

379
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No. 251

COLONIZATION OF THE EAST TEXAS TIMBER REGION BEFORE 1848

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the North
Texas State Teachers College in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Wills Point, Texas

August, 1939

76249

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INTRODUCTION

The East Texas Timber Region is the part of the state first settled by pioneers from the Eastern States. The Timber Region extends from the Coastal Prairie on the southeast to another prairie section on the north and west. The general surface in the southern part is gently rolling but rises higher in the north. The abundant rainfall, timber, and porous soil provided water enough underground to supply springs, wells, and streams which supplied water enough for the early colonists.¹

Several things were considered by the early settlers when they made East Texas the choice for new homes. Some were: (1) they wanted to have access to a navigable river near the Gulf so that supplies could be secured easily; (2) they wanted to be near some road by which they could communicate with other places when necessary; (3) they needed wood and water; and (4) they preferred bottom lands which could be easily cultivated. All these were found in the Timber Region.²

Indians lived in East Texas long before the coming of the French and Spanish. The Indians of Texas comprised about five main groups. The Texas or the Hasinai Indians

¹H. Smith and D. Walker, Geography of Texas, p. 16.

²H. Smith and D. Walker, Geography of Texas, p. 16.

occupied the region between the Sabine and Trinity Rivers in territory now Houston, Angelina, Cherokee, Nacogdoches, and San Augustine Counties.³ The word "Texas" was used by the tribes who were friendly. The Hasinai Indians applied it to themselves, and after the coming of the Spanish, the name was used in all the province. The Indians of the East Texas Region were divided into about twelve tribes with one tribe being supreme.⁴

A starting point from which to determine the location of most of the tribes was the founding of the mission of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe at the main village of the Nacogdoches in 1716, for it can be shown that this mission remained on the same site until 1773.⁵ The Hasinai Indian group has also been called the Southern Caddo, and was composed of about a dozen small tribes living in the valleys of the Angelina and Neches Rivers. Each tribe had a civil chief; there were also war chiefs. To the northwest on the Red River lived the Caddo Indians who lived like the Hasinai and spoke nearly the same language. To the east of the Hasinai were the Ais and Adaes and to the southeast were the

³C. W. Norvell, Texas, p. 5.

⁴G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 5.

⁵H. E. Bolton, "The Native Tribes About the East Texas Missions," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XI (1908), 258-259.

Bidai. These tribes were settled Timber dwellers. When the Spanish came to Texas, the Asinai tribe lived in a province that was very fertile and suitable for planting.⁶

The East Texas Indians lived in relatively fixed locations and were agricultural tribes. They lived in loosely built agricultural villages surrounded by their fields. The Indian homes were scattered for miles around the villages, and there seems to have been a main village which was regarded as the tribal headquarters. The greatest disadvantage to these Indians was that the region was very thickly covered with a variety of trees with little open country.

The timber tribes were more advanced than any of the other groups. The women worked the fields, and for food they planted maize or corn, one early and one late kind; beans of several varieties, watermelons, muskmelons, calabashes, and sunflowers. They also raised tobacco. Their agricultural tools were crude. They had no iron axes or plows to till the soil, but killed the trees by fire and scratched the surface of the ground with hoes made of wood, stone, or the bones of animals. They hunted wild animals in the woods, and gathered nuts, acorns, wild fruit, and different kinds of roots.

The Indian homes were conical huts consisting of a

⁶M. A. Hatcher, "Description of the Tejas or Asinai Indians," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXX (1927), 209-211.

framework of poles, supported by notched stakes interlaced with willow limbs. That was covered with a thatch of grass and surmounted by a tall spire or tuft of grass about two feet high. Each house usually had four doors. The fireplace was in the center and the smoke escaped through a hole near the top on the east side. Around the wall, couches were built which served for seats during the day and beds at night. The houses were arranged about an open space which served for ceremonial and social gatherings. These were the conditions of the Indians when the Spanish began to settle East Texas.

CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH AND FRENCH IN EAST TEXAS

Spanish explorers came to Texas before the French arrived. Cabeza de Vaca spent several years in Texas among the Indians. After the death of De Soto in 1542, his men crossed into the northeastern part of Texas. However, La Salle was the first to attempt a settlement and gave France a claim to Texas. La Salle had made explorations in the New World and in 1685 attempted to make a settlement on the Mississippi River. He missed the mouth of the Mississippi and landed on the coast of Texas.¹ It is not known whether he did this intentionally or accidentally; nevertheless he had great misfortune as a result of his landing in Texas. La Salle had trouble with his men; and while he was searching for his companions, who had been captured by Indians, his ship carrying his supplies for the settlement grounded. If all the men had worked together, the supplies would have been saved; but many refused and the ship was carried away before some of the supplies could be removed. Indians began to steal the things that had been saved. La Salle was not discouraged, and he decided to explore the country. There were 220 Frenchmen, and La Salle ordered the construction of a fort. He took fifty men and started exploring the region

¹F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 121.

but had to return to the fort on account of Indians. La Salle found a place farther inland that he liked better for a fort; so he had all the men at the first site to join him and they began work on a second fort. The new fort was called St. Louis.

La Salle then made a journey which lasted more than three months. He was well satisfied to have discovered a beautiful country. His last ship was wrecked and he had only a few supplies left. He did not pay much attention to his misfortune, but it made a deep impression on the settlement. On January 12, 1687, La Salle left Fort St. Louis with twelve men.² Five men, Duhaut, James, Liotot, l'Archeveque, and Teissier, decided to kill La Salle. First they killed his nephew and friends. While searching for his nephew, La Salle was shot through the head by Duhaut. Fort St. Louis was a failure as a permanent settlement for the French, but it served to frighten the Spanish into trying to settle Texas.

In 1686 a French frigate, called Nuestra Señora de Regla, was captured in the Gulf of Mexico by the Spanish. They learned from the crew of La Salle's settlement, and expeditions were sent out to search for the fort. A Frenchman named Juan Enrique was captured and taken to Mexico City. He told the viceroy of La Salle's attempt at settlement,

²F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 130.

and offered to lead an expedition into Texas. The Spanish were anxious to find La Salle's settlement, because they felt that Texas belonged to Spain. They claimed Texas because of: (1) the discovery of America by Columbus; (2) the conquests of Cortez; and (3) the explorations of Spanish officers, such as De Soto, Cabeza de Vaca, and others who passed through Texas. In order to stop the French from taking Texas, the viceroy ordered Alonso de Leon to explore the country and to question La Salle if he found him.³ De Leon carried only a few men; he did not expect to dislodge the French but thought they might leave when informed of the Spanish rights.

De León reached Texas and proceeded to the place where La Salle had built his fort. He found the fort destroyed, the people all gone, the houses sacked, and all the furniture that the settlers had possessed broken. He found the leaves of many books written in French scattered over the ground. It seemed that the destroyers had ruined everything they could not use themselves. The houses had been built of plaster and palisades and were useless for any defense. On the facing of the principal door of the fort was inscribed the year 1684, when the settlement was established.⁴ De

³G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 13.
R. C. Clark, "The Beginnings of Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, V (1902), 175-176.

⁴C. W. Hackett, Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

León found two Frenchmen who were survivors of the settlement. They told him that more than one hundred had died of smallpox and that the others had been killed by the Caranaguases Indians. He took the men and returned to Mexico to give the viceroy an account of what he had found.

The viceroy realized that he had made a mistake by not ordering a settlement made in Texas. He immediately ordered De León to return to Texas and make a settlement. De León took one hundred ten men and some religious men with him.⁵ He reached East Texas safely, raised the Spanish standard, and took possession of the country for Spain. The missionaries then founded the first mission in 1690 and called San Francisco de los Tejas, as it was built in the middle of the Tejas region.⁶ The distance from the Tejas village when the church was built to the Neches River was about three leagues in a general northeastern direction. The mission was built in the Tejas village, which has been identified as San Pedro Creek. The actual site has been placed by Bolton on the San Pedro Creek northwest of Neches some six or eight miles west of the Neches River. Father Massanet was given charge of the mission. The second mission, Santissimo Nombre de María, was built later a few miles north-

⁵F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 152.

⁶A. Woldert, "Location of Tejas Indian Villages and Spanish Missions," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (1935), 206. C. E. Castaneda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. I, p. 353.

east of the first. In the fall of 1691, Father Fray Jesús María founded the new mission on the banks of the Neches River about five miles from San Francisco de los Tejas. De León learned from the Indians that a white man had been visiting with them and trying to influence them against the Spanish. He believed the white man to have been Tonti, La Salle's lieutenant, from Fort St. Louis. De Leon saw the mission finished; and leaving three soldiers and three missionaries, he returned to Mexico.

The first mission was not very successful, and the Indians wanted to return to their uncivilized ways of living. De León had chosen soldiers that he thought would be all right to live in the mission, but they were harsh and cruel to the Indians. They soon grew to hate the bold Europeans and were afraid of losing their lands. The condition of the mission grew steadily worse. A flood destroyed the crop, and it was followed by a drought which caused a scarcity of food. The Indians became hostile, because of their medicine men and because of the wickedness of the soldiers, who paid no attention to the priests.

De León reported to the Spanish government of the fertility and vastness of the new territory and of the desire of the Indians for missionaries. He also told the authorities that it would be easy to discover other Indian nations, convert them to the Catholic religion, and then make them vassals of the Spanish government. As a result of his

report, the King gave permission to the Franciscan missionaries to convert the Indians.⁷ The King of Spain ordered another expedition to Texas, and the viceroy appointed Domingo Terán de los Rios to undertake a land journey. He was given fifty soldiers, each of whom was paid 400 pesos a year; fourteen missionary fathers; and seven lay brothers, all Franciscans. They reached the mission San Francisco de los Tejas August 4, 1691. The King had ordered new missions to be founded and the work was soon started. The soldiers began to annoy the Indians, and Terán refused to discipline them when the missionaries complained. Terán was irritated by the check on his authority by the missionaries and, since he could find no riches, decided to go back to Mexico. He left fifteen missionaries with ten soldiers and one corporal to protect them.

Terán seems to have made a terrible mistake because he caused the loss of the province at that time for Spain. The following winter was so severe that the wheat crop was destroyed and many of the cattle died. There was very little food, and the soldiers became more quarrelsome every day and begged the missionaries to leave East Texas. In 1693 Salinas was sent to the mission to carry supplies and the Spanish government sent word for the missionaries to leave the missions. The Indians were growing more hostile; so the

⁷F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 153.

priests became afraid and buried what they could not carry and fled to Mexico. Thus it seemed that the first attempt at permanent settlement by the Spanish was a complete failure.⁸

For twenty years neither France nor Spain tried to colonize Texas.⁹ Even though Spain failed in the first attempt at settlement, some good resulted. The first failure helped the Spanish to succeed the next time. They became familiar with the country and named some of the rivers. Dim trails began to be marked out; and good camping places, which later became flourishing towns, were selected. The site of the present city of San Antonio was noticed by the Saint-Denis expedition. The Spanish learned something of the Indian language and how to manage them.

To understand more fully why the Spanish established the first mission and continued to establish others for several years, something of the political conditions of that time must be known. The French were established in Louisiana along the Mississippi River. After the unsuccessful attempt of La Salle, the French had not given up entirely their intention of settling the lower Mississippi region which they claimed. Toward the end of the century another attempt was made, their objective being Pensacola

⁸G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 15.

⁹C. E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 16.

Bay in Spanish Florida; but finding the Spanish there, Sieur d'Iberville, the French colonizer, moved on to Biloxi Bay to establish a settlement. The French became active, and in 1710 Sieur d'Bienville founded a trading post at the present site of Mobile.¹⁰ The French also settled the post of Natchitoches. When Saint-Denis appeared in Texas, the Spanish were startled and saw that it was necessary to take defensive action against the French. Spain knew that if she wanted to keep Texas for herself, France must not gain a foothold in the province. The Spanish government decided to build missions to help guard the frontier against the enemies. Yet another reason for settling the East Texas region was because of the Texas Indians, who were the most powerful and influential nations in the province of Texas. They were somewhat civilized and wanted missionaries in East Texas. So the Spanish, considering both Church and State, planted the first missions on the extreme eastern border, with the most extreme mission barely fifteen miles from Natchitoches.

In 1713 the Spanish were again alarmed by French activities near the East Texas region. On September 12, 1712, Louis XIV granted the monopoly of trade of Louisiana to Antoine Crozat for fifteen years. The French wanted to open trade with the Spanish in Mexico; also, they hoped to gain much wealth from the Indians and from the mines that

¹⁰E. W. Heusinger, Early Explorations and Mission Establishments in Texas, p. 56.

were believed to be in the New World. When Crozat communicated with the Spanish authorities, they refused to trade with him and declared that New Spain was absolutely closed to all foreign commerce.¹¹ The French decided the only way to trade would be through Texas by land. The governor of Louisiana, M. Lamothe Cadillac, received a letter written by a missionary near Coahuila who had been wanting to return to the Tejas Indians. Father Hidalgo gave up all hope of interesting the Spanish to send him back to the Indians and let him rebuild the mission. He wrote to the Louisiana governor asking about the Indians and wanting help to establish missions among them. Cadillac was ready to help the Spanish build missions if he could secure the supplies he needed for his colony from New Spain. Cadillac did not realize at that time that every Spanish mission was a blow to French claims. An overland expedition was organized to go in search of Father Hidalgo and to get horses and cattle for the colony of Louisiana.

The leader for the expedition had to be a man of experience, shrewd and capable of dealing with the Indians. The man chosen for the position was Louis Juchereau de St. Denis. He agreed to take ten thousand livres of merchandise from the public store and sell it in Mexico. His passport read, "The Sieur de Saint-Denis is to take twenty-four men and as

¹¹R. C. Clark, "Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, VI (1903), 6-7.

many Indians as necessary and with them to go in search of the mission of Fray Francisco Hidalgo in response to his letter of January 17, 1711, and there to purchase horses and cattle for the province of Louisiana."¹² Castañeda tells us that the passport was dated September 12, 1713, San Francisco el Grande Archive, VIII, 26. News of the expedition was known before this date, and the viceroy was warned of the French activities. In 1714 the party set out for the village of the Tonicas, which was two leagues above the mouth of the Red River. They moved on to the village of the Natchitoches Indians and built two storehouses to store a part of their merchandise. Saint-Denis told the Indians they must cultivate the land and gave them grain to plant. He said that the French would always be among them and they need fear no hostile Indians. He left a few French at the village and continued his explorations. He next went to the village of the Asinai and lived there about six months. He traded a large amount of his goods for cattle, horses, and buffalo hides. Ramón in 1716 found the Indians with French guns, beads, knives, and red and blue cloth; they told him the French gave them in exchange for hides and horses.

