picayune printed La Patria [The Mother Land], reflecting liberal sentiments.<sup>20</sup>

On January 9, 1848, the first issue of La Verdad appeared with Cora Montgomery listed as editor. The banner letters with fringe reflected the popularity of Latin fashions.

The "Prospectus" stated that La Verdad would compile news of republican activity world wide. Under Mrs. Storm, the newspaper carried news of republican progress in Europe, Latin America, and South Africa. She listed New York wholesale prices and provided shipping and immigration news. The paper's format and content were similar to the Sun, and it provided an example of a free press under a republican form of government. The newspaper favored Cuban annexation by purchase.<sup>21</sup>

In January and February 1848, La Verdad had news of Mexico, but when the war ended, focus shifted to Cuba. One article repeated rumors that Cuban taxes had financed an attempt to place a monarchy in Mexico. In an article titled "Disinherited Cuba," she traced Cuba's demise from a province with self-government to a colony under martial law. After her letters in the Sun brought a ban on American newspapers in Cuba, Law's employees, John Lyttle and William Bush, smuggled the Sun inside casks of beans to persons in Cuba she described in Masonic terms as the "good and true." The "beans were excellent" and "copies of the Sun faithfully distributed," she reported. Because masons participated in republican activities, Spain had outlawed Masonry in Cuba. When General William S. Wetmore, naval agent overseeing steamer construction in New York, asked William Marcy's opinion of Mrs. Storm's work on behalf of the Cubans, Marcy replied that he "highly appreciated her talents and political principles."<sup>22</sup>

In February 1848, Mrs. Storm had complained to Buchanan that U.S. Consul Campbell opened her correspondence to Cuban dissidents. "It is not for my sake alone that I desired the consular protection, for I shall write what when and to whom I please," but, she was concerned for the safety of her friends. Buchanan discounted her fears, and

she warned her gossipy cousin, “the word of a true woman is worth as much as a cabinet member if not more.”<sup>23</sup>

The Polk administration agreed to the purchase of Cuba but would not support a revolution. In March 1848, O’Sullivan, the business agent of the Cuban Council, had suggested to Buchanan that Thomas Hart Benton’s son-in-law, John C. Frémont, be appointed an agent to negotiate with Spain about the purchase of Cuba. In May, O’Sullivan and Campbell both warned Buchanan that uprisings would soon begin. During the previous year, the Havana Club had dispatched Rafael de Castro and Sedano y Cruzat to Mexico to recruit General William Jenkins Worth to aid the Cubans. When the Mexican War ended, Worth was to lead 5,000 veterans to Cuba for payment of \$3 million. If purchase was arranged, Worth’s men would replace the Spanish soldiers. If not, Worth was a fighting general whose men would follow him anyway. On June 2, 1848, O’Sullivan wrote Polk that revolution was imminent and sought aid from the United States. Jefferson Davis accompanied the Cubans José Iznaga, Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros, and Alonzo Betancourt to the White House to request that troops be stationed at Key West in support of the rebellion. Polk refused. He was no Andrew Jackson, and Cuba was not Texas. Polk would only agree to the purchase of Cuba and instructed the navy that no veterans returning from Mexico were to land in Cuba.<sup>24</sup>

Narciso López, former Liberal Cuban governor, planned an uprising scheduled for June 24, 1848. The Havana Club urged López to wait until General Worth and his volunteers could be transported back to Cuba from United States ports. Two weeks later, Spanish authorities knew of the plot called the “Conspiracy of the Cuban Rose Mines.”

López owned the copper mine where the uprising was to begin. He escaped from Cienfuego by horseback, traveled by train to Cárdenas, and caught a steamer to Matanzas and escaped to the United States. By the end of July 1848, López was in New York and the hero of the exiles. Campbell informed Buchanan about López's plans, and Buchanan, in an attempt to win the trust of Spain, purchase Cuba, and become the next president, passed the information to Spanish minister in Washington, Angel Calderón de la Barca. The administration wanted to acquire Cuba but not chance a war with Britain and have the Florida Straits blocked or have African slaves released less than 100 miles from the coast of the United States.<sup>25</sup>

The republican revolutions of 1848, then sweeping Europe, diverted European attention from Cuba. British Minister Sir Henry Bulwer insisted that Spain "liberalize," which meant abolition. Spain broke relations with Britain and was receptive to the sale of Cuba, but the foreign minister asked if Spain could expect United States protection against Britain. Having just ended one war, Polk did not want to start another during the presidential campaign summer. British control of the Florida Straits thwarted United States plans because strategists knew that Cuba was a stepping stone to the control of the West Indies and the land bridges of Central America that were vital to British and French plans for trade with China. With the collapse of the 1848 uprisings in Europe, Britain united with France and Spain to prevent the spread of American influence in the tropics.<sup>26</sup>

With the failure of the Polk Administration to purchase Cuba in June 1848, the Havana Club withdrew financial support of the New York Cuban Council. The planters favored annexation, but only through purchase. Betancourt and Madan continued as

liaison between the New York Cuban Council and the Havana Club, while John S. Thrasher, Havana editor of El Faro Industrial, represented exiles in New Orleans. O'Sullivan remained the business agent for both groups. Without the financial backing of the Havana Club, the New York Cuban Council could not afford the eight-page La Verdad, and Mrs. Storm was suddenly unemployed. The council sold ships and supplies, but retained the business office and occasionally Don Gaspar Betancourt and José Teurbe Tolón published La Verdad as a single-page news sheet. Tolón designed the Cuban flag as it is today, and hung it in the office window. The Spanish Consul in New York protested and later in the year, Spain established La Cronica [The Times] across the street, to counter the propaganda of La Verdad.<sup>27</sup>

The New York Cuban Council continued plans to liberate their homeland. From Havana, Campbell wrote Buchanan that the revolutionaries did not believe the administration had betrayed them, and Buchanan's duplicity was not widely known until the 1856 presidential campaign. A month after López fled Cuba, however, Mrs. Storm wrote Buchanan of the impact the failed revolution had in Cuba. The republicans were disheartened, and as she explained, "Our enemies circulate rumors that the U.S. turned informer. It is time some friendship and protection reaches them." She implored, "I appeal to you to do something." She suggested that Buchanan "show the broad seal of state to those blood thirsty wretches. . . for heaven's mercy, let your habitual excess prudence keep you from an error." She requested naturalization papers for J. M. Iznaga, who was imprisoned for treason because La Verdad and other United States newspapers were found in his possession. His subsequent naturalization papers showed that he applied

for citizenship when he was a student in the United States. She ceased correspondence with Buchanan until early 1853 when she wrote on behalf of the Cubans and asked which officials in the Franklin Pierce administration could be trusted on Cuba.<sup>28</sup>

Without Mrs. Storm's political analysis, the Sun had lost readers and prestige. The Polk administration and O'Sullivan distanced themselves from Beach, who was still embroiled in the Plainfield Bank scandal. After the bank's closure by New Jersey bank examiners in February 1847, the scandal still made news during the political campaign in June 1848. The bank failure cast doubts on all New Jersey bank notes, and authorities made Beach an example. A New Jersey legislative report suggested the bank was a cover for questionable operations. James Gordon Bennett, the Free Soil editor of the New York Herald, kept the scandal in the news and challenged Beach's claim that the Sun had a 55,000 daily circulation<sup>29</sup>

Bennett also questioned the credibility of a Sun article titled "Insult to the American flag." The article, a reprint from La Verdad, claimed Spanish officials opened United States diplomatic pouches. He added that when he inquired at the Sun office, Beach claimed only to be the business manager and said that Mrs. Storm was responsible for the article. Bennett explained that Mrs. Storm was a literary lady who lived in Park Place and had traveled through Mexico and Cuba with Beach. Bennett then lectured Storm for advocating a revolution that could unleash another Santo Domingo off the coast of the United States. The 1804 slave revolt spread from neighboring Haiti and resulted in an estimated 780,000 whites being killed or driven from the Spanish colony.

Consequently, Santo Domingo became a symbol for those who advocated perpetual slavery.<sup>30</sup>

The Herald article revealed that Beach, like O'Sullivan, took credit for Storm's work when it brought accolades, but blamed her when things went wrong--a pattern repeated by two of the Beach children. Mrs. Storm later wrote her publisher of a "capricious" Drusilla, and other family members who threatened to "drag her from the office," while Alfred accused her of abandoning his father and using the Sun "only for personal objects" when she established La Verdad. Also, Alfred was irritated because his partner, Orson D. Munn, at the Scientific American, was one of those smeared by the Plainfield Bank scandal. Mrs. Storm remained friendly with Moses Sperry Beach, editor of the Sun. In December 1848, Moses Y. Beach retired from the newspaper business because of his "shattered health."<sup>31</sup>

During these developments, Mrs. Storm kept George Bancroft, Minister to the Court of St. James, informed of political happenings. She attended the state and national political conventions in 1848 and informed Bancroft that "Neither nominee was suitable," but General Taylor "stands for firmness, honesty, and progress," and on "that last instinctive idea . . . rests his chance of winning the votes of the masses." Acquisition and progress was "the ruling passion of the masses," she explained, and had become "the platform of the Progressives." She described the Democratic presidential nominee, Lewis Cass, as timid and unreliable. She saw Van Buren's Free Soil Party as a "new conservatism" because it opposed slavery and the spread of free blacks. She predicted

that it would sweep the country for the next eight to twelve years. "Whoever is elected," she entreated, "take care of Cuba and come home to be president."<sup>32</sup>

Polk removed O'Sullivan, a Barnburner, from the Democratic Party because he would not support the Democratic presidential and vice presidential candidates. Mrs. Storm possibly wrote the lead article, "Principles, Not Men," in the July issue of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review as it reflected her style and attitude. "The destiny of the country at this moment hang trembling in a fearful balance," she wrote. She claimed that the Democratic schism would plunge the country in the "fiery furnace of a desolating feud." She blamed "professional politicians" with "a lust for power" who created parties with "geographical distributions whose object was the weakening of the bonds of the nation."<sup>33</sup>

After Zachary Taylor was elected president, the New York Cuban Council organized an invasion of Cuba. General Worth was on leave from the army in Rhode Island assisting the new head of the New York Cuban Council, Ambrosio José Gonzales, with invasion plans. In January 1849, Mrs. Storm introduced Gonzales to New York Democrat Senator David S. Dickinson, who in turn, introduced Gonzales to President Polk. Before Taylor's inauguration, Polk transferred Worth to Texas where he contracted cholera and died. After Worth's death, Gonzales appointed Narciso López head of the invasion force. In Havana, Spanish authorities arrested Law's employees, Lyttle, a free black, and Bush, the steward on the Childe Harold, who had smuggled the Sun into Cuba with dry beans. With difficulty, Consul Campbell secured their release.<sup>34</sup>



In February 1849, at the onset of the California Gold Rush, Mrs. Storm wrote Beach to develop a “policy of telling your readers the truth.” The young editor had advised immigrants to take the Missouri route to California instead of a steamer-land route that passed through Havana. “In fourteen years of enquiry and nine trips to and from and through Texas I know what I am talking about,” she lectured. “During my contribution for the paper I have never been found mistaken in a position operating on facts.” She confessed she had investments along the Texas route. The route from Corpus Christi, she explained, was an all-weather route 500 miles shorter and 50 percent cheaper than that through Missouri. If he continued to mislead the public, she threatened to contradict him through other newspapers. In January, Mrs. Storm had received a settlement of \$5,000 on the Texas land claim that she had deeded to Morgan for Swartwout in 1837, and had money to invest.<sup>35</sup>

By March 1849, Mrs. Storm had purchased an interest in the New York Morning Star. During the presidential campaign she had formed new alliances with expansionist Whigs including J. Watson Webb, owner of the New York Courier and Enquirer, and newly elected New York Senator William H. Seward. Seward favored government aid to develop a steam merchant marine, and Webb’s brother owned one of the largest shipyards in New York. Webb was present in May 1848 when representatives of the Tribune, Herald, Journal of Commerce, and Express met at the Sun office and organized the New York Associated Press to share a common telegraphic wire service and a press boat. Mrs. Storm was the first Washington correspondent for the group. Webb contacted Seward and called twice at the Sun office trying to reach Mrs. Storm, thinking she was

still editor. Webb said that she lived with the family of Port Master General W. J. Brown near the capitol when she was in Washington. Webb encouraged Seward to contact her, "She is a managing dame and a past friend--just the woman to cultivate with a bow." Seward was backed by George Law, president of the United States Mail Steamship Line. Within a week, Mrs. Storm and Seward were in communication, and Seward, although he had met her many times at Thurlow Weed's family gatherings in Albany, did not realize J. M. Storm was a lady, or the famous "Montgomery." Thus, she had kept her private and public lives separate. Through Seward, she tried to have Mirabeau B. Lamar appointed to a diplomatic post in Latin America on behalf of Taylor's Texas supporters loosely organized as the Union Party.<sup>36</sup>

The next month, while on an assignment for the New York businessmen calling themselves "Friends of Cuba and the Union," Mrs. Storm traveled to Texas with William Cazneau's sister, Mary Eliza Cazneau Holden. The women traveled as far as Eagle Pass, a tent city on the Rio Grande that William Cazneau and John Twohig, a San Antonio merchant, had established within sight of Fort Duncan. Beyond a short distance, the California Camp was a rest stop for westward migrants. Cazneau provided supplies to emigrants and shipped goods through Mexico to the Pacific port of Matzatlan. Mary Eliza traveled west to join her brother, Thomas Cazneau, a Pacific marine insurance claims adjuster, and her father, Captain W. L. Cazneau Sr., in San Francisco.<sup>37</sup>

Storm's assignment on behalf of the Young Democrats of Tammany Hall and the Friends of Cuba and the Union resulted in more articles, pamphlets, and books. In December 1849, the United States Magazine and Democratic Review would publish "King

of Rivers” without her signature. This publication was based on an adventure that began in June 1849 when she steamed from Corpus Christi to New Orleans and traveled up the navigable length of the Mississippi River by steamboat, a trip she described as lasting three weeks. Her writing was optimistic, joyful, and romantic as if she were on holiday. “We left the bright and lovely banks of Corpus Christi where the flowers never cease to bloom” and “the fresh breeze never forgets to play in the fairy groves that dot the green savannah.” In sharp contrast was the “dreary expanse of black mud of lower Louisiana.” There, the “stupid, vicious, refractory slave drainage of all states,” she wrote, have created “the harshest discipline and least kindly bonds.” She looked not upon the “justice or injustice of slavery,” she told readers, but dealt “simply with the facts.”<sup>38</sup>

Near the northern terminus of navigation, St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota, a popular spot for honeymooners, a Dakota Indian princess sang about the river running red with red men’s tears and the black man’s toil in the black soil of Louisiana. Mrs. Storm saw the river as a great teacher linking the nation’s four economic sectional interests of agriculture, mines, manufacturing, and commerce. She listed state by state the oppression that existed against Africans, Indians, sailors, and factory women. These evils were seen only by critics in other sections—a condition she termed, “geographical morality.”<sup>39</sup>

The theme of the pamphlet and article in the December Democratic Review was that slavery was ending in the United States and flowing southward just as the Mississippi River flowed southward. As the north sold their slaves south, slavery would be replaced in the transition states by European immigrants. In the last three quarters 300,000 immigrants had arrived in the United States, she wrote, and in New Orleans, emigrants

had replaced slave drivers, maids, and porters at the St. Charles Hotel. She did not advocate relocation of all blacks. The African family in New Orleans were developing their moral and intellectual powers, and as she explained, “The race among us will go rapidly forward.”<sup>40</sup>

Once, every state was a slave state, Mrs. Storm reminded readers, and now five states “trembled in the balance of transition.” Were it not for a wall of prejudice on each side of them, she asserted, slavery would have departed. “Where are 150,000 souls to go?” she asked. “Why arrest the mighty wheel of progress, and endanger the noble machinery of the confederation?” she reasoned. The total percent of slave population had fallen from one-fifth of the population in 1800 to one-seventh by 1850, she added. Any school boy twelve years of age could see that by 1870, slavery would only be found in South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf states.<sup>41</sup>

As historian Philip Foner wrote of Mrs. Storm’s employers: “No group was more active in the struggle to prevent the rupture of the union” and “earnestly believed that saving their country was possible.” She called the coalition of New York Democrats and Whigs the “Progressives.” They supported Zachary Taylor in 1848, and in 1850 organized a state Union ticket. The Union Safety Committee had 100 merchant and shipping members such as William B. Astor, E. K. Collins, George Law, Paul Spoffard, and Marshall O. Roberts. As Foner explained, their aim was to strengthen Union forces in New York, and from there, consolidate Union sentiment throughout the country. They were not pro-slavery, but as Foner explained, realistic businesspeople who realized that

eradication of slavery would take years and immediate abolition would wreck the economy.<sup>42</sup>

Cora Montgomery advised that Cuba had three choices: independence, becoming a protectorate under England as part of the proposed Republic of Antilla, or annexation to the United States. Just as the South provided an outlet for northern slavery, and Britain established Sierra Leone to rid the London slums of blacks, she proposed that Cuba would be a depository for slaves from the United States. Furthermore, annexation would improve the conditions of Cuban slaves. She proposed, "Were Cuba under the United States, the African slave trade and the horrors of the Spanish system of slavery would be replaced by the more humane family system of the Southern states." Annexation would stop the bringing of 8,000 Africans in each year. She did not "seek to prove slavery was good or the race incapable of better things," but "hasty emancipation has its evils." Albert Brown and John A. Wilcox of Mississippi supported her arguments, while pro-slavery North Carolina Representative Abraham Venable opposed Cuban annexation because it would drain slavery away where slaves were in short supply.<sup>43</sup>

Cuba was about more than slavery or removing free blacks from the United States. "If Cuba is ours," she wrote, "we would soon cut the narrow band that parts the ocean at Panama or Nicaragua, and trade of the world would flow into our sea." The shortest route from New York to the Pacific, she advised, was through Corpus Christi. "In 1845, England enfolded us on every side, like a coil of a serpent," she reminded readers. "We broke that circle and tore from her grasp Texas, California, and Oregon, with Cuba, the last bond is broken," she asserted.<sup>44</sup>

While Mrs. Storm prepared the press campaign in 1849, the New York council finalized plans to invade Cuba and create an island republic. In September, the 600 Cuban exiles in New York and New Orleans were united under Gonzales with O'Sullivan as their business agent. They had money, ships, and trained Mexican War veterans with arms, ammunition, field pieces, and elaborate plans to coordinate departures from Boston to New Orleans. The leaders met with John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, and Stephen A. Douglas in Washington. While Davis and Douglas supported the Cubans, John C. Calhoun did not think the Cubans were ready for republican government. On August 11, 1849, President Taylor issued a proclamation that persons breaking the neutrality laws were subject to arrest, a \$25,000 fine, and three years in prison.<sup>45</sup>

On September 7, 1849, the United States Navy turned back the revolutionaries and their supporters as they left ports in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. Federal authorities impounded their ships for cost of repairs and other excuses, and arrested leaders for breaking the neutrality laws of the nation. Those indicted included A. J. Gonzales, Narciso López, O'Sullivan, Mississippi Governor John A. Quitman and Judge John Henderson, Robideau Wheat, William H. Bell, Louis J. de Sigeur, editor of the New Orleans Delta, John T. Pickett, and others. Friendly juries convicted none of the New Orleans participants, but those in New York had political enemies. Abolitionists considered the movement an attempt to extend slavery, Free-Soilers saw it as a means to increase the political power of slaveholders in Congress, while Conscience Whigs wanted nothing to interfere with plans to develop jointly an isthmian

canal with Britain then being discussed by Secretary of State John M. Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer.<sup>46</sup>

As the voice of the movement, Mrs. Storm was a target of investigations and threatened with arrest unless she implicated others. Mrs. Storm later wrote her publisher, Charles Wood, that the attack came from Wall Street and targeted him, her, the Beach family, and even her brother Philip. Soon after the arrests, Mrs. Storm wrote Seward seeking a favor for her nephew by marriage, Samuel Francis Storm. He had been dismissed from the Navy Department as had Charles Wood from the Customs House. She did “not feel inclined to waste ink and paper on an administration,” she warned, that “could cut down an unoffending clerk, neglect the border, throw away Cuba, and refuse to make good their five election pledges.” She assured Seward, “The evil will cure itself, for the people are intelligent and the press is free.” By December, Seward had found employment for her nephew, and she signed her letter of appreciation as J. M. Cazneau.<sup>47</sup>

Sometime between September and late December 1849, Jane Storm and William Leslie Cazneau married. No records have been found as to when or where, but it was his first marriage and her second. Both were forty-two years old. Mrs. Storm wrote Charles Wood that she left New York “in a fit” when she tried “to ferret out the plan and names” of Wall Street enemies. Political enemies had destroyed the Cuban crusade for annexation, and with it plans for gradual emancipation. She faced possible criminal charges, fines, and imprisonment. Cazneau, who had pushed the letter and spirit of the law to its limits for most of the years she had known him with his trading into Mexico, seemed to be involved in legal activities in 1849. He had a legitimate trade business into

Mexico and was in the process of acquiring more than 50,000 acres of ranch land bordering the Rio Grande. Surrounded by enemies, and without work, she found that Cazneau and Eagle Pass offered her an opportunity to renew her crusade for a Mexican republic on the Rio Grande.<sup>48</sup>

Before she left for Eagle Pass, however, the new Mrs. Cazneau found herself distracted by her new husband's latest scheme. She wrote at least two books about the adventure, but both were attributed to Joseph Warren Fabens (1821-1875), Cazneau's partner. The Camel Hunt ; a Narrative of Personal Adventure (1851) and A Story of Life on the Isthmus (1853) cover the period from September to December 1849 at the height of the California Gold Rush. In The Camel Hunt, the heroine, named Jane Eddington, used her inheritance to purchase the Double Eagle, a clipper-brig seized for non-payment of repairs by the sheriff at Boston--probably in connection with the failed López expedition. The thinly disguised autobiographical travelogue had characters called Jane and Tom Eddington, instead of Cazneau, William Douglas Wallach and his wife spelled Wallack, and Fabens was called Joseph Warren. They sailed to Morocco where they traveled into the desert on camels and purchased a herd of the beasts they delivered to Panama for transport to California for use in the southwestern desert. As she described herself and her husband, she catalogued their business failures and told of his father's prediction that he "would be lucky to steer clear of the State prison," while hers was sure that she would end up in the poor house. She described Cazneau as careless, nervous, angry, and always "so full of anecdotes, yet never inquired into the correctness of them." He saw his wife as an angel, idealized her, and placed her on a pedestal.<sup>49</sup>



The Camel Hunt gave a sense of life at sea. The new Mrs. Cazneau described a storm they encountered. She felt a sense of awe surrounded by sea billows “capable of taking us down at a swallow, and closing over our grave without adding another sigh to the mournful rushing of the winds.” Cazneau, on the other had, tied himself to the mast to savor the excitement. During the night she had a chilling premonition: “Who has never been suddenly possessed with the knowledge, in the midst of gaiety and unbridled enjoyment, that a certain point could not be passed?” No doubt, she had learned more than she wanted to know about Cazneau’s business dealings and the camel hunt may have disguised a slave-running operation. The sequel to The Camel Hunt was A Story of Life on the Isthmus in which she described the sights and sounds and smells of Panama, and as she sat on the veranda of the Empire City Hotel in Chagres, and observed through her lorgnette the mass of humanity that passed going to and from the California gold fields.<sup>50</sup>

In late December 1849, Moses Y. Beach contacted the new Mrs. Cazneau about editing the New York Morning News that he and John L. O’Sullivan again owned. She thanked him, but queried, “What range do you allow your contributing corps? . . . It is impossible for me to write contrary to my convictions.” Also, she reminded him that she was not “over inclined to be dainty with the weak or corrupt in high places,” for “all my sympathies are with the people.”<sup>51</sup>

Beach replied immediately: Mrs. Cazneau had left for Washington where his letter caught up with her. She wrote that her husband was pressing a claim for the loss of trade goods in Mexico--a suggestion that all was not well with his Mexican business. On January 8, 1850, she wrote that her plans were to leave for New Orleans and the Mexican

border on the first of February, “Unfortunately my obligation to proceed to the South, prevents my availing myself of the editorship of your name.” Apparently Beach again wanted her to do the work and he get the credit. She replied that she regretted the demise of the Sun, and its loss to creditors. With sadness, she added, “my heart has been set on a close relation with the editorship of a paper for the people.” Tersely she added, “for the next three or four years, I shall not have my turn.” She proposed writing from Washington, and then, “as many letters as possible.”<sup>52</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau offered Beach advice for hiring an editor and alerted him as to what she considered “the greatest political problem at hand--the great sectional struggle.” As the issues that would be termed the compromises of 1850 were then being debated and some in the South were calling for a convention of slaveholding states, she saw the need for a “constitutional union praising journal,” one that “can discern the right through the mist and smoke of sectional prejudice and demagogue sophistry, my art itself in an hour.” She suggested that he contact Mr. Nichols of the Dispatch, then added, there was “danger from his enthusiasm.” She counseled, “We must not strengthen the popular prejudice.” She reminded Beach, “When Mr. Cadie had the editorial and Mr. Connelly the city, and I was the leading contributor, it [Sun] was in the summer noon of its prosperity.” She could not resist a barb, “It was also the period of its hardest independence and was never dismayed at being alone and foremost in its news making.” She warned, “I have no strong partisan feelings, I shall continue to do as I see or think.”<sup>53</sup>

In February, Freeman Hunt published Cora Montgomery’s “Union of the Seas” in The Merchant’s Magazine. She analyzed sea and land routes to the Pacific and promoted

the Topographical Corps surveys of the west. Communication, she wrote, was as vital to the states as circulation of blood to the heart. She still promoted the Corpus Christi route as the shortest route to the Pacific, but wrote, "Let no line be omitted, by land, sea, or telegraph." In conclusion, she urged, "Let no peevish sectional discontent provoke a wayward child to raise a hand against our mother the union."<sup>54</sup>

Politically, Mrs. Cazneau can be categorized with George Bancroft, Robert Walker, Stephen A. Douglas, Sam Houston, and William Seward. The expansionists believed it their duty to assist others in establishing political freedom. They thought slavery should not be disturbed within states, but saw it "a dangerous distraction that could be healed by focusing on foreign policy." They had a sense of mission and purpose, and that "Great mission," said Douglas, was the "great mission of progress." While she labeled the coalition group "Progressives," in 1927 historian Merle Curti called them the "Young Americans." Curti identified Edwin de Leon, a South Carolina editor, as naming the movement and Douglas as its soul. Seward gave it the commercial thrust, Law was its financier, and O'Sullivan and the U.S. Magazine & Democratic Review represented the progressive wing. Had Curti known of her contributions, he would have said that Cora Montgomery was the voice of the Young America. Historians Curti, Phillip Foner, and Basil Rauch concur that 1850 was a pivotal year. Up to then, Young America had been unionist, manifest destiny had been a national movement, and gradual emancipation and emigration of free blacks was seen as a solution to slavery that would allow the commercial expansion of the United States into the tropics. That year, because of political

pressure and prosecutions, the base of Cuban operations shifted from New York to New Orleans, and with that shift the Cuban independence movement altered its focus.<sup>55</sup>

The Cubans first sought refuge in Washington at the time Mrs. Storm was there, then migrated on to New Orleans in February as she left for Eagle Pass. With the shift to New Orleans, the movement mutated from one of gradual emancipation to one of slavery preservation, and from republican annexation to liberal independence. The national manifest destiny that Jane Cazneau envisioned as the peaceful spread of republican ideas through trade and commerce, and which would incorporate a confederation of many peoples, creeds, and colors, became the single-minded extension of slave territory with the perpetuation of slavery. James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow, editor of DeBow's Commercial Review, became the reactionary voice of the Cuban independence movement. As if using back issues of the Democratic Review as a guide, DeBow twisted her words into Southern nationalism. In August 1850, he wrote, "We have a manifest destiny to perform over Mexico, South America, West Indies, and Canada." While she had written of gradual conquest through commerce, he exhorted, "The Eagle of the republic shall pass over . . . and . . . by war conquer," and "by commerce and trade civilize." Year by year, DeBow borrowed her phrases until manifest destiny became synonymous with slavery. Not understanding the subtle politics that drove the Cubans to New Orleans or Jane Cazneau to Eagle Pass, historians have assumed that she was an apologist for slavery. As Hiram Ketchum of the New York Union Safety Committee said of their efforts to unify the New York Democrats, the nation, and end slavery by gradual emancipation and relocation, it was "a beautiful dream and for awhile it almost seemed to be fulfilled."<sup>56</sup>

In February 1850, when the Cubans shifted their base to New Orleans, Jane Cazneau performed her mental gymnastics, packed her books and belongings, picked up her bird cage with a pair of white doves, and headed for the Mexican border. She would not forget her Cuban friends, nor their quest for freedom.<sup>57</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. Cora Montgomery [Jane Cazneau], The Queen of Islands (New York: Charles Woods, 1850), 3. The pamphlet began as a declaration of abuses: "Borne down by foreign soldiers, for whose support she is taxed, until almost the necessities of life are doubled in price; deprived of freedom of speech, of press, and of conscience; forbid to discuss or even petition for relief, and overwhelmed by importations of slaves from Africa, whose presence she does not desire, but who are held upon her disarmed citizens in perpetual threat, Cuba has reached that point of suffering in which it becomes suicide and crime to remain passive."

2. Montgomery, "Correspondence," New York Sun, 24 December 1845; \_\_\_\_\_, "Tropical Sketches," Nos. 1-15, New York Sun, 11 December 1846 to 25 March 1847.

3. J. M. Storm to M. S. Beach, 20 February 1849, 8 January 1850, Jane McManus Storm Cazneau Papers, New York Historical Society Library, New York, NY. Copies, originals, property of Brewster Y. Beach, Greenwich, CN. Hereinafter cited as Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.; Cora Montgomery, La Verdad, 9 January to 17 June 1848; Anon. [Jane Cazneau], "The King of Rivers," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 25 (December 1849): 506-515; Cora Montgomery, The King of Rivers (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, Queen of Islands; \_\_\_\_\_, The Queen of Islands and The King of Rivers and (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); J. M. Storm to James K. Polk, 26 August 1847, 4 January 1849, The Papers of James K. Polk, Presidential Papers, Library of Congress, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as Polk Papers, NA; J. M. Storm to George Bancroft, n.d. January, 20 June, 20 October 1848, George Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. Hereinafter cited as Bancroft Papers, MHS. ; J. M. Storm to James Buchanan, 24 August, n.d. November, 12 December 1847, 18 February, 24 July 1848, 18 January 1853, 14 November 1857, 5 June 1858, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. Hereinafter cited as Buchanan Papers, HSP.

4. Montgomery, Queen and King, 6-8; Basil Rauch, American Interest in Cuba: 1848-1855 (New York: Columbia University Press., 1948), 11, 15-17, 183-185.

5. Robert W. Van Alstyne, The Rising American Empire (New York: Oxford University Press., 1960), 88, 148; Rauch, Cuba, 17; Charles E. Chapman, A History of the Cuban Republic (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 56; Gerald E. Poyo, "Evolution of Cuban Separatist Thought in the Emigré Communities of the United States, 1848-1895," Hispanic American Review 66 (August 1986): 485-9.

6."In a naive point of view, The [London] Times, 9 September 185; Willis Fletcher Johnson, The History of Cuba, 5 vols. (New York: B. F. Buck, 1920), 3: 3; Rauch, Cuba, 22; Robert Granville Caldwell, The Lopez Expedition to Cuba 1848-1851 (Princeton: Princeton University Press., 1915), 117; Carol L. Lombardi and John V. Lombardi, Latine American History: A Teaching Atlas (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983), 75.

7.Caldwell, Lopez, 37n, 117; Van Alstyne, American Empire, 149, 154; Rauch, Cuba, 28, 31-6; Johnson, Cuba, 3: 10; William Spence Robertson, Hispanic-American Relations with the United States (New York: Oxford University Press., 1923), Appendix, Tables I-VI, Cuba, Imports-Exports, 1830-1860.

8.Van Alstyne, American Empire, 100, 132, 146; Rauch, Cuba, 20-23, 42.

9.Montgomery, "Tropical Sketches Nos. 1-15," New York Sun, 11, 25 December 1846, 2, 12, 13, 14, 15, 30, January 1847, 13, 27 February 1847, 13, 25 March 1847. See also The Sun Weekly, 9, 16, 23 January, 6, 13, 27 February, 13, 26 March 1847; Anna Nelson Kasten, "Jane Storms Cazneau: Disciple of Manifest Destiny," Prologue: A Publication of the National Archives, 17 (Spring 1986): 25-27, 32, 35; Robert E. May, "Lobbyists For Commercial Empire: Jane Cazneau, William Cazneau, and U.S. Caribbean Policy, 1846-1878," Pacific Historical Review, 48 (1979): 386; Rauch, Cuba, 192.

10.Montgomery, "Tropical Sketches," New York Sun, 12, 13, 15, 16 January 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 54.

11.Montgomery, "Outrage on American Flag in Cuba," New York Tribune, 14 January 1847; Montgomery, "Tropical Sketches," New York Sun, 12 January 1847; Joel Myerson, ed., Dictionary of Literary Biography, 183 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1979), 73: 112. s.v. "Margaret Fuller."

12.Montgomery, "Tropical Sketches," New York Sun, 12, 14, 15 January, 13 February 1847.

13.Nelson, "Jane Cazneau," 35; M. Y. B., "Correspondence, New Orleans," New York Sun, 8 May 1847; Montgomery, "Cuba Under the United States Flag," New York Sun, 23 July 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 38, 51-58. Unaware of Storm's role, Rauch credited Beach with the press campaign that was the basis of Cuban policy for the Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan administrations. He called O'Sullivan a "brilliant journalist," and identified "Montgomery," as Beach's daughter.; J. M. Storm to James Buchanan, 8 July 1847, Buchanan Papers, HSP.

14.J. M. Storm to James Buchanan, 8 July 1847, Buchanan Papers, HSP; Montgomery, "Letters From Cuba," New York Sun, 2, 19, 30 July, 9, 20, 25 August 1847; \_\_\_\_\_, "Cuba Under the Flag of the United States," New York Sun, 23 July 1847.

15. Montgomery, "Letters From Cuba," New York Sun, 30 July, 9, 25 August 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 25, 35-37, 42-44; Buenaventura Aroujo to Valentine Gomez-Farias, 9 January 1847, Valentine Gomez-Farias Papers, Garcia Collection, Benson Library Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

16. Montgomery, "Havana," 30 July, 9, 25, 31 August, 18 October 25 November 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 25, 35-37, 42-44.

17. Montgomery, "Havana," New York Sun, 25 August 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 21, 31.

18. Montgomery, "Havana," New York Sun, 31 August 1847; Rauch, Cuba, 35-43.

19. Frederick Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission In American History: A Reinterpretation (New York: Vintage, 1963), 116-125, 132-4, 167, 200; J. M. Storm to Buchanan, 24 August 1847; Buchanan Papers, HSP; Van Alstyne, American Empire, 149, 154-155; J. M. Storm to James K. Polk, 26 August 1847, Polk Papers, NA; Johnson, Cuba, 3: 10; Rauch, Cuba, 36, 53, 58-64; Alexander Gallardo, Britain and the First Carlist War, 1833-1839 (Norwood, PA: Norwood, 1978), 3, 30, 115, 230. The Quadruple Alliance of Britain, France, Portugal, and the pro-British Isabella II fought against Prince Carlos backed by the Northern Powers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Britain's trade with the former Spanish colonies was at stake; M. Y. Beach, "Correspondence," New York Sun, 26 June 1847.

20. Rauch, Cuba, 62, 64-65.

21. Cora Montgomery, ed., La Verdad [The Truth], 9 January, 13, 26 February, 12, 26, March, 9, 27 April; 28 May 1848, 17 June 1848; Rauch, Cuba, 55, 61-5, 109.

22. Montgomery, "Correspondence," La Verdad, 9 January 1848; \_\_\_ "Monarchy in Mexico," La Verdad, 13 February 1848; \_\_\_ "Disinherited," La Verdad, 26 February 1848; \_\_\_ "Designs," La Verdad, 9 April 1848; \_\_\_ "Stowaway Copies," La Verdad, 17 June 1848, 26 February 1848; \_\_\_ "Correspondence," New York Sun, 10 January 1848; William H. Marcy to Prosper M. Wetmore, 9 February 1848, William H. Marcy Papers, National Archives, Washington D. C.; Rauch, Cuba, 26; Storm to Bancroft, n.d. February, 20 June 1848, Bancroft Papers, MHS.

23. Storm to Buchanan, 18 February 1848, Buchanan Papers, HSP; Robert Macoy, comp., A Dictionary of Freemasonry (New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1895; reprint, New York: Bell, 1989), 386, 690.

24. Rauch, Cuba, 54-65, 71-83; Edward S. Wallace, General William Jennings Worth Monterrey's Forgotten Hero (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1953), 169, 185.



25. Johnson, Cuba, 31-37; Rauch, Cuba, 79-80.
26. Rauch, Cuba, 62, 67, 76-84, 90.
27. Ibid., 64, 166, 109.
28. Storm to Buchanan, 24 July 1848, 18 January 1853, Buchanan Papers, HSP.
29. "Newspaper Enterprizes and Hoaxes," New York Herald, 14 June 1848; C. H. Levermore, "The Rise of Metropolitan Journalism," American Historical Review 6 (April 1901): 459; Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of the Plainfield Bank (Trenton: Sherman and Harron, 1847), 16.
30. "The Island of Cuba its Destiny," New York Herald, 22 June 1848.
31. Ibid.; J. M. Cazneau to Moses Y. Beach, 27 December 1849, 8 January 1850, J. M. Cazneau to Mr. Wood, 1 November 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Wallingford, CN, Historical Society Scrapbook Collection, Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, Springfield, MA, 17: 9, 14: 15; Beach moved to Wallingford, built an elegant mansion, and lived until 1868.
32. J. M. Storm to George Bancroft, 20 June, 20 October, 1848, Bancroft Papers, MHS; Eugene Irving McCormac, James K. Polk: A Political Biography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), 633, 643.
33. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., Diary of James K. Polk, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910) 3: 480; [Jane Cazneau], "Principles, Not Men," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 23 (July 1848): 3-12.
34. Rauch, Cuba, 80, 92-94, 104, 108-9; Wallace, Worth, 185; J. M. Storm to D. S. Dickinson, 4 January 1849, Polk Papers, NA.
35. J. M. Storm to M. S. Beach, 20 February 1849, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; J. M. McManus to James Morgan, 20 September 1837, Deed Records, Matagorda County Courthouse, Bay City, TX, Book B, p. 245; James Morgan to Mary [Swartwout] Livingston, 9 January 1849, Deed Records, Matagorda County, Book G, p. 367; R. O. W. McManus to Rhodes Fisher, n.d., June 1885, box 3, fols. 58, 62, John Herndon James, Papers, 1812-1938, The Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, TX. Hereinafter cited as James Papers, DRT Library-Alamo.

36. Rauch, Cuba, 216, 252; J. M. Storm to James Buchanan, 12 December 1847, 18 January 1853, Buchanan Papers, HSP; J. M. Storm to Col. J. W. Webb, 10 March 1849, enclosed with Col. J. W. Webb to William H. Seward, 12 March 1849, J. M. Storm to William H. Seward, 18 March 1849, The Papers of William Henry Seward, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rhus Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY. Hereinafter cited as Seward Papers, RRL; James L. Crouthamel, James Watson Webb: A Biography (Middleton, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), 91.

37. Montgomery, Queen and King, frontispiece; \_\_\_\_\_, Eagle Pass: or Life on the border (New York: Charles Woods, 1853; reprint, Austin: Pemberton Press, 1966), 48; Patrick L. Cazneau, Family Genealogist, San Diego, CA, to author, letter, 8 December 1995; Ron Tyler, ed., New Handbook of Texas (Austin: Texas Historical Association, 1996), s.v. "Eagle Pass," "William Leslie Cazneau," "John Twohig."

38. Cazneau, "King of Rivers," 506-515; Montgomery, King of Rivers, frontispiece, 3-7.

39. Montgomery, King of Rivers, 5; Robert W. Johannsen, Stephen A. Douglas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 209; William H. Goetzmann, Army Explorations in the American West, 1803-1863 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959; reprint, Austin: Texas State Historical Association., 1991), 352.

40. Montgomery, "King of Rivers," *passim*, 514-5; \_\_\_\_\_, King, 3-6, 10, 14, 19.

41. Montgomery, King, 3,7; \_\_\_\_\_, Queen, 6-8; J.D.B. Debow, ed., Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington D.C.: Beverley Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854): Table 71 "Slave Population of the United States"; Table 18 "White Population of the United States." The Seventh Census (1850) confirms that ten northern states had reported slaves in 1840, but had none in 1850. The transition states of Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia had a decrease in the slave population. Overall, the slave population increased by 22% while the white population of the free labor states grew by 39.42%.

42. Philip S. Foner, Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 25, 37, 42, 55-56, 66-69, 138; J. M. Storm to George Bancroft, June 20, 1848, Bancroft Papers, MHS.

43. \_\_\_\_\_, Queen and King, 7-25, 40; Rauch, Cuba, 110-19, 245-47.

44. Montgomery, Queen and King, 7-16, 22-25, 40.

45. Rauch, Cuba, 118, 245.

46. Ibid., 122-25; Caldwell, Lopez, 78.

47. J. M. Cazneau to Mr. Wood, 1 November 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.; J. M. Storm to William H. Seward, 27 September 1849, J. M. Cazneau to William H. Seward, 10 December 1849, Seward Papers, RRL.

48. Baldwin, et al vs. Max Goldfrank et al, Vicente Garza Deeds, Bexar County, TX, Maverick County, TX, 1848-1876, box 3, fol. 58, James Papers, DRT Library-Alamo.

49. Joseph W. Fabens [Jane Cazneau], The Camel Hunt (Boston: James Monroe & Co., 1851), 5-16, 28-48; \_\_\_\_\_, A Story of Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853), ; Wallace, Destiny and Glory, 267. Wallace wrote that she accompanied her husband to Morocco and Panama in late 1849. In several bibliographies, Fabens is shown as the author of books known to have been written by Cazneau. In The Tropics, 5th ed. (New York: Carleton, 1863), Life in Santo Domingo (New York: Carleton, 1863), Prince of Kashna (New York: Carleton, 1865), and The Uses of the Camel: Considered with a view to his Introduction into our Western States and Territories. A paper read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society March 2, 1865, (New York: Carleton, 1865; Washington: Frank Taylor, 1865); Facts about Santo Domingo, . . . (New York: George P. Putnam, 1862), Resources of Santo Domingo (New York: Major & Knapp, 1971); Lyle H. Wright, American Fiction 1851-1875 (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1957), listed Fabens as author of Mrs. Cazneau's books on the tropics.; National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 10 vols. (New York: James T. White, 1897), s.v. "Joseph Warren Fabens."; Edward S. Wallace, Destiny and Glory (New York: McCann, 1957), 267-268. Fabens was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and entered Harvard in 1838, but dropped-out. He claimed to have toured Europe to regain his health, but his college song, "The Last Cigar," hints as to why he left Andover Theological Seminary. In 1843, Fabens became United States Consul at Cayenne, French Guiana, where he tended his father's business interests. He was a Colonel in the Republic of Texas Army, and according to Edward S. Wallace, Fabens and Cazneau met through Henry Kinney.

50. Cazneau, The Camel Hunt, 28-48.

51. Jane M. Cazneau to M. Y. Beach, 27 December 1849, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

52. J. M. Cazneau to M. Y. Beach, 8 January 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Claim of William L. Cazneau, Sen. Moses Norris, sponsor, 15 February 1850, Special Senate Reports, No. 53, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Washington, D.C. Vol. 1, Advise to refund duty paid on goods.

53. Cazneau to Beach, 8 January 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.
54. Cora Montgomery, "The Union of the Seas," The Merchant's Magazine 22 (February 1850), 154.
55. Merle E. Curti, "Young America," American Historical Review 32 (July 1927): 34-55; Rauch, Cuba, 220; Foner, Business and Slavery, 55.
56. J. M. Cazneau to Mr. Wood, 1 November 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS, NY; Montgomery, Queen and King, 7, 15; \_\_\_\_\_, "Union of the Seas," 154; Ketchum quoted in Foner, Business and Slavery, 55; Rauch, Cuba, 109, 122, 149, 207; DeBow quoted in Rauch, Cuba, 187-190.
57. "A Gauntlet For the Men," Washington Daily States, 21 April 1857; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 22; J. M. Cazneau to James Buchanan, 8 January, 1853, Buchanan Papers, HSP.

## CHAPTER 7

### EAGLE PASS, 1850-1852

I have learned to comprehend the charm of a pastoral life, so hard to be understood, like the freedom of the sea, by those to whom it is not congenial. . . . This calm monotony would not suit the eagle soul who feels a higher but more troublous mission beating at his heart.

Cora Montgomery, Eagle Pass (1852)<sup>1</sup>

When Jane Cazneau returned to Texas in 1850, she was not the naive young pioneer of twenty years before, nor did she have, in her words, the “ugly eyes of that hideous demon failure looking into her soul.” As Cora Montgomery, Mrs. Cazneau was a well-known journalist dedicated to her Young American generation’s mission--the expansion of trade, commerce, and republican ideals. She had published in major newspapers and national publications on behalf of free blacks, women workers, Mexican and Cuban republicans. She had worked to maintain neutrality on the slavery issue in the New York press. Although Mrs. Cazneau once believed peonage was an improvement over chattel slavery, she changed her mind when she learned about the system. She published a series of ten articles in the New York Tribune to prevent its continuation in the territory acquired from Mexico. In Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border, she portrayed the hardships of peons in Mexico and told of their precarious existence on the border as she promoted the area’s potential for economic development.<sup>2</sup>

Much of what is known of Mrs. Cazneau’s Eagle Pass years comes from her letters to politicians, editors, and publishers, the Tribune, New Orleans Delta, and [Austin] Texas

State Gazette, and Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border published on September 29, 1852, by George P. Putnam as Volume No. XVIII of Putnam's Semi-Monthly Library for Travelers and Fireside--a paperback series. Putnam published works by Washington Irving, Herman Melville, Francis Parkman, Margaret Fuller, and Susan Warner, but was best known as the editor of Putnam's Monthly. Mrs. Cazneau dedicated Eagle Pass to her Aunt Britannia Sherman, "the dearest guide" of my youth," because she requested Mrs. Cazneau to write "what she saw and what she thought of peon slavery on our border." The false humility was a literary device often used by married ladies to excuse their writing.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars of the American Southwest consider Eagle Pass a borderland classic. A review in Debow's Commercial Review stated that the author had "much material on the peon slavery of Mexico." In Prominent Women of Texas (1896), the publication was recognized as a "contribution to Texas literature." When Eagle Pass was reprinted in 1966 with an introduction by Robert Crawford Cotner, C. L. Sonnichsen, Southwestern Borderlands historian, considered it "a rare and significant volume" and "a priceless glimpse of life on the Mexican border." Historian Sandra L. Myres, compared Jane Cazneau to Teresa Griffin Viele (1831-1906) who wrote of her experiences as an army wife at Ringgold Barracks in Following The Drum. Meyers saw both women as "strong-minded, independent, and unconventional."<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes compared to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852), also published in 1852, Mrs. Cazneau's book exposed another type of repressive labor. Stowe's book was created to rouse public indignation against slavery and promote colonization to Africa. Whereas the novelist created romantic composite characters to

achieve sympathy, Mrs. Cazneau wrote as a journalist about the reality of individuals who escaped from peon debt servitude. Peons, however, were Indians or Mestizos, a Spanish-Indian mixture abhorred by racists, and they failed to elicit sympathy. Mrs. Cazneau also advocated fair treatment of American Indians at a time when that was an unpopular position. Mrs. Cazneau mentioned women as boarding house operators, pioneers, factory workers, army wives, peons, and those married to abusive husbands. As she predicted, Eagle Pass did not rouse public indignation against those abuses.<sup>5</sup>

When Mrs. Cazneau left New York in February 1850, the north was still experiencing winter weather. Moving was a sad time for her as she packed her books, pictures, and specimens of natural history into trunks, baskets, valises, carpet-bags, and other types of packages. In Galveston, she, along with a dozen or so passengers, transferred from the ocean-going steamer Galveston to the coastal steamer Palmetto and continued on to Indianola. She was in awe that spring had come to Texas. She described Indianola as sitting on “a belt of white sand that separated the ocean of green prairies from the ocean of blue water.” To her, the “line of wooden buildings” resembled “a string of overgrown packing boxes set out on the beach to dry.”<sup>6</sup>

In Indianola, Mrs. Cazneau lodged with her old friend, Mrs. Angelina Peyton Eberly, whom she had known since her first trip to Texas in 1832. Eberly had operated boarding houses in San Felipe, Austin, and Galveston, and since 1848 at Indianola. She had private rooms for families at the American Hotel. Mrs. Cazneau had a private snuggerly vacated for the night by a southern gentleman, possibly the local editor, John Henry Brown, whose books and firearms filled the attic nook. The travelers dined on

fresh oysters, turtle soup, fish, venison, turkey, biscuits, and coffee. Mrs. Cazneau had never made reference to food, but Mrs. Eberly's was legendary and had once banned William B. Travis from her boarding house in San Felipe because he switched the better food of the women's table for the coarser food served to the men.<sup>7</sup>

While at Mrs. Eberley's, Mrs. Cazneau wrote that slavery in Texas was "accepted as a part of the constitution" and "black men were called boys whether they were nine or ninety years old." She used traveling companions as examples of "geographical morality." A Mr. Grey, of Pennsylvania had come south "with his head full of whips and chains," and as he came further south, he changed his views until by the time he reached New Orleans, he was "indifferent to the spread of slavery." Mr. Jobson was the son of an English factory owner whose notions of right and wrong would never change. "At all costs," she wrote, he desired "instant emancipation and perfect equality for the blacks in marriage relations, social influence and political rights." Jobson tried to convert everyone he met to his way of thinking, and Mrs. Cazneau cautioned him not to be rash, for Southerners feared "the tiger that sleeps by their hearths." Jobson decided the hot sun had addled Southerner's brains as he set out to find a mythical Texas town he had purchased.<sup>8</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau saw Abolitionists and Free-Soilers as hypocrites. "My test of a sincere anti-slavery man is very simple," she wrote, "will the disciple of equal rights give a place at his table to his hired domestics?" She had "found two such persons in her lifetime." She considered one a fanatic while the other was a Methodist she admired. While Henry Ward Beecher claimed to have converted her from a pro-Southern attitude before her death, in Eagle Pass, as in other publications, Mrs. Cazneau stated her position



clearly, "I do not say we should, and I know in this age we cannot, keep alive the slave trade, or unduly retard the liberation of the bondsman."<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau chartered a stagecoach to carry her baggage to San Antonio. As she traveled on what would become the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line, she noted that Port Lavaca resembled Indianola in its box-like appearance. She described the terrain extending from Victoria to Matagorda as resembling Belgium and made the flat marshy plain seem attractive. She described a natural road that wound like a serpent across a carpet of grass and flowers, but turned to mud when it rained and made it difficult for the horses. At thirty to thirty-five miles a day, the four-horse stage entered San Antonio five days later. March in Texas was like June in New York, she explained. William Cazneau met her, and with friends they visited the local sites with their "park-like tranquil beauty," and saw the springs from which the San Antonio River flowed.<sup>10</sup>

At the San José Mission, Mrs. Cazneau was dismayed that United States soldiers had used the religious statues for target practice during the Mexican War. She praised the Spanish missionaries who had tamed the wild Indian. She considered United States policy a disgrace:

Our Indian tribes will drink our fire-water and die, but they will not give their limbs to our service, nor bequeath to us their children for slaves--stubborn creatures that they are--so we have to be content with killing them off and taking their lands.<sup>11</sup>

She proposed that Indian children be trained in manual labor schools, "They must accept civilization or death--they have no other choice at our hands." The Locofocos had

advocated fair treatment of Indians, as did Lydia Maria Child and Lucretia Mott before they became obsessed with slavery.<sup>12</sup>

In the evenings the author retired to her room after dinner, leaving her husband to talk with friends. She wrote until twilight, as she said was her usual daily custom. One such sunset, a time she once described as “the hour of better angels,” she heard a familiar voice and saw that Victor Espeta, General Cazneau’s employee, had arrived to escort them to Eagle Pass.<sup>13</sup>

By St. Patrick’s Day, March 17, 1850, the Cazneaus had packed a mule-drawn wagon for the journey farther west. They traveled to Eagle Pass with James Campbell and his wife, also with a wagon of goods. San Antonio friends, perhaps the George Van Ness family, or Robert B. Campbell, former consul at Havana, then residing in San Antonio, rode with them as far as Rosita Creek where they had a picnic of fried chicken and biscuits she cooked that morning. The morning’s ride was a “holiday of delight.” Victor, a fullblood Indian, and Severo Valdez, a Mexican Creole hired in San Antonio, served as scouts and guards. The travelers passed near the region of Texas where Mrs. Cazneau commented that Germans had come from the fatherland to make free soil.<sup>14</sup>

Beyond the German settlements, she explained, the land belonged to the Indians. Thus, they did not travel by the most direct route to Eagle Pass, but south toward Laredo. At night, the travelers unloaded their wagons, stacked the boxes underneath and slept on the wagon floor. The men kept loaded guns under their heads. They passed the remains of burned carts where a Mrs. Horn and her children, colonists in the John Charles Beales colony, had been taken captive by Comanches at the start of the Texas Revolution.

“Years later, with a blaze of trumpets they will be rescued and their families will be ashamed of them,” she asserted, as if she spoke from personal knowledge. She thought it more merciful to leave women with their captors. Near Chacon Creek in present-day Webb County, the travelers buried two soldiers from Fort McIntosh who strayed too far from the fort and were killed by Indians.<sup>15</sup>

The travelers turned toward the Rio Grande and followed the old River Road past irrigated crops and orchards to Eagle Pass, which Mrs. Cazneau described as “the lone and remote border sentinel of Texas.” Victor rode ahead to arrange for her arrival as it had not been known for sure that Mrs. Cazneau would come. As the travelers rounded a bend, they saw Eagle Pass “on a vast tree sprinkled plain, between the hills and the gleaming river.” They were welcomed by a herd of sheep and cows heading for the milking pen, whereas the year before, “a single white tent recessed in the lap of a hill” had greeted her when she visited with Cazneau’s sister, Mary. Cazneau’s warehouse was beyond Fort Duncan perched on the edge of the highest of the three stair-step banks of the river. Eagle Pass was “full of promise,” she sighed. For dinner, Fabian Valdez roasted a kid goat they dipped in fresh mesquite honey. His wife, Francesca, served as maid. For two weeks, the Cazneaus lived in the tent, a dugout cut into one of the upper banks of the Rio Grande. Far from a crude dwelling, Victor had the earthen walls lined with light blue printed muslin for the general’s angel-wife. They had a full view of the river and the hills of Mexico as they sat on stools and used traveling boxes for tables. One to make the best of any situation, she called those days “a calm, contented, indolent period, which I shall always remember as a sweet, half-waking dream of fairy-land.” She described Eagle Pass

as a commercial depot with the reputation of being the driest and least beautiful spot in Texas, but, it was healthy, and the river was “as wide as the Hudson at Troy.” With snow melt from the Rocky Mountains and before New Mexico landowners drained the river for irrigation, the river ran high and wide for several months each year. Immediately, Cazneau had stonemasons, adobe makers, and thatchers begin building a house for his wife within sight of his warehouse located between the California Camp and Fort Duncan.<sup>16</sup>

Eagle Pass was 260 miles west of Indianola, more than 300 miles up the Rio Grande from the Gulf of Mexico, and 140 miles southwest of San Antonio. There was no stage or mail service. Across the Rio Grande lay the infant Mexican community of Piedras Negras supported a Mexican military post. Two miles below Eagle Pass was the original site of Camp Eagle Pass at the old river crossing. Fort Duncan was a United States infantry post with three skeleton companies assigned to protect the 500 miles of United States border between Eagle Pass and El Paso. California Camp, two miles beyond the fort, provided those bound for the gold fields a place to rest their stock, repair their equipment, and restock for the trek across the edge of the Chihuahua Desert to Coon’s Ranch [El Paso], midpoint along the lower route to California.<sup>17</sup>

In 1850, General William Leslie Cazneau, his brother, General Thomas N. Cazneau, and their father, Captain W. L. Cazneau, Sr., had warehouses in Texas and Sausalito, across the bay from San Francisco. The Cazneaus, a French Huguenot family, had lived in Boston since 1688. Cazneau’s grandfather, also named William Leslie, had a shop in Boston where he sold retail and wholesale goods in brass, copper, steel, and iron. He was a staunch American rebel and personal friend of Paul Revere. Jane’s father-in-

law, Captain Cazneau, once survived 191 days on a raft, and upon his rescue immediately returned to sea as a privateer in the West Indies against the British in the War of 1812. While Jane's husband operated warehouses and lived a life of adventure on the Texas frontier, his younger brother entered the New York business world of marine insurance, married, and had children. While he was captain of the New York Fusiliers in 1842, the "Cazneau Quick Step" became the company song. William Cazneau, then Commissary General of the Republic of Texas, became responsible for \$200,000 in goods lost in the failed Santa Fe Expedition. Charles DeMorse, editor of the Northern Standard, described William Leslie Cazneau as dashing, handsome, and diplomatic while others described him as a man of energy, capacity, and integrity. His political enemies were less gracious as Cazneau was a member of the Mirabeau B. Lamar camp in promoting the interests of West Texas, as opposed to the Houston faction promoting those of East Texas.<sup>18</sup>

After serving one year under Lamar in the Mexican War, William Leslie Cazneau transported United States goods into Mexico duty free. After the war, he continued operating under Article VII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that allowed free border trade for eight years. In 1849, Cazneau laid out a wagon route from Corpus Christi to Monterrey that connected with the Chihuahua Trail at Saltillo. From Saltillo, the trail converged with others extending southward into central Mexico, northward to Chihuahua City and Santa Fe, westward to Durango, and ended at the port city of Mazatlan on the Pacific. The Corpus Christi-Matzatlan route was the shortest distance by land from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean and provided trade with northern Mexico. The republicans preferred to trade with the Americans and resented paying duties to the

government of central Mexico. Mrs. Cazneau, Sam Houston, Stephen A. Douglas, and Zachary Taylor had wanted the area included in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.<sup>19</sup>

Cazneau and Dr. Levy Jones, a founder of the Galveston City Company, received city lots in Corpus Christi for organizing the eighty-wagon train expedition Mrs. Cazneau publicized in her publications. In October 1849, the Mexican government closed the border, and in November seized United States goods in Mexico, including those of Cazneau. After the United States withdrew from Mexico in June 1848, British officials supervised tariff collection with 25 percent being applied to the 1824 government debts owed London financiers. In addition, the Mexican government held the monopoly for cotton goods, and British merchants had exclusive rights to sell tobacco. According to historian J. Fred Rippy, smuggling became a respectable profession on the border. Traders moved their steamer landings up the Rio Grande from the customs port of Matamoros. Mexico claimed the right to ignore Article VII allowing free trade because the United States did not uphold Article XI and prevent Indian raids into Mexico. The political climate provided General Cazneau with business at Eagle Pass and Mrs. Cazneau with the ingredients, as she wrote her editor, "to cook up a revolution."<sup>20</sup>

Jane Cazneau's first days in Eagle Pass were spent exploring on Chino, her black Mexican pony. Chino threw her off at every opportunity until she had Victor switch to an American bit. Victor, whom she called, "our spoiled man of all work" and "a mint of useless accomplishments," was her constant guide and bodyguard. Although an Indian, Victor had attended a mission school in Guadalajara before being forced into peonage along with his parents. He came to Matamoros as the young servant of a military officer

from whom he fled across the Rio Bravo to Corpus Christi where he met William Cazneau for whom he had since worked. Victor was "slight, rather well-formed, easy and lithe in his movements, but with the serious, self-contained air that characterizes his race." His face was "seamed with the small pox," but showed "intelligence and courage." She compared Victor to the Roman orator Cicero when he contrasted Eagle Pass to his native Guadalajara with fruits and flowers, or to the magnificent scenery of Yucatan where they both had traveled. Mexico had everything, Mrs. Cazneau said, but good government. As she and Victor rode daily, Victor became "a fixture in the family." He taught her to shoot a rifle--a feat of which she was very proud. She described Victor as poetical and tender hearted as he went about "singing as merrily as a lark." Victor took her on an overnight trip to the painted rocks, a day's ride upriver, at the site of an ancient Indian civilization. With irrigation and windmills, she could see the Quemado Valley as an oasis. As she and Victor wandered with the shepherds and herds of sheep and goats, she wrote, "Wherever I am, I like to know the features, character, and capabilities of the region; what it has done, and what it can do."<sup>21</sup>

After two weeks in the calico lined dugout, the Cazneaus moved into their unfinished, and as she described it in Know-Nothing terms, "wide-awake looking house" without windows or doors. "I had never given much thought to the adornment of person or house beyond the essentials," she confessed. For the next two weeks she was busy with boxes and calico. "A tack hammer [was] never out of my hands," she bragged, as she converted boxes into furniture covered with cloth.<sup>22</sup>

With her house in order by May Mrs. Cazneau was bored. She tried gardening, but her vines, flowers, and vegetables died from lack of water. The Campbells made their home nearer the river and irrigated their garden and had vegetables to spare, but she preferred to buy her fruits and vegetables from the venders in Piedras Negras. Her choice, she explained, was to water the beans or write. While at Eagle Pass, she completed the book about their African adventure. Perhaps she worked as a ghost writer because Joseph W. Fabens was listed as author of The Camel Hunt (1851).<sup>23</sup>

One day while she and "The General," as she called her husband throughout the book, were sipping chocolate, they saw a procession of horsemen approaching from the direction of the hills where "only Wild Indians roamed." She described "well mounted male and dark female riders followed by all manners and sizes of animals mounted by all ages, sexes, and sizes of Negroes." Wild Cat, the Seminole chief, with Creek, Cherokee, and Kickapoo allies were moving from their reservations in the Indian Territory to where they could be useful. Also, they wished to move away from professional slave catchers who caught and sold their people as runaways in Arkansas and Louisiana. The entourage stopped and parlayed with General Cazneau and the commander of Fort Duncan. Later, Wild Cat came to call in state, Mrs. Cazneau said, dressed in Indian costume complete with scarlet turban and attended by his cousin, Crazy Bear, and other braves. John Horse, a fullblood Negro and chief of his people, was Wild Cat's interpreter. Mrs. Cazneau was amused that he received his nickname, Gopher John, because he resold the same gopher turtles numerous times to a United States Army officer in Florida. Wild Cat saluted the ladies and addressed the men through John Horse. For six months, Wild Cat had been



passing from tribe to tribe on his way to the border urging them to cease hostilities. Mrs. Cazneau suggested, "A seven year war would not teach our officers what the chief had learned in six months." She believed Wild Cat could rid the frontier of Wild Indians. Staffed with infantry, the fort was more a presence than a force, she complained.<sup>24</sup>

As summer began, Mrs. Cazneau's book promoting Eagle Pass was not progressing as planned. After all, she could only write as she believed, and she had difficulty believing in Eagle Pass. Cazneau's home, located between the fort and a miner's camp, was not a safe place for a woman alone in a house with no windows or doors. In a letter to the New York Tribune, she complained of seeing a slave boy whipped. One afternoon in search of shade, she rode Chino toward the river. "A lonely mesquite beckoned," and when she had ridden that far, she could see "deep green shade downriver." She rode to a mulberry grove where their employees camped at the old river crossing opposite the mouth of the Mexican Escondida River. "I pined for shade, and fruit trees," she confessed. "It is only under foliage that I can entirely possess myself and live--untrammelled by the tedious weight of society--with my thoughts, my books, and my birds," she swooned. Her turkey, ducks, geese, and spotted chickens had already found solace in the shade, so she had Victor build her a reed house in the mulberry grove like those of tropical Mexico. With difficulty, Victor found large canes downriver and built what she described as "an enormous bird cage." The structure was twelve feet wide, twenty feet long, with a thatch roof, and lined with calico curtains for privacy when needed. "With a table for writing, embroidery, and other feminine helps to idleness

disguised in form of work," she listened to the Mexican women talk of their escape from peonage across the Rio Bravo as they went about their daily chores.<sup>25</sup>

On June 18, 1850, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Senator William H. Seward requesting that mail service be established to Fort Duncan, because Eagle Pass, Fort Duncan, and Piedras Negras were 150 miles from a post office. She suggested that soldiers carry the mail by regular express from San Antonio. Local citizens had sent a petition to their Democratic senator, General Thomas J. Rusk. She wanted the true Whig, Thomas K. Wallace, who was their store clerk to be made postmaster. She was glad the "administration was for the admission of California without mixing it with that swindling proposition to pay Texas some millions for New Mexico." When she had mail, she said she would write some things to please him. The next year, Eagle Pass had postal service and a stage line with Wallace as postmaster, but Mrs. Cazneau would not support the Whigs for long.<sup>26</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau wrote for several newspapers and the United States Magazine and Democratic Review while she lived in Eagle Pass. Horace Greeley needed a new female correspondent and published Mrs. Cazneau's letters written as Cora Montgomery on peonage in the Tribune from July 15, 1850 to August 2, 1851. While in Europe, Margaret Fuller, Greeley's literary critic, had a flagrant affair with the Italian revolutionary ten years her junior, and when Fuller became pregnant, Greeley dropped her column.<sup>27</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau sent her letters on peonage and conditions on the border to Senator William H. Seward who reviewed them before sending them to the Tribune. Greeley, in introducing the first letter of the series, credited Cora Montgomery with playing an important role in Texas annexation. The correspondence came about because "The Senate

recently refused to decree the abolition of Peon Slavery in New-Mexico because no information was at hand.” The letters would educate readers on the reality of the debt-labor system and prevent its continuation in the territories acquired from Mexico.<sup>28</sup>

On September 7, 1850, the Texas State Gazette published Mrs. Cazneau’s editorial on the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. While she did not support the Texas claim to part of New Mexico, in “Texas and Her Duty,” she advocated that Texas retain its public lands. While Thomas Hart Benton opposed Texas retaining its public land, she urged cooperation between New Mexico and Texas because “Sectional politicians for their own petty and personal ends would make them rivals and enemies.” They both had a right, she urged, to demand that the overland mail route pass through their areas.<sup>29</sup>

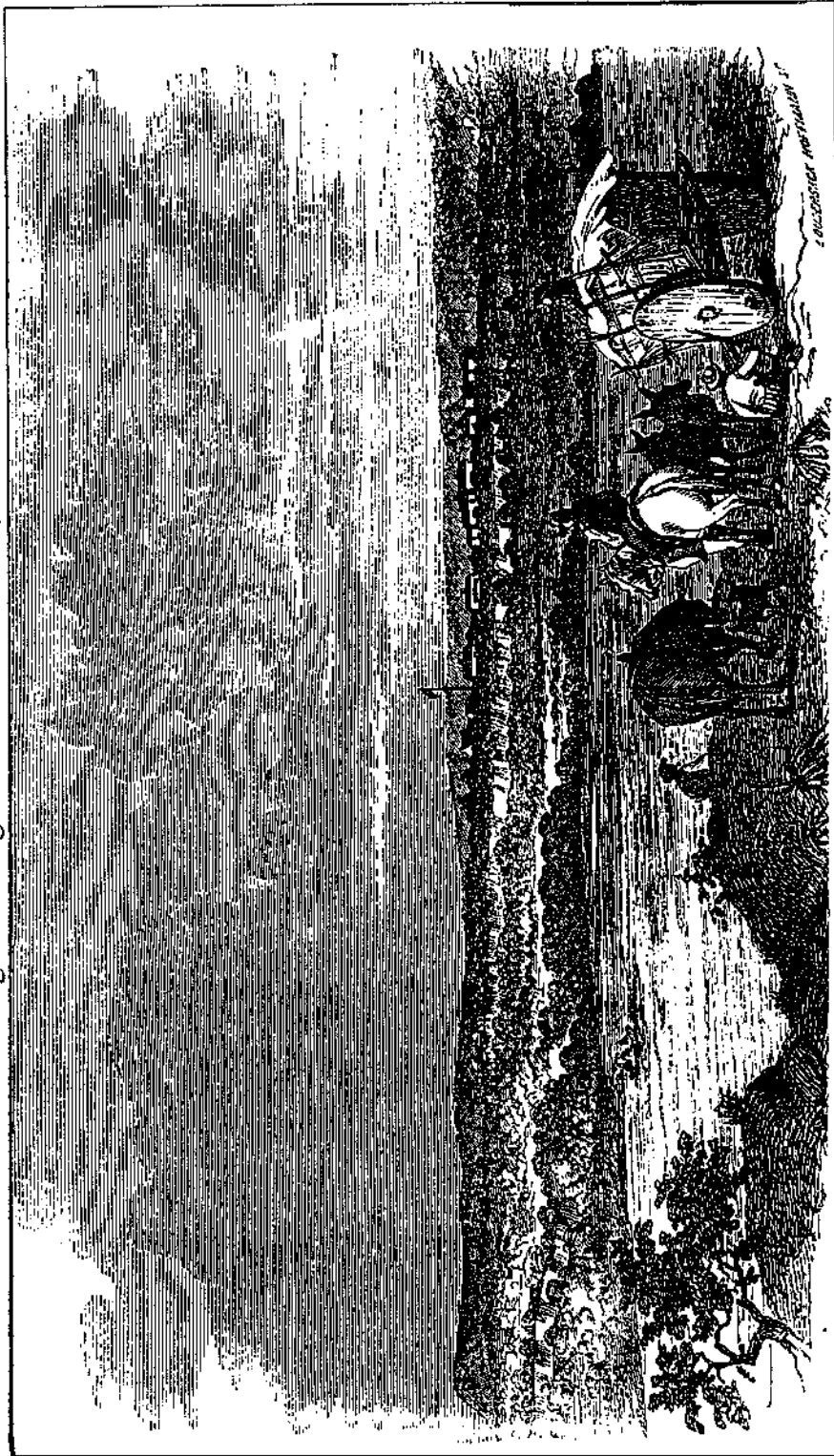
By the end of September 1850, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Moses S. Beach, editor of the New York Sun. She reproached him because she was not receiving the Sun. His father was to send the Weekly Sun to Indianola, in care of J. Brown, who would forward it to her. She tried to interest Beach in investing in the Santa Rosa Silver Mine some seventy miles into Mexico that only needed modern extraction methods. Cazneau was not interested, he was busy with his business in Mexico. She further grumbled that she could not get windows or doors for her house, “It must be done. It is a month or more before I can stir from this unproductive Texas property that eats of itself.” Mrs. Cazneau had received some news, for she quipped, “I see the Tehuantepec treaty, a miserable business, has been cooked up of late.” She suggested that the elder Beach “come out with the secret history of its origin.” She would do it, but she did not have the data on the latest claimant [A. G. Sloo]. If Beach wanted drawings of the country, or of Wild Cat, he

should ship her canvas by the first vessel bound for Port Lavaca and consigned to Pryor, Adams & Company for General Cazneau. Beach was no longer editor of the Sun, and her letter was passed to Charles Wood, the new business manager.<sup>30</sup>

Cazneau's business in Mexico of which Mrs. Cazneau wrote concerned an 1848 arrangement Cazneau made with the heirs of Antonio Rivas to acquire a deed to the family Spanish land grant of approximately 125,835 acres on the left bank of the Rio Grande below the old Eagle Pass crossing. After the Mexican War, Texas gained the area as part of its public lands, and the legislature voted to recognize Spanish land grants between the Nueces and the Rio Grande on a case by case basis. Vicente Garza represented the Rivas family, and William L. Cazneau acted as their agent to recover the grant for one-half the claim. Before the claim could be considered, Cazneau had to gather the signatures of the Rivas heirs. During his delivery of goods to the mines and elsewhere in Mexico, Cazneau located the heirs and obtained their signatures.<sup>31</sup>

Because she had requested drawing materials and had made sketches before, Mrs. Cazneau possibly sketched the "View of Fort Duncan, near Eagle Pass" (1852), published in William H. Emory's, Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey . . ., Pt. 1. The surveyors came through Eagle Pass while she was there, and the sketch depicts Fort Duncan, but also a black pony [Chico] with a side-saddle, an American on a white horse [Cazneau], a man with a turban [Wild Cat], a Mexican cartman, a boat with occupants on the Rio Grande, and a seated woman holding a rifle. Cazneau's house and warehouse are shown to the left of Fort Duncan (See Figure 2).<sup>32</sup>

Figure 2. Eagle Pass and Fort Duncan, 1852.