It seems that Saint-Denis must have returned to Natchez and given an account of his success and secured further instructions. He had not found Father Hidalgo, and he must

¹²E. C. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 28.

have secured fresh supplies before repairing to the Asinains. Salinas Varona's letters of August 20, 1713, and October 20, 1715, seem to show that part of the Frenchmen returned to Mobile with what they gained from their trade; and also Domingo Ramón's letter of July 26, 1716, is proof of the extensive trade carried on by Saint-Denis among the Tejas.¹³ The Indians begged Saint-Denis to ask the Spanish missionaries to return to East Texas and build missions.

Early in the fall of 1714 Saint-Denis started for the Presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande River. With three other Frenchmen, Medar Jalot, Largen, and Penicault Bernardino, two Tejas captains, and one other Indian, he arrived at San Juan Bautista, located two leagues beyond the Rio Grande. He told the Spanish authorities that he had come from Louisiana to purchase grain and cattle and, finding the East Texas mission abandoned, had continued his search for the Spanish. The captain placed the Frenchmen under arrest and kept them in his home and sent word of their arrival to the viceroy. The viceroy had Saint-Denis taken to Mexico City.

Saint-Denis could have established himself in East Texas before the Spanish authorities could have known what he was doing. But he was not very interested in taking Texas; he and the French governor wanted a neighbor with whom

¹³E. C. Castaneda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 29.

they might have a profitable trade.¹⁴ The Spanish became alarmed when Saint-Denis arrived in Mexico and immediately began planning to make permanent settlements in East Texas.¹⁵ By building permanent settlements, Spanish claims would be strengthened and French claims weakened. The real significance of the Saint-Denis expedition was that the ownership of Texas and the future history of Texas were decided.

In Mexico City Saint-Denis told of the Indian affection for the Spanish, and of the richness of the province of Texas. The viceroy thought that Spain should send missionaries at once to East Texas to begin building a new mission. A general meeting was held and the viceroy was to provide soldiers and missionaries with everything needed for an expedition. The soldiers and missionaries were to civilize the Indians and establish settlements to prevent the French from taking Texas. Domingo Ramón was to lead the expedition into Texas. Saint-Denis had made himself useful to the Spanish; so when he offered to lead them into Texas, he was made conductor of supplies. While in the service of the Spanish he corresponded with the French governor. In Ramón's expedition were twenty-two soldiers, twelve friars, two men with their families, thirteen unmarried men, seven married women, probably wives of the soldiers, one girl and

¹⁴G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 21

¹⁵H. E. Bolton, Colonization of North America, p. 278.

two small children, one negro, and five Indians. Morfi says there were twenty-five soldiers and five missionaries.

The group was met by Indians who expressed joy that the Spanish were returning and accompanied them on into the East. Saint-Denis went ahead of the Spanish to tell the Texas Indians of their coming. The Indians came to meet Ramón and showed him a great welcome. Ramón distributed presents to the Indians and appointed the son of Bernardino as chief of the Texas and governor of the Indians. He founded six missions: San Francisco de los Neches, Purísima Concepción, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, San José de los Nasones, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais, and San Miguel de los Adaes, the last only seven leagues from Natchitoches.¹⁶ Over five thousand Indians came to the missions, and the Spanish had great hopes of converting them.

On July 3, 1716, the missionaries, Ramón, and many of the Indians crossed the Neches River and went to the place chosen for the reestablishment of the first mission. It was a spot in the middle of the Neche village located from two to four miles from the river crossing and about four leagues farther east than the original location. The missionaries fixed a temporary shelter of leafy branches, moved into it, and made formal distribution of the equipment and supplies provided for each of the missions. On

¹⁶F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 187.

July 5 Domingo Ramón formally appointed a Cabildo for the Indian pueblo and gave official possession of the mission to Father Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa. The new mission was named Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas. Father Fray Manuel Castellanos was appointed for the spiritual care of the soldiers. When the ceremonies were all over, Captain Ramón started out to build another mission.

The second establishment was to be the mission La Purísima Concepción and was located about eight or nine leagues northeast of the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas. It was just beyond the Angelina River in the middle of the chief village of the Ainay, a mile or two east of the place where the highway crosses the Angelina, near two springs, not far from the present Linwood Crossing.¹⁷ After two centuries the springs were found in a neglected and abandoned condition, but the location and appearance of the two springs would show that place to be the site of Mission Concepción. There was found a short distance from the twin springs two piles of native red rock, having every appearance of being the remains of the rock chimneys of the mission.¹⁸ On that site the Centennial Commission has erected the marker for this mission. Ramon was impressed with the

¹⁷E. C. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 59.

¹⁸R. B. Blake, "Location of the Early Spanish Missions and Presidio in Nacogdoches County," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, January (1938), 220.

fertility of the land around the mission site. There were cultivated fields of corn, watermelons, beans, melons, tobacco, and a painted flower which the Indians liked very much. On July 7, all preparations were completed; and Ramón gave official possession of the mission to Father Espinosa, appointed a governor called an *alcalde* for the Indian pueblo, and distributed gifts. Father Espinosa appointed Father Fray Gabriel Vergara minister of the mission. The Indians began building a dwelling for the padres; and Ramón, with some of the missionaries, left for the village of the Nacogdoches to build a third mission.

The Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was founded for the Nacogdoches and designated as the head of the missions to be founded by the friars from Zacatecas. It was located about nine leagues east-southeast of the mission of La Purísima Concepción of the Hainai on the present site of the city of Nacogdoches. A temporary log church and dwellings for the padres were quickly built. On July 9, Ramón gave formal possession of the mission to Father Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, President of the Zacatecas missions. The next day he left to establish the mission of San José. Father Margil, with three missionaries from the College of Zacatecas, Fathers Fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio, Fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, and Fray Agustín Patrón, stayed at the mission. It was twenty-three leagues farther east than the first mission founded by the Spanish in 1690.

The mission of San José was founded for the Nazoni and Nadaco tribes and was located on an arroyo that flowed north about fifteen miles northeast of the Hainai village, where the mission of La Purísima Concepción was established on the present Bill's Creek near the north line of Nacogdoches County. Ramón says he traveled ten leagues west-northwest from the village of the Nacogdoches to the Nazoni through a country thickly settled by Indians who welcomed him joyously.¹⁹ Father Espinosa arrived before Ramón and had time to choose the site of the new mission with Father Fray Benito Sánchez, minister of the mission. The Indians began immediately to build a church and dwellings for the padres. After establishing this last of the four missions agreed upon, Ramón returned with much pleasure to his temporary camp. His primary purpose was completed, but the work of converting and civilizing the Indians had just begun.

Ramon learned all he could of French activities in East Texas and in 1717 made a visit to Natchitoches. He discovered a well-built house with a stockade. Captain Ramón and the missionaries ordered the French to erect a cross; and, in the presence of Indians, mass was celebrated. The Spanish saw that the French had acquired quite a bit of influence over the Indians; so they decided to stop with the

¹⁹E. C. Castaneda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 60.

Adaes nation. The Adaes welcomed them and invited the missionaries to establish a mission and to live among them. Ramón was glad to do that and appointed the principal chief as governor and gave possession of the new mission to Father Antonio Margil de Jesús. The mission was named Mission de San Miguel de Linares, and it was located about eight or nine leagues from Natchitoches, near the bank of the present-day Arroyo Hondo about a league from Spanish Lake.²⁰

Then Ramón and Father Margil went to the country of the Ais, which was about half way between the first four missions established among the Tejas and the mission of San Miguel. The Indians were friendly and asked Ramón to establish a mission among the tribe. Ramón gladly agreed; and with ceremonies similar to those performed in the other missions, appointed a governor for the Indians and gave possession of the new establishment to Father Margil. The mission was named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais. Father Margil took charge and selected it as his headquarters because of its location between Mission Concepción and Mission San Miguel. Ramón had been instructed to establish four missions; but by establishing the Mission de San Miguel de Linares and the Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with the help of Father Margil and the missionaries of the

²⁰ E. C. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, p. 67.

College of Zacatecas, he had built a total of six missions mentioned in Morfi's Historia.

The work of the missionaries progressed slowly. Sickness diminished the number of missionaries and soldiers and the missionaries became discouraged. Many of the military guard ran away, some were ill, and some died. It seemed that unless the officials of New Spain took immediate action to reenforce the garrison, to supply the missionaries with necessities, and to encourage settlers to come to Texas, the possessions would be lost and the conversion of the Indians would have to be abandoned as in 1690. The missions were in trouble almost from the beginning. There were the fear of the French, bad crops, unruly soldiers, and dissatisfaction among the Indians. The desire of Spain to fasten her claims on Eastern Texas had resulted by 1719 in what was a very weak hold on that region. The six straggling missions built by Ramón were scattered from the Neches River almost to the Red River.²¹

In 1716 Saint-Denis made another visit to Texas and went to the Rio Grande with a supply of goods for trade. The second trip was more unfortunate than his first. The men he trusted acted dishonestly, and he was thrown into prison. He escaped and returned to Mobile. He married the

²¹E. C. Buckley, "Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XV (1911-1912), 1-2.

niece of Captain Ramón and after his escape went to Louisiana, where he was appointed captain of the presidio of Natchitoches.²²

In 1719, war broke out between Spain and France, and Saint-Denis came into East Texas and expelled the Spanish missionaries. He made himself master of the entire province with the exception of the presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, where the missionaries took refuge.²³ The French took possession of the mission of San Miguel de los Adaes. In the excitement the lay brother escaped and went to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. He told Father Margil of the capture of Pensacola, the declaration of war, the intention of the French to drive the Spanish out of Texas, and that one hundred French soldiers were on the way to East Texas. Father Margil did not believe this was all true, but he buried the tools and heavier articles, packed the ornaments and sacred vessels, and hurried to Concepción. The news of the French had preceded him, and the soldiers under Captain Domingo Ramón were ready to retreat. The missionaries wanted to remain, but the women, soldiers, and some of the religious decided to go as far as San Francisco Mission on the Neches. The Indians begged the missionaries not to leave them at the mercy of the French. Everybody except Fathers Margil and Espinosa were to retreat to the

²²H. S. Thrall, History of Texas, p. 19.

²³F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 191.

Tejas on the Trinity River. By the middle of July, with no help from New Spain, the settlers, soldiers, and missionaries were forced to retreat to the San Antonio River. The patient and hard work of three years had been wiped out; not a man remained from San Antonio to the Red River to defend Spain's title to the vast territory. Neither Spain nor the missionaries had intentions of definitely abandoning East Texas. The cowardly abandonment of the missions was attributed to Father Margil, when the soldiers and settlers were the ones who should have taken the blame. Later, when Espinosa went to the Marquis of Aguayo and reported that he tried to get the soldiers to stay in the missions, the fugitive soldiers confirmed his report.

There has been some disagreement among historians as to the exact location of the missions established by Domingo Ramón. R. B. Blake made a search for the site of the missions with the help of the diary of Ramón and also that of Espinosa. He began his search with Mission Guadalupe, which was known to have been in the city limits of Nacogdoches until 1800. It was soon located by the Spanish records in Nacogdoches, for several of the grants to town lots refer to the Bañito Creek as "the creek of the mission." The grant to Juan José Sanchez for his town lot says his lot is bounded on the north with lands of the missions.

Definite data concerning the location of Concepción

and the presidio is contained in two old Spanish land grants. In the grant to Barr and Davenport the surveyor says he went "to the place called the 'Old Presidio' about eight leagues from the afore-mentioned town of Nacogdoches on this side of the Angelina River . . . conceding to him two leagues and a half to the north, two leagues and a half to the south, two leagues and a half to the west, which reached to the other side of the Angelina River, where marks and corners were placed, and to the east bounding with land of Don Bernardo Dortoland."²⁴ An examination of the map of Barr and Davenport shows clearly that the starting point of the surveyor of the grant was the site of the old "Presidio Nuestra Señora de los Dolores."

South of the old highway near Nacogdoches and extending from the Moral to the Alazán were the lands granted to Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, the southern border being the Angelina River. Blake found the two bubbling springs of water referred to in Father Espinosa's diary as being near the Mission La Purísima Concepción, near where the John Durst bridge formerly stood. He was unable to find any reference to Mission San José de los Nazones in any of the official records of Nacogdoches County, but the descriptions given in the Spanish diaries formed a basis for his search. Father Espinosa says in his

²⁴R. B. Blake, "Locations of the Early Spanish Missions and Presidio in Nacogdoches County," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, January (1938), 215.

diary that Mission San José was located seven leagues northeast from Concepción Mission and near a good-sized arroyo which runs to the north. Examinations of the hills overlooking Dill Creek to the west of the ford showed on the crest of one hill two piles of native red rock about thirty feet apart. Some of the stones appeared to have been burned black, showing that they once formed part of a chimney. This hill is just north of the old Indian road, and on the south side of the road was a small mound of the same red stones which might represent a kitchen cairn.

In 1719 the French took East Texas when the Spanish abandoned it. They also tried to take Espiritu Santo Bay but were opposed by the Indians. As soon as the viceroy learned of French hostilities in East Texas, he began to plan an expedition to expel the French. He appointed the marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to take charge of the preparations and gave him money for expenses. Aguayo organized a company of eighty-four men and furnished them uniforms, arms, saddles, horses, and enough supplies for a year. He was then appointed governor of the provinces of Coahuila and Texas. He started immediately for Coahuila, where new men were enlisted to help him.²⁵ He authorized the founding of the Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo near the presidio of Bexar. On April 1, 1720, the five hundred

²⁵F. J. Morfi, History of Texas, Vol. I, p. 193.

recruits started on their march to East Texas. On February 2, 1721, he received a message from the captain of San Antonio saying word had reached him through some Indians that Saint-Denis was within thirty leagues of the presidio. Indian scouts could find no trace of the French closer than the Brazos River. The Marquis arrived at San Antonio and found no news of Captain Ramón, but on April 18 his messengers arrived to talk with Aguayo. They told him that Ramón had taken possession of Espíritu Santo Bay.

Aguayo resumed his march and reached the Texas Indians on July 28, 1721. Father Espinosa went ahead and arranged for the reception of Aguayo by the Indians at the site of the first mission. A great number of Indians came to greet the Spaniards and to bring gifts to them. Some of the Neches Indians also came to welcome Aguayo and promised to help him build a settlement. A Frenchman came that afternoon from Saint-Denis saying he was at the site of Concepción mission and wanted to talk with Aguayo.

On the morning of August 1, the Marquis called his captains and officers together, and they asked Saint-Denis to tell why he came to them. He told them that he was the commander at the post of Natchitoches and that he had heard that a truce had been negotiated between France and Spain. He wanted to know if Aguayo would observe peace; if so, the French would also observe the truce. Aguayo told Saint-Denis that he had been ordered by the viceroy to observe the truce

if Saint-Denis and his men would leave the entire province of Texas and not try to stop the Spanish from again occupying that region. Saint-Denis agreed and slowly returned to Natchitoches.