Although Mrs. Cazneau wrote that Eagle Pass was in Kinney County, a county government was not yet organized. Thus, in October 1850, the Bexar County census taker listed William L. and Jane M. Cazneau as living between the households of James Campbell and Fabiano and Francesca Valdez. Others she immortalized in the book were on the Eagle Pass census as well: Alexandro and Maria Ruiz, Antonio Sanchez, Jesus Martinez, Pedro and Barbara Aquila, Juanita Hernandez, Manuel and Saloma Rios, as well as a household with Victor Espeta, age 35, and Guadalupe, age 26. Although, she and Cazneau were forty-three years old, she told the census taker they were thirty-seven.<sup>33</sup>

The Cazneaus were the wealthiest members of the community--he having \$16,000 in merchandise and she with unnamed assets of \$12,500. Cazneau's partner, Virginia-born San Antonio merchant Ludovic Colquhoun (1804-1883) and his wife Frances were then living in Eagle Pass and were the next wealthiest with \$15,000 in assets. The Scot-born dry goods merchant John Brown and his wife Margaret had \$8,000 in merchandise. Dennis Meade, an Irish dry goods merchant, had \$2000 in assets, while Irish merchant Frederick B. O'Shea and his wife Hanora had only \$1,000 in dry goods, the same amount as the Missouri-born baker William Brown and his wife Mary. Aside from merchants and traders, the community had one eating house, a butcher, a cooper's merchant, two shoemakers, a tailor, a bar keeper, a Mexican liquor maker, carpenters, stonemasons, numerous cartmen, and laborers of mixed nationalities. The number of traders, merchants, and cartmen suggests the economy of Eagle Pass depended on the Mexican trade.<sup>34</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau wrote that people settled opposite the Escondida River for commercial reasons. It was, she explained, on "the right side of the fords and paths

precious to contrabandists.” The natural crossing was the original Paso de Aquila, where an eagle once nested and gave the crossing its name, near the Spanish Mission San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande. Spanish explorers, French traders, missionaries, and runaways from both sides of the border had used the crossing. She liked the clear drinking water and the bathing rapids of the Escondida “where the timid bather might recline at careless length . . . and enfold and lave his indolent limbs with its watery delights.” Using the German carpenter’s boat, she had gypsy dinners in quiet nooks on the river, whether with Victor or the General she did not say, nor did she mention a bathing costume. Her reed cottage was next to the brush and hide shelter of Pedro Aquila, the adobe maker, and his wife Barbara, the tortilla maker. Victor and the shepherd families also lived in the mulberry grove. Francesca’s story, overheard in the reed house, inspired Mrs. Cazneau to include the peon sagas in her book promoting the commercial aspects of Eagle Pass. The stories brought meaning to her work and gave her yet another demon of tyranny to slay.<sup>35</sup>

While Mrs. Cazneau was in Eagle Pass, Brevet Major W. W. Chapman, assistant quartermaster, ordered Captain Harry Love to explore the Rio Grande to see if the river forts could be supplied by steamers rather than by land from Lavaca. Love ascended the river 967 miles and reported that steamers could operate as far as Kingsbury’s Falls near Rio Grande City and that for \$500 the channel could be improved to allow small steamers to ascend the river to above Eagle Pass. The army paid \$92 in freight to deliver a barrel of flour from Lavaca to El Paso, whereas if the forts could be supplied by river to Eagle Pass, and then by land, the cost fell to \$32 per barrel. Mrs. Cazneau mentioned Love, who was not exaggerating about the river being navigable at that time. For the past

twenty years, Mrs. Cazneau explained, unusual rains had come to the area. The shepherds believed the Americans had brought the rains along with their government. She chided Victor for encouraging their superstitions.<sup>36</sup>

Historian Pat Kelley, in River of Lost Dreams, wrote that Major Chapman suddenly reversed himself after receiving real estate and a warehouse in Brownsville from Charles Stillman. Stillman controlled trade and shipping on the lower Rio Grande and sought to destroy competition upriver. Chapman, after becoming a partner, gave Stillman, founder of Brownsville, and his partners, Mifflin Kenedy and Richard King, the government contract to supply the river forts without taking bids.<sup>37</sup>

Stillman was a merchant of the Cornelius Vanderbilt style of cutthroat competition. He encouraged the Carvajal Revolt, or Merchant's War, begun in September 1850. Stillman persuaded and backed José María Jesús Carvajal (1823-1874) in an attack on Matamoros and his declaration of a Republic of Sierra Madre. Rangers, soldiers, ranchers, merchants, and peons joined the popular revolt. Carvajal was born in San Antonio, was educated in Kentucky and Virginia, surveyed for the Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company, fought in the Texas Revolution, and was with Antonio Canales and Antonio Zapata when they had declared a Republic of the Rio Grande in 1840. Using the disruption along the border, Stillman sent an estimated million dollars worth of cotton goods across the border and destroyed his former competition upriver. To Mrs. Cazneau, it was a "Calico War," and she compared it to "elections in the United States--they had the same principle at stake, spoils." The Comanches, although motivated by hunger, she explained, were "too ignorant to dress up their motives," and "said their object was



plunder.” Mrs. Cazneau had invested in 1,000 acres of land where a channel would be dug to open steam navigation of the river to Eagle Pass. With the border in turmoil, there was little chance of the river’s development.<sup>38</sup>

The Calico War involved more than Stillman’s destruction of trade and commerce competition on the Rio Grande. Mrs. Cazneau’s \$12,500 in assets listed on the census in October was perhaps her share of the Hargous Tehuantepec Transit Company at last recognized by the Mexican government. In 1850, the Hargous company had sold its assets to Judah P. Benjamin, president of the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company. Hargous Company stockholders, represented by William H. Seward, had the option of selling or transferring their stock. In August 1850 the Fillmore Administration had opened negotiations in Mexico to renegotiate the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to include the Tehuantepec transit route. American support of the Carvajal revolt in September, however, made it appear that the United States was trying to retake Mexico. Thus, by January 1851, Mexican officials opposed any change in the treaty, and the United States was still without a land bridge to connect steamer traffic from the Gulf to the Pacific. When Stillman had destroyed rival trade and commerce, he negotiated with the army commander of northern Mexico, a General Avalos, and goods entered Mexico by special permit obtained through a fee paid to the general. Stillman abandoned Carvajal, who continued a guerrilla war out of the Sierra Madre and back and forth across the border.<sup>39</sup>

From 1851 onward, William Cazneau supplied the Santa Rosa and other silver mines by special Avalos permit. Silver bullion trains out of Mexico passed through Eagle Pass to Indianola for transshipment to New Orleans and the United States Mint--some

shipments as large as \$300,000. In 1850, traffic between Indianola and Eagle Pass had processions of 150 wagons pulled by six mules or oxen, or trains of 250 Mexican carretas. By summer 1850, 500 and 600 wagons were outfitted in Indianola for the Mexican trade. The Santa Fe trade was at last diverted through Texas because the distance between the gulf ports and Chihuahua was 400 miles less than the distance between Chihuahua and Independence, Missouri. Eagle Pass was a booming, but lawless, frontier town.<sup>40</sup>

In November 1850, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Charles Wood, the manager of the New York Sun. She proposed to write anonymously all year for \$850, but wanted the money in advance. She supposed the Beaches would drag her from the office, "if this revolution don't come off and our spies in the new gold and diamond district does not prove out." She vowed, "I shall come along to Washington to cook up some excitement."<sup>41</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau was concerned about her investments in Eagle Pass and wrote Seward about the Whig plan to develop the Rio Grande for 1,000 miles of steam navigation. The area was rich in minerals, and coal deposits gave Piedras Negras its name in Spanish, "black stones." Also, lead and silver deposits dotted the area. In Piedras Negras, Mexican women plastered their adobe walls with gypsum. Her workers and others brought her samples of pottery and porcelain clay. She said that she applied "the Golden Rule" to their relationship teaching those who desired to read and write; "Everyone thought it was a fair exchange in trading silver ore for tutoring."<sup>42</sup>

During the Carvajal revolt, Wild Cat, John Horse, and a former slave escaped from Cuba whom she identified as part-Arab, sought General Cazneau's advice. The Mexican government that had given Wild Cat refuge in return for protecting the border had ordered

him and his men downriver to help defeat Carvajal. Wild Cat was concerned that his people would be unprotected from raids. As they talked, Mrs. Cazneau realized that four men from four continents sat in her living room and discussed their mutual problem of "how to subdue the restless Indian that raids and plunders." With Wild Cat gone, she did not ride more than two or three miles from the house, and then only in the presence of six-shooters. One day, she and her employees climbed onto the roof of the wide-awake house to glimpse the Comanches raid the ranch of Don Felipe Garcia across the river. One can imagine her shading her eyes with one hand and holding her lorgnette in the other and saying, "We must have the justice to feed and civilize these famishing outlaws, or we must have the hardihood to exterminate them."<sup>43</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau knew that her workers were runaway peons and that the old crossing at the mulberry grove was used by fugitives from both sides of the border. Slaves belonging to Wild Cat, were "accommodated" in Mexico, a term, she explained, that peons used to describe their being bound to an owner for food, clothing, medicine, and religious rites. She invited Bishop John Odin to Eagle Pass where he performed marriages and baptism and legalized the common law relationships of the former peons who refused to have their children born into peonage. The bishop of the Texas Diocese established Our Lady of Refuge Catholic Church in 1852 in Eagle Pass.<sup>44</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau cautioned that unskilled runaway slaves were soon bound into peonage in Mexico and did not find the freedom they expected. One exception was Dan, who became Don Dionisio Echavaria when he married into a prominent border family. Wealth, rather than race, determined class in Catholic countries. Although the Treaty of

Guadalupe Hidalgo made Mexicans on the north bank of the Rio Grande United States citizens, the run-away peons were not safe--“a dealer in cards, calico, cheap rum, and kidnaping,” operated “under the very eye of Fort Duncan.” She identified the man-catcher as Dennis Meade, a forty-year-old dry goods merchant with a Mexican wife.<sup>45</sup>

One Sunday morning in September 1850, during the Carvajal revolt, a professional man-hunter chased Manuel Rios into Mrs. Cazneau’s kitchen and captured him at gunpoint. Caught and bound like Mazeppo, as she described the scene, Rios was carried into Mexico. The General got up a petition, and Mrs. Cazneau wrote Secretary of State Daniel Webster about the kidnaping of a United States citizen. Webster replied that Rios “must make good his claims to freedom, before the judicial tribunals of Mexico.” In discussing the issue, one Eagle Pass Whig said that if Webster became a presidential candidate, he must vote for him because of party. Mrs. Cazneau wrote a scathing comment: “So faded and effete has become the preserving salt of republican virtue that sensible men, . . . make no scruple to avow that party over-rides principle.” She further raged:

What an abyss of mire and corruption; what a stinking depth of moral decadence; what a departure from the lofty spirit of '76 there is in that perverse cry! It loads the air, it taints the moral health of the nation, and makes every returning election day more vilely opposite to what it should be, a jubilee of sacred duties.

She then wrote Seward about the kidnaping, and Greeley published her letter on February 1, 1851. Seward brought the matter before the United States Senate on February 26, but no action was taken. Rios, a United States citizen, remained in bondage in Mexico.<sup>46</sup>

Kidnapers next seized her precious Victor in Piedras Negras during the festival of San Diego where he went to celebrate with his newest “coquettish flame,” Jesusa. The holder of Victor’s \$3 debt demanded either the full payment or use of the peon for labor. With Victor jailed, General Cazneau decided to use the case as another example of border injustice. Victor’s debt was contracted on this side of the border where United States law prevailed, and so, using Webster’s logic, Cazneau said, “I think I shall bring home Victor this day.” Mrs. Cazneau described what happened next: One friend and another joined in “and as in as brief time, and as lightly as I have written it, were they armed, in saddle, and under spur.” They were “not like that dead, spongy excrescence of the popular will--no, of party intrigue--a partisan cabinet,” she fumed. Before sunset Victor was home and chanting his ballads, but border troubles continued.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the spring Greeley published Mrs. Cazneau’s letters on peonage. She lambasted a do-nothing Congress and Whig Administration in her usual caustic style. She accused the partisans and fame hunters of playing political football, while peons made into citizens by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were kidnaped from United States soil. Three types of slavery existed like colored layers on a river bank or beads on a string, she wrote. The red race were held in debt-bondage or peon slavery, white immigrants were held as wage slaves, and blacks as chattel slaves. She traveled to Washington in late Spring 1851 and personally chastised President Fillmore about “the terrible state of the frontier” with only infantry stations to guard against the wild Indians. She proposed a national system of border protection headed by Wild Cat. If the government would “assign his band a home and rations,” he would create “a humane, politic, and economical

border militia of the friendly tribes.” She admonished, “We owe something very different to the Indians than the mockery of gifts of rum and treaties of specious promises.”<sup>48</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau perhaps had a dual mission in returning to Washington, which concerned the Cubans. The year she moved to Eagle Pass, Narciso López and volunteers had landed on the north shore of Cuba and planted the Cuban flag. When no uprising occurred López narrowly escaped to Florida. Again, John L. O’Sullivan, López, and others were arrested and charged with violating the neutrality laws of the United States. Judah P. Benjamin represented the revolutionaries in trials in New Orleans, and none were convicted. In April 1851, authorities seized the steamer Cleopatra, and arrested O’Sullivan along with the Hungarian republican refugee, Louis Schlessinger.<sup>49</sup>

On July 4, 1851, in Washington, López declared Cuban independence. Women made Cuban flags, and one still hung in the window of the Sun Building. On August 3, López and 420 men steamed from New Orleans and other southern ports to liberate Cuba. Britain planted a spy with the volunteers, Duncan Smith, who posed as Dr. Henry Burnett and reported to the Spanish Minister in Washington, Calderon de la Barca. López and his volunteers walked into a trap. López was garroted on September 1, 1851, some sources claim clutching a miniature likeness of Cora Montgomery. A Spanish firing squad in Havana shot William S. Crittenden, nephew of the attorney general of the United States, and fifty other American volunteers. Witnesses wrote that Crittenden refused a blindfold and declined to kneel, saying, “An American kneels only to God, and always faces his enemy.” The remaining prisoners were transported to Spain. Riots erupted in New Orleans, and the Spanish consulate was looted and burned. Governor John A. Quitman of

Mississippi then became the leader of the revolutionaries. Mrs. Cazneau was quiet about Cuba and wrote on melon sugar production in the Rio Grande Valley in the Tribune.<sup>50</sup>

Ironically, no letters, or publications are known to reflect Mrs. Cazneau's reaction to the executions in Cuba. Perhaps she made an agreement with New York prosecutors in 1849 that she would be silent on Cuba. An anonymous article published in October 1851 in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review was probably written by Jane Cazneau, and defended López and his companions against charges that they were outlaws. Mrs. Cazneau's whereabouts is unknown between July 8 and November 1851, but in August, she sold the Carrizo property to J. B. Shaw, comptroller of Texas for an undisclosed sum.<sup>51</sup>

On December 12 and 14, 1851, the New Orleans Delta, a backer of Lopez, published two editorials written by Montgomery from Eagle Pass on Carvajal's continued efforts to establish a Republic of Sierra Madre. Carvajal would end peonage and provide the second best land route to the Pacific, she asserted. She did not propose that the United States annex the area, but suggested instead a purchase of the transit route that would help finance the new government. The large landholders opposed a republic, she explained, because it meant the liberation of the peons to whom they would have to pay wages. By the end of December 1851, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Seward that peonage must be stopped and included another article for him to review before sending it on to Greeley. She and Seward had no more written communication until the American Civil War.<sup>52</sup>

While she lived at Eagle Pass, Mrs. Cazneau realized that she preferred the women of the frontier to those of the city where "the set of hat and the length of a skirt were

gossip.” She cared little for fashion, and she was glad there were too few women in Eagle Pass to form cliques and “hear Mrs. Snooks’ criticism on Mrs. Smith’s last lace, last party, or last flirtation.” She mentioned the fort commander’s wife and Mrs. Campbell. Most of the merchants had wives and families, but Jane Cazneau seemed more content amidst her Indian and Mexican friends than at any time of her life.<sup>53</sup>

As she watched Barbara grind corn, Martha preserve food, Madalina play the harp, and Francesca sew, Mrs. Cazneau had nothing but disdain for the Romantic poets. “The bread-baking, blanket-weaving period, in which woman walks out her tread-mill round of life in mental torpor and laborious usefulness,” she challenged, “reads well in Arcadian poetry.” She observed, “Man was not high where woman was so low . . . and he cannot rise without taking woman with him.” In this pastoral world idealized by romantics, she witnessed “domestic strife, fraternal wars, neighborly deceit, and mutual injustice.” She thought the Women’s Rights Convention could do more good by “inducing the Cabinet to define its position on Mexico” and in preventing women from being sold into peonage. In the sketches, Mrs. Cazneau wrote of the peons’ whippings, hunger, and neglect. The peons slept on hides and blankets and some had never seen a mattress. They had grass bags to hold their possessions of a gourd, a kettle for cooking and eating, and they had only the clothes on their backs. She told stories of sacrifice, sorrow, and bravery as peons risked their lives to escape across the Rio Bravo to freedom.<sup>54</sup>

In defense of frontier justice, Mrs. Cazneau told about a local murder and community justice. She also repeated the story of an East Texas woman whose husband had squandered her inheritance, physically abused her, and gambled and drunk away the



family's money. "The men of the community held a common law court and meted out 100 lashes to the offender of the community standards," she wrote approvingly. "The brutal coward who can raise his hand against a woman is exactly of the mould to yield to fear and brute force." Her telling the story suggests that she identified with the woman in some way. Perhaps Storm was intemperate and abusive, or Cazneau, who seemed to spend most of his time in Mexico and left her alone in the lawless border town, was not the knight she thought she married. It is likely he discovered that the angel he idealized was demanding and had a fiery temper. She saw them as a "strange couple"; he "so full of anecdotes" while she was "somewhat of a hermit." Their mutual friend Lamar said their marriage was a partnership and inferred it was more a business than romantic relationship. In Our Times, she reviewed the psychology book, Love and Marriage, and quoted a passage that obviously meant something to her. She quoted, "Never idealize a woman to her face, because she needs to look up to the man she loves . . . if scorned, a true hero . . . will not seek consolation in . . . the light love of inferior women, or in animal dissipation and coarser excitements."<sup>55</sup>

Throughout Eagle Pass, with few exceptions, the general seemed to be in Mexico, and Victor was her protector and companion. Aside from his supplying the mines and guarding silver shipments, Cazneau secured the documentation for recognition of the Antonio Rivas Spanish land grant. On February 10, 1852, a special act of the Texas legislature awarded the grant to the Rivas heirs. Garza, representing the Rivas family, then deeded Cazneau one-half of the grant. While Garza recorded the family's deed in the Bexar County Court House in San Antonio, Cazneau did not record his deed. R. O. W.

McManus, his brother-in-law, said that he was careless about things like that, but he likely had a judgment against him for previously lost goods assigned to him in Mexico.<sup>56</sup>

By June 1852, Jane Cazneau left her husband in Eagle Pass and returned to New York and her former world of newspapers and politics--her eagle soul feeling a higher calling than Eagle Pass. Colleagues needed her expertise in the upcoming presidential campaign. Early in 1852, Colonel J. L. Curtis, an associate of United States Mail Steam Ship Company President George Law, hired Mrs. Cazneau to help unite the New York Democrats for the presidential campaign.<sup>57</sup>

The New York politicians had been divided since the 1844 presidential campaign of James K. Polk when Martin Van Buren's followers resented the New York appointments made by President James K. Polk. In 1848, the Van Buren "Barnburner" and the William L. Marcy "Hunker" factions held separate state conventions and sent two delegations to the national convention. The Van Burenites formed the Free Soil Party that drew votes from the Democrats and helped elect Whig Zachary Taylor as president and Hamilton Fish as New York governor. In 1852, Mrs. Cazneau's old friend, Marcy, lured the Free Soilers back into the Democratic Party with promises of patronage. Marcy probably arranged Mrs. Cazneau's return to New York as she was the logical peacemaker, having been an independent throughout the fray. Also, she had written in support of George Law's U.S. Mail Steamship Company, and Law controlled the expansionist Seward Whigs and both factions of New York Democrats with political contributions.<sup>58</sup>

At the National Democratic Party Convention of 1852, steamer interests dominated politics. Law supported Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for the

nomination. Douglas and Mrs. Cazneau had similar ideals. They were Anglophobic and held a common view that time would resolve the slavery issue. Douglas was a member of Tammany Hall, the organization that financed the publication of The Queen of Islands and The King of Rivers. In "The Union of the Seas," she promoted Douglas's idea of binding the three sections of the nation with rails and steamers to California and Oregon. Despite Law's efforts, the presidential nomination went to Franklin Pierce, a rival steamship company's candidate. James Buchanan and Marcy aligned with Pierce, who was also backed by Jefferson Davis. Thomas W. Pierce, the candidate's brother, was president of Bacon and Pierce Shipping Company, a major transporter of cotton from southern ports and an investor in southern railroads. August Belmont of the American branch of the Rothschild family financed the Pierce campaign.<sup>59</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau helped organize the Pierce presidential campaign around themes of neglect and corruption. On July 7, 1852, she wrote Texas Senator Thomas J. Rusk, about the neglect of the border. When she had left the border the month before, two skeleton companies of fifteen men each were on duty at Fort Duncan. She was "not going back to Eagle Pass to be murdered," nor was she going to "let the matter rest as long as a paper was printed in New York." Later that month, she wrote Douglas about their conversation on making the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) the major issue of the campaign. She encouraged him to "strike a bold blow" against "corrupt influences" and "force the Whigs to define their position." In closing, she pledged the support of the newspapers that she represented; "the campaign paper [New York Morning News], the independent press [New York Star], the New York Sun, its satellites, and Tammany Hall."<sup>60</sup>

Douglas called for Senate investigations, and in July, hearings documented Mrs. Cazneau's assumptions about corruption. The companies that made up the United States Mail Steam Ship Company owned by Law, William Aspinwall, and Edward Collins were subsidized by the government, but operated at a loss. Isolationist Whigs demanded an end to the steam ship mail subsidy. The Senate investigation showed that the Whig administration paid a British steamer company \$529,341.04 to carry the mail to and from California and Oregon, while Law and Aspinwall received only \$9,896. Also, the British Cunard Steam Line operating between New York and England received \$536,000, while the Collins Line received around \$10,000. In addition, the scandal illustrated that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) favored British companies at the expense of those of the United States. The treaty was to end Anglo-American rivalry in Central America and allow the joint construction of a canal across Panama.<sup>61</sup>

Cornelius Vanderbilt was responsible for the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty because he planned a canal through Panama. Construction required more financing than he had available, and he joined with the British Rothschild, Baring Brothers, and Hudson's Bay financiers and cemented the agreement with the treaty neutralizing Central America to further United States advancement. When a re-survey found a Panama canal beyond current technology, Vanderbilt shifted his focus to Nicaragua. There, he secured exclusive rights of transit, and some 10,000 of the 30,000 annual immigrants to California by sea took the Nicaragua overland route.<sup>62</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau's Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border was published in September 1852 as part of the expansionist Young America literature of the Pierce campaign. As

Cora Montgomery, she also edited and wrote the September and October issues of Our Times, subtitled “a monthly review of Politics, Literature, and etc.” The October journal featured articles on foreign policy and trade with Japan and gave the history of the fisheries problem in the North Atlantic. Shorter articles were on nature, inventors, and mining. She had book reviews, patriotic songs, and poems. “Events of the Month” were news summaries where she featured Law’s troubles with steamer access to Havana. In “The Cuba Junta,” she declared: “Cuba and the Cubans are resolved to wage incessant war with the tyranny of Spain until Cuba has achieved independence.” “The Editor’s Portfolio” was Cazneau at her wittiest. She convicted Daniel Webster of neglect of the border, and sentenced him to read all Benton’s speeches. She sentenced General Scott, for giving away Tehuantepec, to read the life of Jackson three times, while he kept Webster company. Benton was to prove that all routes to the Pacific passed through Missouri, or he had to have dinner with Fillmore and Scott on the same night. One can see her seriously asking the British minister at a Washington reception if Prince Bobo, the heir of the Majesty of Hayti, was a candidate for the hand of the Princess Royal of England. “The doctrine of the amalgamation of the races is only intended for Americans,” she was told by the distinguished English gentleman. She concluded that “next to honesty, perhaps, the rarest commodity at Washington is courage.”<sup>63</sup>

When Pierce was elected president, Marcy secured political printing contracts for the New York Free Soilers and Jane Cazneau’s usefulness ended. In January 1853, she wrote James Buchanan, newly appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James, of her betrayal. When Colonel Curtis hired her, she explained, she had bought into the New

York Morning Star, but “the majority owners, the ultra Free-Soilers, threw me out without one cent return.” In addition, Thomas Childs and the Williams Brothers had stopped printing her expansionist journal, Our Times. “One honest word would choke them to death if by chance such a strange thing should get in their throats,” she blurted. She further fumed, “A cooler act of plunder was never perpetrated.” She asked Buchanan about the incoming administration. The Cubans wished to know who they could trust on Cuba. While her husband’s business faltered, and she was without work, the California Cazneaus were a highly visible couple at the Pierce Inauguration. Mrs. Phoebe Cazneau, wife of General Thomas Cazneau, led the Grand March at the Inaugural Ball.<sup>64</sup>

Encouraged by Britain’s success in stopping United States expansion with the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, France and Spain launched campaigns to recover investments and colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Louis-Napoleon set out to expand industry and trade with Mexico, Latin America, and to South-East Asia by way of the Caribbean and Central America; the most direct route to China from France. In Mexico, Antonio López de Santa Anna became president and again allowed French troops to seize silver mines to repay debts. In Mexico, authorities seized Cazneau’s trade goods and jailed his employees in Saltillo and Parras. Cazneau secured the release of his men, left his sheep and goat herds with his shepherd, Desiderio de Luna, and traveled to Washington. He expected to return, and left the warehouse and house as they stood, and the Rivas deed not yet recorded. In the Caribbean, Spain made plans to recover its former colony of Santo Domingo that had existed as the Dominican Republic since 1844.<sup>65</sup>

Looking for work, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Senator Douglas for the subscription list of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. Upon the death of his wife earlier in the month, however, Douglas had left for Europe on a six-month tour. George Sanders, of Kentucky, the former editor of the Democratic Review, was determined to purge the party of reform elements, and that prevented Mrs. Cazneau from resuming control of the journal. Sanders also opposed Marcy's appointment as secretary of state.<sup>66</sup>

Back in Eagle Pass, William Stone, a San Antonio store clerk, acquired the power to seize Cazneau's property and herds, claiming that Cazneau took goods belonging to San Antonio merchant, Enoch Jones, into Mexico without permission. Judge T. J. Devine, newly elected Bexar County District Judge, witnessed Stone's deed of lien to a tract of property Cazneau owned on the edge of Eagle Pass. Stone also began trading in Mexico, but supplied the French mining interests and conservative land owners. Unaware of these events, in Washington, Cazneau filed a \$235,500 claim with the United States government for the "Illegal detention of persons and goods imported into Mexico under the Avalos tariff."<sup>67</sup>

Two years after the Cazneaus left Eagle Pass, the town was bypassed by the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line. In 1854, New York Free Soiler Frederick Law Olmsted traveled to Eagle Pass by a more direct but more desolate route than that described by Mrs. Cazneau and saw none of the orchards or sights she mentioned on the River Road. Olmsted found Eagle Pass desolate and deserted and a runaway camp far beyond the border in Mexico. On his brief visit, he decided that Mrs. Cazneau had exaggerated the hardships of peonage. As a Free Soiler opposed to other races incorporated as citizens

into the United States, Olmsted had nothing good to say about Mrs. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, or Mexicans.<sup>68</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau had failed to “cook up a revolution” in Mexico, but the revolution that she predicted in Eagle Pass eventually came to Mexico. Carvajal was raising another army in 1855 when Texas Ranger James Callahan raided into Mexico after runaway slaves, burned Carvajal’s home, and looted Piedras Negras. In 1861, Benito Juarez, an Indian educated in the United States, brought about the separation of church and state in Mexico with the help of his ally, Carvajal. By the 1870s, Wild Cat’s tribe served as U.S. Army scouts and helped control the Indians on the border. The peons were not released from debt servitude, however, until Francisco Madero, also educated in the United States, triggered the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Over a million Mexicans died in their civil war in an attempt to establish true republican government in Mexico. Perhaps, it was destiny, or merely coincidence, that Madero entered Mexico to begin the revolution at the old Eagle Pass crossing where Jane Cazneau lived in the reed house amidst her peon friends and, as Cora Montgomery, wrote Eagle Pass as a tribute to their courage and love of freedom.<sup>69</sup>



## ENDNOTES

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3. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, Frontispiece, Dedication; Joel Myerson, gen. ed., Dictionary of Literary Biography, 183 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research Publications, 1979), 49: 374, s.v. "George P. Putnam."

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7. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 15-23; J. M. Storm to M. B. Lamar, October 1845, in Harriet Smither, Ed., The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, 6 vols. (Austin: Texas State Library, 1927; reprint, New York: AMS, 1973), 4: Pt. 1, 108; Archie P. McDonald, Travis (Austin: Jenkins, 1976), 84-85; Brownson Malsch, Indianola, The Mother of Western Texas (Austin: Statesmen, 1988), 36.
8. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 19-31.
9. *Ibid.*, Eagle Pass, 95-97; "A Sketch of Mrs. Cazneau," New York Tribune, 30 December 1878.
10. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 26-31; Malsch, Indianola, 20; A. Ray Stephens and William M. Holmes, Historical Atlas of Texas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), No. 37 "San Antonio San Diego Mail Line."
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26. J. M. Cazneau to Hon. Wm. H. Seward, 18 June 1850, 16 January 1851, William Henry Seward Papers, Department of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Archives, Rhus Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY. Hereinafter cited as Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester.
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34. Ibid., 285; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 94-95, 153-167; Tyler, ed., New Handbook, s.v. "Ludovic Colquhoun."; Albert Turpe, District Clerk, Maverick County, to R. O. W. McManus, 5 April, 21 December 1875, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; William Bollaert, William Bollaert's Texas Ed. by Eugene Hollon & Ruth Lapham Butler, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 352.

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37. Kelley, Lost Dreams, 34, 43-55; Horgan, Great River, 2: 788- 792; William H. Goetzmann, Army Expeditions in the American West, 1803-1863 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959; reprint, Austin: Texas State Historical Association., 1991), 183, 237-8; Tyler, ed., New Handbook, s.v. "Charles Stillman," "William W. Chapman," "Helen Ellsworth Chapman."

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41. J. M. Cazneau to Mr. Wood, 1 November 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

42. J. M. Cazneau to William H. Seward, 16 January 1851, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester; Cazneau, Camel, 10-11; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 50-51, 100-101, 125; Betty Dooley Awbery and Claude Dooley, Why Stop? A Guide to Texas Historical Roadside Markers, 3rd Ed. (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1992), 147. In 1885, Eagle Pass had Texas' largest coal mine.

43. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 41, 143-154; Joseph W. Fabens [Jane Cazneau], A Story of Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853), 201. She watches through her lorgnette.

44. Rippy, "Border Troubles," 91-100; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 73-77, 95, 137-139, 148-149, 186-188; Anita, 130-135; Barbara, 71-72, 78-80; Carlos 154-158; Victor 110-116; Pablito, 122-123; Dona Refugia, 135; Domingo, 60, 124; Fabiano, 52, 61-64; Francesca, 52-55; Jesus, 104, 106; Josepha, 36-9; Marco, 108; Marcos, 37-39; Margarita, 132-4; Pablito, 120, 123, 126-7; Placida, 106-9; Servero Valdez, 34-39; and Manuel Rios, 82-87, 110, Tyler, ed., New Handbook, s.v. "Jean Marie Odin."

45. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 139; James C. Harrison, "The Failure of Spain in East Texas: The Occupation and Abandonment of Nacogdoches, 1779-1821," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1980), 156. Racial mixing was recognized and Spanish-Whites were mestizos, Negro-Spanish were mulattos, and Indian-Negro mix were Zambos.

46. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 37-39, 82-87, 110-117; J. M. Cazneau to W. H. Seward, Eagle Pass, 30 December 1850, Eagle Pass, 16 January 1851, Washington, 3 June 1851, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester; Cora Montgomery, "American Citizens Enslaved, December 14, 1850," New York Tribune, 1 February 1851; \_\_\_\_\_, "A New Class of Slave States, January 18, 1851," "Enslaving American Citizens in Mexico, January 28, 1851," New York Tribune, 6 March 1851; \_\_\_\_\_, "Three Form of Servitude on the Border, February 1 1851," New York Tribune, 8 March 1851.

47. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 82-87, 109-118; William L. Marcy to Alfred Conklin, 5 May 1853, in William R. Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1831-1860, 12 vols., (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1932-1939), 9: 130-131.

48. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 109-116; Cora Montgomery, "A New Class of Slave States, January 18, 1851," New York Tribune, 6 March 1851.

49. Cazneau to Wood, 1 November 1850, Jane Cazneau, NYHS; Basil Rauch, American Interest in Cuba, 1848-1853 (New York Columbia University Press, 1848), 121-123, 129, 148-149, 156, 159.

50. Robert Granville Caldwell, The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1848-1851 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915), 54-85, 102-103; Charles E. Chapman, History of the Cuban Republic (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 36-38; Brained Dyer, Zachary Taylor (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946), 348; Holman Hamilton, Zachary Taylor (New York: Boobs-Merrill, 1951), 368-369, 370; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 51.