Aguayo had driven out the French; now he was to re-establish the missions that had been abandoned. It was for that purpose that he had carried along supplies and missionaries. He sent a group of soldiers with Father José Guerra on August 2, 1721, to go to the old site of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas to rebuild the church and the home of the priests. They found the abandoned mission located in the village of the Neche tribe, which has been identified as being on Bowles Creek not far from the present crossing of that stream by the old San Antonio Road. On August 5, the Spanish and the Indians celebrated the reestablishing of the mission, and Father Fray Joseph Guerra was presented as resident missionary.

On the same day that Aguayo sent Father Guerra with soldiers to San Francisco, he also sent Fathers Gabriel Vergara and Benito Sánchez with some men to Mission Concepción to make preparations for its restoration. As soon as the ceremonies at the Mission San Francisco had been finished, he went to Mission La Purísima Concepción. This mission was the only one that had not been completely destroyed, and by August 7 it was restored. The men went to the mission site and met many Aynay Indians. A very in-

teresting ceremony was performed, and the missionaries were happy to see the reestablishment of the mission and of the Catholic faith.²⁶ Father Fray Gabriel Vergara was appointed resident missionary.

After the rebuilding of the Mission Concepción, a group of soldiers went with Father Fray Benito Sánchez to Mission San José de los Nazonos to rebuild the old church and dwelling house of the missionaries. On August 12, Aguayo heard that everything was ready; and on August 13, 1721, the formal reestablishment of Mission San José de los Nazonos took place. Father Fray Benito Sánchez, who had formerly been there, was again given charge of the mission.

Father Antonio Margil de Jesús, two missionaries, and some soldiers went to rebuild the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of the Nacogdoches and was ready for the celebration on August 18. The Father was happy over celebrating High Mass at the site of the mission he had founded five years before and had abandoned. The first of the Zacatecan missions was officially restored by Aguayo.

From Guadalupe Aguayo went to Mission Dolores. Father Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús went ahead to begin the work of restoring the mission. The mission had been completely destroyed; so the Father chose a new site. He selected a place beside a stream near a spring on a high slope of clear

²⁶C. E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Vol. II, pp. 152-153.

ground. The stream described in Pena's Diary has been identified as Ayish Bayou. The site of the mission is about half a mile south of the present site of San Augustine. On August 23, High Mass was celebrated and possession was given to Reverend Father Antonio Margil de Jesús.

Six days later the expedition reached the place of the Mission of San Miguel de los Adaes. Nearly a month was spent in restoring the mission; and on September 29, which was the Feast of the Archangel St. Michael, the refounding was celebrated.

The Marquis de Aguayo built the fort of Adaes while he was in East Texas rebuilding the missions. He chose a place on the Natchitoches road seven leagues from Natchitoches. The rest of the country was rough and shaded by woods, but the site selected had good valleys in which to erect the mission near the fort. There was plenty of land for the Spanish and Indians to make their crops, and a spring on the hillside furnished water. On top of the hill Aguayo laid out and built the fortification.²⁷ He built it in the form of a hexagon with each side about fifty feet long. The greatest task was to open the space for the foundation, which had to be done with very crude tools, and to clear the site and its surroundings of very heavy timber. In October, 1721, the fort and church were dedicated. The

²⁷H. E. Bolton and E. C. Barker, With the Makers of Texas, p. 59.

Aguayo expedition further established the claim of Spain over Texas, a claim undisputed for nearly a century. For many years the people lived contented and undisturbed.

There were four lines of approach to Spanish Texas, through the development of which a knowledge of the region was gradually unfolded: (1) from the east and south, by way of the Gulf of Mexico; (2) from the east by way of the vast region known in early days as La Florida; (3) from the west and southwest, by way of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya; and (4) from the south, through the expansion of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila.²⁸

In 1762 France was at war with England and ceded Louisiana to Spain. With a Spanish governor at New Orleans, there was no further need for a military guard on the frontier. A Spanish investigator, Marquis de Rubi, recommended the complete abandonment of East Texas forts and missions. So the Spanish decided to give back to the Indians the land of Texas northeast of San Antonio de Bexar. The failure of the Spanish to abandon East Texas completely was because of the fact that some of the Spanish settlers wanted to keep their homes; but most of them left.²⁹

The most prominent citizen of the East Texas region about 1773 was Antonio Gil Ybarbo. He was a native of Adaes and had his headquarters there; but he lived part of

²⁸E. C. Bolton, "Spanish Occupation of Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XVI (1913), 2.

²⁹H. E. Bolton, "Spanish Abandonment and Re-Occupation of East Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, IX (1906), 67-68.

the time on a large ranch called Labinillo, which was between the mission of Los Ais and the Sabine River. Besides being a rancher, Ybarbo was a trader.³⁰

In 1773, when the news that they must leave reached the settlers, the people were bewildered. Most of them loved their homes, and some had been born at Adaes and had lived all their lives there. Most of the people were soon ready to leave, but reports show that thirty-five persons went into the woods to remain. The settlers had made only a few improvements on their farms, but they had to be abandoned. Their stock were scattered; and the corn, which was almost ready to be harvested, had to be left. The articles such as guns and cannons that could not be carried were buried within the presidio.

When the travelers reached Ybarbo's ranch, twenty-four persons remained behind. Some were sick and some stayed to take care of the sick ones. Some were Ybarbo's relatives, and Ybarbo received permission from the governor to let them stay at his home. Perhaps Ybarbo did not intend to abandon his home completely. When the others arrived at the Nacogdoches mission, two families of nine persons stopped there.

As soon as the Spanish were gone from Adaes, the Indians raided the place, scattering things and digging up

³⁰H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, p. 389.

what the people had buried. Some of the people who had stopped at Labanillo probably never left, even though Ybarbo did send away some of them. It seems probable then that East Texas was never completely abandoned as had been ordered by the Spanish government.

The exiles went to Béxar; and soon after they arrived there, they sent a petition to the governor asking for permission to build a new pueblo at the old mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais. Ybarbo and Gil Flores were chosen to carry the petition to Mexico City. The request was granted, but the settlers were told to select a site at least one hundred leagues from Natchitoches. In 1774 a place was chosen on the right bank of the Trinity River, at Paso Tomás, probably at the crossing of the San Antonio road and the La Bahía road. The settlers decided to name the settlement Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli. Gil Ybarbo became mayor and Gil Flores became lieutenant.

One day in May, 1778, about thirty warriors of the Comanche tribe appeared, but Ybarbo and his men killed three of them and drove away the others. The settlers became frightened and asked for protection from the Indians or for permission to move to the Texas villages. In January most of the settlers began to leave, and soon afterwards a flood destroyed many of the homes; so Ybarbo and the settlers that were left started for the Texas villages.

Ybarbo and the settlers traveled until they could see

the site of the Texas Indians, three leagues beyond the old mission of Nacogdoches. Unless some of the families who left Bucareli in January reached Nacogdoches ahead of Ybarbo, and there seems to be no record of the fact, Ybarbo began the modern city of Nacogdoches. The nearest available date for this beginning was April 30, 1779.³¹

The question of who built the historic landmark known as the "Old Stone Fort" at Nacogdoches is not important, but it is interesting. According to tradition, the building was erected by Gil Ybarbo when he came with the settlers to the site of the old mission Nacogdoches. Some think the fort was already there and was built by De Soto's men. This is probably false, for there is strong evidence that the building was not there when Ybarbo arrived. One of the early priests referred in his diary to an old adobe building; and as the Fort was built of good-sized stones, a Mexican would not have been likely to have called it adobe. The only buildings mentioned by Ybarbo as being there when he arrived were the ones mentioned by the priest.³²

Nacogdoches was settled without authority, secured recognition from the government, and became important. With the occupation of Nacogdoches began a new period in the

³¹H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, p. 439.

³²H. E. Bolton, "The Old Stone Fort at Nacogdoches," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, IX (1906), 283-285.

history of the Texas-Louisiana frontier, and it became the chief center of developments. Ybarbo asked for a trading house, which was established, and Indian trade was reorganized. Nacogdoches became the most important Indian agency in the province, and Ybarbo became influential among the Indians.

There is no census of Texas in 1801 to see about the number of immigrants, but a list of foreigners in the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches in 1804 furnished information. In that report the name, nationality, and term of residence of each person was given. It contained the names of sixty-eight foreigners, of whom fifty had been there more than three years. Of the fifty, thirteen were Americans.³³

The people began establishing their new homes and had very little trouble with each other, probably because of Ybarbo's authority. When the government recognized Nacogdoches, Ybarbo was appointed Captain of Militia and Lieutenant-Governor of the pueblo of Nacogdoches, combining all local civil and military authority in him.³⁴ He held that position for about twenty years, and the community grew in number and prospered.

³³M. A. Hatcher, The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement, p. 55. M. A. Hatcher, "Conditions in Texas Affecting the Colonization Problem," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXV (1922), 94-95.

³⁴G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 57.

As a whole, the Spanish never particularly cared to settle Texas for themselves. The missionaries were completely happy in building the missions and teaching the Indians, but the people who went as settlers were not completely satisfied. The Spaniards did not want profit by labor in the New World. They were not natural colonizers as were the English; they were conquerors, rulers, and exploiters. They could fight and endure hardships if the reward was great, but not many cared to engage in agriculture. Texas was not profitable but rather expensive to Spain.³⁵ So the Spanish abandoned East Texas and left the way open for the coming of the Anglo-Americans who changed the province of Texas into the great state of today.

³⁵P. Molyneaux, The Romantic Story of Texas, p. 25.

CHAPTER II

THE ANGLO-AMERICANS IN EAST TEXAS--NACOGDOCHES

The old Spanish colonists, English and Irish adventurers gave way to new arrivals. The Cherokee Indians had been fighting the Americans for many years in the Southern United States. These Indians were partly civilized, and they decided to build new homes. Rather than to make peace and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the whites, they moved west of the Mississippi into East Texas. These Cherokees who came to settle Texas were not savage but were rather peaceful, and made their living by farming and hunting. They worked the fields and raised cattle and horses on their farms. Many of them understood the English language.¹ The Indians knew they must have a legal title to the land; so they applied to the Spanish government for land agents.² The government kept them waiting while the white settlers came in.

In the year 1811 Bernardo Gutiérrez, a friend of Father Hidalgo of Mexico, came to the frontier town of Natchitoches in Louisiana. He became acquainted with Augustus W. Magee, an American who was considering plans for the invasion of Texas. The two men formed the "Republican Army of the North,"

¹E. W. Winkler, "The Cherokee Indians in East Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, VII (1904), 95-97.

²G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 76.

and Gutiérrez crossed the Sabine into Texas in June, 1812. Magee stayed in Louisiana to gather soldiers and supplies. The force under Gutiérrez captured Nacogdoches and occupied Spanish Bluff on the Trinity River. When Magee arrived, the army was organized with Magee as colonel and commander-in-chief, Gutiérrez as nominal general, and a man named Kemper as major. The army moved on to Goliad and Magee died. In 1813 they took San Antonio; and when a number of prisoners were murdered, some of the Americans withdrew from the army. The army was then defeated by the Mexican forces led by General Arredondo at Medina River. The men had practically made Texas independent of Spanish rule, and Spanish Bluff was destroyed with Nacogdoches almost depopulated.

In 1819 the United States and Spain made a treaty in which the boundary line of Texas was to begin at the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Sabine River, to continue north along the west bank of the Sabine to the 32nd degree of latitude, then north to the Red River.

The people of western United States did not like to leave Texas to Spain; so a group at Natchez asked Dr. James Long to command an expedition to recover Texas from the Spanish. In June, 1819, Dr. Long started to Texas with seventy-five men, and others joined him from crossroads, trading posts, and frontier forts. He had over three hundred men when he reached Nacogdoches and took the post easily from the Spanish. Long declared Texas to be an independent

republic and organized a provisional government. The government was to be carried on by an elected council, and the council was to dispose of public land. The object of the land system was to attract immigrants. Long went to Galveston Island to try to make an alliance with Jean Lafitte; and when he returned to Nacogdoches, he found that a Spanish army had broken up the post and killed or scattered his men. Only a remnant of American squatters now lived around the ruins of Nacogdoches.

The colonization of Texas began at an auspicious time. The American people were hunting new and cheaper lands; and at the time Moses Austin came to Texas, the stream of population flowing westward had reached the border of the province. Many families took what they could carry and started to Texas with no further information of the province than what they read of Austin's account on his return from Texas.³ When Austin came to Texas and received permission to bring colonists, he opened the way for American settlers into Texas. Moses Austin was a man of strong character and untiring energy who wanted to secure a tract of land in Texas for colonization. He went to San Antonio, where Governor Martinez approved his petition for land and helped him to secure the approval of the higher authorities. He returned to the United States and died before he could carry out his

³E. C. Barker, "Notes on the Colonization of Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XXVII (1924), 108.

plans. Stephen F. Austin, son of Moses Austin, undertook the task left him by his father and began the actual colonization of Texas by the Anglo-Americans.

The coming of the white settlers to Texas in 1823 and 1824 was a part of the slow, determined progress of the American nation across the land it wanted to occupy. The immigrants came to Texas to stay, to live on the land and to make their homes. The earlier people who came were mainly fortune seekers; but now this was a part of the American migration of home seekers going from the East to the West.⁴ The Mexican government was liberal to these first colonists, chiefly because of the character of Stephen F. Austin, who has been called "The Father of Texas." The question of roads helped the Americans in their decision to settle in East Texas, because the one followed by Saint-Denis was the only one that had been used as an entrance. Also in the west were hostile Indians who did not want the white men, while those in the east were friendly Indians. The families who first made their homes in Texas nearly all settled in the redland belt on either side of the main road.

The establishment of an independent government in Mexico was the beginning of a new era in the history of Texas. It was a time in which the suspicion and hostility of Spain toward all foreigners, especially citizens of the United States, was to be superseded by an invitation to the world

⁴G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 77.

to build homes within Mexican Territory. When the Mexicans took Texas from the Spanish, the attitude toward foreigners was very different. Mexico invited and called settlers, and many answered the call, some as empresarios and some as colonists.⁵ The Anglo-American migration began in 1821, and before that time little had been done toward establishing European civilization north of the Rio Grande River. It was the work of the Anglo-Americans to establish civilization in Texas. With the exception of government and religion, the colonists lived about the same as they did in the United States. Religion did a little toward hindering immigration, because all settlers were supposed to have accepted the Catholic faith. Many would have been glad to pay for the upkeep of the Catholic Church if they could have obtained the right of following the religion in which they believed.⁶ Real information concerning the colonists is scarce, for the pioneers were too busy doing things to make a record of their daily lives. Perhaps few of these people ever thought that an account of their lives would be of interest to later generations, for many of these early settlers grew up on the frontier of the United States.

The territory for Anglo-American settlement extended

⁵M. V. Henderson, "Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXI (1928), 295.

⁶W. S. Red, The Texas Colonists and Religion, p. 25.

roughly from the present site of Beaumont northward to Nacogdoches, on the east, to a line about halfway between the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers on the west. On the north the grants ran from San Antonio to Nacogdoches, and the colonists could not settle within twenty-five miles of the coast. This territory was one of the richest agricultural lands of Texas; and with the soil, climate, and vegetation similar to that of the United States formerly occupied by the colonists, they were able to begin life much as they had always lived.

Moses Austin received his land grant from the Spanish government. When Stephen F. Austin arrived in Texas with a group of colonists, he found that Mexico had won freedom from Spain and controlled Texas. Mexico wanted settlers even more than had Spain; therefore the new government confirmed the grant and gave many grants of land to the Americans. Since most of them came from slave-holding states, slaves had to be considered by the colonization laws. The laws of the Indies recognized slavery, and no objection was made to it when Moses Austin received his grant. According to the grant of land given to Stephen F. Austin, fifty acres of land were allowed for each slave, and the amount was later increased to eighty acres.⁷ When Mexico passed the

⁷E. C. Barker, "The Influence of Slavery in the Colonization of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (1925), 3-4.

Imperial Colonization law, it made provisions for slavery. After farms were established, the work on the farm was done by the farmer and his slaves, if he had any. The Texans were slave holders but not on a large scale. Large plantations with hundred of slaves did not gain a foothold in Texas as they did in the Old South. One negro family was generally all that a farmer owned, and the farmer worked by the side of his slave. Colonel Jared E. Groce had about a hundred slaves, the largest number owned by one man in Texas before the Revolution. It was estimated in 1836 that there were five thousand negroes in Texas.⁸

In January, 1823, the Mexican government passed a general Imperial Colonization law. The government of Mexico would protect the liberty, property, and civil rights of all foreigners who professed the Roman Catholic religion. The empresarios were to have contracts for two hundred families. The measurement of land was to be according to the vara, the league, the square, and the hacienda. The vara was three geometrical feet, and a line of five thousand varas was a league. The square was to have each side equal to a league, and the length of five sides would be one hacienda. There was to be given not less than one labor to the colonist who farmed and not less than one sitio for those

⁸A. Curlee, "The History of a Texas Slave Plantation," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVI (1923), 88.

who raised stock. When a sufficient number of families settled in a group, their local government would be regulated.

Native Mexicans were to have a preference in the distribution of land. To each empresario who introduced and established families there was to be granted land at the rate of three haciendas and two labors for each hundred families brought by him. He would lose the property unless it was settled and cultivated within twelve years. The premium could not be more than nine haciendas and six labors. During the first six years the colonists were not to pay taxes and duties, and during the next six years they were to pay half tithes and half of the contributions that were paid by the other citizens of the empire. After that the colonists would be placed on the same footing with other citizens. From the time this law was published, there could be no sale or purchase of slaves which might be brought into the empire. The children born of slaves in the empire were free when they became fourteen years of age.⁹

In August, 1824, the Mexican government passed the National Colonization law.¹⁰ The Congress decreed that:

Art. 1. The Mexican nation offers to foreigners, who come to establish themselves within its territory, security for their persons and property, provided, they subject themselves to the laws of the country.

⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 27-30.

¹⁰E. C. Barker, Readings in Texas History, pp. 73-74.

Art. 2. This law comprehends those lands of the nation, not the property of individuals, corporations, or towns which can be colonized.

Art. 3. For this purpose the legislatures of all the states will, as soon as possible, form colonisation laws, or regulations for their respective states, conforming themselves in all things to the constitutional act, general constitution, and the regulations established in this law.

Art. 4. There cannot be colonised any lands comprehended to within twenty leagues of the limits of any foreign nation, nor within ten leagues of the coasts, without the previous approbation of the general supreme executive government.

Art. 5. If for the defence and security of the nation, the federal government should deem it necessary to use any portion of these lands, for the construction of warehouses, arsenals, or other public edifices, they can do so, with the approbation of the general congress, or in its recess the council of government.

Art. 6. Until after four years from the publication of this law, there shall not be imposed any tax whatever, on the entrance of foreigners, who come to establish themselves for the first time in the nation.

Art. 7. Until after the year 1840, the general congress shall not prohibit the entrance of any foreigner, as a colonist, unless imperious circumstances should require it, with respect to the individuals of a particular nation.

Art. 8. The government, without prejudicing the objects of this law, shall take such precautionary measures as it may deem expedient, for the security of the confederation, as respects the foreigners who come to colonise.

Art. 9. A preference shall be given in the distribution of lands, to Mexican citizens, and no other distinction shall be made in regard to them except that which is founded on individual merit, or services rendered the country, or under equal circumstances, a residence in the place where the lands to be distributed are situated.

Art. 10. The military who in virtue of the offer made on the 27th of March, 1821, have a right to lands, shall be attended to by the states, in conformity with the diplomas which are issued to that effect, by the supreme executive power.

Art. 11. If in virtue of the decree alluded to, in the last article, and taking into view the probabilities of life, the supreme executive power

should deem it expedient to alienate any portion of land in favor of any officer, whether civil or military of the federation, it can do so from the vacant lands of the territories.

Art. 12. It shall not be permitted to unite in the same hands with the right of property, more than one league square of land, suitable for irrigation, four square leagues in superficies, of arable land without the facilities of irrigation, and six square leagues in superficies of grazing land.

Art. 13. The new colonists shall not transfer their property in mortmain (manus muertos).

Art. 14. This law guarantees the contracts which the empresarios make with the families which they bring at their own expense, provided they are not contrary to the laws.

Art. 15. No person who by virtue of this law, acquires a title to lands, shall hold them if he is domiciliated out of the limits of the republic.

Art. 16. The government in conformity with the provisions established in this law will proceed to colonise the territories of the republic.¹¹

In this law of 1824, foreigners were invited to settle freely and live ten years exempt from taxation if they would take the oath of allegiance fixed by the Mexican government.¹²

In 1825 the State Legislature of Texas and Coahuila passed a colonization law conforming to the federal act.¹³ The terms by which settlers could secure land were almost the same as under the Imperial Colonization act. The new settlers had to prove by certificate from the authorities of the place from where they came that they were Christians. No settlements were to be made within twenty leagues of the

¹¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 38-40.

¹²E. C. Barker, "Land Speculation as a Cause of the Texas Revolution," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, X (1907), 76.

¹³E. C. Barker, Readings in Texas History, pp. 75-78.

boundaries of the United States and ten leagues along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, except with permission of the Mexican government. The law gave to each empresario, for each one hundred families he brought to Texas, five lots of grazing land and five subdivisions of which at least one-half was to be arable land, not requiring irrigation. The empresario could receive the premium for no more than eight hundred families. The contract would have to be completed in six years. The foreigners who conformed to the law, obtained lands, and established themselves in settlements were considered naturalized in the country. During the first ten years they were to be free from every tax except in the event of an invasion by the enemy. Regarding slavery, the law was to be the same as the one already in use.

In 1829, Guerrero, Dictator of Mexico, abolished slavery in all of Texas, but Austin persuaded Mexico to exempt Texas from the effects of the law. In 1830 another law was passed by the Mexican government concerning the colonization of Texas and immigration from the United States. It forbade further colonization in border states of Mexico by immigrants from adjoining nations. The law was a general one but was actually aimed at the United States. Anyone wishing to enter along the northern frontier had to have a passport from a Mexican consular agent. All unfilled empresario contracts contrary to the law were to be suspended. Mexican convicts were to be shipped to Texas to be settled among

the Anglo-Americans. The colonists regarded this as an effort by Mexico to make Texas into a penal settlement for Mexican criminals. Kinsmen and friends of the settlers, who were still in the United States and who wished to join the colonists in Texas, were unable to do so according to the law of April, 1830.

Other grants of land were given to empresarios who brought colonists to Texas. With the exception of Hayden Edwards, there were no empresarios in East Texas for several years after the beginning of colonization. The settler came to East Texas because he wished to come, and many of them came at their own expense. In the territory where there were no empresarios, there were no agents to give title or deed of the grant to the colonist; so he chose what land he wanted, that no one else had taken, built his home, and started cultivating his fields. There were few records kept, and it is difficult to learn much about many of the early settlers in East Texas.

The Mexican government made contracts with empresarios to give them land, and they would then bring settlers to Texas. The provisions of these contracts followed practically the same form. At the beginning of the contract, the government stated that it admitted the petitioner's proposal to colonize vacant lands as long as he conformed to the colonization laws. The provisions were then stated, the usual ones being as follows:

1. A statement of the boundaries of the proposed colony.

2. That the empresario should respect the possession of lands which were already occupied under legal title.

3. That the empresario should introduce the required number of families within six years or forfeit all rights and privileges granted to him by the law of March 24, 1825.

4. That the families were to be of the Catholic religion and of good moral character.

5. That the introduction of criminals was not allowed. If any should appear, they were to be ejected.

6. That the empresario should organize a national militia force and command it unless otherwise ordered.

7. That when the empresario had introduced one hundred families, he should notify the government in order that a commissioner might be sent to give the colonists possession of the land.

8. That all official communications with the government and all public acts and documents were to be written in Spanish.

9. Contracts made of April 6, 1830, contained the restriction that no immigrants from adjoining nations were to be allowed to settle.¹⁴

Among the empresarios who came to Texas was Hayden Edwards. He was an intelligent gentleman who failed to understand the colonists and to adapt himself to their ways. He was a Kentuckian descended from an old southern family of worth and honor. In 1822 he went to Mexico to secure a contract to colonize a part of Texas; and on the fifteenth of April, 1825, he was awarded a contract to settle eight hundred families in a territory including Nacogdoches, the Ayish Bayou, and extending north over the Indian country.

¹⁴M. V. Henderson, "Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXI (1928), 301.

His grant included territory between the Navasota and Sabine Rivers.¹⁵ Edwards was to conform to the federal and state laws, to respect all grants legally made before his coming, to be chief of the militia within his grant, and to conform to all requirements of the colonization laws.

Edwards found the territory already occupied by three classes of people: the Mexican settlers, the Cherokee Indians, and the American settlers. The Mexicans had come in with Gil Ybarbo, the Indians from the southern United States, and the Americans from the Neutral Ground and the United States.¹⁶ When the Mexicans came in with Gil Ybarbo, he gave them places to build their homes; and though they had no land title, they considered the land theirs because he had given it to them. When the Indians came they asked for land titles, but the government refused. Not many of the white settlers, before the coming of Hayden Edwards, had land titles. Edwards made his headquarters at Nacogdoches and issued a notice for all people who claimed land in his grant to present proof of their claims so that they might be lawfully confirmed. Those who could not prove title would have their land sold; and since most of the people had no titles, trouble arose. The Mexicans, especially, were offended, and the authorities thought Edwards had no right to

¹⁵ H. S. Thrall, History of Texas, p. 45.

¹⁶ The Neutral Ground was the country between the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine River over which neither Americans nor Spaniards could exercise political jurisdiction.

sell property. There was a feeling of consternation and resentment throughout the grant.

Edwards' good fortune in obtaining such a large grant of land excited the jealousy and ill-will of the Mexican group which had been living in this section for many years. Edwards ordered the election of military officers and advised the election of an alcalde. The American population wanted to elect the alcalde by the body of the citizens, and did so, choosing a Mr. Chaplin, a son-in-law of the empresario. He willingly accepted the position and began his work as an alcalde. The opposition, mostly Mexicans, wanted Samuel Norris to be the alcalde because he was understood to be entirely for the Mexicans. They applied to the political chief at San Antonio, who commissioned Norris to be the alcalde. Chaplin had been given all the official papers of the colony and refused to give them to Norris. The new alcalde and about fifty armed men, mostly Mexicans, marched to Edwards' home and demanded the papers. Norris showed his commission, and Chaplin surrendered the official papers.¹⁷ From that time little quiet was enjoyed in the colony of Nacogdoches.

This section of East Texas had been divided for years into districts, and each had an alcalde. Norris ordered all abolished except his own district, and he was to have power over all the East Texas district. The people were

¹⁷H. S. Foote, Texas and the Texans, Vol. I, pp. 228-229.

indignant and did not like for Norris to have so much authority. There were many disturbances and much unrest in the colony. Norris decided all decisions, of cases brought to him, in favor of the Mexicans; and the Governor of Texas and Coahuila ordered Edwards' contract to be annulled and for him to be expelled from the territory of Texas.

Edwards had spent some \$50,000 in coming to Texas, and many of the American settlers at Nacogdoches had gone to great expense. They saw ruin for themselves and for Edwards; so he decided it was time to throw off Mexican rule and fight for what he considered justice. He asked the other colonies to join him but they refused. The Cherokee Indians, who hated Mexican rule, offered to help him. Edwards and his friends assumed the name of Fredonians and declared that "The Republic of Fredonia" was independent of Mexico. A group of men met in Nacogdoches and wrote a Fredonian Declaration of Independence. They stated that the Mexican government had forced them either to submit their freedom to the yoke of an imbecile, faithless, and despotic government or to take up arms in defense of their rights and claim independence.¹⁸ Edwards took charge of the town of Nacogdoches. Colonel Beene, an officer employed by the Mexican government, with about thirty-five soldiers retreated to the Trinity River to await the arrival of more Mexican

¹⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 109.

soldiers. Several skirmishes occurred between the Fredonians and the Mexicans under Norris in Nacogdoches.

The other colonies refused to help the Fredonians, and the Indians deserted when the Mexican government offered to give them land. The Fredonians remained in Nacogdoches for about six months, and in January, 1827, left the town and started for the Sabine River. The Mexicans under Colonel Ahumada entered Nacogdoches and took possession of the whole country. Edwards went to the United States, and his grant was divided between David G. Burnet, Lorenzo de Zavala, and Joseph Vehlein. The Fredonian revolt and the annulment of Edwards' contract hindered the settlement about Nacogdoches by people from the United States. There was not a great increase of population before the fall of 1835.