51. Jane Cazneau File, CAH-UT; Anon., [Cazneau], "Narcisso (sic) Lopez and His Companions," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 29 (October 1851): 292-301; Tyler, ed., New Handbook, s.v. "J. B. Shaw."; Harriet Smither, ed., "The Diary of Adolphus Sterne," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38 (July 1934): 58, 149, 153.

52. Montgomery, "The National Highways," New Orleans Delta, 12 December 1851; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Immediate Requirements of Our Border Policy," New Orleans Delta, 14 December 1851; J. M. Cazneau to Wm. H. Seward, 30 December 1851, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 58; Ronnie C. Tyler, "The Callahan Expedition of 1855: Indians or Negroes?" Southwestern Historical Quarterly 70 (April 1967): 574, 583.

53. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 57-58, 167-168.

54. *Ibid.*, 77-78.

55. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 153-167; \_\_\_\_\_, Camel, 27; Cazneau, Review, "Lazarus on Love and Marriage (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1852)," Our Times 1 (October 1852): 153. Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903) founded comparative psychology.

56. Lemuel H. Baldwin, et al vs. Max Goldfrank et al: Vicente Garza Deeds, Bexar County, Maverick County, 1848-1876, box 3, fols. 58-66, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; Robert S. Weddle, San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 286-287.

57. J. M. Cazneau to James Buchanan, January 18, 1853, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. Hereinafter cited as Buchanan Papers HSP.

58. Donald B. Cole, Martin Van Buren and the American Political System (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 419; Michael F. Holt, Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 64-73, 218, 222, 234; J. M. Storm to Moses Y. Beach, 27 December 1849, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Rauch, Cuba, 193-4.

59. Robert W. Johanssen, Stephen A. Douglas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 348-9; Rauch, Cuba, 64, 92, 191-4, 212-5, 232, 227; Cora Montgomery, The Queen of Islands and The King of River (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, "The Union of the Seas," The Merchant's Magazine 22 (February 1850): 154; Fredericka Katz, The Secret War in Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 112, 120. Bacon and Pierce operated sixteen cotton ships to Galveston. By 1852, Pierce owned stock in the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos, and Colorado Railway.; Charles H. Brown, Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 113. Belmont, birth name Schoenberg, was the nephew by marriage of John Slidell, Buchanan's political adviser.

60. J. M. Cazneau to Thomas J. Rusk, 7 July 1852, Thomas J. Rusk Papers, CAH-UT; J. M. Cazneau to Stephen A. Douglas, 13 July 1852, Papers of Stephen A. Douglas, University of Chicago Library Archives, Chicago, IL. Hereinafter cited as Douglas Papers, UC-Chicago.

61. "United States, Senate, Senate Executive Documents, 97, 72; Messages of U.S. President in Response of the Senate calling for the Correspondence between the Government of the United States and Mexico, respecting a Right of Way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec." Referred to Committee of Foreign Relations, July 28, 1852, 32nd Congress, 3rd Session Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Rauch, Cuba, 192-193.

62. Robert A. Naylor, Penny Ante Imperialism: A Case Study in British Informal Empire (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989), 179-182; Craig L. Dozier, Nicaragua Mosquito Shore: The Years of British and American Presence (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 79, 83, 91; William O. Scroggs, Filibusters and Financiers. The Story of William Walker and His Associates (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 77.

63. Cora Montgomery, ed., Our Times 1 (October 1852): 99-192.

64. J. M. Cazneau to James Buchanan, 18 January 1853, Buchanan Papers, HSP; "Phoebe Jane Cazneau," San Francisco Chronicle, 6 June 1904, 12; Rauch, Cuba, 182.

65. Robert E. May, Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 147; Rippy, Mexico, 91-93; Tischendorf, Porfirio Diaz, 5; Shearer, "Carvajal," 228; W. L. Cazneau to R. O. W. McManus, 24 June 1875, James Papers, DRT-Alamo.

66. J. M. Cazneau to Stephen A. Douglas, 29 March 1853, Douglas Papers, UC-Chicago.

67. Albert Turpe to R. O. W. McManus, 21 December 1875, A. G. Carruthers to R. O. W. McManus, 29 October 1876, box 3, fol. 60-63, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; "W. L. Cazneau," U.S.



Senate Executive Document 1720, Mexican Claims, 120; U.S. Senate Executive Document 31, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, claim denied.; John Henry Brown, Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas (Austin: L. L. Danielle, 1880; reprint Greenville: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 587-588, 220; Rippy, "Border Troubles," 91, 94-100; Tyler, ed., New Handbook, s.v. "Enoch Jones."

68. Horgan, Great River, 788-792; Frederick Law Olmsted, Journey Through Texas or a Saddle-Trip on the Southern Frontier (New York: Dix, Edward, 1857; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 334.

69. Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 186-188; Harbert Davenport, "General Jose Maria Jesus Carabajal (sic)," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 55 (April 1952): 482; Francisco Barrientos, When Francisco Madero Came to the Border (Laredo: Border Studies Center, 1995), 3-8; Donathan C. Oleff, Reforma Mexico and the United States (University: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 98-101. In April 1859, Benito Juarez granted William Leslie Cazneau rights for a wagon road across Northern Mexico.; Abstract: In 1873, R. O. W. McManus filed the Cazneaus's deeds. A cattle syndicate then filed deeds and created El Indio Ranch in 1880. Others had claims of tax liens and liens of debt against Cazneau. Heirs only received a settlement on the Kingsbury Falls deed. Her son's attorney and grand-daughter pursued the Rivas claim. In 1902, Max Goldfrank opened the land for settlement and Dolch and Dobroski began irrigation. In 1906, Goldfrank, deeded additional land to El Indio Cattle Company, James Papers-DRT-Alamo.

## CHAPTER 8

### “IN THE TROPICS,” 1853-1861

I say this on data not learned in a day, but slowly and surely acquired in a nine year's faithful apprenticeship to the cause and a clearer insight into the heart of affairs than is commonly attainable. . . . the issue of Cuba is entangled with the Central American complication.

--J. M. Cazneau to James Buchanan (1857)<sup>1</sup>

In 1853, Mrs. Cazneau completed Life on the Isthmus as a sequel to The Camel Hunt with Joseph W. Fabens listed as author. George Putnam paired the travel piece that described the Panama crossing at the height of the California gold rush with a second edition of Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border. The books provided Fabens with immortality, and Mrs. Cazneau with an income, but led bibliographers to attribute her unsigned works on the tropics to Fabens.<sup>2</sup>

By May 1853, Secretary of State William L. Marcy had begun the process by which Manuel Rios, the kidnaped employee of the Cazneaus, was released from peonage in Mexico. Therefore, Jane Cazneau and Secretary Marcy were in communication when Marcy first received despatches from United States Commercial Agent Jonathan Elliot in the Dominican Republic saying the French and the Spanish were intriguing to annex the country but that Dominicans wished to negotiate a United States treaty of amity and friendship. The United States had recognized the republic in 1844 when it broke away from Haiti, and Mrs. Cazneau first mentioned the Dominicans in December 1845 in the New York Sun.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau saw the fate of Cuba and the Dominican Republic linked with “the independent use of the Isthmus highways to the Pacific.” While in Eagle Pass, she had written on Anglo-American rivalry in the tropics in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review. In 1849, she wrote on Britain’s forming a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians of Nicaragua. “The foreign policy of the United States” was “no policy at all,” she asserted in 1851 as she again ridiculed the Mosquito Kingdom. In “British Aggression in Central America,” she quoted the Monroe Doctrine, “We consider any attempt on the part of European nations to extend their system to any portion of the American continent, as dangerous to our peace and safety.”” As late as February 1853, she had written on the Dominican Republic’s continued struggle to remain independent.<sup>4</sup>

From 1853 onward, Mrs. Cazneau focused exclusively on United States expansion into the tropics and played a role in the undeclared diplomatic war that existed between the United States and Britain and her allies, France and Spain. More than simply to exert control, the United States wanted Havana for a harbor that could not be closed at the whim of a foreign power. British foreign policy reflected a statement made by Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618):

He who commands the sea commands the trade routes of the world. He who commands the trade routes, commands the trade. He who commands the trade, commands the riches of the world, and hence the world itself.<sup>5</sup>

As historian K. Jack Bauer pointed out, the American Revolution was partly about freedom of trade. He explained that during the Napoleonic wars United States shipping expanded with little competition, but after the War of 1812 Britain sought to regain its lost commerce. As she became enmeshed in the affairs of the Caribbean and Central America,

Mrs. Cazneau realized that European powers were determined to prevent the extension of the United States maritime frontier.<sup>6</sup>

An editorial in The [London] Times stated Britain's official position shortly after the execution of Narciso López and fifty Americans: "Possession of Havana by the Americans would be to the Gulf of Mexico what Gibraltar was to the Mediterranean." Also, the editor explained, "Traffic which more and more connects the eastern and western oceans" would be "placed under the gun of the Americans." In addition, "if the southern states are allowed to incorporate Cuba," the north will insist upon Canada which would "result in the expulsion of Europe from North America and the West Indies." The Pierce Administration was dedicated to the expansion of trade, commerce, and republican ideals that challenged British hegemony and French and Spanish plans to regain colonies and investments in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>7</sup>

By 1851, American sailing ships exceeded the tonnage of British merchant ships under sail, but the British steamer trade exceeded that of the United States. As United States industry grew and shippers converted to steam vessels and iron hulls, Britain feared they would gain control of the world's commerce. Under the Pierce administration, steam ship production tripled to 583,000 tons annually, but steamers required coal depots, warehouses, and repair shops at central points. Therefore, Cuba meant more than an outlet for slavery--it challenged Britain's control of trade. The British Navy, however, had 650 warships, the French, 328, while the United States had 70 vessels.<sup>8</sup>

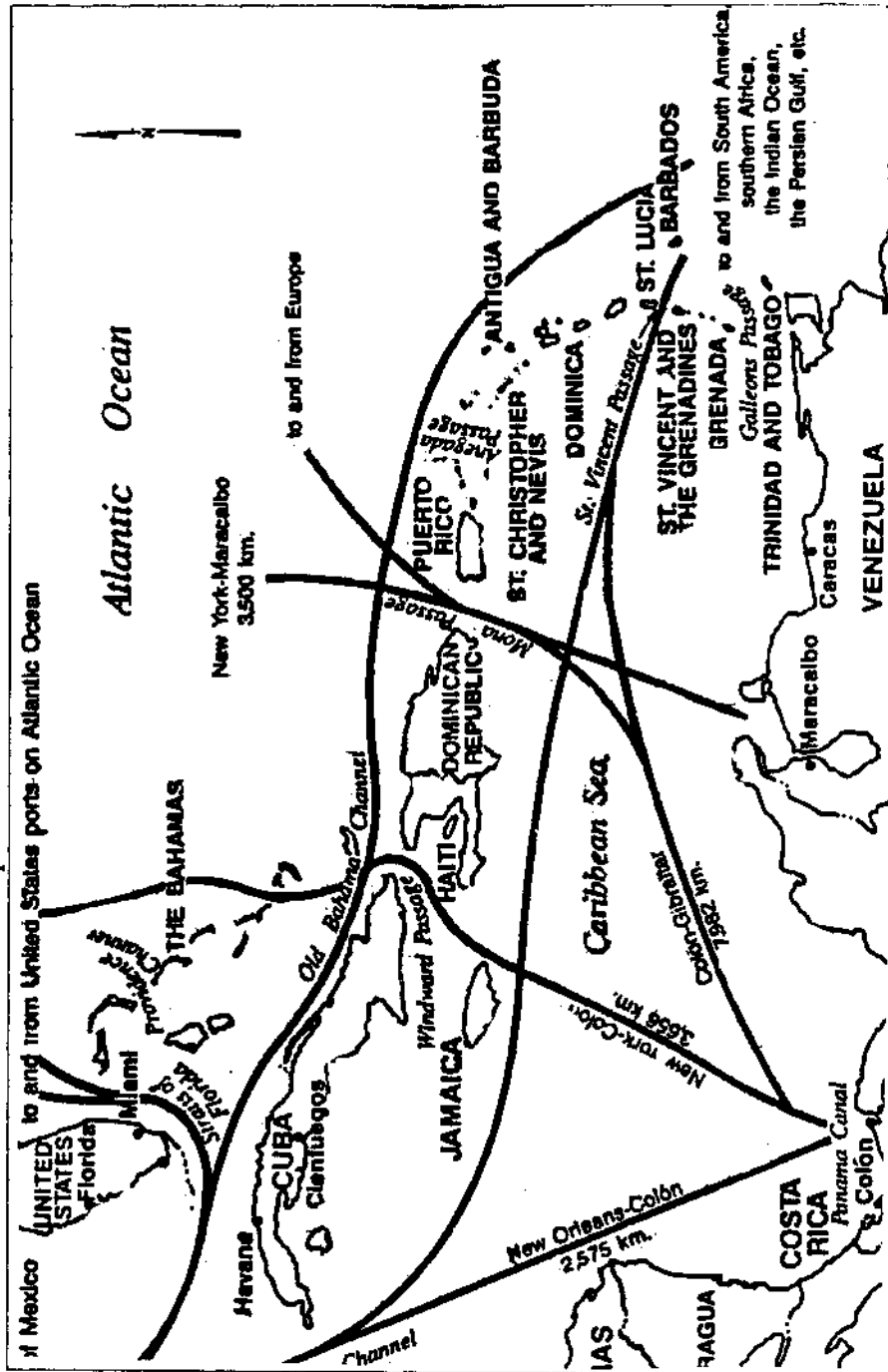
Few historians have explored the Anglo-American rivalry of the 1850s. One stated: "Britain shook off an American challenge" by switching from sail to steam and

from wood to iron ships. Another believed the “United States was not unduly alarmed by the strength of British Merchant shipping.” As Anglo-German naval rivalry grew, in 1902, The [London] Times dismissed any differences by stating, “England was mistress of the seas . . . by a normal and almost natural process of evolution.” Were she living, Mrs. Cazneau would have set the record straight.<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau had no illusions about British intentions. Britain had made loans to Spain and her former colonies in the 1820s and 1830s, and then collected those debts by imposing port regulations, taking a percentage of tariffs favorable to British goods, and selling Welsh coal at British coaling stations. With its superior navy, Britain supervised almost all the ports in the Caribbean except those of the Dominican Republic where France and Spain vied for control. Covering the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola, the second largest island in the island chain stretching from Florida to South America, the Dominican Republic shared the island with the Republic of Haiti.<sup>10</sup>

The two countries had a history of warfare. In setting themselves free of French control, the Haitians had invaded Santo Domingo in 1804 in a bloody slave uprising. Britain helped Spain recover its colony in 1814, and the Dominicans won independence in 1821. The following year, Haiti invaded and controlled the country up to 1844 when the Dominicans regained independence. In 1852, France encouraged Haiti to invade the Dominican Republic, and then offered protection to the Dominicans in return for the lease of Samana Bay. The Spanish Agent in Cuba then offered 5,000 Spanish troops to aid its former colony.<sup>11</sup>

Map 4. The Caribbean Sea Lanes.



The international focus on the Dominican Republic lay in its strategic location and control of Samana Bay, considered the best natural harbor in the Caribbean. Across the fifteen hundred miles of islands, atolls, and coral reefs that make up the Greater and Lesser Antilles stretching from Florida to the northern coast of South America, only seven deep water passes allowed commercial vessels to pass in and out from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the land bridges to the Pacific (See Map 4). The Straits of Florida represented the gateway to the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River basin, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Windward Passage, between Cuba and Haiti, funneled traffic from the Atlantic to Jamaica, Nicaragua, and Panama. The forty-mile wide Mona Passage between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico guarded sea lanes from Northern Europe to Panama. Samana Bay faced the Mona Passage that was also the North-South American sea route through the Lesser Antilles passes of Anagada, Guadalupe, Martinique, and St. Vincent. United States merchant vessels used the passes for traffic between ports on the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic, and to Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, and South America.<sup>12</sup>

From May until June 1853, Jane and William Cazneau were in Washington and in contact with Secretary of State Marcy. After having been named secretary with the backing of the New York Union Committee only the day after the Pierce inauguration, Marcy was still getting settled. While Cazneau was trying to get his Mexican claim paid by congress, Mrs. Cazneau wrote on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec hearings for the New York Herald. Perhaps, because of the "True Woman" idea that a widow but not a wife could have a professional life, or because of her reputation as a "filibustera," J. Gordon

Bennet published the articles without her signature. As an investor in the Hargous Company with her stock transferred to the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company, Mrs. Cazneau had a personal interest in the hearings. She gave the history of Mexican grants issued between 1826 and 1852. The latest was that of A. G. Sloo, a London-based company, arranged under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in 1851. James Sykes of England would construct the railway, and the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company would provide maintenance. The acquisition of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as a land bridge would allow United States shipping from New Orleans to the Pacific through the Gulf of Mexico, but did not solve the need for a coaling station in the vicinity of Cuba. In late June she wrote in the Herald on Cuba as a matter of security and with a commercial view of free trade, a step that would draw Cubans closer to the United States.<sup>13</sup>

Previous special agents to the Dominican Republic, Benjamin Green, Mike Walsh, and J. T. Pickett, had seen the Dominican Republic as secondary to Cuba. Because Marcy trusted Mrs. Cazneau's "talents and political principles," in November 1853, he named William Leslie Cazneau as special agent to the Dominican Republic. Perhaps, New York Archbishop John Hughes was involved because the archbishop of Santo Domingo preferred American intervention to that of Spain or France. By appointing Cazneau a special agent, Marcy avoided any problems with confirmation by the senate.<sup>14</sup>

Historians have credited Mrs. Cazneau with securing the assignment for her husband, but they incorrectly assume that she was the de facto agent. The Cazneaus needed employment, and Marcy needed accurate reports. Upon his appointment, critics ridiculed Cazneau as the husband of a more famous wife. In February 1854, John



Bigelow, the Free Soil "Barnburner" and political editor that John L. O'Sullivan had hired to replace Mrs. Cazneau at the United States Magazine and Democratic Review in October 1845, was editor of the New York Evening Post. Bigelow claimed that the Cazneaus were to annex the Dominican Republic as part of a papist plot and identified Cazneau as the "husband of `Cora Montgomery,' . . . famous as a filibustera." In a letter to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, James Gadsden, the South Carolina nullifier and minister to Mexico called the Cazneaus, "General and Mrs. Flora Montgomery." Primarily, historians have identified Cazneau in derogatory terms based on questionable post-Civil War testimony given during congressional hearings on the purchase and annexation of Samana Bay.<sup>15</sup>

Cazneau was qualified for the position as special agent to the Dominican Republic. He spoke and wrote fluent Spanish and understood the nature of Latin business culture. His Masonic ranking of general assured the confidence and respect of the Freemasons who had established the republic in 1844. As 500 pages of despatches indicate, he was the special agent, while Mrs. Cazneau handled public relations. She mingled with the people, assisted with a newspaper, and wrote on the Dominican Republic. With her knowledge of foreign affairs, she surely advised her husband, but reports were made in his excellent penmanship in formal style and not in her hurried style and scratchy scrawl.<sup>16</sup>

In early November 1853, Secretary Marcy mailed Cazneau's commission to Mrs. Cazneau in New York while her husband remained in Washington still trying to get the claim paid for the trade goods lost in Mexico. She departed in early December and traveled by British steamer because none from the United States called on the Dominican

Republic. Her journey was from New York to St. Thomas, a freeport in the Danish Virgin Islands that British shippers used to avoid the reciprocity treaty of 1815. She then sailed to Samana Bay by schooner. In Our Winter Eden (1878), she described the thirty-mile-long bay surrounded by verdant green mountains rising steeply in natural terraces to cave-lined rocky crests some 2,000 feet above the bay. The arm of the peninsula which protects the bay from the Atlantic Ocean slopes downward from Mt. Duarte, the highest peak in the Caribbean at 10,417 feet to below the waves until it becomes the Puerto Rico Trench, the deepest point in the Atlantic Ocean at 30,238 feet below sea level. Mrs. Cazneau described small islands in the five-mile-wide bay and a cove the pirate Jean Laffite once used as a base.<sup>17</sup>

Upon her arrival, Mrs. Cazneau contacted a “benevolent mutual aid society of about seventy immigrants from the United States.” She reassured the former Virginia slaves of their continued freedom. In the 1820s, they had migrated to the area as part of an emancipation and colonization program of the Methodist Church. As she made her way across the island, she countered European rumors that the United States wanted to annex the country and enslave the blacks. Officially, Cazneau was to develop trade relations, ascertain the extent of Dominican independence, and, if possible, lease Samana Bay for a naval station and a coaling depot. In his first report, Cazneau credited his wife’s calming effect for his warm reception in January 1854.<sup>18</sup>

Cazneau explained the Dominican situation in official despatches. As a guarantee of its independence, Haiti paid France annual indemnities for damages incurred in 1795 in Haiti’s war of independence. When the Dominicans established independence from Spain

in 1821, the Haitians invaded and forced the Dominicans to help pay the debt, but Dominicans did not feel that they owed the Haitians anything. Haiti had raided tobacco barns and warehouses since that time until a wide swath of territory along the border was deserted. Previous agents described the Dominican leaders as corrupt mulattos, but Cazneau made no reference to their morals or racial identity in despatches.<sup>19</sup>

In February 1854, Cazneau sent Marcy copies of Dominican commercial treaties with the Netherlands, Denmark, Britain, and France. He explained that Europeans had a monopoly on goods transshipped from St. Thomas. At Santo Domingo, non-treaty nation's ships paid \$1,500 per ship in annual port fees, but Cazneau assured Marcy, proximity favored U.S. vessels capable of making six annual voyages while European ships could make only three. Liverpool was over 4,000 miles away, compared with New Orleans and New York at 1,200 and 1,300 miles away respectively. Cazneau urged "economic penetration to sustain the only American power in the Caribbean." In February, Mrs. Cazneau advised Marcy that the general needed credentials to negotiate a commercial treaty. By May 1854, the Cazneaus were back in Washington.<sup>20</sup>

While Cazneau waited for proper credentials to be drawn up at the department of state, Mrs. Cazneau wrote for Moses S. Beach, who had resumed editorship of the New York Sun. She believed the acquisition of Cuba was certain and would help end African slave trading because, as she said, Spain was "an outlaw, a slave trading pirate." Mrs. Cazneau promoted Cuba as an outlet for slavery and the Dominican Republic for free blacks. She sent editorials to Beach that she had cleared with the cabinet in which she claimed that "four, if not six border states proposed to enter upon emancipation if they

could find an outlet for their surplus colored population.” As “foreign labor has made slave labor of little or no profit,” she asked, “what do we do with the large class who are incapable of self-government?” She urged slave holders to “move to the new colonies and set free the southern states.” The editorials were designed to prepare the public to accept the national Democratic program of territorial expansion for slaves and free blacks.<sup>21</sup>

Both black and white groups linked emancipation with colonization. Some Free Soilers saw colonization as the solution to the racial problem, while others took the separatist approach of good riddance to a separate nation of slaveholders. Black Masons had promoted Liberia as a place of opportunity. After 1850, Frederick Douglass and others who considered themselves Americans advocated colonization in the Western Hemisphere. In 1854, it appeared that only Abolitionists and divine-right slavery advocates proposed that blacks remain—one as complete equals and the other completely enslaved. Then, in early 1854, the Republican Party was formed to prevent the spread of slavery. The racist and anti-Catholic Bigelow was one of the party founders who wanted the United States white and Protestant. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, was another opponent of expansion and colonization.<sup>22</sup>

On June 17, 1854, Marcy issued Cazneau credentials to negotiate a commercial treaty of recognition and trade with the Dominican Republic and to arrange a lease on Samana Bay. Captain George McClellan, U.S. Army Engineers, accompanied Cazneau on the Columbia, a Spoffard and Tileston Shipping Company steamer. McClellan surveyed Samana Bay and soon determined the best location for a coaling station.<sup>23</sup>

Not everyone in the Pierce administration had the same goals for the Dominican Republic. In July 1854, in the letter in which he ridiculed the Cazneaus, Gadsden wrote Secretary Davis from Mexico that "slavery as practiced by the United States" would "regenerate Haiti and Santo Domingo." If Davis would provide a Navy escort, he would go on "an inquisitorial cruise," because "the president of St. Domingo might consult with me in his negotiations." He saw Samana Bay as a possible rendezvous point for trade with South America by "one homogenous American system" that would be "free from those conflicts at Washington." He cautioned, "We can not begin the work too soon."<sup>24</sup>

In September 1854, Cazneau and the Dominican leaders negotiated a treaty that gave the United States access to all ports except Samana Bay. The British consul and geographer, Sir Robert Schomburgk, got into contact with the Foreign Office. He wanted British and French men-of-war sent to "prevent the realization of American projects."<sup>25</sup>

On October 9, 1854, the Dominican Congress met in executive session and signed the United States commercial treaty. Cazneau sent Marcy a copy of the letter written to Dominican officials in which Schomburgk expressed his concern for the safety of the Dominicans whose republic would be "immediately endangered" by their association with the United States. Bigelow at the New York Post reported that Britain threatened to unleash the 40,000 man Haitian army on the Dominicans and "not a drop of white blood would be left on the island." Cazneau protested to the British and French consuls of their interference with President James Monroe's "principle of 1823." To invoke Monroe, Schomburgk reported to superiors, "was only what could be expected of a person of little education, and of much less experience in the transactions of questions of national

importance.” When the United States minister to Britain, James Buchanan, passed the protest to Lord Clarendon, the British foreign secretary replied, “The Monroe Doctrine is merely the dictum of its distinguished author.”<sup>26</sup>

That same October, Lord Crampton, the British minister at Washington, questioned Marcy about the Cazneaus. “Was it true,” Crampton inquired, “that the mission was to establish a rendezvous, a retreat for a Cuban invasion force? Were they planning to establish a coaling depot and fortifications?” he queried. Marcy answered he did not know what was in the treaty recently negotiated, but the United States needed a coal depot for steam vessels passing to and from the Caribbean. Crampton explained his alarm and that of Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon: “Cazneau and his Lady, by whom he was accompanied, were very notorious in favor of annexation by any means of Cuba to the United States.” In an earlier despatch to the foreign secretary, Crampton identified “Mrs. Cazneau as an Irish Lady who under the name Corah [*sic*] Montgomery, founded and for a time edited a newspaper in the Spanish language called ‘LA VERDAD’.” Aside from supporting republicans in Europe, Africa, and Latin America in the Cuban revolutionary newspaper, Mrs. Cazneau promoted an Irish republic while Clarendon was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>27</sup>

Lord Clarendon was more concerned about Mrs. Cazneau’s activities in Spain that summer than those of her husband in the Dominican Republic. Two different sources state that Jane Cazneau arranged a treaty with Queen Christina, regent for Queen Isabella II, for the sale of Cuba to the United States. Only a revolt in Spain prevented its fulfillment. No official records confirm that Mrs. Cazneau was in Spain, but the military revolt in June

1854 resulted in the permanent exile of the Queen Mother from Spain, and Mrs. Cazneau's whereabouts cannot be determined between May and December 1854.<sup>28</sup>

Charles C. Tansill, the foremost authority on United States and Dominican relations, described Marcy's reaction to Lord Crampton's mention of Mrs. Cazneau's name in October 1854. "Marcy smiled and replied, 'I assure you, Mr. Crampton, I have no dealings of any sort with that Lady'." Marcy, the irreverent democrat, shabbily dressed and with snuff perpetually dripping out the corners of his mouth, played the diplomatic game with the British lord by using Mrs. Cazneau's reputation as a revolutionary. Marcy was a strong advocate of democracy and ordered U.S. ambassadors and ministers abroad to appear at official functions in American business dress rather than court uniforms. He was not intimidated by royalty and knew that in Europe, the American ministers, James Buchanan, John Mason, and Pierre Soulé, were meeting with August Belmont in Ostend, Belgium. The Americans were discussing strategy for buying Cuba by assuming the British-guaranteed Spanish debt that the London Rothschild bankers demanded be paid. The Palmerston government had been drawn into the Crimean War with France against Russia and needed additional funds. The American ministers created a policy statement, the Ostend Manifesto, stating that all else failing, the United States would seize Cuba.<sup>29</sup>

Back in the Dominican Republic, Schomburgk reported to the Foreign Office that Cazneau had "employed every intrigue to induce the Dominicans to throw their selves to the support of the United States." United States currency was everywhere, he charged. He confided that he and the French consul "used every effort to prevent the scheme." In November 1854, the French fleet arrived and lay at anchor at Santo Domingo City. The

French Consul-General from Haiti, a Monsieur Raybaud, arrived and threatened the Dominicans with a cannon barrage similar to that dealt Sebastopol in the Crimean War, “if they gave ‘even one inch’ of territory to the Americans.”<sup>30</sup>

The Cazneus had planned to return to Washington in December with the October treaty, but it took six weeks for the document to be translated. When the treaty arrived, notations by the British and French ministers filled the margins and it contained an amendment stating that all Dominican citizens when traveling in the United States would have equal rights as U.S. citizens. Cazneau withdrew the treaty because he knew that in its altered form it would not be ratified by the United States Senate. In the Dominican Republic, all races were equal citizens under the law and in practice.<sup>31</sup>

Cazneau called on the British and French consuls and returned a lesson in international law. He threatened that “under the laws of nations, the United States had the right of redress.” The British, French, and some Dominicans feared they would suffer the same fate as Greytown earlier in July shelled by an American gunboat in protecting American interests in Nicaragua. Schomburgk wrote the Foreign Office and demanded that a force be sent at once to protect British interests.<sup>32</sup>

After Cazneau withdrew the treaty, the Dominican Cabinet provided him with more proof of European interference. Minister of Interior Felix Delmonte, Minister of Justice José Debrin, and land owner Alphonse Gundi, revealed that the British brought the warship, Devastation, to the capital, and the French consul announced, “We have now conquered Sebastopol, we will now throw our attention to the Yankees.” Schomburgk told the Dominicans that Lord Clarendon “was astounded of their negotiations with the



United States without British knowledge and sanction.” In their letters to Secretary Marcy, Delmonte and Debrin begged for help from the United States in remaining an independent nation. The Dominicans explained that the Europeans’ chief objection was to the United States leasing Samana Bay. A French company similar to the East India Company wanted the bay, and “with a private company,” Cazneau wrote, “they elude the principles of 1823.” Also, Cazneau explained, they intended to retain the Dominicans’ dependence on European trade.<sup>33</sup>

By Christmas, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Beach from the Dominican Republic of her views on territorial expansion: “We must end right here. . . . but the independent press must stand by the Dominicans, the Monroe Doctrine, and American interests in general or the Congress will stem the whole future as sure as you live.” She included a letter of introduction for Mr. Anguelo Gundi, the son of Alfonse Gundi, a Cuban republican who had migrated to the Dominican Republic after one of the many purges following the republican’s attempts to liberate Cuba. She explained that the younger Gundi needed a cheap press and type for around \$500 because, “Europeans had twice destroyed his printing presses and type.” Gundi was going straight to Washington then to New York. He would tell Beach everything that she could not write, because, she said, “the French and British ‘lose’ letters in the mail or they meet with ‘accidents’ and are lost.”<sup>34</sup>

In February 1855, Lord Clarendon notified Schomburgk that he did not have the authority to declare war on the United States. He added that he had conferred with the French foreign minister who concurred. It was March 1855 before Gundi returned to the tropics and June before the Cazneaus traveled back to Washington. Before they left, they

purchased Esmeralda, a forty-acre bankrupt and burned out estate at San Carlos near Palenque Point on the southern coast between the capital and the Haitian border. They were determined to return and fulfill their mission.<sup>35</sup>

As a result of the Ostend Manifesto made public by the New York Herald, in February 1855, more than a hundred rebel leaders in Cuba were arrested and executed. Secretary of War Davis summoned General John Quitman, Mississippi ex-governor and leader of Cuban activity, to Washington. After meeting with President Pierce and the Spanish minister, on April 30, 1855, Quitman resigned as leader of the Cuban junta. By then, Spain had declared a state of siege in Cuba and armed a black militia force, while Britain blockaded the coast with four men-of-war. The Cuban refugees felt betrayed and wanted vengeance, but they did not know whom to blame. They turned to the one person they knew that they could trust--Jane Cazneau.<sup>36</sup>

On June 20, 1855, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Moses Beach about the Cubans. They thought that Secretary of War Davis and the Southerners were their enemies, but, she explained, "My own idea is that Davis and the Southerners are sound, but you have been an observer while I have been a far and out of communication with the world in general for a whole year." The next week Mrs. Cazneau urged the editor to mediate in the dispute between the Cubans and Davis. She advised, "I do not mean that Quitman, Davis, or any other names ought to be spared, if the evidence against them can be proved," but "the major point is not to waste your powder. We want a new cabinet and keep the good men and even beneficial ones and drive out the evil ones." In her opinion, Pierce had been "the betrayed rather than the betrayer." In regard to Dominican affairs, she admitted, "There is

nothing men or women know about what our cabinet think of doing on the matter.” She also advised, “The Sun has a great work before it in the pacification of these terrible sectional disputes which are endangering the Union.” Popular sovereignty in Kansas had led to bloodshed, and the acquisition of Cuba had become a secondary matter to the administration. Three days later, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Beach a terse reply to his note suggesting that “official diplomats were playing a game over her shoulders.” She challenged, “I know my data . . . I was thinking of the conscience and undeniable lead which the Sun may or may not take in the question of the day--Shall the Union endure?”<sup>37</sup>

In September, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Beach about his attack on the New York junta. Beach took the side of the administration. She thought that the public feud “destroyed the prestige of the cause and killed the last chance for seeing Cuba free and American.” She informed Beach, “England, France, and Spain are pledged to the status quo of Cuba. Our cabinet have had these instructions since last May and will fight the Cubans.”<sup>38</sup>

While leaders in London and Washington worked to end tension in the Dominican Republic, the Cazneaus were drawn to Nicaragua where Anglo-American rivalry had led to the shelling of Greytown. Frederick Chatfield, the British consul to the Central American States of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, San Salvador, and Guatemala was determined to prevent the United States from gaining access to a canal route in Central America. In 1849, he announced to then Foreign Secretary Palmerston, that it would be “necessary to take a high hand with the Americans if we are to hold our ground.” He wanted a protectorate over all Central America. He had extended the protectorate over

the Mosquito Indians from Honduras into Nicaragua and to the left bank of the San Juan River where he established Greytown, named for secretary of the colonies, Lord Grey.<sup>39</sup>

In July 1854, British authorities at Greytown attempted to collect port duties from one of Vanderbilt's ships entering the San Juan River, fired on the steamer, then destroyed the buildings and property of Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company based at nearby San Juan del Norte. Mobs tore down the United States flag and Costa Rican authorities attempted to arrest the United States Minister to Nicaragua, Soren Boreland. Joseph Fabens, for whom Mrs. Cazneau had written, was Vanderbilt's depot agent and U.S. commercial agent at San Juan del Norte. When Captain George Hollins of the USS Cyane bombarded Greytown, the British accused the United States of over-reacting. The Pierce cabinet supported Hollins, and the governor-general of Jamaica recalled the Greytown officers. After the Greytown incident backfired, Chatfield backed Costa Rica's claim that the border with Nicaragua was the right bank of the San Juan River and included Vanderbilt's ports of San Juan del Norte and San Juan del Sur on the Pacific. Nicaraguans divided into the republican pro-United States Red Party with its capital at Granada and the pro-European White Party based at León. Granada was on the United States transit route while León was on the proposed trans-isthmian railway planned by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.<sup>40</sup>

Britain and her French and Spanish allies were united in their goal of preventing further inroads of United States trade and commerce in Central America. Jane Cazneau was drawn to such a conflict because she was determined to further the goals of the United States in expanding its trade and commerce and finding locations for slaveholders

and free blacks. H. L. Kinney, the founder of Corpus Christi and for whom William Cazneau had once led wagon trains into Mexico, had purchased a large grant of land in the western territory of the Mosquito Kingdom from Georgia speculators. He formed the Nicaraguan Land and Mining Company in the area between Lake Nicaragua and Honduras and supplied his camps by his river and lake steamers--a direct challenge to Vanderbilt's monopoly. By March 1855, Fabens worked as Kinney's agent.<sup>41</sup>

In May 1855, as the Cazneaus returned to Washington from the Dominican Republic, William Walker (1824-1860) traveled from San Francisco to Nicaragua with fifty mercenaries to protect the equipment, freight, and passengers of Vanderbilt's transit company under attack by the British-armed Costa Ricans. Walker, a native of Tennessee whose father owned an insurance company, had trained as a physician in Paris and a lawyer in New Orleans before he worked on newspapers in New Orleans and San Francisco during the Mexican War. In 1853 and 1854, Walker had led similar groups into Western Mexico, but failed to remove the French from the silver mines of Mexico.<sup>42</sup>

Initially, Attorney General Caleb Cushing of Boston supported Kinney, but after he challenged Vanderbilt, Cushing had Kinney arrested for violation of the neutrality laws as he left New York with colonists. Kinney was backed by twenty-one company directors from New York, Philadelphia, and Washington plus Texas Senator Thomas J. Rusk, Pennsylvania ex-senator James Cooper, Pierce's private secretary, Sidney Webster, and Daniel Webster's son and surveyor of the Port of Boston, Fletcher Webster, who was also the son-in-law of former New York Whig Governor Hamilton Fish. George M. Dallas, vice president under James K. Polk and James Buchanan's replacement as Minister to the

Court of St. James, was Kinney's attorney. Mrs. Cazneau promoted Kinney's venture to Texas friends. Kinney thought Walker and the administration were allies, but cabinet rivals representing steamer, sailing, and railroad interests failed to achieve any unity of purpose in domestic or foreign affairs.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, Vanderbilt's San Francisco and New York shipping agents, C. K. Garrison and Charles Morgan, challenged Vanderbilt for control of the Accessory Transit Company. In late 1855, Walker sided with Morgan and Garrison. Vanderbilt then hired an agent who worked with Costa Rican troops to oust Walker. Vanderbilt diverted his ocean steamers from Nicaragua to Panama, and soon Morgan and Garrison abandoned Walker. Walker survived with recruits and supplies from the United States where the Cazneaus, along with Stephen A. Douglas, Robert J. Walker, James Buchanan, and other expansionists, promoted his efforts as a war based on the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>44</sup>

Many of Walker's supporters, including the Cazneaus, invested in Nicaraguan ventures. Mrs. Cazneau owned part of the Chontales Silver Mining venture along with Colonel John Heiss, Walker's agent in Washington, and Fabens, who switched to Walker after Kinney's failures. Robert Walker, Stephen A. Douglas, and others had made sizable investments in Nicaragua. In April 1856, Mrs. Cazneau, always expecting to find the magic pot of gold under the rainbow, or create interest and commercial backing, wrote Beach of a strike that could "open a furor for silver mining only second to the California gold fever." In April 1856, Pierce recognized the Patricio Rivas Red Party government of Nicaragua with whom Walker fought to maintain the transit route. Pierce hoped for support from southerners at the Democratic Convention, but the war for Monroe's

Doctrine became one of allied Central American republics against Yankee intruders. The Rivas government withdrew its support of Walker, and Pierce withdrew recognition of the Rivas government.<sup>45</sup>

In May 1856, William Cazneau endorsed Walker's stand against the European forces in Central America in a public meeting in New York. At the end of May, Mrs. Cazneau arranged for Mrs. Elizabeth Pellet, a women's historian and wife of Columbia University professor William Henry Pellet, to have her lectures on Nicaragua advertised in the New York Sun. In June, Pierre Soulé and John Quitman had Walker's efforts endorsed by the Democratic Convention in Cincinnati. By this time, Walker, called "the grey-eyed man of destiny," was said to have been the most talked of person in the United States. James Buchanan received the nomination for president and ran on a platform of ascendancy in the Caribbean and Central America. The Cazneaus did not attend the convention because of "a severe disposition" in the family. William Cazneau was then in Washington and the Cincinnati Daily Enquirer published his letters that catalogued British, French, and Spanish activities in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua designed to control the sea lanes and commercial traffic of the United States.<sup>46</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau did not usually miss national conventions; therefore, she was ill, or had to rescue her son from some dilemma. In 1850, William Storm had married Cora Hayner, a McManus farm worker. Mrs. Cazneau obtained an appointment for her son in the New York Customs House working under Ann Stephens's husband, George. While at the Customs House, Storm registered twelve patents related to the use and safety of steam engines and improvements to revolving and breech loading firearms, plus a

submarine he called a "Nautilus system of coast defense," that was of great interest to both John A. Quitman and Jefferson Davis. His "peculiar mental condition" was symptomatic of manic-depression as he made and squandered fortunes and was in and out of mental institutions. Mrs. Cazneau had kept private her family life, but in 1856, at forty-nine years old and married six years, she had lost little of her spirit of adventure, her patriotism, or her hope of acquiring wealth.<sup>47</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau's investments, including those in Nicaragua, however, were risky ventures. With Nicaraguan support gone, Walker had himself elected president to legitimize his presence. Mrs. Cazneau may have attended Walker's inauguration in July 1856. She wrote Colonel Heiss from Granada three days afterward, and sent a contract for colonists to Heiss who conveyed the information on to Senator Douglas. Walker needed money, men, and munitions. In September 1856, Walker repealed the Nicaraguan anti-slavery law. In the northern states, public opinion shifted against him, while in the southern states he became a hero. The British believed Walker had created a place for slaveholders to sell their slaves before emancipation took place in the United States.<sup>48</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau's continued support of Walker after his making Nicaragua a refuge for slaveholders made her appear a pro-slavery advocate. Her stance was compatible with her goal of relocating slaves out of the United States. Her motives, however, were more patriotic than humanitarian. The United States was more important to her than the emancipation of an unskilled workforce of millions with economic chaos. After the Ostend fiasco, Cuba was no longer a viable solution. Thus, Nicaragua became a possible outlet for slaveholders unwilling or unable, because of mortgages, to free their slaves.



Walker's land and mining concessions also fit Mrs. Cazneau's goals for a secure route for United States transportation and trade goods to the Pacific.<sup>49</sup>

By October 1856, Walker was at war with reunited Nicaraguans and the allied republics under Chatfield's direction. Beach canceled the notices of Mrs. Pellet's lectures in the Sun, and Mrs. Cazneau wrote him of her disappointment. She alluded to rumors of ill-will between them that she would address in person if able to do so. She was ill, she wrote, and unable to sit up but for a brief time, or else she would have come in person.<sup>50</sup>

In November 1856, James Buchanan was elected president over American, or Know-Nothing, Party candidate Millard Fillmore and Republican John C. Frémont. The Cazneaus lived at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York and continued to work on behalf of Walker as the only American presence in Central America. Cazneau contracted to furnish 1,000 colonists for Walker, but made no attempt to embark until December 1856. Each colonist was promised free passage, 30 dollars, 850 acres of land, and provisions. They were to settle along the transit route and help uphold the Monroe Doctrine. The steamer Tennessee made it to Norfolk, Virginia, before mechanical failure developed. The colonists were lucky; in Nicaragua, Walker and his few remaining men were under siege, cholera was rampant, and they ate their mules to survive.<sup>51</sup>

In December 1856, Secretary of War Davis requested Mrs. Cazneau's address from Attorney General Caleb Cushing. In her reply to Davis, she explained that an American Confederation of Central America backed by Britain, France, and Spain would create a barrier to annexation. She pointed out that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) guaranteed against the confiscations that had occurred in Nicaragua and Tehuantepec, and

while citizens had recourse against England, it did not secure free access of transit for United States shipping. She called Nicaragua, "a monster," that had thrown Central America into the arms of Europe.<sup>52</sup>

In March 1857, Buchanan became president, and it became evident that he no longer supported Walker. Political adversaries Jefferson Davis and Stephen A. Douglas deserted Walker, but Mrs. Cazneau did not. She advised Buchanan that neutral transit routes and free ports could be secured in all of Central America and Mexico through diplomatic pressure and purchase. In April and May 1857, both Jane and William Cazneau wrote Attorney General Jeremiah H. Black urging his support for Walker's government which would encourage colonization along the transit route. Black and Buchanan handled Central American affairs instead of the aging Secretary of State Lewis Cass. The Cazneaus urged passage of the Wheeler Treaty negotiated by John Wheeler during his short service as minister in 1856 when Pierce recognized Walker's government. The treaty allowed U.S. citizens to own land and work mines in Nicaragua without giving up their U.S. citizenship. In May 1857, Walker and his few remaining men, famished, ill, and without ammunition, boarded United States Naval Commander Charles S. Davis's rescue ship and returned to the United States. Walker, feeling angry and abandoned, claimed his efforts were sacrificed for "the paltry profits of a railroad company."<sup>53</sup>

Jefferson Davis and the railroad interests in the Pierce Cabinet had overcome the steamer interests and abandoned Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. A proposed southern rail route would pass through Texas and the territory Gadsden had purchased in December 1853 from Santa Anna during a return to power. The treaty was

ratified in April 1854 and increased sectional animosity in the United States while in Mexico, it brought the downfall of Santa Anna's government.<sup>54</sup>

In spring of 1857, Mrs. Cazneau began writing for A. Dudley Mann and Colonel Heiss, owners of the Washington Daily States. As a Young American, Mann had supplied weapons to Europeans for the revolutions of 1848, and he served as Marcy's assistant secretary of state. The Virginian invested in steam ships and advocated the development of southern trade, commerce, and industry to encourage European immigration into the South. In 1857 and 1858, William Cazneau presented Mann's steamer projects at Southern Commercial Conventions. Heiss had become Thomas Ritchie's editor at the Washington Union during the Polk administration when Mrs. Cazneau had declined a position and remained at the Sun. Heiss had also been associated with the Nashville Union, the New Orleans Crescent, the Louisville Courier, and the New Orleans Delta.<sup>55</sup>

The Cazneaus had invested heavily in Nicaragua, she in a silver mine and he in the A&P Guano Company. Walker recognized both companies' claims, while the Buchanan administration did not. Mrs. Cazneau did not cease her efforts to change the policy of the Buchanan administration and wrote Attorney General Black on Nicaragua: "The steam kings of this city think they can win their own way by dint of money and a stubborn will." While she usually promoted diplomatic pressure and purchase, she advised, "The anarchies in possession of the Isthmus routes fear nothing but power--real absolute and tangible power--and a man-of-war is the best diplomatist in such cases." She further advised, "our trade and citizens never will be safe and respected until they are taught they must be." She

did not advocate the annexation of Nicaragua but advised an end to territorial expansion because it had brought “endless cares and complications.”<sup>56</sup>

In November 1857, Mrs. Cazneau suggested that Buchanan use Walker’s plans to return to Nicaragua with a military force as a means to intimidate the Nicaraguan government into signing the Wheeler Treaty. “The departure of Walker can thus be connected into an advantage by making all these powers anxious for your protection.” In her opinion, these governments “had no right to the protection of a navy created and owned by our people while they refuse justice to our interests.” She said of the Cubans, “Arms and munitions have been sent out and it is only a question of time and place how they will be employed.” She urged Buchanan to take advantage of Spain so that they would feel grateful for anything they could get from “the accursed Yankees.” She would call at 7:30 and talk with him further, as the last time they spoke someone was present that she did not trust.<sup>57</sup>

The Buchanan administration recognized the Nicaraguan government and not that of Walker. Mrs. Cazneau was appeased in that the administration appointed Mirabeau B. Lamar minister to Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Lamar, an old friend of William and Jane Cazneau, had invested in Mrs. Cazneau’s Nicaraguan mining venture and dedicated Verse Memorials (1857) to Mrs. William L. Cazneau (Cora Montgomery) because of her “social virtues--lofty principles and unselfish affections.” In January 1858, Cazneau repacked Lamar’s boxes in New York for shipment to Aspinwal, Panama. Mrs. Cazneau suggested that Lamar hire José Debrin as his secretary. The former Dominican minister of justice

understood the British tactics, and Cazneau packed Debrin's passport along with Lamar's belongings.<sup>58</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau had not given up on plans to make Nicaragua an outlet for slavery. In April she wrote Lamar from New York that the Nicaraguan government could prevent filibusters by allowing legitimate colonists into Nicaragua. She suggested that their families settle on the volcanic Island of Ometepe in Lake Nicaragua and plant coffee plantations. Also, she informed him "White and Company had an agreement with [Erastus] Corning, [Thurlow] Weed, and the rest of the Tribune clique for abolitionizing Nicaragua a la Kansas by organized Emigration Societies." The "New York legislature had subscribed \$300,000 for the cause." Nicaragua was not only a battle ground between Americans and Europeans for control of the transit route, but a source of further division in the United States. Former expansionist Whigs and Free Soilers in the Republican Party wanted Nicaragua as an outlet for free blacks deported out of the North while conservative Democrats wanted it as a relocation colony for slaveholders.<sup>59</sup>

Lamar found the meticulous Debrin a bother and fired him. By February 1859, the New York Times attacked Lamar and charged that he was in the habit of "allowing important papers to be scattered about on the floor of his office for all to see." The Times added, "he was so careless of his personal dignity as to be seen openly lying in a public warehouse, without hat, coat, shoes or stockings." Mrs. Cazneau defended Lamar in the Washington Daily States as a great democrat who mixed with the common people, drank whiskey, and often removed his coat to nap under a tree while president of the Republic of Texas. Privately, Mrs. Cazneau rebuked Lamar. He should pay a closer regard for

propriety, she scolded. She assailed his dismissal of Debrin who would have kept an eye on affairs. The Nicaraguan government had ratified a British treaty of trade and commerce while that of the United States lay untouched. She also heard rumors that Britain was forming a protectorate over Nicaragua. Sir William Gore Ouseley had established a colony in Honduras, and he planned to expand his sphere into Nicaragua.<sup>60</sup>

While working for the Washington Daily States, Mrs. Cazneau explored every effort to effect a secure passage for the United States trade goods to the Pacific. She introduced a Mr. Mata, an associate of Mexican Minister of the Interior, Benito Juarez, to President Buchanan. She informed Buchanan that the Juarez faction was willing to sell transit rights across Tehuantepec for a million dollars. This would “open the country to the right class of settlers,” meaning slaveholders as Yucatan had not abolished slavery. Another million would secure the northern frontier with neutral territory down to 28 degrees north latitude,. “Two millions will give us two free highways to the Pacific and put Juarez in the city of Mexico,” she declared.<sup>61</sup>

Buchanan pursued the opportunity to benefit from the turmoil in Mexico. Later when Juarez consolidated power and became president, on April 1, 1859, the Mexican liberal government granted William Cazneau land and right-of-way for a wagon road from the Gulf of California to Sonora. In less than a week, Buchanan recognized the revolutionary government of Juarez as the legitimate government of Mexico. By late 1859, Robert McLane and Carlos O’Campo had negotiated a treaty that gave to the United States, in perpetuity, three transit routes across Mexico, with the right to protect those routes without interference. Mexico would receive \$2 million outright and another

\$2 million paid in United States claims against Mexico. The United States Congress debated the McLane-Ocampo treaty from January until May 1860 but did not confirm it because of the possible extension of slave territory and the fact that Juarez was not recognized as president by all Mexicans. He represented a liberal faction struggling against pro-European conservative monarchists that for years had tried to establish a monarchy in Mexico.<sup>62</sup>

During her stint with the Washington Daily States, Mrs. Cazneau made a lasting impression on seventeen-year-old Henry Watterson, who has provided the only physical description of her as a Spanish-looking woman. His father, a Kentucky newspaperman, was serving in Washington, and his mother and Mrs. Cazneau were friends. Mrs. Cazneau stayed with them at Willard's Hotel when she was in Washington. Watterson delivered messages for Mann and Heiss while Mrs. Cazneau taught him the basics of journalism. When he received the Pulitzer Prize awarded for Editorial Writing in 1918, he claimed that everything he knew he learned from her. In his old age, a confused Watterson idolized her and credited her with perhaps creating every descriptive phrase of that era. Watterson thought that her editorials so irked the president that Buchanan sent her to the Dominican Republic to get her out of the country. While the messenger-boy may have known the real story of her departure, Mrs. Cazneau gave a different version of events in publications.<sup>63</sup>

The second Dominican assignment for the Cazneaus came about after at least two meetings with President Buchanan in the White House in early 1859. Unofficially, Cazneau's second mission was to settle claims by United States shipping companies against the Dominican Republic and acquire and develop coaling stations through private

enterprise. Just as the French had set up a French West Indies Company to thwart the Monroe Doctrine, Cazneau would develop Samana Bay through the use of a private company and thereby absolve the United States government of any involvement. Aside from Spoffard and Tileston Shipping Company, operating out of New York and Boston, Charles Morgan, with branches in New York and New Orleans, planned a steam line to Brazil. Both companies needed coaling and port facilities in the Caribbean. As Mrs. Cazneau recalled, "I was twice present in the library of the White House, when the project of a free port at Samana was explained and defended by General Cazneau."<sup>64</sup>

General Cazneau was adamant, and she quoted her husband, "I shall continue . . . until Samana is a free port, or the Dominican Republic is reduced to a Spanish dependency." She claimed that Buchanan and Cass scoffed at the idea that Spain would make such a move, but Cazneau replied, "Spain has all the cards in hand at this moment, and whether she plays them or not, depends upon how the game is likely to be accepted at Washington." The next day Cass appointed Cazneau as special agent with vague instructions to report on the "state of the Country." Cass and Buchanan hesitated to support Cazneau openly, she wrote, "because of the unsettled domestic situation." Whereas Cazneau had taken no pay during the first mission, this time he drew \$800 in expenses and \$8 per diem.<sup>65</sup>

From New York, William Cazneau sailed on the British brig John Butler because no United States sailing or steam vessels operated near the Dominican Republic. He landed at Puerto Plata on the Atlantic coast approximately 140 miles opposite the capital of Santo Domingo on the Caribbean. Mrs. Cazneau had arrived the month before on the



Ocean Bird and visited with former Virginia slaves of the Bethel Church whom, she reported, were still a credit to their Methodist Society. While exploring the countryside with an American planter and English mining engineer, she was injured and recovered at the home of the church leader. When Cazneau arrived, they traveled cross-country by mule, the only transportation available, and arrived in the capital city on June 14, 1859.<sup>66</sup>

In his first numbered report, Cazneau gave the results of their cross-country tour. From Puerto Plata they had climbed steep naturally terraced slopes to the valley of La Vega where tobacco grew and cigars were equal to the quality of Cuba. The valley stretched across the border into Haiti and provided the Haitians an easy means to raid tobacco and sugar warehouses. He compared the resources of the Dominican Republic to those of Mexico and Central America. He explained that mines once belonged to the sovereign, but when abandoned, reverted to the state. A French company had acquired all mineral rights for gold, silver, and copper deposits, but it was unlikely they would fulfill the contract. Currently, two Americans, identified only as Croswell and Norton, worked the gold mines. The northeast Atlantic coast had tropical rain forests, the southeast savannas had sugar plantations and cattle ranches, the central highlands grew tobacco and cocoa beans, and the southwest quadrant had desert-like conditions ideal for citrus groves with a salt lake below sea level. Each zone had rivers with possible ports. Cazneau proposed a north-south neutral zone between Haiti and the Dominican Republic to end border raids and to provide the United States with a free commerce zone and gates to the Gulf of Mexico and to the Caribbean with ports at each end.<sup>67</sup>

Cazneau's reports were numbered and written in triplicate, a tedious, but necessary process because President Buchanan, Secretary Cass, and Attorney General Black all handled foreign affairs. Also, previous despatches had disappeared or had been delayed through the British mail service. While four American trading houses once operated in the region, only Collins House of Boston remained and shipped goods by foreign ships. Cazneau wanted to place American trade on the par with that of Europe. In July Cazneau settled the Charles Hill claim. The Spofford and Tileston coastal packet had been seized by the anti-American Bonaventura Baez regime that had assumed power for two years while the Cazneaus were away. Although the present government could not pay the claims amounting to over \$275,000, they declared Samana Bay open to American shipping and that compensated Spofford and Tileston, then converting from sail to steam and seeking a coaling and warehouse depot in the area.<sup>68</sup>

On October 10, 1859, Mrs. Cazneau wrote Beach at the New York Sun on their arrival and reception in the Dominican Republic. The Sun had degenerated into little more than an advertising sheet and church newsletter that featured the sermons and writings of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. She was to write on all she saw, and the letter published in the Sun was similar to one written to President Buchanan a week later. Whereas the letter to Buchanan analyzed the political situation, the one to Beach focused on the former Virginia slaves of the Bethel Church. She began both letters the same; "Our residence here has been little better than an incessant round of sickness and frustration . . . up to this time there has been no day in which I have not been on a sick bed myself or waiting and watching on the side of fever stricken members of my family." Her husband was ill, and

Mrs. Cazneau's son, William, also lived with them. His wife, Cora, died about this time, and left an infant daughter that William and Jane Cazneau reared as Cora Cazneau.<sup>69</sup>

In her guidebook for settlers, *In The Tropics* (1863), Mrs. Cazneau blamed their fever on getting wet from the drenching showers of August and not changing from wet clothes. They lived in tents for the only permanent structure remaining at Esmeralda was an outdoor kitchen. She described the fever that began with a lack of appetite, followed by a headache, fever, and chills. She compared the malady to the ague [malaria] of the Ohio River basin. Anita Garcia, a neighbor and member of the Santo Domingo Bethel Church, nursed Mrs. Cazneau and her family with a home cure of green limes and hot water. After nine days, Mrs. Cazneau recovered, and the experience was a turning point in her life. Thereafter, she dedicated her life to the improvement of the black race.<sup>70</sup>

In *Our Winter Eden* (1878), Mrs. Cazneau admitted, "We are slow to unlearn the deeply ingrained prejudices of birth and education." After fifteen years of observation, she had learned that white men could work in the tropics and the two races of African and European stock could live together in the same country with equal rights before the law. Previously, her efforts to remove blacks from the United States had been to end sectional strife with little concern for the welfare of the individuals.<sup>71</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau provided Buchanan with a political analysis. The Dominican Republic "was positively at its last gasp as an independent state," she explained. A European party sought reannexation to Spain, while another party was for capitulation to French-dominated Haiti, and yet another hoped for a solution with the United States. Cazneau had assured the Dominicans that the United States did not want to annex the

island to extend slavery. "This black phantom is always paraded when the chiefs plan a revolt," she explained. She added that Cazneau had inquired of New York merchants as to the prospects of trade. "Our merchants wanted the free use of the safe harbor of Samana and it is open to them now," she assured. "Our citizens wanted access to the mines and this concession will be made when you authorize a treaty," she advised.<sup>72</sup>

On the same day that Mrs. Cazneau wrote Buchanan, her husband dictated a despatch to Secretary Cass. "The country was under a volcano of revolt led by the pro-European Baéz party," but he had secured a \$600 payment of the William A. Reed claim for the goods taken when the Spofford and Tileston ship was seized by the former regime. By December, Cazneau had recovered his health and wrote in a shaky hand that the French, British, and Spanish consuls had left the Dominican Republic. In January 1860, he wrote, "If the United States will take advantage of the present situation, the future of the Dominican Republic would be secured." By February 1860, Cazneau was encouraged, United States citizens were clearing Samana Bay of debris, while others worked the coal mines, and a New York and Baltimore firm was establishing a warehouse. "Only last June, four United States citizens were in business," he observed, and "they wanted to leave." Cazneau expected investments to total a million dollars within the year.<sup>73</sup>

In March 1860, Cazneau's optimism was shattered when the Spanish minister returned and announced that the Dominican Republic was to become a Spanish protectorate. The plan was backed by the military leaders and the European party. Also, Cazneau reported the presence of "a very questionable 'Emigrant Association' from the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay" that represented "a strong order lately organized with

reference to an extensive occupation in St. Domingo.” He further wrote that they “relied on the “rifle as much as the plough for affecting its views.” The Knights of the Golden Circle was such a speculative group that planned a slave empire in the American tropics, and publicized their activities in a Baltimore newspaper, The Cavalier. Cazneau was upset that U.S. Consul Jonathan Elliot had hosted an organizational meeting.<sup>74</sup>

By the end of July 1860, Cazneau reported that ten thousand Spanish troops bore arms and the army of the Dominican Republic served under Spanish officers. In addition, 1,500 Canary Island settlers had arrived and were assigned lands in “a systematic manner.” Immigrants included engineers and professional persons. Cazneau assumed the Spanish government sent the settlers “to create a strong link between Cuba and Puerto Rico,” both Spanish slaveholding colonies. In September, Cazneau requested commercial agent Jonathan Elliot’s removal. The Dominican Minister of Finance, Don Pedro Ricart y Torres, requested that Cazneau reprimand Elliot who “had become intemperate to a degree that made him unfit for the post.” Elliot made “incendiary speeches from his balcony,” and tried to incite the colored class to massacre the Canary Islanders. Perhaps, Elliot tried to create an incident as an excuse to enslave the blacks, or he was just angry that Spain had intervened before his group could consolidate power.<sup>75</sup>

On November 15, 1860, Captain Richard Kimball of the U.S. schooner Alice arrived in Santo Domingo harbor. Cazneau feared that Spain would confiscate the vessel. Kimball was an explorer for unclaimed guano deposits. In October, rivalry over guano had climaxed when Spanish officers sailing a Dominican vessel arrested an American crew loading the natural fertilizer from the rock island of Alta Velo off the Dominican-Haitian

border. To Cazneau, it indicated how far Europeans were willing to go to remove United States influence from the Caribbean.<sup>76</sup>

In June 1860, Cazneau drew \$800 for Joseph Fabens as an agent for Spofford and Tileston, developers of Samana Bay. In November, Cazneau reported two more payments totaling \$2,200 to Fabens. Cazneau warned Cass, "A Spanish officer bragged that the United States would soon be forced to abandon [the] Monroe [Doctrine] and repress United States interests in the Antilles." Earlier in the year, the Dominican republicans had granted Cazneau and Fabens land for colonies, permission to build a shipyard in Samana Bay, and the right to exploit the coal and other mines. Perhaps the payments were made to Spanish officials who allowed the activities to continue. Spofford and Tileston, through Fabens and Cazneau, had gained title to thirty acres of port frontage on Samana Bay, while Peter J. Sullivan had obtained a concession for a New Orleans steamship line.<sup>77</sup>

In December 1860, Cass resigned as secretary of state and Attorney General Black became the head of the State Department. On January 11, 1861, Cazneau warned that the Spanish protectorate over the Dominicans was to be carried into immediate effect. Cazneau believed that four-fifths of the Dominicans opposed the Spanish and that the country "tottered on the edge of revolt." On March 18, 1861, President Pedro Santana announced the end of the Dominican Republic, and raised the Spanish flag. Cazneau explained that Dominican officials had a choice: sign the agreement or leave the country.<sup>78</sup>

Upon election of Republican Party presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln, the southern states began leaving the Union in December 1860. On November 6, 1860, Mrs. Cazneau had written Black about the "treasonable discords of the democratic party" and

“narrow-minded senators [that] had cast Cuba and Mexico overboard.” William H. Seward, Mrs. Cazneau’s expansionist ally, became secretary of state, and in March 1861, Seward canceled Cazneau’s instructions as special agent, but he hired Mrs. Cazneau to return to New York. While William Cazneau remained in the former Dominican Republic, Seward paid \$750 for Mrs. Cazneau’s travel and office expenses, and an additional \$1,300 for her services ending July 1, 1861. No official records explain the fifty-four-old woman’s assignment, but editorials in the New York Sun and the Seward memo, “Thoughts for the President’s consideration,” reflected her thinking. She and Seward had similar Young American views of trade, commerce, expansion, and dedication to the Union. Seward and the New York merchants and shippers perhaps brought Mrs. Cazneau to New York to help unite the sections through a national convention.<sup>79</sup>

Although her name does not appear in its columns or masthead, in February 1861, the New York Sun again reflected Mrs. Cazneau’s distinctive style. At some point after 1859, Beach had left the newspaper, and the Sun had little more than church news. The paper soon returned to the style and substance it had when Mrs. Cazneau was political editor in the 1840s. As she had written Beach during the crisis of 1850, there was need for a “firm constitutional union praising journal, one that is not daunted by a monetary class, and that discern the right through the mist and smoke of sectional prejudice and demagogue sophistry.” When the slaveholding states began seceding, a writer in the New York Sun had stated that secession was impossible, while other major New York newspapers--the Times, Evening Post, Tribune, Herald--recognized the South’s right to

secede and while some wished the Confederate States well, others considered it good riddance to be rid of slavery and potential free blacks.<sup>80</sup>

The first indication of Mrs. Cazneau's presence at the Sun was on February 15, with "Opinions of the Press," a summary of editorials. The next day's editorial praised Abraham Lincoln as a "man of the people" and a cool-headed moderate. She urged that the cabinet should be a unit for the Union and not for the party. By March, she focused on the southern states, reporting the disregard for popular sovereignty and featuring dissent. She warned the southern oligarchy that the people would revolt in time. She also reminded the secession governments that stolen arms and ammunition from Union garrisons, claimed as their share of the government, should be matched with their share of the national debt. She predicted that money would be the great difficulty of the Confederacy. She appealed to the common destiny of a common people:

No secession ordinance can separate us. We are one people by blood, by interest, and by historic achievements. When the madness of discomfited ambition has ceased to pervert men's minds; when demagogical influences have lost their force, and when reason and patriotism resume their sway, the American people will reunite their interests and their national destinies, and shake hands as brothers in an enduring and glorious peace.<sup>81</sup>

With her arrival, the Sun began featuring news of the Dominican Republic and its re-colonization by Spain. In early April, Seward approached Lincoln with his plan for creating a foreign war and drawing the seceded states back into the Union. France and Spain were violating the Monroe Doctrine in Mexico and the Dominican Republic, he argued. When the memo became public, it only created sympathy for the Confederate States in European newspapers. The South Carolinians shelled Fort Sumter on April 12,



and Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to defend the Union. Seward lodged a formal protest with the Spanish minister, however, about the destruction of the Dominican Republic. William Cazneau kept Seward informed of developments.<sup>82</sup>

When Fort Sumter fell, the Sun declared that in taking the offensive, the traitors had cut themselves off from all honest sympathy and kindled a patriotic rage that enveloped all parties and all classes through the Union states. By May, Mrs. Cazneau mimicked the New Orleans Crescent, which had declared that a line had been drawn between two nationalities.

If the Southern journals would only tell the truth--if the Southern people were truly informed regarding Northern sentiment, the disastrous rebellion into which they have been so blindly led, would soon be at an end. This is not a war of sections. It is a war of principles, and the line that is drawn is by no means a geographical one. The Union wages no war upon the states, her children, but only upon the traitorous and usurping miscreants.<sup>83</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau called Jefferson Davis a "Pretended President" surrounded by the peacock aristocracy of the South exalting in the shows and airs of self-appointed rank.<sup>84</sup>

As Lincoln seemed to hesitate and Congress acted bewildered, she prodded the administration gently.

The freemen of the Union ask nothing of their leaders but to do their duty, and in that they will follow them loyally, with all they possess, to death and beggary, if need be, to save a country for their children. The people will find leaders, and find their way to the heart of this rebellion.<sup>85</sup>

Her object was not to criticize, but "to arouse our rulers to the full measure of their power as the proper leaders of the greatest military force, and the noblest movement for liberty, that ever was embodied and embattled on this globe." She began a regular column called "Spirit of the People," which outlined the formation of volunteer military units, parades,

and other patriotic activities. As Confederate raiders began taking their toll on United States merchant ships, in June a regular feature became reports of seized prizes.<sup>86</sup>

By July, and with New York's newspapers united in a solidarity of purpose and a people determined to defend the United States, Mrs. Cazneau's duties had ended. Moses S. Beach returned and by the end of the year he was listed as editor of the Sun. Mrs. Cazneau returned to the former Dominican Republic, and resumed the responsibilities of caring for her extended family. Cazneau reported to Seward that republicans were carrying out a guerrilla war from the hills.<sup>87</sup>

For fifteen years, Mrs. Cazneau had been an advocate of territorial and commercial expansion and a steam powered navy and merchant marine. In 1858, United States merchant ships carried 73.7 percent of foreign trade goods imported into the United States. The shipping fees paid by foreign merchants offset the cost of foreign goods and the trade balance was met by the specie earned by foreign freight carried by American ships. In 1866, the foreign trade carried by United States ships had fallen to 25 percent of imported goods, and the United States had a deficit trade balance with gold draining out of the country to pay for foreign goods and exports carried on foreign ships. In 1860, the total tonnage of the United States merchant fleet exceeded that of Great Britain by more than 500,000 tons, but by 1870 the total was half a million tons less than Britain and would fall even more relatively by 1880. As historian K. Jack Bauer declared, "Never again, except under the pressure of wartime survival, would she challenge for commercial supremacy on the high seas." Mrs. Cazneau's life and work up to and after the American Civil War helps explain how part of that decline came about.<sup>88</sup>

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85. "We think nothing at present warrant a revolution," New York Sun, 4 May 1861.

86. *Ibid.*; "More Prizes Captured," New York Sun, 8 June 1861.

87. "M. S. Beach, Editor and Sole Proprietor of the Sun and shall do its duty in quelling the unnatural rebellion," New York Sun, 1 January 1862; W. L. Cazneau to W. H. Seward, 23 August 1861, Special Missions, M37, NA.

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## CHAPTER 9

### “OUR WINTER EDEN,” 1861-1878

I held for many years with a ten-mule power of stupid obstinacy to the popular belief, white labor was unsuited to the tropics and the two races of African and European stock could not live and thrive together in the same country on the common basis of equal rights before the law.