Besides helping to check immigration, the rise and fall of Fredonia was rather important.¹⁹ It was the first skirmish in the trouble which ended at San Jacinto and which was renewed in 1848 in the war between the United States and Mexico. The Mexicans began to distrust the Anglo-Americans and felt that they were waiting for an opportunity to rebel and take possession of Texas. The Americans knew the Mexicans were not ready to rule themselves and certainly not to rule others. They thought there was no hope for justice in

¹⁹C. R. Wharton, Texas Under Six Flags, Vol. I, pp. 176-177.

a trial between Mexicans and Americans with a Mexican judge. Mexico also became suspicious of the United States. Rumor passed through Mexico that the rebellion was at the instigation of the United States government in order to secure the Rio Grande River as a boundary. Mexico was so stirred that preparations were made to invade Texas to put down the Fredonian Revolt and to make war on the United States. The American government explained that it had nothing to do with the trouble; and when news of the fall of the Fredonians reached Mexico, it turned attention to an internal revolution.

Burnet's grant and Vehlein's first grant covered a large part of the territory previously granted to Hayden Edwards. In December, 1826, David Burnet received a grant to settle three hundred families within the following boundaries:

Beginning at the Town of Nacogdoches: Thence on a North course, the distance of fifteen leagues, parallel with the river Sabine, which River, is the boundary or dividing line with the United States of the North, here a land mark shall be made, and thence a line run West to Navasota Creek: Thence down said Creek, with its meanderings by its left bank to the place where it is crossed by the road leading from Bexar to Nacogdoches: Thence with said road, to fork of the Bull's hill road ("Loma de Toro") before arriving at the Military Post on the Trinity, with said road to its junction with the old road, and with said old road to the Town of Nacogdoches, and place of beginning. Leaving on the right all the land granted yesterday to citizen John Lucius Wood-

bury Attorney for Vehlein and company.²⁰

Joseph Vehlein, a German merchant, made his first contract with the government for three hundred families in December, 1826. The boundaries were:

Beginning at the Town of Nacogdoches: Thence South, leaving free twenty boundary border leagues, parallel with the Sabine River to the intersection of the boundary line of the same, with that of the Ten coast border leagues, on the Gulf of Mexico. Thence West to the river San Jacinto: Thence up the said river with its left bank, to its source, and thence on a straight line North to the San Antonio road leading from Bexar to Nacogdoches: Thence with said road to the town aforesaid, and previous to arriving at the River Trinity the line shall follow the road called Bull's hill road (Loma del Toro) crossing that river above the Military Post, and continuing on said road, until it unites with the first road mentioned and thence with it to the Town of Nacogdoches and place of beginning.²¹

A third empresario, Lorenzo de Zavala, contracted in March, 1829, to bring five hundred families. The territory included the boundary reserve between Vehlein's grants and the Sabine River. The Gulf was the southern boundary; a line run from Nacogdoches following the main road leading to Natchitoches by way of "Las Borregas" and the ferry to the right bank of the Sabine River was the northern boundary. When these empresarios received their grants they probably intended to fulfill them; but Vehlein did not have enough

²⁰ M. V. Henderson, "Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXI (1928), p. 303.

²¹ M. V. Henderson, "Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXI (1928), p. 303.

money to colonize; so he had to combine his grant with others. This is probably true of de Zavala, for he sold his contract soon after he secured it.

Burnet made several unsuccessful attempts to settle colonists on his grant. On October 16, 1830, the three empresarios transferred their contracts to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. The company then undertook to colonize on the largest scale of any of the colonization enterprises. The company highly advertised Texas, telling of the advantages but leaving out the difficulties the colonists would meet.

In December, 1830, a group of settlers arrived in Texas for the Land Company. Each colonist was to receive one hundred and seventy-seven acres of land, and in return for one year's food supply and tools furnished by the company the colonist worked for it two days of each week. The company also made contracts with individuals and with other companies to settle large tracts of land in its territory.

The Law of April 6, 1830, had forbidden citizens of countries adjacent to Mexico to settle as colonists. The law also said that no changes would be made with respect to colonies already established but all others were suspended. The Mexican government refused to allow the entrance of colonists into any of the colonies except Austin's, DeWitt's, and De León's. So Terán, commander general of the Eastern Department of the Mexican Republic, refused to recognize

the company or to allow the agents to take charge of the territory of the four grants.

In March, 1834, the government provided for the renewal of all grants on which the empresarios had spent ten thousand dollars trying to fulfill the contracts. In 1832 the government extended Burnet's and Vehlein's grants for three years, and in 1834 Zavala's grant was extended for four years.²² By extending the contracts the government recognized the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. Colonization began again; and in 1834 George A. Nixon, appointed land commissioner for the colony, moved to Nacogdoches. During the late fall of 1834 and the year 1835 titles to land were rapidly issued.

During 1834 and 1835 Nixon issued for Burnet's grant titles for two hundred and nine leagues and three fractional parts of leagues to married men, and forty-two titles to unmarried people. He issued title for four hundred and four leagues and thirty-two fractional parts of leagues to families, and sixty titles to unmarried people, in Zavala's grant. For Vehlein's grant, he issued titles for three hundred and three leagues and six fractional parts of leagues to families, and fifty-five titles to unmarried people.

In 1834 the Department of Nacogdoches contained four

²²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 305, 339.

municipalities and four towns.²³ There were three common schools in the Department, one at Nacogdoches, one at San Augustine, and the other at Johnsburg. At that time the English language was almost the only one spoken in that section of the Republic. The trade for the year 1834 amounted to \$470,000. The exports consisted of cotton, skins of the deer, otter, and beaver, Indian corn, and cattle. There were about fifty thousand head of cattle in the whole Department, but there were no sheep because there was no pasture for them. There were also about sixty thousand head of swine.

With the beginning of the disturbance in Texas in 1835, the control of colonization of Texas lands passed from Mexican to Texan jurisdiction.²⁴ In June, 1837, the Republic of Texas declared all empresario contracts ceased on the day of the Texas Declaration of Independence.²⁵ So the colonization by the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company ended.

²³H. E. Bolton and E. C. Barker, With the Makers of Texas, p. 147.

²⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 541.

²⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 1324-1325.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-AMERICANS IN EAST TEXAS--SAN AUGUSTINE

Colonists began to settle the Ayish Bayou district in 1824. Only a few had come before that date, and Nathan Davis has been named as the first settler within the region that is now San Augustine County. He came to Texas with his slaves from Illinois in 1818 and settled in the Ayish Bayou near the crossing of the old highway. He lived there for several years, taking interest in the affairs of the settlement, and in 1827 was elected first alcalde of the district.

The Anderson family, from Indiana, crossed the Sabine River in 1819 and settled on the Ayish Bayou near Mr. Davis. With Mr. Anderson came his son, Bailey Anderson Jr., who afterwards became the second alcalde. He commanded a company of volunteers under Colonel Bulloch in the battle of Nacogdoches in the campaign of 1832 and was one of the commissioners to arrange the terms of surrender of the Mexican troops under Colonel Piedras.

Some other early settlers were Warren Davis, Benjamin Thomas, Jonas Harrison, and the English brothers. It was in 1824 that the first great influx of immigration came into that part of Texas. They came because of the liberal terms of the Mexican colonization laws passed by the Mexican Congress.

Alexander Horton came to Texas in 1824 with his mother and settled in San Augustine, then called the Ayish Bayou. He found James Gaines, keeping a ferry on the Sabine River, and Macon G. Call, Brian Daughtery, Nathan Davis, John A. Williams, Milton Garrett, and Fulcher and Thomas Spencer. Those were the inhabitants when he arrived, but the country began to fill rapidly. People began to make settlements and to prosper. The early settlers were high-minded farmers who came to Texas not because of some crime but because they were honest, industrious men who came to better their conditions, and because they were given large amounts of land to settle. Some of the new arrivals were David and Isaac Renfro, Elisha Roberts, Donald McDonald, John Cartwright, Willis Murphy, Phillip Sublett, John Chumley, Nathan Davis, Obadiah Hendricks, John Bodine, John Lout, Bailey Anderson, Benjamin Thomas, Wily Thomas, Shedrack Thomas, Thomas Cartwright, Isaac Lindsey, John G. Love, Martha Lewes and family, George Jones, Achilles Johnston, Elias K. Davis, Theodore Dorset, John Dorset, Benjamin Lindsey, Stephen Prater, Wyatt Hanks, James and Horatio Hanks, Solomon Miller, Hiram Brown, William Loid, George Teel, Edward Teel, John Sprowl, James Bridges, Peter Galloway, and John McGinnis.¹

¹A. Horton, "Life of A. Horton and Early Settlement of San Augustine County," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XIV (1911), 305-306.

Another list of names includes those of William English, Thomas English, Neal McNeal, Jacob Garrett, William Garrett, Milton Garrett, James W. Bulloch, Squire Brown, John Thomas, Gary Thomas, Iredell Thomas, Henry Hendrick, Edwin Hendrick, William Wilson, Dr. S. P. Wilson, Samuel S. Davis, Jonas Hale, John S. Wood, Reuben D. Wood, Henry Augustine, Isaac Thacker, William Loyd, Thomas Malone, James Perkins, Boyd Irvine, and Claiborne Garrett.²

In 1825 the settlers began to make improvements, cultivating large farms and building cotton gins. John Sprowl, Elisha Roberts, and John A. Williams each built a cotton gin. In the year 1824, William Quirk built a mill on the Ayish Bayou. Settlers continued to come, and very little trouble occurred until the Fredonian Revolt.³ Besides the first four gins built in 1825 and 1826, several others were erected by H. M. Hanks, George Teel, and John Polk.

Corn was almost as important a crop as cotton. The Indians raised corn before the coming of the Spanish. One tract of land near San Augustine has been producing corn for almost two hundred years. It was an old mission field where the Spanish fathers raised corn in 1721.

The group of settlements in this region known as the

²G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 86.

³A. Horton, "Life of A. Horton and Early Settlement of San Augustine County," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XIV (1911), 306.

Ayish Bayou District included the ones in the northern half of the present San Augustine County, those on the Attoyae River, a few on the Angelina River, and the northern part of Sabine County and the southwestern part of Shelby County. It was really a part of the Municipality of Nacogdoches, but was regarded as a separate district because of its distance from Nacogdoches and because most of the settlers were Americans.

Alexander Horton wrote an account of the part the settlers around San Augustine took in the Fredonian Revolt. He tells that the colonists of this region could see no cause for rebellion and refused to take part in it. Edwards secured help from the United States, ordered two companies of the United States volunteers into San Augustine County, and stationed them about two miles east of the Ayish Bayou. He considered the people around San Augustine to be rebels; so he confiscated their property and ordered them to leave the country. Many left and went into the United States.

Stephen Prater organized a group, composed of about sixty Indians and a few white men, to fight the Fredonians. Besides Colonel Prater there were his two sons, Stephen and Freeman Prater, Ross Bridges, James Bridges and his son by the same name, Peter Galloway, John McGinnis, and Alexander Horton.⁴ These men arrested a group of Fredonians near San

⁴A. Horton, "An Early and More Particular Description of San Augustine County," San Augustine Tribune, July 10, 1930.

Augustine, and then waited for others to come from Nacogdoches and captured them as they arrived. Colonel Edwards learned of the capture of his men at San Augustine and of the Mexican troops that were coming to Nacogdoches, and he went to the United States.

The settlers knew little of the Mexican laws, and as the county became more thickly settled, it became necessary to form laws. The people agreed to elect a man whom they called an alcalde, and a sheriff to execute his orders. The alcalde's power extended to all civil and criminal cases. Murder, theft, and all cases except divorce were in his jurisdiction. The alcalde could ask twelve men, who were good and lawful citizens, to help him in a time when he thought it necessary or when the parties being tried demanded it. The alcaldes were: Nathan Davis, Bailey Anderson, John Sprowl, Jacob Garrett, Elisha Roberts, Benjamin Lindsey, William McFarland, and Charles Taylor.

In 1834 the old alcalde system was abolished and succeeded by a legally authorized local government under the Mexican law. The so-called District of Ayish was also abolished and became the Municipality of San Augustine. It included all of San Augustine, Sabine, and Shelby Counties, more than half of Panola, the northern section of Newton, and a small part of Jasper.⁵ The name San Augustine may have been given by the law makers. The jurisdiction of the

⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 352.

ayuntamiento, according to the Mexican law, extended to the entire district; and a municipality of one thousand could have an alcalde, two regidores, and a clerk. Benjamin Lindsey was elected for the first office, with the title of Sole and Constitutional Alcalde; Emory Raines and John Bodine were elected first and second regidores; and Joseph Smith Johnson was chosen clerk. A special decree was issued to the people of Nacogdoches and the other settlers east of Austin's colony that titles should be issued to the lands they had settled. One or two commissioners were to be appointed to execute the law at the expense of persons interested, and titles that were issued were certified.⁶ George S. Taylor, George Antonio Nixon, and George W. Smythe were appointed commissioners.

In 1832 the settlers held a mass meeting to make plans for the building of a town, and a committee of fifteen men was appointed to select a site. The committee members were William McFarland, Shedrack Thomas, Henry W. Augustine, David Hoffman, Wyatt Hanks, James Hanks, John G. Love, William Garrett, Alexander Horton, David Renfro, Achilles E. C. Johnson, Elisha Roberts, David O. Warren, Matthew Cartwright, and Phillip A. Sublett. The committee selected a place between the Ayish Bayou and the Carizzo Creek on the east side of Ayish Bayou. This was the third time that the

⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 361.

place had been selected for permanent settlement. It was first selected by the Indians who built a village there, and then by the Spanish who selected the site for a mission; and now it was selected by the Americans for a town. Thomas S. McFarland was appointed by the committee to survey and lay out the town and sell lots. The name was to be San Augustine from the old mission of that name erected by the Franciscan friars in 1717.⁷ This was the home of General James Pinckney Henderson, and for a time it was the home of O. M. Roberts. The first Protestant church was built there in 1839 by Littleton Fowler.

The town was laid off on the eastern bank of the Ayish Bayou on either side of the road. It had forty-eight blocks divided into 356 lots, each eighty feet wide and 160 feet deep, separated by streets forty feet wide. Two lots about the center were left for a public square on which to build a courthouse. When the town was planned, it was intended that the principal business houses were to be built along the old road. However, the business houses were soon moved to Columbia Street. The first store in the town was built by I. D. Thomas near the middle of the block north of the public square. Augustus Hotchkiss built a store next to it. In 1844 he rebuilt it of brick, which was the first, and with the exception of the courthouse built in 1856, the only

⁷F. I. Massengill, Texas Towns, p. 162.

brick house in town until 1890. A large hotel was built by Almanzon Houston, and Harrison E. Watson and Alexander Horton kept the hotel in 1837 when Judge R. M. Williamson held the first District Court there under the Republic. The sessions of court were held in large front rooms facing the street, and the court paid fifty dollars each for the courtroom and the grand jury room. The Judge of the First Judicial District was authorized and required to hold a special term of the District Court in and for the County of San Augustine on the first Monday of January, 1839.⁸

For many years the only municipal building in town was the customs house. This was a building where duties were collected on goods coming in from the United States. San Augustine was the third in importance of the ports of entry under the Republic. The revenue collected between 1836 and 1846 was \$62,105.90. The collectors of customs were John G. Love, K. L. Anderson, Sandford Holman, John G. Berry, and William M. Hurt. The customs house after 1837 was also used as a courthouse. After Texas became a part of the United States, the collection of customs in San Augustine was abolished and the customs house was sold.⁹

There were two fine school houses in town, one being the University building and the other a schoolhouse built

⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 6.

⁹G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 109.

by the Methodist Church in 1842. San Augustine was noted for its schools and has been called the Athens of Texas. Many of the early pioneers were persons of education and wanted to have education in the settlements. For the first ten years they were too widely scattered to have regular schools; there were no good roads, and there was always the danger of prowling Indians. Most of the schooling received by the children was taught by some educated neighbor. After the town was built, schools could be built. The first school was a female academy taught by Mrs. Stewart from Virginia.

Another early school was taught by John M. Rankin in 1837 and 1838. There were probably schools of which no record was kept. They were private schools under the sole control of the teacher, with no grades and no examinations. The pupils did not graduate but went to school until they were old enough to quit or until they had no money. The San Augustine University was established for higher education. The Board of Trustees for the school was composed of Elisha Roberts, Jesse Burditt, William McFarland, John Cartwright, Sumner Bacon, George Teal, Augustus Hotchkiss, Henry W. Augustine, Andrew J. Cunningham, Phillip A. Sublett, Iredell D. Thomas, Albert Gallatin Kellog, Almanzon Houston, William W. Holman, and Joseph Rowe. These men were from the town and the surrounding country.¹⁰ The school was organized

¹⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 236.

in three departments, which were Introductory, Junior, and Senior, and it was connected with a female academy for young ladies and a grammar school for children under twelve years of age.

Perhaps because of their location San Augustine, Nacogdoches, and Sabine Counties were the cradle of the Catholic and Protestant religions. The Mexican colonization laws demanded that the people be Roman Catholic in religion. There were a few Catholics among the first settlers, but for a long time there was no resident priest among the settlements. The pioneers who settled the Ayish Bayou District during the period from 1818 to 1834 were nearly all members of Protestant churches in their home states, but the established religion for the colonists in Texas was that of the Roman Catholic Church. So during the period of early colonization the district was almost entirely without religious services of any kind. At the beginning of the revolution, when the people were favoring freedom and self-determination, missionaries began to cross the Sabine and preach to the people. As San Augustine was the first town to be reached, naturally the missionaries would first begin their work in that region. Within a circle of a few miles of the town were the earliest beginnings of the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the Baptist Churches. Among the Protestant churches the Methodist was the first in Texas. In 1833 a camp meeting was held

east of San Augustine, at which a church organization was completed, with forty-eight members and with Major Samuel B. McMahan elected Class Leader. That was the first Methodist Church to be organized within what was then known to be the limits of the later Republic of Texas.¹¹ The Texas Revolution interrupted religious progress, but after the war Protestantism was firmly established. From the beginning, the town of San Augustine was an important center for Methodist work in Texas, and also for the Presbyterian Church. The first Baptist Church in San Augustine County seems to have been the old Macedonia Church on Harvey's Creek. The present Baptist Church of San Augustine is one of the leading churches of the town. In 1831, in Nacogdoches, among the seventy-two strangers admitted by the town council, there were twenty-seven of different religions. One man believes that not more than one-fourth of the early Texans took oath for the Catholic religion.

Most of the early settlers of Texas came from the United States, and many people tried to form opinions concerning the character of the colonists. The people in the United States generally believed that most of the colonists left their old homes to escape punishment for crime. The settlements were made up of about the same kind of people as were to be found in any American frontier community.

¹¹G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 271.

There is no real proof that Texas received more than its proportion of undesirable citizens. The settlers from the United States inherited the traditions, customs, and political principles of the Americans and naturally wanted their own laws, institutions, and civil liberty.

The earliest homes of the Anglo-Americans were crudely built of logs, roofed with boards and floored with puncheons. Sliding boards served as windows; and only the wealthy could afford a house of two rooms with a hall between, a porch in front and a kitchen behind. Many houses had only one room with a thatched roof. There were few good carpenters among the early settlers; and with few tools, it was almost impossible to build weatherproof and comfortable houses. The furniture of these houses varied from the near elegance of the homes of the wealthier colonists, who were able to bring furniture with them, to that of the poor people who brought only a few articles with them. The ordinary furniture was very crude, with tables being made of slabs and limbs of trees sawed to fit. The chairs were made of sticks and crosspieces and covered with animal skins. Often beds were built onto the walls, with skins for mattresses. In some homes the mattresses were made of Spanish moss, corn husks, or grass. As more colonists came and prosperity increased, furniture and other comforts were imported. The men talked hopefully of the future, and the children were happy because everything was new to them; but the women still talked sadly

of their old homes and friends.¹²

Food was scarce in the early settlements. At first the crops were poor, and the men and boys hunted deer and turkey and fished to furnish food for the families. Sometimes some of the settlers ate the mustang ponies which were numerous on the prairie.¹³ Later they had corn, beef, milk, and pork, and they gathered wild honey from bee trees. Corn was easily raised, and many times it was left standing in the field to be pulled as the grain was needed. One traveler writes of having to wait until the corn was gathered, ground, kneaded, and baked before he could have bread to eat. Mills and towns were far apart, and the people often had to go a day's journey to grind corn or to buy coffee. Only a few had milk and butter and wheat bread to eat. Children forgot and some did not know what wheat bread was like. Flour cost ten dollars a barrel, and few people had money with which to buy coffee and tobacco, which they considered necessities.¹⁴

The clothing of the colonists was of the very simplest kind. Most of the cabins contained spinning wheels and looms which were used in spinning thread and weaving cloth. That and buckskin furnished the main kinds of material for

¹²E. C. Barker, Readings in Texas History, p. 142.

¹³C. Wharton, The Lone Star State, p. 69.

¹⁴N. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, pp. 17-18.

the clothes. Calico cost about fifty cents a yard and was occasionally used by the women for party dresses. Sometimes articles of clothing were made of animal skins. Some of the colonists wore moccasins and many went barefoot, because shoes were hard to get. Noah Smithwick tells of a dance at which the people who had shoes would loan their shoes to those who had none during part of the dance. Even with scanty clothing, poor houses, and a scarcity of food, visitors were always welcomed and given the best of everything. Texans became famous for hospitality and kindness to strangers and travelers.

Nearly all the early settlers were farmers who came to Texas because of the cheapness and fertility of the soil. Teachers, lawyers, physicians, ministers, and other professional men depended more on their farms for a living during the early years than on their professions. The storekeepers were farmers as well as merchants. Most of the settlers came from the Southern States and brought with them the agricultural traditions of the South. Intensive farming was not tried; and methods of cultivation varied from those used by great planters, who brought their slaves with them to work the land, to those of small farmers who cultivated the soil with the help of the other members of the families. Cotton and corn were the most important crops, with sugar cane and tobacco next important items. Stock-raising was important, and on some farms there were herds

of cattle and horses, and also a few hogs and chickens. Some farmers made gardens; but although they worked hard, many of the early settlers were often hungry. Spring floods and dry summers ruined the crops. Among the early settlers, the professional men had little opportunity to practice their professions before 1836; so agriculture was almost the only occupation to choose. The physicians were the only ones who found a great deal of practice in the settlements.

For amusement the colonists hunted, fished, rode horses, held shooting matches, and ran foot races. Even in their rough surroundings the people enjoyed themselves as much as people of today. At first there were no schools, no Sunday Schools, nor churches; but people talked about these and looked forward to the time when Texas would have them. Even in small towns, society was stratified, with certain families recognized as leaders in social life and in civil affairs. Much visiting was done, and the entertainment of an occasional traveler did much to keep the settlers from being too lonely. There were no political gatherings nor church services, but there were hunting and fishing parties, shooting matches, and dances which brought the people together several times a year. Barbecues were given to celebrate weddings, and whenever men came together there were tournaments to test their strength and ability by riding wild mustangs, lassoing cattle, or wrestling.

In all parts of Texas there were many Indians. Those in the eastern part were friendly, but they were often thieves and great loafers. They would hang around a cabin and demand food or anything that caught their fancy. The colonists treated them kindly; they were afraid to drive them away, for they might return to steal something or to burn the houses. Roving bands of wild Indians sometimes passed through the country burning homes, murdering people, raiding ranches, and carrying off herds of cattle. This happened more often in the west than in the east.

Travel in early Texas was very difficult, as there was not a road in the province as we now speak of roads. The courses usually called roads were paths sometimes marked by trees. As late as 1835 the settlers could not conveniently use carriages. Nearly all travel was on horseback, but occasionally women and children traveled in carts drawn by oxen. Wagons could be used in dry weather, but even traveling on horseback could not be done in wet weather in the river bottoms. The most famous road through Texas was the King's Highway, which ran from the Rio Grande south of Eagle Pass through San Antonio, Bastrop, and Crockett to Nacogdoches. That is probably the road traveled by Saint-Denis, and it was the principal trail from east to west during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Two other roads began at Goliad, one running northwestward to the Trinity

River and the other running eastward and ending at Nacogdoches. It was easier to travel by water and much cheaper than going by land; so many of the early settlements were built near the rivers. Small boats could travel quite a distance up the rivers, and goods were hauled in ox wagons from landing places on the river to towns and settlements in the interior.

The early Texans seem to have been rather intelligent. Even though they were intelligent, they read very little; and there appear to have been only a few libraries in the early period. Naturally there were some lawless and desperate characters among the settlers, and there were some good and patriotic men who did not like connection with Mexico and despised the Mexican system of law. Those men were thinking of the independence of Texas and forgot their promise to the Mexican government when it gave them land. However, the greater part of the colonists were law-abiding citizens with no particular grievances against Mexico until 1835.¹⁵

The Constitution which Mexico adopted in 1824 was not acceptable for very long to the American colonists. It left out what the Americans considered most necessary: trial by jury and the right of accused persons to bail. It provided for the union of Church and State by requiring every loyal

¹⁵E. C. Barker, Readings in Texas History, pp. 141-146.

citizen to be a Roman Catholic in religion. It provided for the organization and use of an army which made the military power the supreme department. The colonists were against military power above civil power, and they also were against the union of Church and State. The Constitution also provided that certain military, religious, and other classes of citizens might become exempted from the observance of the general laws and determine their rights by their own laws and through their own courts. Americans could not like the Mexican form of government because of the difference in American and Mexican political ideals.

CHAPTER IV

PARTICIPATION OF EAST TEXANS IN THE REVOLUTION

The United States sympathized with Mexico in winning her freedom from Spain, and when freedom was won, Mexico welcomed the Americans among her colonists. After a time, Mexico began to suspect that the United States did not want her to have Texas, but wanted at least a part of the province for herself. Mexico thought that the United States wanted Texas and, knowing the Anglo-American greed for territory, began to watch carefully. They realized that the Americans had made their homes in Texas but their hearts were still in their native states. For many reasons, a conflict between the Mexicans and the Americans was inevitable. The land question lay at the bottom of the troubles which beset the people of East Texas.¹ These people had worked hard and established homes in this region; and since the Mexicans were given preference in everything, they were afraid the federal government would take away their land. The trouble started chiefly with the Fredonian Rebellion, and it could not be avoided because the Mexicans and the Americans were full of distrust for each other. The Revolution actually began in 1835, but war clouds had been gathering long before then. The laws of 1830 passed by the Mexicans were to make stronger the hold of Mexico on Texas.

¹G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, p. 128.

One of these laws forbade colonists from countries touching Mexico to settle in Texas anywhere near their own border. It suspended land contracts for colonies not already established and prevented any foreigners from entering Texas from the north without a passport from a Mexican agent.²

Other laws were passed by the Mexican Congress to settle colonies of convicts and deserters in Texas, which would quickly destroy the prosperity of the province. Texas was forced to be joined to the Mexican state of Coahuila. The Texans were promised it would last only until their state was strong enough for a separate government. The colonists thought they were ready for self-government, but Mexico was afraid that separate government would be a step toward independence. When the settlers first came to Texas, Mexico promised that for six years they should be free from taxation and could import without duty all supplies really needed for their own use. When the time expired, taxes were levied and Mexico made the collection of taxes and duties disagreeable and humiliating. The colonists were partly to blame, because some of them had made a practice of smuggling luxuries for sale. All these things led toward war, but the main cause was the entire lack of sympathy between the Mexicans and the Anglo-American colonists. The misunderstandings arose as a result of differences in the

²G. P. Garrison, Texas, p. 159.

two races.³ They disagreed on forms of government and religion, and were of different races speaking different languages.

In 1828 General Mier y Terán was appointed to fix the eastern boundary of Texas, and in 1830 he was appointed Commandant General of the Eastern Provinces. General Terán was an honest man and a brave soldier, devoted to the interests of his country but not insensible to the needs and rights of the American colonists. He saw that if the Anglo-Americans were not checked they would in a few years wipe out Mexican occupation. It was partly because of his report of the situation that the Law of 1830 was passed. General Terán decided to plant Indians in the region by granting them legal titles, believing that would hinder the growth of the American settlements. At the same time, Colonel Piedras was blocking an attempt of the civil authorities to give titles for their lands to the American colonists in the Ayish Bayou District.

In 1830 the tax exemption law ended, and in 1831 Colonel John Davis Bradburn was sent with some soldiers to establish a customs house at Anahuac. The Mexican authorities were courteous and fair in their dealings with the colonists and no trouble appeared among them. Bradburn began to antagonize the people, and in May he imprisoned W. B. Travis,

³S. H. Lowrie, Cultural Conflicts in Texas, p. 179.

Patrick Jack, and some other colonists. Dr. N. D. Labadie gives an account of the trouble at Anahuac. He says that Bradburn offered freedom to all the slaves who presented themselves to him. Three runaway slaves from Louisiana claimed his protection; and when William M. Logan, the owner of the slaves, demanded them, Bradburn refused to hand them over until Logan gave proof that he was the owner. Logan went back to Louisiana and secured proof; but when he presented it to Bradburn, the latter claimed that the negroes had asked for the protection of the Mexican flag and refused to give them up. One dark, rainy night, a messenger brought Bradburn a letter which warned him that a magistrate on the Sabine River was organizing a force to take the negroes. Bradburn was greatly alarmed and sent scouts to see if they could find the men. They found no trace of a force; so Bradburn, believing it was a trick played by Travis, had him and Jack arrested.⁴ The settlers united and captured the garrison at Velasco and moved on to Anahuac. Bradburn sent to Nacogdoches for Colonel Piedras for help. On June 19, 1832, Piedras set out for Anahuac to settle the dispute there. He settled the trouble by releasing the prisoners and removing Bradburn from office.