--Mrs. William L. Cazneau<sup>1</sup>

After 1861, William Cazneau's career seemed to overshadow that of his once more famous wife, Jane, who became responsible for her son William Storm and his daughter Cora. She was hampered by conditions of war and the Latin culture that confined women to the domestic sphere. Most of all her progressive loss of eyesight hindered her reading and writing. Nonetheless, between 1863 and 1878, she wrote four books promoting expansion into the tropics, composed three essays that Joseph Fabens read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, wrote for the New York Sun, New York Herald, and possibly the Dominican newspapers, Courier de Stats Unis and Boletin Oficial. In addition, she advised President Andrew Johnson, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and Secretary of the Interior James Harlan.<sup>2</sup>

Almost as soon as the American Civil War began, former slaves in union-held territory became an issue. Former Whigs and Democrats who had worked for relocation of blacks before the war continued their efforts. In early April 1862, Joseph W. Fabens delivered an address before the American Geographical and Statistical Society titled “Facts about Santo Domingo, Applicable to the present Crisis.” The published speech

listed natural resources that would attract investors and settlers and resembled Mrs. Cazneau's Texas and Her Presidents (1845) in both style and format. Earlier in the year, Mrs. Cazneau had sent Moses S. Beach, editor of the New York Sun, the first group of "country narratives of what was best for a new beginner to do in every month of the year." All the scenes and the people were true, she explained, only the names were changed. Because the first group had been lost at sea, she would send copies by a Baltimore ship due in ten days. "I want the Weekly Sun very much and will let you know how to send it." As an afterthought she added, "This country is open to both [races] . . . but the Haitian Republic is likely to be the most agreeable to the colored man." In a few months she wrote Beach that "St. Domingo" was the "happy solution to the great problem of races." She declared that the tropics would not be given up exclusively to the blacks, and added, "while the South makes money, the North makes men," and men made "money without an establishment of brute drudgery." She anticipated a "large emigration from the ruined cotton states."<sup>3</sup>

Before she left New York, Mrs. Cazneau had editorialized in the Sun about New York lawyer Ben F. Butler's use of the Dred Scott Supreme Court decision that declared slaves property. As property, Butler reasoned, they could be declared contraband of war. He partially solved the dilemma of what to do with the slaves that had fled their masters or were abandoned in areas under Union control. By July 1861, contrabands were used as dock workers in New York where they were maintained by the government and their children schooled while 20,000 New Yorkers lived in cellars and 10,000 women worked as prostitutes. Because of the loss of shipping and trade and non-payment of debts by the

South, by the end of 1861 almost 10,000 New York businesses had failed and 11,500 New Yorkers were on public assistance. As conditions worsened, the unemployed took out their frustration on the contrabands. New York mobs attacked blacks in August 1862. As Lincoln stated to a black delegation that month, "Your race suffers greatly . . . by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence." Lincoln proposed assistance to those who would emigrate. Frederick Douglass was one of those who advised emigration to the Dominican Republic because he had no hope of blacks overcoming the prejudice of the white race in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

In 1862, Mrs. Cazneau promoted emigration to the former Dominican Republic rather than Haiti because that country sought to remain exclusively black, whereas the Dominicans had "perfect equality of rights to all lineages." It had been an "accepted condition for half a century and works," she added. Furthermore, she claimed, "The black has been found to be thrifty, industrious and progressive," because he is not "left to luxuriate in wanton vagabondage simply because he is black." She saw "no danger of war between races," but warned, "one is now hatching in the United States that will shock the world by its ferocity." She implored, "Nobody in the United States will believe me . . . anymore than you would believe me when I kept telling you that the south was organizing to quit the union if this government passed into the hands of the republicans."<sup>5</sup>

By July, Mrs. Cazneau had sent more chapters of the guidebook to Beach. In the accompanying letter, she wrote that blacks "should remain in the country of their birth," but added, "you and I know what an unequal struggle it will be if they expect to strive for social equality with the rich sons of the founders." While she wrote that Haiti was

“determined to keep the races restricted,” she did not see it in “the best interests of the American African family.” She emphasized, “I see all races, and every shade and mix here working well and in harmony.”<sup>6</sup>

About the time Union and Confederate forces met at Antietam in September 1862, Mrs. Cazneau complained to Beach, “I have exhausted every bit of paper I could find in this old ranch, the site of the life in St. Domingo.” She suggested “How We Live in San Domingo” as a title for the immigrant guide. She added, “My friends in the border states will learn a few things about the tropics,” but disclosed, “they have their eyes on British Honduras.” Feeling isolated, she complained, “We are always the same--a stray secesh or a rampant abolitionist occasionally breaks upon us.” She was dismayed at the war news of “the thousands of slaughters.” Believing the South was driven out of the Union by Free Soilers and Abolitionists she commented, “We are perhaps near the truth as regarding the confederate position than any others.” She had no respect for Confederate President Jefferson Davis, however, and concluded, “enough of this grievous civil war unless you want Jeff’s sayings and doings too after the fact.”<sup>7</sup>

Lincoln’s September 1862 preliminary Emancipation Proclamation became effective on the first of the following year. Fabens, as an agent for Spoffard and Tileston Steamship Company, traveled to New York in October 1862 and organized the American West Indies Company in anticipation of black emigration to Santo Domingo. As trustees, the Wall Street investors would oversee the operation. President Hiram Ketchum and Vice President Richard Kimball were members of the 1850 New York Union Committee, a coalition of New York businessmen that formed again in 1860 to coordinate Union



sentiment in the face of southern boycotts, urged conciliation until Fort Sumter, then formed the Union Defense Committee and helped arm and equip volunteer regiments dispatched to the front. Treasurer George F. Dunning supervised the U.S. Assay Office while Samuel L. Barlow was an attorney specializing in Mexican claims. Joseph W. Currier was assistant treasurer, and Fabens served as secretary. The prospectus listed assets at one million dollars--the amount of investment Cazneau anticipated in 1860 before Spain reclaimed its former colony. In 1862, Spain welcomed the former slaves because they could grow cotton, then in high demand because of the Union blockade of Confederate ports. The company built cabins in Santo Domingo City as temporary shelter until the laborers could be settled permanently in the neutral zone along the border.<sup>8</sup>

On December 12, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in Washington, D.C., and appropriated \$100,000 to aid in colonization of former slaves. The American West Indies Company was only one such project. With \$600,000, the Chiriqui Improvement Company formed to establish the Colony of Linconia in Panama, but Britain would not allow former American slaves in any areas they controlled. Bernard Kock arranged for 450 freed slaves resettled on the Haitian island of Île à Vache that ended in disaster and scandal.<sup>9</sup>

By the end of 1862, Mrs. Cazneau thanked Beach for "the god send" of the Sun and other reading materials. Because he had not received the last manuscript sent via St. Thomas, she sent rough draft copies of the last three chapters written on odd sheets of paper. Fabens, she explained, would deliver the last by hand and "call for any packages, Suns, etc." She requested "two or three chapter handbooks for notebooks on our trips." In addition, he should send "a ream of ruled paper with the lines marked distinctly on

account of my feeble sight.” She confessed, “I wrote at this moment without difficulty, but there is a whole week in which ordinary lines are invisible to me.” At fifty-five years of age, her poor eyesight was growing increasingly worse.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, racial violence came to New York as Mrs. Cazneau predicted. In August 1862, the New York Empire Brigade, hot and thirsty after a morning of drill for \$1 per month, had raided a hotel bar and a drunken riot took three hours to quell. In November more riots occurred as prices for food, clothing, coal, and shelter soared as winter approached. Historian Basil Lee found that a lack of food, medicine, clothing, and overdue militia pay were common complaints. After the casualties at Antietam and Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, military volunteers dwindled. On March 3, 1863, the draft began with a \$300 exemption fee for those who could hire a substitute. The war became one fought by the poor to free the slaves who were often used as strikebreakers. On July 11, 1863, a riot by dock workers displaced by machine loaders spread to one against the draft and blacks. Black men, women, children, and babies were killed on the streets, or dragged from their homes and tortured. The Negro Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue was burned and the New York Tribune and homes of Abolitionists were attacked. It took police and federal troops three days to restore order. Government officials advocated colonization as a solution to ease the racial prejudice and violence against blacks that was growing more intense.<sup>11</sup>

In all, five editions of Mrs. Cazneau’s guidebook, In The Tropics by a Settler in Santo Domingo (1863), were published anonymously in New York and London. Richard Kimball, the guano discoverer and vice president of the American West Indies Company,

wrote the introduction, but did not identify the author. Fabens perhaps took credit for the manuscript that he delivered to its New York publisher or his speeches on Santo Domingo allowed readers to infer his authorship. In Mrs. Cazneau's next publication, The Prince of Kashna (1866), Kimball clearly identified the author of both books as "C. M." (Cora Montgomery). Mrs. Cazneau's books contrasted sharply with publications by New York racist and ultra-conservative editor of the New York Day Book, Dr. John H. Van Evrie. Negroes and Negro "Slavery": The First an Inferior Race: The Latter Its Normal Condition (1863) was a continuation of the pro-slave literature Van Evrie had promoted since 1853 in Debow's Review. Van Evrie claimed that blacks would not work unless enslaved and had promoted a Caribbean slave empire.<sup>12</sup>

Jane Cazneau's In The Tropics was a self-help guide for blacks with tips for building homes, growing food, and producing cash crops each month of the year. Mrs. Cazneau's son resembled the story's protagonist, a New York clerk whose mental stability benefited by the physical labor of building his own house and growing his own fruits and vegetables. The clerk farmed a forty-acre estate by scientific farming methods and held demonstrations for neighbors. He sold his produce to the captain of a sloop whose main cargo was timber cut from the nearby mountain forest and transported to Santo Domingo City. With the clearing of the underbrush, abandoned orchards and a view of the sea emerged. From "Buena Vista," as Esmeralda was named in the book, an old road led to a beach for sea bathing. On the coast road, Yankee Charles, a former steward, ran the Stranger's Rest and provided customers with chowder and the Weekly Herald, Sun, and Dispatch salvaged from the trash of the British, French, and Spanish consulates in Santo

Domingo City. Reverend Jacob James and his Bethel Church congregation of former Virginia slaves still considered themselves Americans after thirty years and were characters in the book.<sup>13</sup>

In The Tropics, like Eagle Pass or Life on the Border (1852), was an example of Mrs. Cazneau's writing featuring people who made a choice not to be trapped by their environment and gained control over their lives. Neighbors were Dominicans, black settlers, and planters who had fled Cuba. During 1863, the Cazneaus settled about forty families along the Haitian border. The settlers did not experience the ideal conditions Mrs. Cazneau portrayed, but encountered hardship, disease, and civil war.<sup>14</sup>

Shortly after Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg sealed the fate of the Confederacy, Santo Domingo erupted into full-scale civil war. In September 1863, José Salcedo, general of the guerilla forces, announced the independence of the Dominican Republic, and by October, Spanish troops were in control only of the area around the capital. Spanish officials accused the Cazneaus of inciting and aiding the revolt and burned their home at San Cristobal, a structure of lathe and plaster with a thatch roof some fifteen miles west of the capital. The Cazneaus fled with their settlers to the British Consulate for protection. Cazneau lodged a protest with the U. S. Consul William G. Jaeger and filed a claim for \$10,000 against the Spanish government. The Spanish government then awarded Cazneau's salt mine concession to Davis Hatch, an American representing the New York speculator Augustus Schell.<sup>15</sup>

The Cazneaus escaped to Jamaica with their settlers and leased a thousand acre bankrupt plantation in the mountains of St. Catherine Parish. At Bog Walk, the English

version of Boca d' Agua, meaning the water's mouth, Keith Hall Plantation was seven miles up the Rio Cobre from Spanish Town. Mrs. Cazneau possibly selected the site because Linstead, three miles away, was a Jamaican produce and market center.<sup>16</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau's eyesight improved, or she got stronger eye glasses, for her handwriting became smaller and clearer. Always a voracious reader, she read every book in the decaying plantation house, including the hand-written journal of the former tenant. The result was The Prince of Kashna: A West Indian Story (1866). The book was possibly meant for former slaves as beginning readers because it was told through the first-person voice in simple language about life in Africa and the middle passage and had a moral about the rewards of honesty, loyalty, hard work, and education. In the introduction, Richard Kimball informed readers that the Prince of Kashna was no fictitious character, but as late as 1828, travelers recalled seeing the real prince, Sidi Mahmadee, at Keith Hall. With the end of slavery in Jamaica and his master's death, the prince converted Keith Hall into a residence hotel for tourists who took day trips to visit the grotto of Bog Walk. After the Prince's death, Keith Hall had fallen into disrepair until it was leased by the Cazneaus.<sup>17</sup>

In the Dominican Republic, fighting grew more intense, and in March 1865, the pro-American President José Salcedo was assassinated and the pro-European General Pedro Pimental took his place. With the end of the American Civil War, Secretary Seward warned Spain against their challenge to the Monroe Doctrine, and Spain, holding only the capital city and fearful of the largest military force in the world and a naval force of 400 ships, withdrew in July 1865. Great Britain became conciliatory and proposed that the

United States and Britain declare Samana Bay neutral territory, but Seward declined. By August, the pro-European president was forced from office by General José Cabral, a man Cazneau described as, “a warm friend of the Americans.” While General Cazneau resumed his work at Samana Bay and the salt mines, in August 1865, Mrs. Cazneau was in New York where she arranged the publication of The Prince of Kashna (1866). She encouraged the New York Cubans who had not lost their zeal for independence, but had assumed control of their own destiny rather than depend on the United States.<sup>18</sup>

The physical work and tropical climate helped Mrs. Cazneau’s son, who changed his name to William Mont-Storm, perhaps to escape his past, and lived in Harlem, a fashionable New York suburb. Between June 1865 and October 1877, he registered thirteen additional patents for a variety of items such as improved railroad spikes, a gas engine, a steam roller, a felting hat machine, a safe for ships, a clothes wringer, and others related to liquor--a proof meter and a refining and aging process. During this time, the forty-something-year-old Mont-Storm married Annie Eliza Hasbrouck, a woman nearer his mother’s age than his own. Her family always wondered “why she married him.”<sup>19</sup>

With the slavery issue settled and the war over, Mrs. Cazneau experienced a resurgence of energy. She, like Secretary of State Seward, expected territorial expansion to resume. “I handled the preliminaries of the Texas Annexation movement and the Sun not only had the press on that subject but ran up its own circulation at the same time,” she wrote Beach. “I would like to do the same with the new affair of the Antilles now looming up.” She warned, “I can have other papers, I have in fact been interested and urged to do it but no papers have such claims as the Sun abroad.” She wanted to repay an

old debt to the Beach family, "If you are inclined to look at the Cuba and St. Domingo affairs and allow me to work it up, draft me a line." She could be reached through J. W. Fabens, 29 Wall Street, who would forward her mail.<sup>20</sup>

From New York in September 1865, J. M. Cazneau wrote Secretary of the Interior James Harlan. She outlined Cazneau's project for a neutral zone with free ports populated by immigrants of all nations friendly to Haiti and the Dominican Republic. She suggested that Harlan read Cazneau's despatches from 1859 and 1860. She asked that he forward her letter to Secretary Seward. She also wished the matter laid before President Johnson. Harlan, a native of Kentucky, whose department was responsible for nearly four million freed slaves, contacted Seward who wanted a coaling station in the Caribbean. Former slaves, then under the care of the Freedmen's Bureau, would help increase an American presence in the Dominican Republic as well as populate the neutral zone.<sup>21</sup>

While in New York, Mrs. Cazneau arranged for her nephew by marriage, S. F. Storm, to rent a shop in the Sun Building for selling resort wear. Beach was in poor health, and on December 1, 1865, she suggested that he visit Keith Hall in Jamaica, "It was but eight or nine days from New York to Kingston, then by rail, and then by carriage to Keith Hall." He could take the route preferred by their mutual friend Mrs. Ann Stephens who traveled through Cuba to Jamaica to visit her old friend.<sup>22</sup>

At the last Johnson Cabinet meeting of December 1865, Seward announced he would tour the Caribbean "for a much needed rest." Seward, his son Frederick, who served as assistant secretary of state, the secretary's wife, Frances, and her sister visited the Danish Virgin Islands before they arrived in Santo Domingo City. General Cazneau

met them and took Seward to a private reception with President Baéz. Mrs. Cazneau had returned to the Dominican Republic at some point and was hostess and interpreter at informal meetings held with Seward and Dominican officials. Seward, although a Whig, shared many of Mrs. Cazneau's ideas on expansion. They both had urged the conversion of the navy and merchant marine to steam. Seward predicted that the "civilization of the West . . . will circle the world." After the Civil War, Seward set out to reclaim the Monroe Doctrine and pursue what he saw as Manifest Destiny; the United States stretching out through colonies and trade. Mrs. Cazneau preferred to use the term, "American System," or a "great circle of republics." At the time, Seward was negotiating for the purchase of the Virgin Islands, Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Midway, and Guam as coaling stations.<sup>23</sup>

In Washington, on January 30, 1866, President Johnson urged recognition of the Dominican Republic and recommended that General Cazneau be named Consul-General. H. E. Peck and Sir Spencer St. John, the United States and British consuls at Haiti, protested that Cazneau would work for annexation. The British commercial interests did not want the United States in the Caribbean, and racists and isolationists did not want the racial mixtures as part of the United States. In April, Seward and the Cazneaus exchanged letters in which Cazneau defended himself against charges that he had defamed the character of Jonathan Elliot, the former commercial agent noted for his drunken sprees. Also, Davis Hatch, who took over Cazneau's salt mine concession under the Spanish and lost it when they left, wrote Senator Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that Cazneau was a bitter Confederate from Texas who had him



falsely imprisoned when the Spanish departed. Hatch also claimed that Cazneau had prevented Seward from having contact with other Americans while he was in the Dominican Republic. Jane and William Cazneau both wrote Seward that General Cazneau had intervened to spare Hatch's life, when he had been sentenced to death because of his failure to help the Dominicans oust the Spanish. President Johnson appointed Cazneau Minister in Residence--a position that did not require senate confirmation.<sup>24</sup>

During the controversy over Cazneau's appointment, his father grew ill in San Francisco. Minister Cazneau went to his father's bedside, and on July 17, 1866, the ninety-seven year old shipmaster died. Captain W. L. Cazneau had spent his declining years in the San Francisco-Australian trade and had established warehouses in Australia. William Cazneau's brother, Thomas, was now an officer in the California State Militia and in the Marine Department of the State Investment and Insurance Company of California.<sup>25</sup>

In August 1866, the Johnson Administration appointed J. Somers Smith as commercial agent to the Dominican Republic and on September 17, 1866, recognized the government of the Dominican Republic. In November, Smith began negotiations for the lease of Samana Bay for a loan of one or two million dollars, but the government would accept as partial payment arms and a steam packet with which to protect themselves against Haitian raids. In exchange, the United States had the use of the coal mines at Samana for a coal and naval depot.<sup>26</sup>

Assistant Secretary Frederick Seward and Rear Admiral David Porter traveled to the Dominican Republic in January 1867 to arrange the sale or lease of Samana Bay. The Cazneaus served as interpreters at the negotiations. The Cabral regime wanted a loan of

\$2 million, but Seward would only consider a lease or sale of the bay. While negotiations lagged, United States business penetrated the formerly exclusive European trade zone. C. K. Garrison, Vanderbilt's rebel agent and one-time ally of William Walker, owned the International Steamship Company with a mail contract to South America. Garrison paid the first year's lease of \$100,000 for Samana Bay and paid a royalty to the Dominican government on the coal mines in the bay. With the collapse of the American West Indies Company to relocate former slaves, Cazneau reorganized the Santo Domingo Cotton Company, but that, too, failed with the 1868 death of Thaddeus Stevens, the chief proponent of providing freed slaves with land, farm implements, and supplies either in the United States or at some other location.<sup>27</sup>

By March 1868, General Baéz, whose loyalty reflected his opportunities, came to power for the fourth time and asked that his republic become a United States territory. Fabens, the agent for Spoffard and Tileston Shipping Company, with wharves and warehouses at Samana, met with Congressman N. P. Banks in Boston at the home of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and gained the reformer's endorsement. In September 1868, Secretary of State Seward also advocated annexation when he became president of the Isthmus Canal Company at an annual salary of \$20,000. President-elect U.S. Grant also favored annexation of the Dominican Republic to advance his program of naval expansion and the rebuilding of the United States merchant marine, trade, and commerce.<sup>28</sup>

In President Johnson's fourth annual message, he proposed "annexation of the two republics of the island of St. Domingo." Annexation of both countries would end the European financing of war lords. In the United States, Congressional supporters expected

payments so Fabens and Garrison arranged with Ben Butler to fund legislative votes. In January 1869, General N. P. Banks, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, led the annexation effort in Congress. Isolationists, radicals, and railroad interests organized against entangling alliances and external protection. The committee tabled the resolution without discussion by a vote of 126 to 36.<sup>29</sup>

According to diplomat Sumner Welles and historian Alan Nevins, Mrs. Cazneau promoted the annexation of the Dominican Republic in the Sun and in the Herald. In their books, To The American Press (1870) and Our Winter Eden (1878), the Cazneaus promoted Samaná Bay as a free port and opposed annexation. On January 9, 1869, the Herald published a letter by Mrs. Cazneau on “St. Domingo” advocating Samana Bay as a free port. In March 1869, Fabens formed the United States Geological and Mineralogy Survey Company with investors William L. Halsey, Ben Halladay, S. L. M. Barlow, Cyrus McCormick, and John Young, Richard Kimball’s brother-in-law. The investors wanted annexation to stabilize the government. Also, because of Senate objections to foreign bases, investors saw annexation as a means to gain support in Congress for the coal and naval depot. On December 22, 1869, the Herald published the text of a paper that Fabens read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York. Resources of Santo Domingo (1869), with the exception of the concluding paragraph, was identical to Facts about Santo Domingo Applicable to the Present Crisis (1862) that he read and published in April 1862. Mrs. Cazneau, with the exception of the final paragraph, was author of both publications with the same type of promotional material that she had produced for years with sub-headings on history, geography, topographical, climate, soil

and productions, forests, agricultural products, fruits and vegetables, animals, mineral resources, politics, and inducements for colonization.<sup>30</sup>

In March 1869, newly inaugurated President Ulysses S. Grant saw annexation as a step in making “America for the Americans.” He understood the strategic value of a coaling station and a naval port at Samana Bay. During the Civil War, Confederate ships operating out of Havana had devastated Union shipping. Also during the war, Britain had converted their merchant marine to iron and propeller driven steam ships, built Confederate raiders that destroyed U.S. merchant shipping, and as a neutral power, taken over a large percentage of American-owned ships and shipping companies. As historian K. Jack Bauer noted, few American shippers survived the trade dislocations caused by the Civil War. In addition to the 105,000 tons of shipping seized or destroyed by C.S.A. raiders, 800,000 tons were absorbed by neutral foreign flags. Not only had foreign trade carried by American bottoms dropped from 73.7 percent to 25 percent during the war, Britain had established direct trade with Southern ports and bypassed New York merchants and shippers. Samana Bay would assist in developing alternate trade and commerce with the West Indies and South America.<sup>31</sup>

In May 1869, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish informed the British foreign minister that certain persons in high positions had no intention of allowing the United States to buy Samana Bay or annex the Dominican Republic. Fish, former Whig governor of New York, was concerned about editorials in the Herald and the New York Sun praising the republic at a time he wanted to negotiate the losses incurred by Union maritime shipping by the British-built Confederate raiders. Also, he feared “the

incorporation of these people of the Latin race would be but the beginning of years of conflict.” Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles shared Fish’s views and saw no need for a port. He was disposing of the naval vessels that depended on coal and coaling stations and was in the process of reducing the navy to twenty-nine ships, only seven more than in 1829 and seventeen less than in 1853 when the challenge for the tropical trade began. Furthermore, in May 1869, the Union and Pacific railroads met in Utah, and rail transport connected the Pacific from New York to San Francisco.<sup>32</sup>

President Grant, however, sent naval vessels to Santo Domingo to investigate finances, commerce, and the attitude of the Dominicans toward the United States. The mercantile house of Spoffard, Tileston, & Co., who remained under the U.S. flag, was struggling to overcome losses resulting from the war and to regain its former business as the largest deep-water shipping firm in the United States. They obtained a concession for a steamship line from New York to Samana Bay, and in June 1869, began regular service with the steamer Typee. On July 4, 1869, Fabens, Cazneau, Paul Spoffard, Thomas Tileston, Edward Prime, and Edward P. Hollister obtained a charter for the National Bank of Santo Domingo to stabilize the Dominican currency.<sup>33</sup>

Grant also sent his personal aide and engineer, General Orville Babcock, to examine Samana Bay. Mrs. Cazneau wrote of the meeting in a Herald article published on August 13, 1869, in which the Cazneaus served as hosts and interpreters for a party of about thirty Dominican and U.S. officials who met with President Baez at their rebuilt cottage and at the Baez home at Azula. Business people and those interested in the Panama Canal and trade with the western coast of South America were in attendance.<sup>34</sup>

The Santo Domingo situation was complicated by Fish's agenda to reopen talks with Britain about restitution of damages by Confederate raiders and by President Grant's support of the Cuban war for independence. The Republicans had refused a treaty with Britain over the Confederate raiders negotiated by Seward because of partisan differences with the Johnson administration. The Cubans declared independence and freed their slaves in September 1868, and former master and slave fought the Spanish troops with the slogan "Cuba for the Cubans." Grant wanted to recognize the rebels, but Fish convinced Grant he had two choices, war with Spain over Cuba or the annexation of the Dominican Republic. Grant chose Samana Bay, the "Gibraltar of the Antilles."<sup>35</sup>

In November 1869, General Babcock returned to the Dominican Republic with a treaty for the lease of Samana Bay and another for the annexation of the republic. Again, the Cazneaus served as interpreters at meetings where Major R. H. Perry, the new commercial agent, signed the treaties as United States representative. President Grant paid the next \$100,000 for the annual lease of Samana Bay with secret service funds. The United States flag was raised over Samana Bay, and Grant ordered the U.S.S. Nantasket stationed in the bay to prevent Haitian interference.<sup>36</sup>

It appeared the Cazneaus' plans were to be realized. Then, Davis Hatch, the disgruntled salt mine operator, wrote his Connecticut senator in February 1870 claiming that he was imprisoned again to prevent his working against annexation. In answer to charges that Hatch levied against him, in April 1870, William Cazneau published, To the American Press: The Dominican Negotiations from 1850 to 1870, saying, "I do not propose to discuss the political expediency of annexation--of that every American will

judge for himself.” Cazneau claimed that from 1850 to 1870, cabinets, statesman, naval officers, and patriots, understood “the importance and feasibility of acquiring a superior naval station in these seas.” Cazneau outlined the three stages of negotiations for Samana Bay as a lease in the Pierce administration, a free port during the Buchanan and Lincoln administrations, and the current annexation phase that came about because it was seen as the only way to get confirmation by Congress and to end the raids from Haiti sponsored by Europeans. As Cazneau wrote, it was not the “inevitable destiny” that “territorial fruits” would gravitate to the United States because Europeans were working to confederate the West Indies and keep it out of the American trade system.<sup>37</sup>

On May 27, 1870, Perry, the commercial agent, handed Secretary Fish a “bundle of papers,” which, according to Fish’s diary entry, “present no specific fact.” Nonetheless, as Nevins wrote, it was the type of evidence Fish needed to destroy the annexation movement. Fish had Perry contact Senator Orris S. Ferry of Connecticut who had the Hatch letters. Hatch’s letters and Perry’s claims did irrevocable damage to the Cazneaus’ reputations and linked their names with the “Samana Bay Treaty Ring,” the twenty who would make 20 percent profit--the first scandal of the Grant administration.<sup>38</sup>

On May 31, 1870, Grant demanded that Congress approve the annexation treaty. He said that the bay would lead to “a coast-wise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine.” Grant saw annexation as a matter of national security--the United States needed to rebuild its deepwater merchant marine and help reduce the gold drain from the treasury. During the Senate debate on annexation, on June 8, 1870, Senator Ferry of Connecticut rose “flourishing a bundle of

documents which purported to show how foully Hatch had been treated by Cazneau," and he demanded an investigation. A special investigating committee was appointed with Senator James Nye as Chairman.<sup>39</sup>

The Nye Committee hearings opened with a letter Perry had since written to Fish detailing how Fabens, Cazneau, Baez, and Babcock would benefit at the expense of the U.S. Treasury. Perry then testified that Cazneau was "running the whole thing down there," and too claimed that Cazneau was a Confederate from Texas. During the Civil War, Perry had shot his commanding officer during a mutiny, but charges were dismissed. He was transferred to New Orleans where he was charged with mule theft, bank swindling, and rape. Although he faced court-martial, he resigned, went to Mexico, and fought against Maximilian. Perry was accepted into the U. S. Army during Reconstruction and was police chief of Galveston when appointed commercial agent to the Dominican Republic. The nephew of Commodore Oliver H. Perry had wanted the U.S. Marshall job in Western Texas, and as he told Fabens, he wanted fame and not money. In the course of the hearings, Perry's background became public along with the knowledge that he had returned to the states at the request of the Dominican government. His "contempt for the colored citizens" was evident. The government complained that he had slapped a black plaintiff's face in court, then retired to his office and claimed diplomatic immunity.<sup>40</sup>

The most damaging testimony against Cazneau was that of Davis Hatch. Hatch had come to the Dominican Republic in 1862 as an agent for August Schell and conservative New York investors. Dominican republicans arrested Hatch in 1866 for



aiding Spain during the war, and again in 1868 for trying to overthrow the Baez government that urged annexation. Hatch claimed that he was imprisoned for writing letters against Cazneau's appointment as U. S. Consul in 1866 and to prevent him from opposing annexation. During the hearings, Cazneau remained in charge of operations in the Dominican Republic and only sent a deposition. Fabens and Babcock gave testimony favorable to themselves. Fabens, who had shown no loyalty in the past, portrayed Cazneau as the manipulator of events and himself merely as an agent following orders. Babcock defended Cazneau as being loyal to the Union but with sympathy for the Southern dilemma of slavery.<sup>41</sup>

The majority report of the Nye Committee exonerated Cazneau of any wrongdoing, affirmed the guilt of Hatch in trying to overthrow the Baez government, and questioned Perry's credibility. The minority report, however, written by Missouri Senator Carl Schurz, took issue with every point. While Grant stood behind Cazneau, two thousand copies of Schurz's report maligned Cazneau. Schurz represented Central and Union Pacific railroad interests who faced freight competition from the merchant marine and had yet to show a profit after a year's operation. Guilty of distributing spoils and hoping to make a profit from twenty years on the front lines of the trade and commerce war, the Cazneaus became scapegoats while Wall Street bankers, businessmen, and corrupt politicians escaped notice.<sup>42</sup>

In June 1870, the Senate voted against the annexation of the Dominican Republic, but Grant did not give up on obtaining a naval base at Samana Bay. He appointed a commission to investigate. The special commission was headed by Dr. Andrew White, a

respected reformer, and included Frederick Douglass, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, and Speaker of the House Ben Wade. Beginning in January 1871, the commissioners traveled through the Dominican Republic and Haiti for twenty-two days. They urged annexation. Douglass, discouraged by what he saw in Haiti, wrote, "If this is the outcome of self-government by my race, Heaven help Us!" White agreed, writing, "The great hope of the masses was that annexation would bring them peace and security." The Committee published its report in April but it did nothing to change the votes in Congress. Howe remained at Samana, started a mission school, and received appointment by President Grant as Governor of Samana. With Senate rejection of a coaling and naval station on June 16, 1871, Grant had no alternative or secret funds to pay another year's lease of the bay. He revoked the Navy orders and the stars and stripes came down at Samana Bay. After another survey, Panama investors realized a canal would cost more than they were willing to invest, and withdrew support of the coaling and naval station.<sup>43</sup>

Dr. Howe and his wife Julia, composer of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," remained at the Samana mission until 1874. That year, the Dominican Republic erupted into war as pro-American "Reds" fought the "Blues," European-backed liberals supplied from Haiti. The British consul directed Haitian operations and would make peace if the United States left Samana and let Haiti have the mountains along the border. The European-backed General Ignacia Gonzales overthrew Baez and abrogated the treaty with the United States for the 99-year lease of Samana Bay. Britain loaned Gonzales several million dollars at no interest and with no payment schedule. Spoffard and Tileston closed their wharves, warehouses, and coal depot, and went bankrupt. It would be two years

before Richard Henry Dana, the crusading editor of New York Sun, revealed how railroad interests had corrupted Congress.<sup>44</sup>

For seventeen years, General and Mrs. Cazneau had invested their lives, their fortunes, and their reputations to extend United States trade, commerce, and republican ideals into the Caribbean and Central America. While the general tried to salvage investments in the Dominican Republic, Mrs. Cazneau returned to Jamaica. On October 15, 1872, William Leslie Cazneau and wife, Jane Montgomery Cazneau, purchased the bankrupt Keith Hall Plantation from James Derbyshire and Alexander Turnbull. Cazneau mulled his failures and complained to his brother-in-law, R. O. W. McManus, "Fish . . . and his son-in-law Webster know what they received for their services, but this golden market will soon be closed upon them." Sidney Webster was Spain's Washington agent. Cazneau called the Samana Bay controversy "an astounding chapter of infamy," but he was optimistic and predicted "the whole story will see the light someday."<sup>45</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau performed her mental gymnastics and restored Keith Hall as a residential hotel for tourists. She described Keith Hall as an "old fashioned place among the wildly romantic hills of St. Catherine." The house had been built by the governor of Jamaica, Sir Basil Keith, at the time of the American Revolution. Day-trips took tourists from the British capital of Kingston with its ruins of Port Royal by railway along the Rio Cobre and across the sugar cane fields of the Liguanea Plain stretched between the Blue Mountains and the sea. From Spanish Town, the old Spanish capital of St. Jago de La Vega with narrow, winding streets, tourists traveled by buggies beside the Rio Cobre to

Bog Walk, lunched at Keith Hall, then went to Linstead across the mountains to Port Marie on the north shore where steamers waited for tourists to continue their cruise.<sup>46</sup>

Keith Hall was Mrs. Cazneau's winter eden. The place had long been a tourist attraction. Lady Nugent concluded the excursion from Spanish Town to Keith Hall was "the most romantic, beautiful, and picturesque road she ever saw." She described the path that wound upward along the side of a mountain and at places was excavated into the rock so that the mountain hung over the road almost touching the horses' heads. At the bottom of the precipice was a beautiful and rapid river. The mountains were perpendicular, with trees growing as if out of rock. The inclined road "wound between huge boulders that lay about with trees and shrubs still growing on them." Upon leaving the gorge, whose mists rose above the rim of the cliffs, she ate lunch at the manor house.<sup>47</sup>

In 1891, Stuart Villers, a South America and the West Indies traveler, wrote that Bog Walk was the most impressive site he had visited in South America and the West Indies. The view of the deep blue-green mountains above and the purple plain below when viewed through the gorge, had not changed since Lady Nugent's visit, but at the edge of the cliff Villers described a magnificent garden of flowering shrubs, trailing, creeping, and climbing plants at a picturesque little hotel as the perfect "hiatus for artists and lovers of nature." He did not name the park designed and created by Mrs. Cazneau's Garden School, but Cazneau Park was located on Jamaican maps until the 1950s. While she supervised the Cazneau School and reared granddaughter Cora, Mrs. Cazneau entertained guests and swapped reminiscences with visitors and old friends at Keith Hall. Ann Stephens may have come each winter and listened to stories that inspired her serials.