While Colonel Piedras was away from Nacogdoches, the settlers in the Ayish Bayou District held a meeting and

⁴E. Rowe, "The Disturbance at Anahuac," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, VI (1903), 280-281.

talked about going to help their countrymen. The people were in sympathy with Santa Anna in Mexico and were against the Mexican authorities in East Texas. Soon they organized armed forces and collected guns and provisions for an expedition. Colonel James W. Bulloch, who had served under General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, was chosen leader of the group. The colonists marched to Nacogdoches and sent word to Colonel Piedras either to declare for Santa Anna and the Mexican Constitution of 1824 or to surrender. Piedras received the message courteously but refused to accept the demands. So the colonists attacked the town. The Mexicans retreated and the settlers followed until they arrived at the stone house, where the Mexicans fought from the cover of the stone fort and the colonists from any shelter they could find. During the night the Mexicans slipped away, but the next morning the settlers followed. They captured the Mexicans at Durst Crossing on the Angelina River, and Colonel Piedras resigned his command. He returned to Nacogdoches; and in the terms of surrender agreed upon, Piedras was to return to Mexico by way of Velasco, and the troops were sent to San Antonio.

Colonel Bulloch reported that in the Mexican ranks forty-seven were killed and as many wounded, while only three colonists were killed and five wounded. Only a few people took part in the battle of Nacogdoches and the losses were slight, but it was an important battle in Texas history.

It ended the first struggle between the colonists and the Mexican authorities and removed the last Mexican soldiers from Texas east of San Antonio. It helped to bring about the conventions in which the people of East Texas took a prominent part. Nacogdoches and the Redlands, instead of being a source of danger from a Mexican garrison, became a reserve of strength and support. The Ayish Bayou District became a stronghold of American immigration.

All these events of 1832 made the people in the colonies realize that they must unite in a common cause and present their grievances to the Mexican government. They were not thinking of being disloyal to the federal government, but they had to have their complaints removed. The citizens of East Texas eagerly answered the call of Horatio Chriesmann and John Austin issued August 22, 1832, for a convention of five delegates from each town precinct and civil district in Texas to meet at San Felipe to discuss their problems.⁵ The settlements in East Texas sent able and well-qualified representatives to the convention. From the District of Nacogdoches went Charles S. Taylor and Thomas Hastings. Delegates from the Ayish Bayou District were Phillip Sublett, Donald McDonald, William McFarland, Wyatt Hanks, and Jacob Garrett. From Sabine were Benjamin Holt, Absalom Hier, and Jessie Parker. From the Tennehan District were William English, Frederick Faye, George Butler,

⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 479.

John M. Bradley, and Jonas Harrison. From the District of Snow River were Thomas D. Beauchamp, Elijah Isaacs, Samuel Looney, and James Looney.⁶ William McFarland, Jonas Harrison, and Charles S. Taylor became leaders in the convention. The convention was called together by John Austin, who gave reasons for calling the convention. He said that movements in Texas had been misrepresented by the enemies, and it was necessary for the Texans to dispute these claims and declare their firm and unshaken adherence to the Mexican Confederation and Constitution and their readiness to do their duty as Mexican citizens.⁷

Jonas Harrison became chairman of a committee to take into consideration the situation of the land business to the east of the San Jacinto River, and William McFarland became chairman of the committee for the admission of Texas as a separate state in the Mexican union. The committee for lands granted to the Indians or petitioned for by them was composed entirely of East Texans. Charles S. Taylor of Nacogdoches was the chairman, and the other members were William McFarland, Jonas Harrison, Phillip A. Sublett, John M. Bradley, and Wyatt Hanks.

A committee composed of two members from each district was appointed to report the petitioning for a State Government. The ones chosen from the East Texas districts were

⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 480.

⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 480-481.

C. S. Taylor, H. Hantz, William McFarland, W. Hanks, E. Isaacs, S. Looney, G. Butler, and J. M. Bradley.⁸ The people wanted to have all their transactions and obligations written in the English language except those which had an immediate connection with the government.

The people of Texas were not satisfied with the results of this convention, and in March, 1833, delegates again met in convention at San Felipe. The delegates were almost the same except that Sam Houston was one of the representatives from San Augustine. In Mexico, Bustamente had retired from the government and the Republican Party, with Santa Anna as leader, was in power. The people felt that they could ask for more in this convention than they had in the one of 1832. A committee was appointed to ask for the separation of Texas from Coahuila, and Sam Houston was chairman of a committee to draw up a proposed constitution for the new state. Austin carried to Mexico City the petition for separate statehood. Texas based her rights to be a state on the following statements:

1st. It possesses sufficient qualifications, and the people of Texas have manifested their desire to be a state.

2nd. The natural right that she has always had of organizing herself as a state, and of occupying her rank as such, at the side of her sisters, the other states, on account of having been a distinct province at the time of the independence.

3rd. The guarantee of the law of May 7, 1824.

4th. The right that is guaranteed to it by

⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 484.

the system adopted by the Mexican Republic, of promoting her welfare, and of securing her interior prosperity and tranquillity by an adequate organization of her local government.

5th. The duty, and the interest of Texas, of cementing and assuring her permanent union with the Mexican federation.

6th. The right that all people have of saving themselves from anarchy and from utter ruin.⁹

The colonists found that they could now work together. The Ayish Bayou District, which was now organized as the Municipality of San Augustine, was acknowledged as a part of the province, and its delegates were equal to the others in the conventions.

In March, 1833, Santa Anna, leader of the Liberal Party, was elected President of Mexico. He only used his party to get into power, and in 1834 he dissolved the Mexican Congress and gave himself dictatorial powers. He appointed General Cos Governor of Texas with civil jurisdiction. As a result, the War Party in Texas felt that Texas should separate from Mexico and a revolution should be started. The members of the Peace Party were more careful and wanted to wait until the colonists were in a better position to act against Mexico. These were men of property and caution, but most of the thinking men of Texas knew that separation from Mexico would soon come.

The people of Nacogdoches and San Augustine held meetings and adopted resolutions to pledge cooperation of East Texas with other Texans in event of an armed invasion.

⁹F. W. Johnson, Texas and the Texans, Vol. I, pp. 113-114.

Stephen F. Austin returned from Mexico when he had been convinced that war was inevitable if the colonists were to keep their liberties and that a convention should be assembled.

Austin had reached Mexico City in 1833 in the midst of a terrible epidemic of cholera. He had worked all summer trying to get the plans for separate statehood recognized. In December he learned that Santa Anna was at heart a despot and that Congress would not permit Texas a separate statehood. Santa Anna said the general government would consider all of the petitions presented by Austin and would recommend to the state government a reform of the judiciary system, so as to give the colonists trial by jury. The government of the state was to secure for the colonists all privileges of which they were worthy as Mexican citizens in civil as well as in criminal affairs. To accomplish this, there were to be established juries wholly in conformity with the petition of the colonists.¹⁰ Austin succeeded in getting a revocation of the Decree of 1830 forbidding other emigration from the States.

Just before Austin left Mexico City, he wrote a letter to the Ayuntamiento at San Antonio, urging the people of that jurisdiction to join the other districts of Texas in requesting separate statehood. The letter was sent to the Mexican officials at Mexico City, and they ordered the arrest of

¹⁰F. W. Johnson, Texas and the Texans, Vol. I, p. 124.

Austin. He was arrested at Saltillo and carried back to Mexico City and placed in a dungeon. Austin's imprisonment cast a pall of gloom over the colonists, and they held no conventions in 1834. On October 5, 1834, Santa Anna called a council to discuss the state of affairs in Texas. It was decided that Texas should remain a part of Coahuila, and Austin was sent back to prison. He was allowed to return to Texas in 1835.

Bitter feelings were again aroused between the Mexicans and the Americans. General Cos came to Texas with his soldiers and ordered the arrest of some prominent citizens. The settlers had a feeling of terror and dread while rumors of Indian uprisings and of Mexican invasions were spread throughout the province. The suspense was broken by the battle of Gonzales. Colonel Ugartechea, with some Mexican soldiers, went to Gonzales to take away a cannon which the government had furnished the settlement some years before for protection against the Indians. Several hundred Texans gathered and prevented the Mexicans from taking away the cannon.

In the summer of 1835 the committee of safety at San Felipe proposed that a committee meet as a temporary committee of safety before the meeting of the general convention in the autumn. The group met and made a report to the Convention of 1836.¹¹ San Augustine was represented by A.

¹¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 507-508.

Houston, Jacob Garrett, William N. Sigler, and A. E. C. Johnson; and Nacogdoches was represented by William Whitaker, Sam Houston, Daniel Parker, James W. Robinson, and N. Robins.

On the motion of Sam Houston of Nacogdoches, Dr. Branch T. Archer was chosen chairman of the Consultation. He recommended a declaration of cause, organization of a provisional government, a military organization, a conciliatory arrangement with the Indians, and an examination of fraudulent land grants.¹²

A plan for a provisional government was adopted. There were to be a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a major-general of the Texas armies, and a General Council composed of one member from each of the thirteen municipalities, presided over by the lieutenant-governor.¹³ Henry Smith was chosen to be the governor, and James W. Robinson of Nacogdoches was chosen lieutenant-governor. The plan for a provisional government provided for the closing of the land office during the unsettled and agitated period so that no land grants could be made. A committee was appointed to make a declaration of causes that caused the people to take up arms against Mexico. On this committee were S. Houston from Nacogdoches and A. Houston from San Augustine.¹⁴ Wharton,

¹²C. R. Wharton, Texas Under Many Flags, Vol. I, p. 233.

¹³A. J. Houston, Texas Independence, p. 68.

¹⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 515.

a delegate from Brazoria, led the group for immediate declaration of independence; but Sam Houston wanted to try again for the Mexican Federal Constitution of 1824. The Texans hoped that some of the Mexicans would join in helping preserve the Constitution. That was impossible; and when the next convention met, a declaration of independence was adopted.¹⁵ The Cherokee Indians were represented in the Consultation by Chief Bowles, Big Mush, and three other chiefs. One of the most important acts of the Consultation was to sign a statement that the Cherokee Indians and their bands were entitled to the land they claimed north of the San Antonio Road and the Neches River and between the Angelina and Sabine Rivers. The members of the convention signed the agreement on November 13, 1835.¹⁶

On December 22, 1835, a large convention met at San Augustine, where Jonas Harris presented a declaration of relations with Mexico showing the necessity for complete separation from Mexico. He instructed the delegates of the Eastern section who were going to the Convention in 1836 to use their greatest power to get a declaration of independence. His plan was unanimously adopted by the people, which showed they were in favor of it. When the men from San Augustine signed the declaration of independence, they voiced the opinion of the people whom they represented.

¹⁵C. R. Wharton, The Republic of Texas, p. 124.

¹⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, pp. 546-547.

The Convention met at Washington in March, 1836, and a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence.¹⁷ George C. Childress of Red River County had prepared a draft that had already been approved by Houston and others. The Committee brought in the report on March 2, 1836; it was read and adopted on a motion of Sam Houston. It was unanimously adopted.¹⁸ The document was signed within the next few days. The Convention then adopted a constitution for the new Republic which was signed by the members in the same way they signed the Declaration. Because of some trouble between Governor Smith and the Council, Sam Houston had not been given control of the army. Now the convention confirmed his appointment as commander-in-chief of the Texas armies.

General Cos returned to Mexico and the Texans began to feel safe; therefore they were surprised by Santa Anna's entrance into Texas. Petitions of the Texas conventions, Stephen Austin's visit to Mexico City, decline of Mexican influence north of the Rio Grande, and several skirmishes between the colonists and the authorities resulted in Santa Anna's decision to garrison Texas with four thousand soldiers. He said it was to protect the settlers from Indians, but his

¹⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 826.

¹⁸E. C. Barker, "The Texan Declaration of Causes for Taking Up Arms Against Mexico," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XV (1911-1912), 183-184.

real purpose was known by his saying, "Military colonies such as those established by Russia in Siberia . . . would be the most convenient for Texas in my opinion."¹⁹ The fall of the Alamo and the massacre at Goliad took away the line of defense against the invaders and left the colonists shocked and stunned. News was slow in traveling to the East; so the first San Augustine company reached Sam Houston's army at the Trinity River. The company was composed of about forty men under the command of Captain William Kimbro, with James Rowe as first lieutenant. Others soon followed from the East Texas Region. San Augustine and all the other sections of East Texas did their part bravely in the Revolution and were well represented at the battle of San Jacinto.

The news of Santa Anna's deed at the Alamo filled the colonists with terror. Immediately they began to leave their homes and move eastward. The army and practically the entire population moved to the Brazos River. Most of the families traveled separately until they reached the Brazos River and they had to stop there for a crossing. There was only one small ferry boat and it took a long time for the people to cross. Hundreds of the colonists reached the Sabine and crossed it. Lieutenant Hitchcock, who was with General Gaines at Camp Sabine, says the camp of the colonists, made of sheets and quilts spread among the trees,

¹⁹S. D. Wasson, The Winning of Texas Independence, p. 6.

extended up and down the east bank of the Sabine for twenty miles.

The people of Nacogdoches and San Augustine took part in the "Runaway Scrape" in which the settlers abandoned their homes and fled across the border. These people in the East were not so much afraid of Santa Anna's army at that time as they were of Indian uprisings. They did not know what to expect of the Indians. When news arrived of the retreat of General Houston, the people everywhere left their homes. Wagons and carts were filled with women, children, and necessary articles that could be carried, and the people hurried to safety across the Sabine River. For the fourth time the people abandoned East Texas.

An interesting story has been told of an incident which showed that the people did not entirely forget the soldiers and their needs in their fear. One cart was so heavily loaded that the driver threw out some bacon at the foot of an oak tree just west of San Augustine. The next man that came by thought the bacon was left for Houston's army, which was supposed to be retreating in that direction; so he threw out more bacon. Others came by and did the same, until there was a large pile of bacon which the army would have been glad to have accepted if it had reached that particular place.

The battle of San Jacinto was not a great battle and there was not a large number of soldiers taking part in it,

but it was one of the most important battles of history. As a result, Texas was freed from the rule and ownership of Mexico. Later, because of Texas winning her freedom, the territory from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean was added to the United States. The settlers of that great territory owe much to the town of San Augustine as a source of inspiration and power in the freeing of Texas. The good news of the battle of San Jacinto spread rapidly to Nacogdoches, San Augustine, and Natchitoches, Louisiana, where many of the Texans had sought refuge. The settlers began returning to their homes. The independence of Texas had been declared at the Washington Convention on March 2, 1836, but it was not a real fact until the battle of San Jacinto.