The general found Keith Hall too remote from which to conduct business in Kingston with the U.S. Consul J. K. Roberts, son of shipping tycoon, Marshall Roberts.<sup>48</sup>

Roberts was involved in the Cuban War of Independence (1868-1878), and it seems impossible that Mrs. Cazneau and the general were not involved in some way. Back in August 1865, Mrs. Cazneau had claimed, "By an odd set of coincidences I have been better informed than the state department itself." She lectured editor Beach, "I think we can and ought to encourage the Cubans of all colors without ruining the country." In 1866, the New York Cubans issued a pamphlet, Voice of America, possibly written by Mrs. Cazneau. As the rebellion spread throughout Cuba, Spain increased its military forces from 14,000 to 110,000 soldiers, but the 26,000 Cubans and their 40,000 freed slaves fought a guerrilla war partly supplied out of Kingston on ships owned by Roberts.<sup>49</sup>

Cuban rebels were supplied out of Jamaica by the Virginus, a side wheel steamer, originally built as a Confederate blockade runner and currently owned by Marshall Roberts and his son. In late October 1873, a Spanish gunboat captured the Virginus, heavily loaded with arms and supplies and officials shot Captain Joseph Fry, 7 Americans, 16 British volunteers, and 28 Cubans before British officials stopped the executions. With Spanish losses at 80,000 men, Spain wanted peace, but the Cubans fought on for independence. While the Virginus was being returned to the United States, Spanish officials claimed she was lost at sea.<sup>50</sup>

By 1874, the sixty-seven year-old Cazneaus could offer the Cubans little more than moral support. They had little money, Mrs. Cazneau was almost blind, and General Cazneau had a lingering case of malaria. Their only wealth was in undeveloped land in the

war-torn Dominican Republic and unrecorded land deeds in Texas. The Cazneaus had deeds to one-half of the Rivas Grant amounting to 55,350 acres and a city lot in Eagle Pass where Cazneau's store and warehouse had stood near an additional 100 acres. Mrs. Cazneau had 1,000 acres on the Rio Grande at Kingsbury's Falls and still claimed the eleven leagues purchased in 1833. The Cazneaus made plans to return to Texas and recover their Eagle Pass property, which was then in the possession of a foreign-owned cattle syndicate managed out of San Antonio.<sup>51</sup>

In June 1875, Cazneau wrote R. O. W. McManus that he was negotiating the sale of their Jamaican property and would proceed to Texas. General and Mrs. Cazneau sent McManus their power of attorney and deeds to record. Cazneau's family estate was settled after his brother's recent death, and he gave what claims he had on the Pacific Coast to his brother's sons. All else he settled on Mrs. Cazneau, "For my great object is to secure her happiness and that I feel she is most likely to find in the sympathies of her own kindred." Mrs. Cazneau feared that the Texas land situation was similar to a case in western New York that after twenty years and great outlay brought no return. Cazneau was more concerned with the land and mining interests in St. Domingo that were "far too large to be lightly sacrificed." He was torn whether to go first to Santo Domingo or directly to Texas.<sup>52</sup>

As Cazneau explained to Robert McManus, when he left for Washington in 1853 to file his claim for loss of goods in Mexico, he expected to return to Texas. When he received the deed, McManus recorded them in Eagle Pass, the county seat of Maverick County. County Clerk Albert Turpe informed McManus that William Stone, a store clerk

when Cazneau was in Eagle Pass, had obtained a tax deed on part of the property. Turpe offered to take possession of a place called by the local Mexicans "El rancho del general," where one wall of the adobe house still remained. Turpe soon advised McManus to get a good attorney for there were more claimants than land and the case would go to court. McManus then hired S. Rhodes Fisher, an Austin attorney, who as an infant had lived in the same room with Jane McManus at Cazneau and Grasmeyer's store in Matagorda, and whose sister left the memoirs of the Cazneau's romance before the Texas Revolution. Turpe next wrote that he "could do no more without putting myself out of office or in trouble." He located Deisderio de Luna, Cazneau's shepherd, who said that Stone and Enoch Jones of San Antonio had taken the Cazneau herd of sheep and goats back in 1853 for merchandise they claimed Cazneau lost in Mexico when his goods were seized.<sup>53</sup>

General Cazneau would not return to Texas, but died on January 8, 1876, from complications of the lingering fever. His burial place in Jamaica is unknown, but possibly at St. Thomas-in-the-Vale Church Cemetery at Bog Walk. His obituary appeared in the San Antonio Herald on March 22, 1876, and stated, "He leaves a wife, now old and blind, who with her pen did more for Texas in her days of trial, than any other person." It also stated that in 1833 she translated into German a sketch of the advantages Texas offered the emigrant. The appeal to German immigrants and old Texans was perhaps to help in her legal battle against the foreign-owned cattle syndicate.<sup>54</sup>

From Jamaica, Mrs. Cazneau sent R. O. W. McManus irrevocable power of attorney to enter into and take possession of any and all real estate in the state of Texas.

The U. S. consul in Coahuila, Mexico, A. G. Carothers, then checked on matters in Eagle Pass for McManus while traveling to his post in Mexico. By 1876, no mails passed between San Antonio and Eagle Pass because yet another Mexican revolution spilled across the border. Carothers obtained the abstracts of those who had filed claims against Cazneau's land. By May 1877, Turpe decided to return to his father's farm in Medina County and wrote McManus that his job paid nothing and the rowdies had run all potential buyers away. He advised McManus to secure a local attorney, A. N. Oliphant, as he had a hard fight ahead with heavy capital against him. Others had established tax titles and possession bonds to the extent that the 25 league Rivas grant had 28 leagues of claims filed against it, not counting the Cazneau claim of 12 leagues. Carothers contacted judges Richard S. Walker and Alexander W. Terrell who agreed to help McManus fight the foreign syndicate in court.<sup>55</sup>

By early 1877, Mrs. Cazneau had returned to New York, perhaps with her friend Ann S. Stephens and her daughter. On January 27, 1877, the seventy-year-old Mrs. Cazneau made a will and bequeathed all her property to Mrs. Ann Stephens and her daughter, Ann Sophia, for the use of the support of her son, William M. Storm. At his death her property was to go to Ann Stephens and her daughter. She did not mention Cora, who had married John D. Hutchins, an engineer and resident of Jamaica, at fourteen or fifteen years of age and had returned to New York. Mrs. Cazneau listed an impressive schedule of property in Texas, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but bequeathed her brother only one-half of the eleven-league Perfecto Valdez Grant they still claimed.<sup>56</sup>



Mrs. Cazneau returned to Jamaica and on November 21, 1877, deeded 983 acres of Keith Hall to the Reverend Charles A. Winn of the Wesleyan Society for a note of 800 pounds. She reserved the 187 acres of orchards and gardens bordering Bog Walk for the Cazneau Park and School. She rented a cottage in Kingston and had few possessions. She received five pounds interest per annum from a dividend she held from the bankrupt estate of Nunes and Brothers. In 1878, Mrs. Cazneau returned to New York and published Our Winter Eden: Pen Pictures of the Tropics (1878). The loosely organized sketches of people and places were written in the Dominican Republic years before. She defended Cazneau's efforts to make Samana Bay a free port and condemned Seward's attempts to annex the Dominican Republic that ended in failure.<sup>57</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau visited her Aunt Britannia Sherman in Brookfield, Connecticut, and perhaps on her advice, made another will. It is possible that Mrs. Stephens discovered that Mrs. Cazneau's property claims were entangled in legalities and worthless. Lemuel Hawley Baldwin, nephew of Aunt Britannia's deceased husband, Lemuel Hawley Sherman, agreed to be executor of her estate for the \$10,000 claim against the Spanish government. Baldwin, a New York attorney, would provide for her son and supervise Cora's estate. Mrs. Cazneau made no provision for her brother who had worked for years to recover their Texas land. In her second will dated, November 21, 1878, Mrs. Cazneau was adamant that the Reverend Thomas Lea was to be trustee of her Jamaica lands and mortgages due for use of the Cazneau Garden School. Second, Mrs. Cazneau bequeathed all the Dominican property to her son and his wife for their use during their natural lives, but held in trust for Cora's children. Whether she feared Cora had her father's character

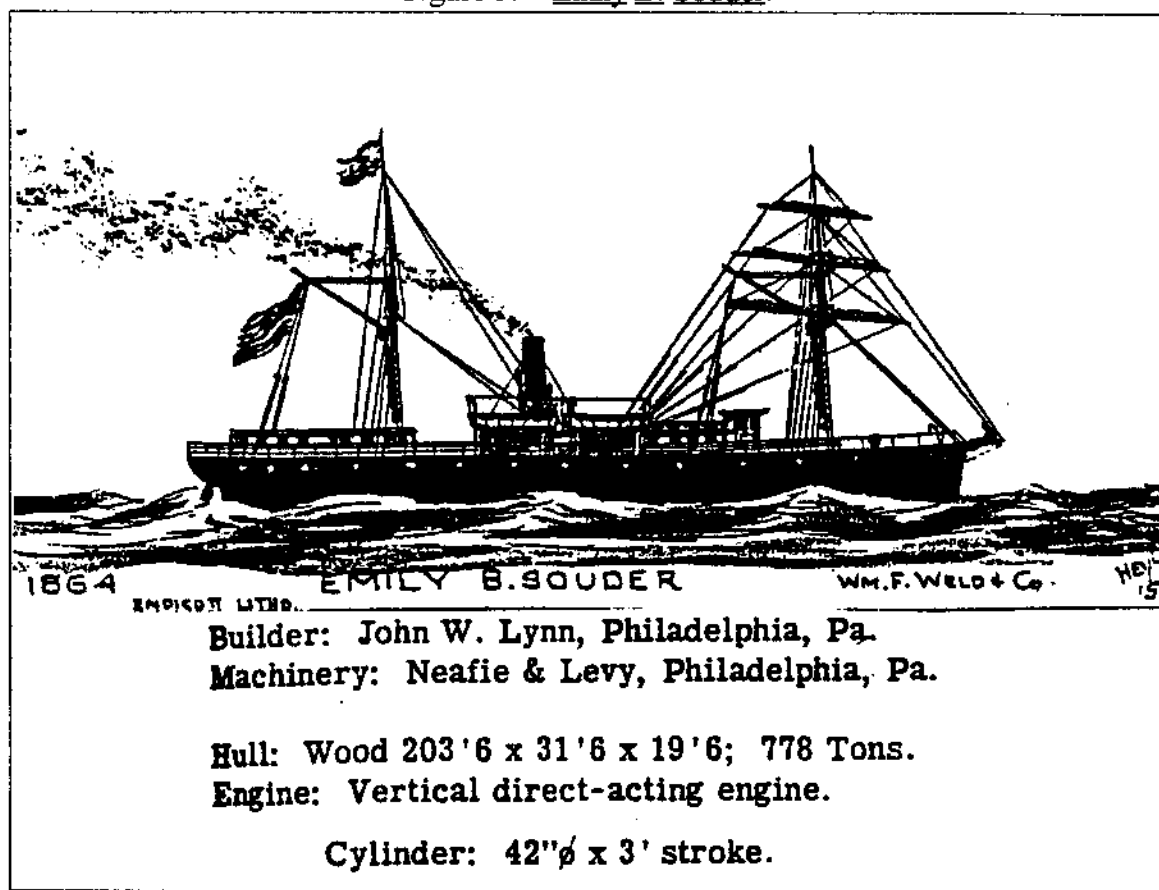
defects, or she was concerned that Cora's husband, J. D. Hutchins, would squander her inheritance, is unknown. Mrs. Cazneau willed the Texas lands to Cora, during her natural life, subject to the power of Executor Baldwin.<sup>58</sup>

With her legal affairs in more order than ever in her life, the following Sunday, Mrs. Cazneau attended church services at the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, New York. She was impressed by the sermon given by the former abolitionist, Henry Ward Beecher (1813-87), and later called at his residence. Beecher espoused such causes as the biological theory of evolution, the scientific and historical study of biblical texts, women's rights and suffrage, and Cuban independence. Mrs. Cazneau informed Beecher of her transformation after her illness and care given her by Anita Garcia to whom she owed her life. She was determined to repay the debt by helping educate the black children in Samana and Jamaica. Mrs. Cazneau informed Beecher, "Fifteen years ago, . . . I would have deemed it doing service to God to put a bullet through your head!" Mrs. Cazneau considered him "a fearful agitator--an enemy of the Nation." In her view, Abolitionists set back emancipation and drove southerners out of the Union.<sup>59</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau and her daughter-in-law, Annie Storm, booked passage from New York to Jamaica for Sunday, December 8, 1878. Mrs. Cazneau was to file her will in Samana and Jamaica and return with Cazneau's remains for burial in the United States. After inquiring of the safety of the ship from its former master, Mrs. Cazneau booked passage for Mrs. Storm and herself on the Emily B. Souder, a brigantine rigged cargo steamer bound for Turk's Island with stops at Puerto Plata and Samana in the Dominican Republic. They did not have first class accommodations, but shared adjoining cabins

above deck. The ship sailed on time with nine passengers, three women, a baby, and six men who were traveling on business or who owned sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic. The Souder had a crew of twenty-seven from six different countries, an Irish stewardess, and a German captain, a veteran of the Hamburg Line, The Peninsular & Oriental Line, and for the last three years, a captain for The Clyde Line of Philadelphia.<sup>60</sup>

Figure 3. Emily B. Souder.



According to pilots in New York harbor, the Emily B. Souder was "a rattlettrap," but she was no worse than others of her age that made up the U.S. merchant fleet (See Figure 3). She was built in Philadelphia for the New York-Charleston coastal trade. After

the end of the war, she made a few trips to the Windward Islands before she was sent around the Horn to San Francisco where she remained about two years. In 1867, her owners sold her to Chilean capitalists for \$200,000 with half the cash down, but upon arrival her condition was so unseaworthy for guano that they forfeited the downpayment. W. F. Weld & Co. of Boston rebuilt the vessel, and in 1872, the ship began the New York to New Orleans run until authorities thought the ship had brought yellow fever to New Orleans. In the summer of 1877, W. P. Clyde and J. K. Roberts purchased the Souder for \$32,000. Clyde said the ship was overhauled in Philadelphia when the Tybee, purchased from Spoffard and Tileston, was retired. The Souder made one trip to the West Indies and as proof of the confidence in the ship, R. S. Burgess, superintendent of Clyde's West Indies Department, took passage.<sup>61</sup>

The Souder, at 203 feet long and 31-½ feet wide, had a wooden propeller and, like most ships of its type built during the Civil War, was built with unseasoned timber and ten-penny nails. It was not a strong ship, but it had life boats, rafts, and cork life preservers for the passengers and the crew. According to Clyde, the ship was valued at \$35,000 and fully insured. According to Roberts, the ship was valued at \$75,000 with little insurance. The insurance brokers would not say how much insurance the ship carried. During the last general inspection, Clyde claimed the Souder had a rating of 1.5 for four years, the highest for vessels of its age. Lloyds of London had a circle with a dot in the center beside the name of the ship as a symbol designating it had not been inspected in over a year. Only 34 of the 800 steamships they carried had such a mark. Harbor pilots said, "the old ship was safe in fair weather, but if she encountered a storm, the gingerbread," as

they called the hull, "would come apart and it was a fifty-fifty chance whether she would sink or float." The ship was to be retired after this voyage. In twenty-five years, the Clyde Line had never lost a ship. The Souder was an example, however, of the type of ship operating in the U.S. Merchant Marine Service.<sup>62</sup>

New York harbor pilots speculated that on December 10, 1878, the Souder was about 400 miles south of New York and about 100 to 150 miles off the coast of Cape Hatteras headed for the Bermuda sea lanes. The surviving crew members explained that the wind rose and the sea began to roll. The relatively shallow Hatteras Banks off North Carolina are a little over a half-mile in depth and extend outward for 180 miles until the sea bottom abruptly drops down a cliff for three and one-half miles to the Hatteras Abyssmal Plain. On December 10, 1878, a westerly front created gale force winds from Boston to Panama, damaging ships and wharves. The United States Signal Service reported winds of 48 miles per hour at New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. In New York, the barometric pressure reading fell to 28.81 inches of mercury, the lowest on record. It was the largest storm to hit the coast of the United States since record keeping began.<sup>63</sup>

In New York, nothing was heard of the Emily B Souder until December 28, when the London Evening Telegram wired its sister paper the New York Evening Telegram the following message: "FOUNDERED AT SEA. Only Two Men Saved. They are landed at Kingston, Jamaica." On December 28, 1878, the New York Evening Telegram, the New York Sun, the New York Tribune, and The New York Times carried the news of the disaster at sea. No details were given, only that two crewmen had survived when they

were picked up by a passing sailing vessel, the Abbot Devereaux, bound out of Boston for Jamaica. Newspapers gave the description of the lost vessel, her general condition, the cargo, and passengers and crew. Mrs. Cazneau was identified as a passenger from New York and the widow of General Cazneau, late United States agent of San Domingo City and an eminent Texan. Mrs. Cazneau's age was given at fifty-five, although she was nearer seventy-two years old. Whether she had given the wrong age, or if she actually looked younger can not be known, but, Mrs. Storm's age was given as sixty, while she was sixty-five years of age.<sup>64</sup>

The next day the New York papers carried additional information of the ship and crew. On December 31, with no new information, the Tribune publicized its most famous passenger as front page news, "A SKETCH OF MRS. CAZNEAU THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF ONE OF THE PASSENGERS OF THE SOUDER." Although the sketch was to have been written by "one who was acquainted with her for many years," it contained many errors and has since been the source of fallacies perpetuated about Mrs. Cazneau. The most glaring error was that her "Texan residence led to her ownership in slave property and her advocating the divine right of slavery." It is likely that Rev. Henry Ward Beecher wrote the sketch, because it had extensive quotes and references to his last meeting with her and her change in attitude about the black race as if Beecher were responsible. In closing, the Tribune article offered a tribute to Mrs. Cazneau: "Few women leave a record more desirable," she was "Never a 'woman's rights woman' in any sense," but "always eager to do the duty which lay next to her." Furthermore, "Her character was a marked one, and commanded the admiration of all who knew her."<sup>65</sup>

On January 9, 1879, the surviving crewmen arrived in New York, and on January 10, newspapers carried the stories of their ordeal at sea. The men described the ship's going down, their ten hours of suspense, and their rescue. Clyde claimed that his company only leased the ship from Roberts and denied that the ship was overloaded and unfit. Upon their arrival in port, quartermaster Theodore Steinert of Germany and seaman Alfred Anderson of Sweden told their story to reporters: On December 9, the Souder encountered a small northeaster. The next morning at daybreak, the captain discovered the ship was leaking. The engineer sounded the well and found five feet of water. The steam pumps were set in motion, but they could not hold their own against the leak. The captain ordered the whole port watch into the afterhold where he supposed the leak was located. An effort was made to move part of the cargo to look at the keelsons. By this time, the sea was running high under a gale from the southeast. The other watch was called on deck and all hands were set to work heaving off the deck a load of lumber, boxes, and the heavy iron sugar pans, but they could not be budged, even with the help of the male passengers who helped lessen the load in the blowing gale.<sup>66</sup>

An effort was made to get some of the cargo out of the hold, but it was thrown hither and yon by the rolling of the ship. The captain ordered the foremast cut away. Up to 4:30 in the afternoon the ship obeyed her helm. At that time the water reached the fires in the engine room. The male passengers went back to the ladies in the cabin, and all strapped on cork jackets and ascended to the deck and were made fast to the rigging to await the loosening of the life boats. The fires went out, and the engine stopped.<sup>67</sup>

The sails on the main mast were insufficient and she was soon drifting broadside in the tremendous seaway that was running high. Several times she rolled her bulwarks under and had she not been well loaded, she would have gone over on her beam ends. The sea made a clean breach over her and occasionally an enormous wave struck the windward side of the vessel and swept from her decks everything that was not fastened down. At about 5 P.M. an effort was made to launch a boat from the leeward side of the ship, and while the boat was hanging on the davits the first officer, three passengers, and two of the crew boarded, and it was let down into the sea. It was instantly swamped and its ten inmates drifted far to the leeward. As the men were launching the second boat, Steinert saw a tall, elderly lady clinging to the boat ropes. "It is really useless to get into this boat," she said, "It will undoubtedly be overturned as the other." The speaker was reported to have been Mrs. Cazneau, but the description of a tall, dark-complexioned woman well past middle age was that of Mrs. Storm. Mrs. Cazneau was only 5' 3". The woman got into the boat as did five of the crew and two other passengers. Purser Doty, an engineer, three of the crew, and several passengers made up the third boat. The fourth boat had been stove in when they left port.<sup>68</sup>

After the boats pushed off, there were ten persons left on board. The cylinders of the life raft were rusted and full of holes large enough a man could thrust in his hand, so Captain Kuehl, Engineer Tice, Second Mate Thompson, and Mr. Crosby made a raft from the lumber on deck, as Steinert, Anderson and another seaman lashed themselves to the forward hatch. A passenger they could not help, most likely the blind Jane Cazneau, one of the cooks, and a cabin boy were clinging to the rigging aft, just as Mrs. Cazneau had



described in The Camel Hunt (1851) when she and Cazneau were in a similar storm and she wrote: "Where shall the lover of the 'fierce, beautiful and free,' find anything comparable with a storm at sea." At about 5:30, the after part of the ship sank out of sight and within five minutes the ship was gone. The forward hatch rose to the surface. Nothing could be seen of those who had been clinging to the rigging.<sup>69</sup>

Anderson and Steinert lashed themselves to the life raft that floated by. The ship's cargo floated all about them, but they saw no sign of the passengers or the rest of the crew. The storm passed, and two days later crew members on the Jamaica-bound Abbot Devereaux rescued them. The ship had lost her main gaff in the storm, and in repairing the sail, had headed off course when the lookout spotted the drifting seamen. The Sun reported that the Clyde Line officials expected that others would be rescued by passing ships. They never were.<sup>70</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. Mrs. William Leslie Cazneau, Our Winter Eden (New York: Author's Publishing, 1878), 107-108.
  
2. W. L. Cazneau to W. H. Seward, 13 May 1861, United States Department of State, Record Group 59, Special Missions, M 37, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as Special Missions, M37.; Jane Cazneau [Joseph W. Fabens], Facts About Santo Domingo, Applicable to the Present Crisis (New York: George P. Putnam, 1862; Washington: Franck Taylor, 1862); \_\_\_\_\_ [C.M.], In the Tropics: By a Settler in Santo Domingo, Fifth Edition (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1863; London: Bentley Publishing, 1863); \_\_\_\_\_ [C.M.], The Prince of Kashna: A West Indian Story (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1866); \_\_\_\_\_, [Joseph W. Fabens], Uses For the Camel (New York: Carleton, Publisher, 1865; Washington, Franck Taylor, 1865); \_\_\_\_\_ [Joseph W. Fabens], Resources of Santo Domingo (New York: Carleton, Publisher, 1863; Washington: Franck Taylor, 1869; New York: Major & Knapp, 1871); \_\_\_\_\_, Winter Eden; \_\_\_\_\_, Hill Homes of Jamaica. Listed in Cazneau, Winter Eden, but no copies located.; See sketch of Keith Hall in Jane Cazneau Papers, Center For American History, University of Texas at Austin. Hereinafter cited as Jane Cazneau Papers, CAH-UT.; J. M. Cazneau to Dear Sir [Andrew Johnson], 9 April 1866, J. M. Cazneau to Hon. James Harlan, 6 September, 1865, The Papers of William H. Seward, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rhus Rhees Library, Rochester, NY. Hereinafter cited as Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester.
  
3. Cazneau, Facts; \_\_\_\_\_ [Corinne Montgomery], Texas and Her Presidents (New York: E. Winchester, New World Press, 1845); J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, Private, April 24, 2 June, 1862, Jane Cazneau Papers, New York Historical Society Archives, New York, NY. Copies. Originals belonging to Brewster Beach, Greenwich, Connecticut. Hereinafter cited as Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.
  
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5.J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 6 June 1862, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

6.J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 6 July 1862, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

7.J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 24 September, 7 October 1862, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

8.Charles Callan Tansill, The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873 (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1938), 216-219, 225-227; Foner, Business and Slavery, 22, 271, 308-11. Ketchum was a former New York Judge of the Court of Appeals.; William D. Angel, Jr., "Vantage on the Bay: Galveston and the Railroads," East Texas Historical Journal 22 (Spring 1984): 8-9. Kimball was former President of the Galveston, Houston, & Henderson Railroad.

9.Frederick Bancroft, The Life of Seward 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1900), 2: 345-347; P. J. Slausdenraus, The African Colonization Movement 1816-1865 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 245-247; Sumner Welles, Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924, 2 vols. (New York: Payson & Clark, 1928), 1: 317; James M. McPherson, The Struggle For Equality: Abolitionists and The Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 154-156; Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan," 7-21; John M. Taylor, William Henry Seward (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 190-191. Kock pocketed the \$100 provided for each settler's supplies, and tainted the reputations of those in the movement.

10.J. M. Cazneau to My Dear Mr. Beach, n. d., 1862, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Germaine Greer, The Change: Women, Aging and the Menopause (New York: Fawcett Books, 1991), 20. Intermittent blindness is a symptom of menopause.

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14. Mrs. William L. Cazneau (Cora Montgomery), Eagle Pass, or Life on the Border (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852; reprint edited with an introduction by Robert Crawford Cotner, Austin: Pemberton Press, 1966).
15. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 219-220; Richard A. Haggerty, ed., Dominican Republic and Haiti (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989), 16-17; Protest of William Cazneau, 15 October 1863, with William G. W. Jaeger to William H. Seward, 27 December 1863, Despatches from U. S. Consuls in Santo Domingo, T56, Department of State, RG59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; J. M. Cazneau to Dear Sir, [Andrew Johnson], 9 April 1866, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester. Mrs. Cazneau praised Lincoln's agent, Jaeger, but condemned others.
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17. Cazneau, Kashna, v, vi, passim.
18. Graham H. Stuart, Latin America and the United States (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938), 279; William Javier Nelson, Almost a Territory: America's Attempt to Annex the Dominican Republic (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 49, n56; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 222-225; Walter R. Herrick, Jr., The American Naval Revolution (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 13; Gerald E. Poyo, "Evolution of Cuban Expansionist thought in the Emigré Communities of the U.S., 1848-1895," Hispanic American Historical Review 66 (August 1986): 494-495.
19. Kenneth E. Hasbrouck, comp., The Hasbrouck Family in America, 3 vols. (New Paltz, N.Y.: Hasbrouck, 1961), 1: 221; Last Will and Testament of Jane McManus Cazneau, 27 January 1877, Jane Cazneau Papers, CAH- UT; Last Will and Testament of Jane McManus Cazneau, 21 November 1878, John Herndon James Papers, 1812-1938, box 3, fols. 58-66, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, TX. Hereinafter cited as James Papers, DRT-Alamo.
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21. J. M. Cazneau to James Harlan (Secretary of Interior), 6 September 1865, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 225.

22. J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 25 August 1865, J. M. Cazneau to My Dear Mrs. Beach, 30 November, 1 December 1865, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

23. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 225-226; Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 316-317; Major L. Wilson, "The Repressible Conflict: Seward's Concept of Progress and the Free Soil Movement," Journal of Southern History 37 (November 1971): 533, 541-542, 548; Robert W. Van Alstyne, The Rising American Empire (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 100, 146; Basil Rauch, American Interest in Cuba, 1848-1855 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 249; J. M. Cazneau to Dear Sir, [Andrew Johnson], 9 April 1866, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester.

24. Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 319-320; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 228-234; J. M. Cazneau to Dear Sir, [Andrew Johnson], 9 April 1866, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester.

25. "Capt. W. L. Cazneau dead at 97," San Francisco Daily Alta Californian, 14 July 1866, 1:1. Data furnished by Patrick Cazneau, Family Historian, Sebastopol, CA.

26. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 232-239; J. M. Cazneau to Dear Sir, [Andrew Johnson], 9 April 1866, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester.

27. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 239-241, 254-255; Alan Nevins, Hamilton Fish. The Inner Workings of the Grant Administration 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing, 1936), 1: 255.

28. W. L. Cazneau to W. H. Seward, 18 December 1867, Department of State, RG 59, Santo Domingo Consular Despatches, T56, NA; Melvin K. Knight, The Americans in Santo Domingo (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), 8; Ernest A. Paolino, The Foundations of the American Empire: William Henry Seward and U.S. Foreign Policy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 131-140. Members of Panama Company were: C. K. Garrison, of the International Merchant Marine; Marshall O. Roberts, formerly of the U.S. Mail Steamship Company, President of the New York New Foundland Telegraph Co., investor in the Louisiana Tehuantepec Transit Co.; William H. Seward Jr.; Richard Schell, owned most of Lower California; Frederick Conkling, President of ETNA Insurance Company; Robert H. Pruyn, Minister to Japan; William H. Vanderbilt; William C. Fargo, founder of the American Express Company; William H. Appleton, New York merchant; William E. Dodge, Sun Mutual Insurance Company; Moses Grinnell, Seward's campaign manager; William M. Evarts, Attorney General of the United States; William T. Coleman, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce; Peter Cooper, iron manufacturer; Abram S. Hewitt, financier; Frederick M. Kelley; and Peter J. Sullivan, Minister to Columbia.

29. Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 354-355; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 275-280.

30. Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 236, 345-46, 265-66; William L. Cazneau, To The American Press: The Dominican Negotiations (Santo Domingo: Impr. De Garcia hermanos, 1870), 17-18, 20; Cazneau Winter Eden, 127-130; Nevins, Fish, 1: 255, 260-266. For investors of the Geological Company see: Allan Johnson and Dumas Malone, Eds., Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1961), s.v. "William L. Halsey", "Ben Holladay", "S. L. M. Barlow", "Cyrus McCormick", "John Young."; "Union Mass Meeting," New York Times, 22 February 1860. Halsey was secretary, Barlow specialized in business law and Mexican claims, Cyrus M. McCormick, produced farm machinery, and was a Director of the Union Pacific Railroad, Ben Holladay financed Russell, Majors, & Waddell, had the Overland Mail route to California with \$1 million a year in subsidies, sold out to Wells, Fargo, & Company and organized the California, Oregon, and Mexico Steamship Company and Northern Pacific Transportation Company. John Young of Philadelphia was an editor for the Philadelphia Press, the New York Herald, and established the San Diego Daily Union, Washington, D.C. Chronicle, and the San Francisco Chronicle. He was brother-in-law of Richard Kimball. Professor William L. Gabb, a paleontologist, surveyed California, published a 200 page survey of the minerals of the Dominican Republic. In 1873, he surveyed Costa Rica and died of fever contracted in Costa Rica.

31. Richard I. Lester, Confederate Finance and Purchasing in Great Britain (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1975), 196-199; K. Jack Bauer, A Maritime History of the United States (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 78-80, 103.

32. Nevins, Fish, 1: 261-262; Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 372-374; Herrick, Naval Revolution, 13-18.

33. Nevins, Fish, 1: 261-262; Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 300. Johnson and Malone, eds., DAB, s.v., "Thomas Tileston," s.v. "Edward Prime," s.v. "William Prime," s.v. "Sam Prime," s.v. "Edward P. Hollister." Tileston was President of the Phoenix Bank of New York, the Atlantic Insurance Co, and organized the New York Clearinghouse. Prime was a Presbyterian clergyman and had edited the New York Observer (1854-1855). He was Chaplain to the U.S. minister to Rome in 1860, and by 1869, wrote on world-wide missionary work. Prime's brother, William, edited the New York Journal of Commerce and was President of the Associated Press. Brother Sam was editor of the New York Observer (1840) and a contributor to Harper's Weekly on religion and philanthropy. Hollister had been Minister to Haiti.

34. "St. Domingo," New York Herald, 13 August 1869; Nevins, Fish, 1: 265.

35. Nevins, Fish, 1: 270, 275, 335, 362.

36. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 372, 386; Nevins, Fish, 1: 277-278.

37. Cazneau, American Press, 1; Nevins, Fish, 1: 383.

38. United States, Senate, Senate Report No. 234, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, "Hatch Report," (25 June 1870), National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as Hatch Report, NA.; Perry's testimony has led historians to label Cazneau as follows: Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 269-280, "few qualms"; Nelson, Almost a Territory, 51, "user"; Knight, Americans, 7, "shifty"; Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 1: 311-312, "tenacious adventurer,"; Julius W. Pratt, A History of United States Foreign Policy (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955), 324, "corrupt"; J. Fred Rippy, The Caribbean Danger Zone (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 121, "corrupt"; Selden Rodman, Quisqueya: A History of the Dominican Republic (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 74, "unscrupulous.,"; Nevins, Fish, 1: 252, 256, "rover and speculator," but says Washington politicians were prejudiced because of Cazneau's French name and Catholic religion .

39. Nevins, Fish, 1: 328-331, 501; Bauer, Maritime History, 241-244; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 395-398.

40. Hatch Report, NA; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 372-402, 409; Nevins, Fish, 1: 332-333, 364; Welles, Santo Domingo, 1: 320.

41. Welles, Santo Domingo, 1: 136-137; William S. McFeeley, Grant: A Biography (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 343-351.

42. Hatch Report, NA; Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 411; Welles, Santo Domingo, 1: 393-395.

43. Tansill, Santo Domingo, 1: 421, 462; Knight, Americans, 16; J. Fred Rippy, The Caribbean Danger Zone (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 121-123.

44. "The Samana Bay Company," New York Tribune, 7 April 1874; Nevins, Fish, 1: 328-329; Bauer, Maritime History, 252-255. In 1871, it cost Alden B. Stockwell of the Pacific mail \$900,000 to get favorable legislation to build two iron and screw propeller-driven ships. By 1875, Pacific Mail received \$4 million each year from Central Pacific and Union Pacific to raise rates. Between 1875 and 1880, railroad barons established Occidental Shipping with British ships and brought Pacific Mail to bankruptcy.; Keneth Hagan, The People's Navy: The Making of American Sea Power (New York: Free Press, 1991), 175-177.

45. James Derbyshire and Alexander Turnbull to William Cazneau and his wife Jane Montgomery Cazneau, 15 October 1872, J. M. Cazneau to C. A. Winn, Deed Records, St. Catherine's Parish, Libel 979, fol. 288, 1877, Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, Jamaica, WI. Hereinafter cited as Deed Records, JA; William L. Cazneau to R. O. W. McManus, 2, 24 June

1875, box 3, fols. 58-66, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; Treaty of Washington (May 8, 1871) established arbitration from 1871-1872 and Britain held liable for \$15,500,000 in claims by Alabama and other C.S.A. raiders. Courts sat in 1874-1876, 1882-1885 to determine distribution.

46. Cazneau to Beach 1 December 1865, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed., s.v. "Jamaica."; Frank Cundall, Historic Jamaica (London: Institute of Jamaica, 1915), 146.

47. Philip Wright, ed., Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805 (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1966), 61-62. The party traveled in curricles, two wheeled carriages with two horses, gigs, two wheeled open carriages with one horse, and kittareens, the Irish version of the two wheeled French Cabriolet with two passengers facing forward and two facing backward and pulled by a skewbald horse.; Jane M. Cazneau to Mrs. Beach, 1 December 1865, Cazneau Papers, NYHS.

48. Stuart Villers, Adventures Amidst the Equilateral Forests and Rivers of South America: Also West Indies and the Wilds of Florida to which is added "Jamaica Revisited," (London: John Murray, 1891), 173, 205-7. Villers saw only American buggies of hickory; "Keith Hall," Post Card, Jane Cazneau File, CAH, UT-Austin. Post Card donated by Mrs. Stephens's nephew.

49. William Cazneau to R. O. W. McManus, 1 November 1874, 24 June 1875, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; Blue Book Island of Jamaica (Jamaica: Governor's Printing, 1880-1900), S19, Schools; J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 25 August 1865, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Richard Bradford, The Virginius Affair (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1980), 7, 11-13, 25, 31; Willis Fletcher Johnson, The History of Cuba (New York: B.F. Buck, 1920), 155-160, 181-182, 199, 202, 207, 221.

50. Bradford, Virginius, 25, 31; Johnson, Cuba, 275-299.

51. Abstract of Title to Antonio Rivas Grant in Maverick County, Texas (San Antonio: Texas Title Co., 1938). Hereinafter cited as Abstract; Cazneau to McManus, 1 November 1874, 4, 24 June 1875, James Papers, DRT-Alamo.

52. Cazneau to McManus, 4, 24 June 1875, James Papers, DRT-Alamo.

53. Turpe to McManus, 29 March 1876, 5 April, 25 May, 21 December 1875, Turpe to Simpson and James, 10 March 1877, A. G. Carothers to R. O. W. McManus, 29 October 1876, , box 3, fol. 59, 62, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; Abstract, Crawford's 1854 deed was witnessed by G. P. Devine and F. P. J. Meyer; United States, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records



of the Union and Confederate Armies 70 Vols. (Washington: US War Dept., 1880-1901), Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 360, 561; John Henry Brown, Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas (Austin: Daniell, 1880; Reprint., Greenville: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 587; Cazneau, Eagle Pass, 34; The Cazneaus had more powerful adversaries than Stone and Crawford. Goldfrank, Frank, & Co., of San Antonio, managed a cattle syndicate that filed deeds for Cazneau's unrecorded share of the Rivas Grant from Garza to Crawford and from Crawford to Devine; Ethel Mary Franklin, Ed., "Memories of Mrs. Annie P. Harris," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 40 (January 1937): 231-246.

54. "William Leslie Cazneau," San Antonio Daily Herald, 22 March 1876, in Biographies of Leading Texans (Austin: Texas State Library Records and Archives Division), Part 1, 138-139.

55. Abstract; Carothers to McManus, 29 October 1876, Turpe to McManus, May 1877, Power of Attorney from Mrs. Cazneau to R. O. W. McManus, 15 August 1876, box 3, fol. 60, 61, James Papers, DRT-Alamo; "Veteran Claims Allowed Today," Dallas Herald, 6 June 1874. District Chairmen were R. O. W. McManus, W. P. Lane, John S. Ford, J. H. Brown, M.S. Munson, F. W. Taylor, Frank White, S. C. Robertson, E. DeMorse, and J. H. Reagan. The Cazneaus were not the only victims of land theft and fraud. By 1883, the Legislature had created the Land Fraud Board to investigate forged titles, destroyed records, and other irregularities. The Cazneau's old friend from Matagorda days, Charles DeMorse, served on the board.

56. Jane Maria Cazneau, Last Will and Testament, January 27, 1877, Jane Cazneau Papers, CAH-UT. 1. An estate known as Keith Hall, about eight hundred acres of land; with all the furniture and live stock. 2. The Esmeralda, an estate near San Domingo City in the Island of San Domingo, containing about twenty acres. 3. A wharf in the city of San Domingo, and a square of land in the city with four dwelling houses. 4. Certain mining rights, land grants, and contracts, in the name of General Cazneau. 5. A claim for \$10,000 against the Spanish Government for the spoliation of Esmeralda while in occupation of Santo Domingo. 6. Forty acres of land at Samana Bay, the papers of which were in the hands of the American Consul at Samana Bay. 7. Her half of a land grant of eleven square leagues of land in Waco, Texas, on the Brazos River, half owned by her brother R. O. W. McManus as compensation for his services in defraying the expenses in prosecuting the litigations. 8. About one thousand acres of land at Eagle Pass composing an estate called Eagle Pass. The deed in the possession of R.O.W. McManus, who has been paid for his services by transfer of land on Cane Island in the Brazos River. 9. A tract of land adjoining Eagle Pass, called the Rivas Grant.; Affidavit of Cora C. Hutchins, July 3, 1891, box 3, fol. 66, James Papers, DRT-Alamo.

57. Cazneau to Winn, November 1877, Deed Records, St. Catherine's Parish, JA; Inventories, 1B/11/3, Vol. 162, fol., 212, Spanish Town, Jamaica Archives, W1; This deed was contested, her last will was not recorded in Jamaica, but the Cazneau school continued until 1893.; Blue Book Island of Jamaica (Jamaica: Governor's Printing, 1880-1900), S19 Schools, In 1880 the school had 56 pupils and in 1893 had 39. In 1900, the Wesleyans closed all schools.; Cundall, Jamaica, 144. Keith Hall was destroyed in an earthquake in 1907, but Cazneau Park was marked on old maps until the 1950s when ALCAN, ALCOA, Kaiser, and Reynolds began mining the solid bauxite cliffs of Bog Walk.; Cazneau, Winter Eden. Appendix.

58. Jane M. Cazneau, Last Will and Testament, November 21, 1878, box 3, fol. 61; Baldwin et al vs. Goldfrank et al, box 3, fol. 58, McManus to Fisher, 23 June 1884-28 June 1885, box 3, fol. 63, James Papers, DRT-Alamo. By 1884, Baldwin, the executor for William Storm, and McManus agreed to share any settlement, but the suit outlived both men and several attorneys. In 1892, Cora won a settlement on an undisclosed small tract of land, but had not yet collected on it in 1894 when correspondence in the James Papers ended because Governor James Hogg appointed James, then Cora's attorney, Chief Justice of the Fourth Court of Civil Appeals. In 1906, when Simon Lavanburg died, Max Goldfrank, as agent, deeded the property to El Indio Cattle Company. It is not known if the Cazneau heirs received any restitution for the Rivas Grant.

59. "Sketch of Mrs. Cazneau," New York Tribune, 31 December 1878. Hereinafter cited as "Sketch, Tribune;" Goldsmith, Other Powers, 85, 170, 335, 402-3.

60. "Sketch," Tribune, 31 December 1878; "Lost off Cape Hatteras," New York Sun, 28 December 1878. Hereinafter cited as "Lost," Sun;" "The Emily B. Souder Lost," New York Tribune, 30 December 1878. Hereinafter cited as "Lost," Tribune;" The ship carried a miscellaneous cargo for nineteen small commission houses in New York. The manifest listed dry goods, groceries, agricultural implements, woodenware, paints, paper, 17 cases of cartridges, 8 guns, drugs, over a dozen sewing machines, and 53 kegs of beer. The guns and cartridges were likely for the Cubans.

61. Erik Heyl, Early American Steamers, 3 vols. (Buffalo: by author, 1953), 1: 139-140. Sketch of the Emily B. Souder;" "Description of the Lost Vessel," Tribune, 28 December 1878; "Lost," Tribune;" "Lost," Sun;" "Foundered at Sea," New York Evening Telegram, 28 December 1878. Hereinafter cited as "Foundered." Roberts was U. S. Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, and had owned the Virginius.

62. "Lost," Tribune.

63. William E. Livezey, Mahon on Sea Power (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 130; "Bad News of the Souder," New York Sun, 29 December 1878.

64. "The Lost Emily B. Souder," New York Sun, 30 December 1878; "The Lost Emily B. Souder,";" "Disasters on the Columbian Coast," New York Tribune, 30 December 1878; "Foundered," Evening Telegram.

65. "Sketch," Tribune, 31 December 1878.

66. "Lost," Sun;" "Lost," Tribune;" "THE LOST EMILY B. SOUDER, HER GOING DOWN DESCRIBED BY THE ONLY KNOWN SURVIVORS," New York Sun, 10 January 1879. Hereinafter cited as "DOWN," Sun;" U.S. Navy Oceanographer Office, Publication, No. 9 (1958).

Beaufort Scale. Hereinafter cited as Beaufort Scale. No. 7, MODERATE GALE, wind 36 mph, sea heaps up and white foam from breaking waves begins to be blown in streaks along the direction of the wind, with wave heights from 13-20 feet; No. 8, FRESH GALE, wind 44 mph, moderate waves of greater length; edges of crests break into spindrift (spray), with wave heights 13 to 20 feet; No. 9 STRONG GALE wind 48 mph, high waves; dense streaks of foam; sea begins to roll; spray affects visibility, waves of 13 to 20 feet. In 1838, Sir Francis Beaufort standardized a scale from 0 to 11 of wind velocity and wave height and description mandatory for all ship's logs in the Royal Navy. Based on the observation of the seamen, the Beaufort Scale explains the sailor's terms.

67. "DOWN," Sun.

68. "DOWN," Sun; Beaufort Scale, No. 10 WHOLE GALE, wind 53 mph, very high waves with long overhanging crests; resulting in foam in great places blown in dense white streaks along the direction of the wind; the whole surface of the sea takes on a white appearance; rolling of the sea become heavy; visibility affected, wave height 20-30 feet; No. 11, STORM, wind 61 mph, exceptionally high waves; small and medium ships lost to view for a long while below the waves; sea is covered with white foam; everywhere the edges of the wave crests are blown into foam; visibility is affected, wave height 30-45 feet.

69. "DOWN," Sun; Jane Cazneau [Joseph Warren Fabens], The Camel Hunt, (Boston: John Munroe & Co., 1851), 38.

70. "DOWN," Sun.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

Few women leave a record more desirable than has Mrs. Cazneau. Never a 'woman's rights woman' in any sense, she was always eager to do the duty which lay next to her--to do it without ostentation, but thoroughly and completely. Her character was a marked one, and commanded the admiration of all who knew her.

New York Tribune (1878)<sup>1</sup>

Jane McManus Storm Cazneau died the way she lived--at the center of a storm of controversy. She seldom took the easy path, and reached with reckless abandon for that which always seemed to lie beyond her grasp but not beyond her vision. She was a complex person who adapted to her surroundings and grew spiritually and intellectually until her death. She admitted her mistakes, consoled the oppressed, offended the comfortable, lectured politicians, and commended statesmen. As a visionary, she foresaw a nation with equal rights for all in a world where representative government was the norm rather than the exception. Like most visionaries or prophets, her messages were not appreciated in her time by isolationists, racists, or reactionaries. Jane Cazneau's public life contributes to a better understanding of the role professional women played in the nineteenth century. As a journalist, advisor to national political figures, and publicist, she was part of the formation of United States domestic and foreign policy from the mid-1840s into the 1870s.<sup>2</sup>

The professional career of Jane Cazneau provides an alternative to the dichotomy of North-South, abolitionist-secessionist, Democratic-Republican histories of the antebellum era. Her fellow-travelers were the nationalists of all sections and political parties who sought a conciliatory path to carry the nation forward through the mist and smoke of the slavery controversy and maintain a central focus on the nation's mission to expand trade, commerce, and political ideals into a worldwide circle of republics.<sup>3</sup>

Her experiences in Mexico and the American tropics illustrate the intensity of the undeclared Anglo-American war of trade, commerce, and ideals in the years before, during, and after the American Civil War. Within three years of her death, the United States began to rebuild its navy, and after 1890, United States commerce in Latin America bypassed that of the United Kingdom. The search for coaling stations was renewed, and in 1895, Missouri Senator Carl Schurz, who had written the minority Nye Committee Report that smeared the Cazneau's reputations, promoted the "new Manifest Destiny of commerce." Mrs. Cazneau's words, were echoed in 1895, but she was forgotten by all except her protégé, Henry Watterson, later Pulitzer Prize winning editor of the Louisville Courier who was noted for his work in bringing the North and South together and for his short descriptive phrases. John L. O'Sullivan also died in 1895, and his obituary mentioned neither the United States Magazine and Democratic Review nor Manifest Destiny.<sup>4</sup>

As a journalist, editor, and organizer of the Associated Press, Jane Cazneau was accepted by most of her New York colleagues in the male-dominated-world of politics and journalism. Through superior intellect and hard work, she earned the respect or dislike of

contemporaries. In some ways, her gender was actually an asset and allowed her a degree of protection not available to men--she was never challenged to a duel or horse-whipped for her caustic words. Mrs. Cazneau was not a "woman's rights woman" who agitated for suffrage, but she publicized the living and working conditions of women at home and abroad. She scoffed at the Seneca Falls complaints because she had witnessed the much greater oppression of women in factories, in the needle and hat trades, on Indian reservations, in Mexico, and in the Caribbean. She advised women to educate themselves and improve their skills. She urged vocational schooling for Native Americans, freed slaves, and unskilled immigrants to help assimilate ethnic groups. She condemned the prejudice and hypocrisy of each section of the country as "geographical morality."<sup>5</sup>

Mrs. Cazneau was well-read with an insatiable hunger for knowledge. As a traveler, she spent hours in isolation and therefore did not feel subject to the laws of conformity. In addition, her adventure-seeking personality contributed to her advanced thinking. Yet, she was also a realist who experienced the horrors of the Mexican War as she passed through the lines of combat in Mexico. To her, war was not romantic or heroic, but only blood and death that did not touch the majority of her generation until the American Civil War. She worked to keep the sections together and realized that territorial expansion had its limits because of competition from abroad and prejudice at home.<sup>6</sup>

She published extensively, observed the public workings of government from the House and Senate galleries, attended receptions, and at home and abroad sat in the smoke-filled back rooms and parlors where the inner workings of the governments took place. Her position of power as a journalist allowed her to expose or ignore, exalt or condemn.

She admonished partisan politicians to follow the republican ideals of an earlier generation and to keep in mind the common good of the commonwealth, be virtuous and subordinate private needs to the public good, and remain free of political corruption.<sup>7</sup>

As a writer, journalist, and editor, Mrs. Cazneau held positions of legitimate power. Her integrity was seldom questioned, and her influence was apparent when editors, senators, diplomats, political leaders, and foreign dignitaries singled her out for favors or criticism. Her knowledge and analytical skills made her a valuable ally and a formidable foe. As an advisor to presidents from James K. Polk to U. S. Grant, cabinet members in the Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant administrations; and members of congress for over thirty years, she had the potential to exert influence with policy makers, but they did not always appreciate or follow her advice. Her most unique contribution was in answering the public yearning for legitimacy by describing the great mission of the United States as a “Manifest Destiny.” The phrase expressed the nation’s deep need for self-assurance at a time it was reaching for natural geographical boundaries, penetrating commercial markets abroad, and examining the nature of democracy. When she died the United States was no longer an experiment, but a model. She had seen through the “mist and smoke of sectional prejudice” to the national greatness that lay beyond the slavery issue.<sup>8</sup>

Historians have formed no consensus about Jane Cazneau, but in reality little is known about “perhaps the most unusual and mysterious woman in the nineteenth century.” Critics have seen her as a woman behind the times, admirers say she was a woman ahead of her time, and Edward Wallace compared her to a Renaissance woman.

She was not the most beautiful, the most popular, or the most visible woman of the nineteenth century, but she was one of the more intelligent and influential women of her generation. Although it appeared that all she attempted seemed to fail, many of the policies she advocated eventually succeeded. She promoted the need for a steam navy and merchant marine fifty years before Alfred T. Mahan. She wrote about the problems of the working class sixty years before it became a Progressive crusade, advocated agrarian reform fifty years before Populists took up the cause, and assisted republican revolutionaries a hundred years before the United States awoke to the needs of the ordinary people in the sister republics of the Western Hemisphere.<sup>9</sup>

As the years drifted by, Jane Cazneau's friends, family, and associates who knew the facts of her remarkable career as Cora Montgomery died. Any papers that she had went down with the Souder or were lost somewhere between Jamaica, New York, or Eagle Pass. Her words to those with whom she communicated, her books and journal and newspaper articles, leave little more than a hint of her intelligence and conversational wit, a mere suggestion of her sexuality and explosive temper, a bare glimpse of her courage and spirituality, or only a slight trace of her humor seen in the sparkle of violet eyes beneath raven hair and a dark complexion that was a distinguishing trait. Some things are known with certainty about Jane Cazneau, however; she was dedicated to the expansion of liberty and republican government; she had a special place in her heart for American Indians and the abandoned and neglected whether persons or animals, and she had a deep and abiding love for her country and faith in its people and in its future.<sup>10</sup>



## ENDNOTES

1. "A Sketch of Mrs. Cazneau," New York Tribune, 31 December 1878.

2. Tom Reilly, "Jane McManus Storms: Letters from the Mexican War, 1846-1848," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 85 (July 1975): 230-245; Patricia Kinkade, "Jane McManus Storms Cazneau," Essays in History: The E.C. Barksdale Student Lectures (Arlington: University of Texas-Arlington, 1987-1988); Anna Kasten Nelson, "Jane Storms Cazneau: Disciple of Manifest Destiny," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives 17 (Spring 1986): 25-40; \_\_\_\_\_, "Mission to Mexico--Moses Y. Beach, Secret Agent," New York Historical Society Quarterly 59 (July 1975): 227-245; \_\_\_\_\_, "President Polk and the War," in Robert E. Burke and Frank Freidel, eds., Secret Agents: President Polk and the Search for Peace with Mexico (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988); Peggy M. Cashion, "Women in the Mexican War," (unpublished M. A. thesis University of Texas at Arlington, 1990); Edward T. James, ed., Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), s.v. "Jane McManus Cazneau," by Merton L. Dillon; Linda Mainiero, ed., American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide, 4 vols. (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing, 1979), s.v. "Jane Maria McManus Cazneau," by Rose F. Kavo; Ron Tyler, ed., The New Handbook of Texas (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1996), s.v. "Jane McManus Cazneau," by Robert E. May; Robert E. May, "Plenipotentiary in Petticoats: Jane M. Cazneau and American Foreign Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Women and American Foreign Policy, ed. by Edward L. Crapol, 2nd ed. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992): 19-44; \_\_\_\_\_, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire: Jane Cazneau, William Cazneau, and U.S. Caribbean Policy, 1846-1878," Pacific Historical Review 48 (1979): 383-390.

3. Published works by Jane McManus Storm Cazneau by year of publication and pseudonym. (See Appendix A for signed newspaper articles; Appendix B for Textual Analysis.) Anon., "The Great Nation of Futurity," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 6 (November 1839): 426-430. United States Magazine and Democratic Review hereinafter abbreviated as USMDR; \_\_\_\_\_, "Free Trade," USMDR 9 (October 1841): 329-342; \_\_\_\_\_, "Hurrah for a War with England," USMDR 9 (November 1841): 411-415; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Home League," USMDR 9 (December 1841): 539-553; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Gypsies," USMDR 10 (July 1842): 58-68; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Coup-De-Grace," USMDR 11 (November 1842): 542-544; \_\_\_\_\_, "Rambles in Yucatan," USMDR 11 (November 1842): 529-539; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Oregon Question," USMDR 12 (April 1843): 339-359; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Texas Question," USMDR 14 (April 1844): 423-430; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Legal Wrongs of Women," USMDR 14 (May 1844): 477-483; C. Montgomery, "The Presidents of Texas," USMDR 16 (March 1845): 282-291; Anon., "The Mexican Question," USMDR 16 (May 1845): 419-425; \_\_\_\_\_, "Annexation," USMDR 16 (July-August 1845): 5-10; Corinne Montgomery, Texas and Her Presidents (New York: E. Winchester, New World Press, 1845; Anon., "Principles,

Not Men," USMDR 22 (July 1848): 3-12; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Mosquito King and the British Queen," USMDR 25 (Nov. 1849): 405-416; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Mosquito King and the British Queen, concluded," USMDR 25 (Dec. 1849): 529-538; \_\_\_\_\_, "The King of Rivers," USMDR 25 (Dec. 1849); Cora Montgomery, "The Union of the Seas," The Merchant's Magazine 12 (February 1850): 145-154; \_\_\_\_\_, The King of Rivers (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, The Queen of the Islands (New York: C. Wood, 1850); \_\_\_\_\_, The King of Rivers and the Queen of Islands (New York: Charles Wood, 1850); Anon., "British Aggression in Central America," USMDR (Jan. 1851): 3-14; Joseph W. Fabens, The Camel Hunt: a Narrative of Personal Adventure (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1851); Anon., "Soulouque and the Dominicans," USMDR 30 (Feb. 1852): 187-149; \_\_\_\_\_, "Soulouque and the Dominicans, contd.," USMDR 30 (Mar. 1852): 234-9; Cora Montgomery, Eagle Pass, or Life on the Border (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852); Cora Montgomery, ed., Our Times: A Monthly Review of Politics, Literature, & Etc 1 (Oct. 1852): 97-192; Anon., "On the Rumored Occupation of San Domingo by the Emperor of France," USMDR 32 (Feb. 1853): 173-192; Joseph W. Fabens, A Story of Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853); Cora Montgomery, Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border, 2nd Ed., published with Joseph W. Fabens, Life on the Isthmus (New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 1853); Joseph W. Fabens, Facts about Santo Domingo (New York: George P. Putnam, 1862); Anon., In the Tropics: By a Settler in Santo Domingo (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1863; London: Bentley Publishing, 1863); Joseph W. Fabens, The Uses of the Camel: Considered with a view to his Introduction into our Western States and Territories. A paper read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society March 2, 1865 (New York: Carleton, 1865; Washington: Frank Taylor, 1865); Anon., The Prince of Kashna: A West Indian Story (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1866); Joseph W. Fabens, Resources of Santo Domingo (New York: Major & Knapp, 1871); Mrs. William Leslie Cazneau, Our Winter Eden: Pen Pictures of the Tropics (New York: Author's Publishing, 1878).

4. Henry Watterson, "Marse Henry": An Autobiography, 2 vols. (New York: George H. Doran, 1919): 1, 56-58; Fred J. Rippy, Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain Over Latin America (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1929), 313; Julius Pratt, A History of U.S. Foreign Policy (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955), 324; Charles H. Brown, Agents of Manifest Destiny (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 464; Joseph Frazier Wall, Henry Watterson: Reconstructed Rebel (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 25; "Obituary," New York Tribune, 26 March 1895.

5. "Sketch," Tribune, 31 December 1878; Mary Ritter Beard, Women as A Force in History (New York: Macmillan, 1946; New York: Persea Books, 1987), 41, 73, 330, 332. Cazneau resembled Beard; La Verdad, 8 January-June 26 1848; Montgomery, King and Queen; \_\_\_\_\_, "Union of the Seas," 145-154; "Meeting of Female Industry Association," Workingman's Advocate, 22 March 1845; "The Female Industrial Association," New York Sun, 6, 10, 14 March, 1 May 1845.

6. J. M. Cazneau to M. S. Beach, 27 December 1854, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; J. M. Cazneau to Jeremiah Black, 18 September 1857, The Papers of Jeremiah S. Black, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

7. Sean Wilentz, "Society, Politics, and the Market Revolution, 1815-1848," in Eric Foner, ed., The New American History (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 59.

8. Cazneau, "Annexation," 5-10; J. M. Cazneau to M. Y. Beach, 8 January 1850, Jane Cazneau Papers, NYHS; Frederick Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation (New York: Vintsage Books), 200-201.

9. J. M. Cazneau to William H. Seward, 30 December 1850, Seward Papers, RRL, Rochester; Cora Montgomery, "Our Mexican Border," New York Tribune, 15 July, 17 October, 11 December 1850, 1 February, 6, 8, March, 2 August 1851; Kinkade, "Cazneau," 23; Nelson, "Mission to Mexico," 227-245; \_\_\_\_\_ "President Polk and the War," in Burke and Friedel, eds., Secret Agents, 2-95; Cashion, "Women in the Mexican War," 80; Seymour V. Connor and Odie B. Faulk, eds., North America Divided: The Mexican War, 1846-1848 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 156-157.

10. Seymour V. Connor, Adventure in Glory (Austin: Steck-Vaughn, 1965) 88-89; Ann S. Stephens, The Heiress: an Autobiography (Philadelphia, T.B. Peterson, 1859), 392-393; Those who knew Jane Cazneau were: Ann Stephens, Aaron Burr, John L. O'Sullivan, Moses Y. Beach, Robert Owen, Robert J. Walker, Nicholas Trist, James K. Polk, James Watson Webb, Horace Greeley, Mirabeau B. Lamar, Sam Houston, William Cazneau, George Bancroft, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, William H. Seward, William L. Marcy, Victor Espeta, Manuel Rios, Barbara Aquilla, Wild Cat, José Carvajal, Bishop John Hughes, Bishop Jean Odin, William Walker, Stephen A. Douglas, James Buchanan, Judah P. Benjamin, Jefferson Davis, Narciso Lopez, Joseph W. Fabens, Jeremiah S. Black, Lewis Cass, Dr. Samuel and Julia Ward Howe, Anita Garcia, Rev. Jacob James, Frederick Douglass, and countless others.

**APPENDIX A**

**NEWSPAPER ARTICLES BY MONTGOMERY [JANE CAZNEAU]**

## APPENDIX A

## NEWSPAPER ARTICLES BY MONTGOMERY [JANE CAZNEAU]

PUBLISHED	WRITTEN	PLACE	TOPIC
<u>[Austin] Texas State Gazette</u>			
1850 Sep 7	Aug 12	Eagle Pass	Texas Duty
<u>[New Orleans] Daily Delta</u>			
1851 Dec 12	Nov.	Eagle Pass	National Highways
14	Nov 16	Eagle Pass	Border Policy
<u>[New York] Herald</u>			
1847 May 15			
19			
22			
1848 May 8			
1853 Jun 24		unknown	Hostility to Cuba
27		unknown	Cuban Annexation
1869 Jan 9	Dec 19	St. Domingo	Samana Free Port
Aug 13	Aug 2	St. Domingo	Host Meeting
Dec 22	Dec 21	Washington	St. Domingo"
1878 Dec 28			Obituary
<u>[New York] La Verdad</u>			
1848 Jan 9		New York	Prospectus
Feb 13		New York	<u>Eco de Europa</u>
26		New York	Cuba's status
Mar 12		New York	Hemispheric unity
26		New York	Europe
Ap 9		New York	England's Designs
27		New York	Annexation of Cuba
May 28		New York	Cuban rebellion
Jun 17		New York	European Revolution

[New York] Sun

1845 Dec 12	Dec 10	Washington	Slidell-Van Ness
1845			
Dec 15	13	Washington	Benton-Calhoun
17	15	Washington	Buchanan Plan
18	16	Washington	War panic-makers
19	17	Washington	Fort-building
23	21	Washington	Pres. aspirants
24	22	Washington	California
1846 Feb 28	Feb 24	(unknown)	Texian Navy
Mar 2	Feb 22	Washington	Slidell
3	Feb 27	Washington	Down-plays war
14	Mar 12	Washington	Yucatan
15	12	Washington	Colquitt
30	26	Washington	Ambitious politicians
Ap 3	Mar 31	Washington	Anti-standing army
4	Ap 1	Washington	Oregon
7	4	Washington	Oregon
Jun 4	Jun 2	Washington	Polk's war
13	11	Washington	Mail Steamers
23		*1 Washington	Rio Grande border
Jul 7		Washington	Rep. Rio Grande
16		Washington	Slavery vs. peonage
17		Washington	Rep. Rio Grande
Aug 10		Washington	Peace terms
17		Washington	Wilmot Proviso
Sep 1		Washington	War costs
Dec 11	Dec 1	Charleston TS #1	Steam travel
25	2	Charleston TS #2	Charleston
1847 Jan 8	Dec 3	Charleston TS #3	Margaret Fuller
12	Dec 19	Havana TS #5	Havana
13	22	Havan TS #6	Harbor
14	Dec <sup>2</sup>	Havana TS #7	Anti-monarchy
15	23	Regla TS #8	Money article
16	Dec	Matanzas TS #4	Yo Mori Valley
16	Dec	Matanzas TS #9	Cubans
25	Jan 9	Havana	Mexico
30	Dec 26	Havana TS #10	Censorship

<sup>1</sup>Those with no date provided by William Goetzmann.

<sup>2</sup>No date given.

Feb 12	Jan 13	Vera Cruz	Mexico
13	Dec	Havana	TS #11 Gunabaco
27	Dec 30	Havana	TS #12 Naval reform
1847 Mar 13	Dec 31	Havana	TS #13 Charities
25	Jan 1	Havana	TS #14 Cuban life
26	2	Havana	TS #15 Superstition
Ap 15	Mar 8	Mexico City	Fall of govt.
16	23	Vera Cruz	Mexico
19	29	Vera Cruz	La Playa
24	Mar 30	Vera Cruz	Benton Bribe
27	Ap 5	Vera Cruz	General Scott
May 1			<u>Weekly Sun Recap</u>
3	Mar 28	Vera Cruz	Yankees
6	Mar 31	Vera Cruz	Annexation
7	Mar	Vera Cruz	Mexicans
8			<u>Weekly Sun Recap</u>
13	Ap 16	Vera Cruz	San Juan
13	16	Vera Cruz	Independence
14	12	Vera Cruz	Troops
15			<u>Weekly Sun Recap</u>
20	13	Vera Cruz	San Juan
21	13	Near V.C.	Robin Hood
21	13	Vera Cruz	Jalapa
22	16	Vera Cruz	Tariff
24	20	Vera Cruz	Cerro Gordo
29			<u>Weekly Sun Recap</u>
Jul 19	Jun 20	* <sup>3</sup>	#1
Cuban			
22	22	Havana	#2 Cuba
23	24	Havana	Cuba
30	29	Havana	#4 Texasguide
Aug 9	24	Havana	#3 Slavers
20	Jul 1	Havana	#5 Censors
25	4	Havana	#6 Annexation
31	Aug 7	Havana	Junta
Oct 18	Sep 1	Havana	Cuban Slaves
Nov 25	Oct 26	Havana	Slave Trading
1848 Jan 10	Jan 7	Washington	Candidates
Mar 28		Washington	Revolution
Ap 15	Mar 31	Washington	Veterans
May 4	May 1	Washington	Candidates

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<sup>3</sup>No location given.

1879 Jan 2

Obituary

[New York] Tribune

1847 Jan 14	Dec 16	Cuba	Flogged
1847 Ap 9			
20	Mar 29	Vera Cruz	Benton Bribe
30	Ap 8	Vera Cruz	La Playa
May 19			
22			
27			
1850 Jul 15	May 21	Eagle Pass	Peonage
Mar 8	Feb 1	Eagle Pass	Slavery
Oct 17	Sep 12	Eagle Pass	Peonage
Dec 11	Oct 24	Eagle Pass	Peonage
13	Nov 1	Eagle Pass	Defense
1851 Feb 1	Dec 14	Eagle Pass	Politics
1	Dec 14	Eagle Pass	Manuel Rios
Mar 6	Jan 8	Eagle Pass	Partisans
6	28	Eagle Pass	Victor Espeta
8	Feb 1	Eagle Pass	Morality
Aug 2	July 8	Eagle Pass	Melon Sugar
1853 Dec 9			Dominicans
1878 Dec 31			Obituary



**APPENDIX B**  
**TABLE A**  
**TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

TABLE A  
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

GRAMMATIK <sup>1</sup>	O'SULLIVAN <sup>2</sup>	PERCENT SIMILAR	ANONYMOUS <sup>3</sup>	CAZNEAU <sup>4</sup>	PERCENT SIMILAR
FIRST 300 WORDS	291		300	301	
WORDS PER SENTENCE	29	78	37	37	100
SHORT SENTENCES	9	44	4	2	50
LONG SENTENCES	2	100	2	6	33
SIMPLE SENTENCES	6	50	3	2	66
BIG WORDS	37	80	46	41	89
SENTENCES PER PARAGRAPH	5	36	14	10	71
GRADE LEVEL	13	81	16	16	100
PASSIVE VOICE	5	36	14	10	71
COMPLEX SENTENCES	68	83	82	77	94
COMPLEX VOCABULARY	12	55	22	25	88
GRAMMAR FLAGS	22	79	28	27	96
PUNCTUATION	1	25	4	2	50
NOUN PHRASE	0	0	2	2	100
OBJECT-VERB	0	0	1	4	25
RUN-ON	0	0	1	1	100
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES	0	0	3	3	100
PRONOUN	1	0	0	0	100
JARGON	1	0	0	0	100
O'SULLIVAN MONTGOMERY		41.5			79.6

## ENDNOTES

1. "Statistics," Grammatik, WordPerfect 6.1 for Windows, Very Strict.
2. John L. O'Sullivan, "Seeing a Friend Off in a Packet," United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 16 (July-August 1845): 23-24.
3. "Annexation," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 16 (July-August 1845): 5-10.
4. Montgomery, C., "The Presidents of Texas," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 16 (March 1845): 282-291.

## O'Sullivan

One of the commonest incidents in life for a New-Yorker, is to find himself occasionally at the foot of Marketfield street, in the midst of a crowd of mail bags, trunks, porters, and poultry, making his way to a friend about to sail in a packet for Europe. There is certainly nothing very remarkable in the thing itself. Packets sail almost every day; friends depart and come back again with exemplary punctuality. Broadway, with its thronging thousands, scarcely misses a single footprint; one's every-day affairs fill up the gap of absence, and there is little time or necessity for moralizing. Yet we have always found something characteristic about these departures, and no two of these exactly alike in the incident, much less in the sentiment. A slight circumstance colors the little event. Any formal act which breaks up the accustomed routine of life, comes upon us painfully; it throws us upon hope and conjecture; we fancy all sorts of possibilities; and the older we grow, with greater experience of evil, we shrink the more from such occasions. To many people, a wedding is as painful as a funeral, out of this sense of uncertainty. Apparently, it is the happiest thing in the world; joy, laughter, and congratulation, abound on all sides, but within are doubts and dismay. The implied necessity of being happy, destroys the happiness itself. We can wish a man good day, or grasp his hand, or perform any familiar act of kindness with zest and unction; but set us upon anything out of the track, to bid him God-speed on a journey, or wish him joy in a marriage, and the good faith of the thing is immediately paralyzed; we stand trembling on the brink of a vast unknown future, and seem to be commemorating some deed which invites the sure coming evil powers of the world, hastening disappointment and unerring fate. We have faith in our daily life, to which we are accustomed; we have none in what lies outside of it, the unknown. Happy man, who jogs on through the vale of life in undisturbed serenity, content with the well-known foot-path, the familiar meadow, without even penetrating the wilds, or crossing the oceans beyond; for whom the sun rises and sets on the spot where his eyes first behold the miracle in childhood; who sets under the wide-spreading tree when old, he planted when young; who knows no cares sleep cannot remedy, or the smile of friends assuage.

### Annexation

It is time now for opposition to the Annexation of Texas to cease, all further agitation of the waters of bitterness and strife, at least in connexion with this question, --even though it may perhaps be required of us as a necessary condition of the freedom of our institutions, that we must live on for ever in a state of unpausing struggle and excitement upon some subject of party division or other. But, in regard to Texas, enough has been given to party. It is time for the common duty of Patriotism to the Country to succeed;--or if this claim will not be recognized, it is at least time for common sense to acquiesce with decent grace in the inevitable and the irrevocable.

Texas is now ours. Already, before these words are written, her Convention has undoubtedly ratified the acceptance, by her Congress, of our proffered invitation into the Union; and made the requisite changes in her already republican form of constitution to adapt it to its future federal relations. Her star and her stripe may already be said to have taken their place in the glorious blazon of our common nationality; and the sweep of our eagle's wing already includes within its circuit the wide extent of her fair and fertile land. She is no longer to us a mere geographical space--a certain combination of coast, plain, mountain, valley, forest and stream. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map. She comes within the dear and sacred designation of Our Country; no longer a pays she is a part of la patrie; and that which is at once a sentiment and a virtue, Patriotism, already begins to thrill for her too within the national heart. It is time then that all should cease to treat her as alien, and even adverse--cease to denounce and vilify all and everything connected with her accession--cease to thwart and oppose the remaining steps for its consummation; or where such efforts are felt to be unavailing, at least to embitter the hour of reception by all the most ungracious frown of aversion and words of unwelcome.

## Montgomery [Cazneau]

The four men who, in turn, have been called to the highest place in the Land of the Lone Star, are as diverse as men can well be in mind and lineaments, but they are agreed on three points--in their strong love for Texas--in a devout faith in the glories of her future destiny--and in the extraordinary littleness of their faith in each other. This is a Texian characteristic, and when we consider the circumstances, no cause of marvel.

The population of "the youngest-born of nations" is a recent conglomeration of all manner of material from all manner of sources. It is a mingled but rich debris of genius, enterprise, worth and crime; detached by an infinite variety of causes from the well-stratified society of the older states, and hurried in restless confusion to the genial and all-embracing Texas, where--though still undulating and in attrition--the varied mass is gradually subsiding into order and coherence. A true Texian is fearless, witty and affable, open of speech, and prompt in generous deeds, but he is slow of confidence in the integrity of others, and has a quick relish for scandal. He has a profound and abiding distrust of human nature; and while he presses the kindest hospitality on the stranger, he is speculating in his heart on the probable nature and magnitude of the crimes which have driven the wanderer to Texas. He will beard the lion in his den, and out-gossip an army of old women, but he is kind and liberal to his friend, and steadfast in his loyalty to the home of his choice. With all their inconsistencies, the Texians are faithful and brave, their country one of the loveliest beneath the sun, and her chief magistrates such men as would make themselves of note anywhere.

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