Mexico hated to acknowledge defeat by rebels and thought the Texans were ingrates. They considered them beggars because they asked for land. The Mexicans tried to believe that the United States was the cause of the rebellion, for they knew that the Americans wanted Texas and that many American volunteers fought in the Texas Revolution.²⁰

²⁰J. H. Smith, "The Mexican Recognition of Texas," American Historical Review, XVI (1911), 39.

CHAPTER V

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN EAST TEXAS

Texas was first brought to the attention of the German people through J. V. Hecke's book, Travels Through the United States. Hecke had been in Texas for about one year; and when he returned to Germany, he published a report about the beautiful climate, the rich, productive soil, and the highly favorable conditions for immigration to Texas.¹ He thought it would be a good plan for Germans to settle in Texas. Persons in Texas and in Germany developed an interest in bringing German colonists into Texas. Some thought it would help Spain to defend her frontier against the French; some empresarios wanted to carry out their contracts by settling their colonies either in whole or in part with Germans; one wanted to settle Germans in Texas to produce raw materials for a projected industrial development in Spain; one wanted Prussia to buy Texas; and others wanted Swiss and German immigrants because they opposed slavery.

The first proposal to settle Germans was made by Morphi, the Spanish consul at New Orleans. He wanted to grant them seven square leagues of land upon the Gulf of Mexico near the Louisiana frontier, to exempt them from taxation, to allow them free trade with all nations, and to invest them with local authority. The plan was not approved either by

¹M. Tilling, The German Element in Texas, p. 7.

the local authorities or by the Cadiz Regency.²

A few Germans came into Texas at various times before any German settlements were established. A few German adventurers came into Texas in 1821 with Dr. James Long. Among these were Eduard Houstein, Joseph Kirksen, Ernst von Rosenberg, Wilhelm Miller, Carl Cuans, Gaspar Porton, and August Blaccher.

The cradle of the German settlements in Texas is the little town of Industry in Austin County. It was settled by Friedrich Ernst, who came to America in 1829 intending to settle in New York. He and Charles Fordtran decided to go on to Missouri, but when they reached New Orleans, a fellow-traveler gave Ernst a pamphlet containing a description of Texas; so they decided to go there. They landed at Harrisburg on April 1, 1831, and went inland by ox cart. On April 16, 1831, Ernst received a league of land on the west side of the west fork of Mill Creek, a region inhabited by Indians who were quiet and friendly and who did not harm the new settlers. Ernst gave Fordtran one-fourth of his league for surveying it for him.

Because Friedrich Ernst changed his mind and came to Texas, other German families followed him. He wrote a letter to a friend which was published in a newspaper in Germany and read by many people. He pictured Texas as being a

²R. L. Biesele, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, p. 22.

wonderful place and compared the climate to that of Southern Italy.³ He stated that every married settler could have a league of land with the only expense being one hundred and sixty dollars for surveying and recording. Every farmer could become well-to-do in only a few years. In Oldenburg, where the people were generally poor, the letter could not fail to create a big sensation, especially since the emigration fever had seized hold of the people. As a result, some of the German families were induced to emigrate to Texas and settle near Industry. Mrs. Ernst said that in 1833 the families of William Bartels, Zimmerschreih and J. Juergens came to live near Ernst's family; and there came in 1834 the families of Marcus Amsler, Karl Amsler, Jacob Wolters, Robert Kleberg, Louis von Roeder, William Frels, Siebel, F. W. Grassmeyer, Joseph Biegel, and others.

In Germany Friedrich Ernst had been chief gardener for the grand duke of Oldenburg. He chose an ideal place for a settlement and built his home in the valley of Mill Creek. The house was six-cornered, built in the style of his summer-house in Oldenburg, and was different from the log houses of the pioneer. He raised corn on his farm; and since it was quite a distance to a mill, he made his own grist mill in the form of a mortar shaped out of a stump. This was used to grind corn into meal, from which bread was baked.

³R. L. Bieseke, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, p. 44.

Sometimes dried meat or smoked meat was the only item of food, but by 1838 Ernst had a large orchard planted with peach trees and a vegetable garden with all kinds of vegetables.

In 1838 the town of Industry was started.⁴ Ernst's place had been called Industry, and Fordtran's place had been called Lazytown or Indolence. On November 28, 1838, Ernst made known that he had laid out a town for German immigrants on his land. He was not a speculator who wished to take advantage of German immigration, but wanted educated fellow-countrymen to come to his town.

NOTICE TO GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

The undersigned has laid out a part of his plantation as a town for German immigrants in order to provide them with a temporary healthful place of abode, where they may escape during the summer from the danger of fever in the flat coast country, become accustomed to the climate, and look about leisurely for a definite occupation.

This town, called Industry, lies in the romantic valley of the Mill Creek 28 miles above San Felipe and nearly in the center of the republic. Three main roads cross here. The distance to the Brazos is 23 miles and to the Colorado 17 miles. The region is one of the most thickly settled in Texas and inhabited by many Germans. Artisans will have a good market for their wares, but they are cautioned to bring along the necessary raw materials and to have sufficient funds to establish themselves and to provide the necessities of life.

Since the undersigned is not a speculator desirous of turning immigration to his advantage, but rather wishes to live in a neighborhood of

⁴R. L. Biesele, "The First German Settlement in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (1930), 334-336.

educated countrymen, building lots 50 ft. by 150 ft. will be sold for twenty dollars, if necessary on six month credit.

Mr. Bonzano will give further information upon request.

Industry, November 28, 1838

Fred. Ernst⁵

This town has remained strictly a German settlement to the present time, with a thriving and progressive population.⁶ It grew slowly, which was a characteristic of the German settlements in that part of the state. In 1838, J. G. Sieper became the first postmaster of Industry, and the first drug store was opened in that year. In 1840 Mrs. Ernst opened a hotel which became a gathering place for Germans who were going from Galveston and Houston into the interior.

The second German settlement in Texas was Biegel's Settlement, later known as Biegel's Post Office. It was founded in 1832 by Joseph Biegel when he started his farm on Cummins Creek. It is in Fayette County, and besides Biegel these men came to the settlement: B. Scherer in 1834 from Switzerland and J. O. Tschiedel, Andre, J. D. Meyer, and John Helble in 1844.

Cat Spring in Austin County was founded in 1834 as a direct result of Ernst's letter and because some of the Germans wanted to live under a republican form of government, with personal, religious, and political liberty and

⁵R. L. Biesele, "The First German Settlement in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (1931), 337.

⁶M. Tiling, The German Element in Texas, p. 20.

freedom from tyrannies. Cat Spring is southwest of Beeville on the edge of the Post Oak Woods about ten miles west of Sealey on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway. The first permanent settlers there were: Marcus Amsler, Karl Amsler, Louis von Roeder, Albrecht von Roeder, Joachim von Roeder, and Valeska von Roeder. Louis von Roeder surveyed the Amslers' tract of land for one-third of the property. The von Roeders came to Texas in 1834 as the advance party composed of Lieutenant Ludwig Angon Siegmund von Roeder and wife, his daughters Louise and Caroline, his sons Rudolph, Otto, and Wilhelm, Robert Kleberg and his wife, Rosalie von Roeder, Louis Kleberg, Mrs. Otto von Roeder, Pauline von Donop, Miss Antoinette von Donop, who later became Mrs. Rudolph von Roeder, John Reinermann and family, William Frels, and others.

The early settlers of Cat Spring encountered all the hardships and privations of pioneer life. Log houses had to be built; and Mr. M. Hartman, who came to Cat Spring in 1847, says that the sons of von Roeder cut down trees about four inches thick, set them in the ground at intervals of two feet, nailed shingles on the outside, made the roof, doors, and windows of shingles and filled the spaces with clay and wood.⁷ One of the two houses had a floor and a ceiling made from planks sawed by hand from post oak trees.

⁷R. L. Biesele, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, p. 49.

Robert Kleberg says that in 1835 they inclosed a field of ten acres and planted it in corn and cotton. Then they moved as much of their furniture as they had use and room for from Harrisburg to Cat Spring. In Harrisburg they left many valuable articles that were burned during the Texas Revolution.

The first German settlement in Colorado County was Frelsburg, which is located a few miles east of the main branch of Cummins Creek. The place was named after William Frels, the first settler there. The settlement did not develop rapidly; a description of the place in 1846 says that the settlement was rather extended, with great distances between the different houses. Another description, in 1852, says there were a store, a post-office, a blacksmith shop, a few houses, and a Catholic Church in the settlement.⁸

Millheim is in the fertile valley of the Mill Creek, northeast of Cat Spring in Austin County, and is an offshoot of Cat Spring. The date of the founding is not certain, but it was about 1845. It did not get its name for several years. William Schneider suggested the name of Muehlheim, which the Americans pronounced Millheim. The German settlers of the community were Louis Kleberg, Hugo Zapp, F. Engelking, Carl Wenmohs, Marcus and Fritz Amsler, H. Vornkahl, H. Bolton, Ernst Kleberg, Louis Constant,

⁸R. L. Bieseke, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, p. 51.

W. Meersmann, A. Hagemann, F. Langhammer, E. Kloss, Alexander Kloss, J. R. Wilm, Robert Kloss, J. H. Krancher, Rudolph Goebel, Wilhelm Schneider, Carl Schneider, August and Otto Goebel, F. Buntzel, Theodore Brosig, B. Siegert, E. G. Maetze, Andreas Friedrich Trenckmann, F. Heinecke, Dr. H. Nagel, A. Regenbrecht, and A. Klnewer.⁹ The greater part of these settlers became farmers; but among them were also blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, brickmasons, a cabinetmaker, a saddler, a tanner, and a tinner. The Bern and Prairie, extending from the Brazos to the Colorado, was a ranch free for cattle and horses. So some of the settlers were cattle and horse raisers, and a few raised sheep. Corn bread, bacon, molasses, and coffee, with an occasional fish and piece of venison, were the principal foods of the German pioneers.

Of the German settlements in the lower Brazos-Colorado-Guadalupe region, Yorktown became the largest and was the result of a definite plan to establish a town. Yorktown is in DeWitt County and was laid out in 1848. The town was named for John York, who on April 1, 1848, entered into an agreement with Charles Eckhardt, Theodore Miller, C. DeShutz, and John L. Mueller. York gave them a half interest in his league of land for one dollar in cash, while the

⁹R. L. Biesele, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, p. 54.

other men were to lay out a town or building lots, blocks and acre lots. They were to take care of the expenses for surveying, mapping, recording, and advertising. York was to have each alternate lot, block and acre lot, and the town was to be called Yorktown.

Meyersville was a German settlement in the Coleta neighborhood, and was named for Adolph Meyer, who founded it in 1849. He made a contract with the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas to go to the Miller and Fisher grants, but decided to remain in the region of Victoria County. The town grew up in two sections about two miles apart on both banks of the Coleta in DeWitt County.

The German settlement of Welcome was started in the northern part of Austin County. The earliest settlers were Carothers, S. A. Shelburne, N. Davis, and others; but they did not give the place its name. It was not until about 1852 that the German settlers moved into the region. The chief persons interested in establishing this settlement were four German schoolteachers: A. Vogelsang, J. F. Schmidt, D. H. Schelling, and Carl Kruse. Schmidt gave the settlement its name of Welcome because the forest, field, meadows, and flowers seemed to give the people a friendly welcome.

Several other German settlements were made near the East Texas Timber Region. These settlements were in Fayette, Washington, Austin, Colorado, DeWitt, and Victoria Counties. Victoria County had one German settlement, Washington and

DeWitt had two each, Colorado had three, and Austin and Fayette had six each. All of them grew slowly but steadily, and only Coletoville was abandoned.¹⁰

The Society for the Protection of German Immigration was organized to direct immigration to Texas. The original purpose of the society was the purchase of land on which they were planning to settle German immigrants. Prince Victor of Leiningen and Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck were sent to Texas in 1842 to make arrangements for buying the land. They asked that the society's colonists be exempted from taxation for several years, but the Congress of Texas refused to make any change in the colonization law. Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck bought a tract of land not far from Industry. It was in the eastern part just outside the Timber Region. The cost was seventy-five cents an acre, which amounted to three thousand, three hundred and twenty-one dollars.

Through the amended colonization law of the Republic of Texas, the Society acquired two contracts. On October 1, 1837, the Congress of Texas passed a law to discontinue giving lands to immigrants.¹¹ On January 4, 1839, a law was passed that all free white persons who had come to Texas since October 1, 1837, and who might come to Texas before January 1, 1840, could have more land. The head of a family

¹⁰R. L. Biesele, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, pp. 52-65.

¹¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1324.

was to receive six hundred and forty acres; and a single, free white man over seventeen years of age was to have three hundred and twenty acres. Those receiving the grants were to pay the fees of office and surveying and were required to reside and remain in Texas for three years.¹² Dissatisfaction arose in 1843 over the colonization law, and Congress passed a bill for the repeal of all laws in force which gave the president authority to grant colonization contracts.¹³ The repeal bill was passed over President Houston's veto.

Ernst's daughter wrote a short description of her first years in Industry. Her life was similar to that of all the settlers in the German colonies. The first house the family built was a little hut covered with straw, which had six sides made of moss. The roof was not waterproof, and the family often held umbrellas over the beds when it rained at night. The cows would come up to the house and eat the moss on the sides. The people naturally suffered a great deal in winter, because there was no adequate way of building a fire. Mr. Ernst built a chimney and fireplace out of logs and clay, but he was afraid to light a fire because the house could easily burn. There were no stores at which to buy new articles; so when their shoe supply gave out, they had to go barefoot because they did not know how to

¹²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, pp. 35-36.

¹³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, pp. 958-959.

make moccasins. They had no spinning wheel and loom; so they were also in need of clothing. At first the family had very little to eat. The main item of food was corn bread, but later they raised cowpeas. Mr. Ernst cultivated an orchard and a garden as soon as he was able. They had no cooking stove and had to bake their bread in a skillet. The ripe corn was boiled until it was soft, and then grated and baked. The family lived in their doorless and windowless house for three years.¹⁴ This was the situation in most of the early German settlements.

Robert Kleberg, who came to Texas in 1834, said he wished to live under a republican form of government, with personal, religious, and political liberty, free from petty tyrannies and the disadvantages and evils of Germany. He soon had an opportunity to fight for these, and during the Texas Revolution the few German settlers fought for their adopted country and helped to win its independence. It was a trying time for them to leave their homes to go with Houston's army, and it was worse to return to their homes and find them in ashes. According to the muster rolls, about one hundred German settlers were actively engaged in the Texas Revolution. Most of them fought with Houston at the battle of San Jacinto, and a few were massacred at Goliad.

¹⁴C. von Hinweber, "Life of German Pioneers in Early Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, II (1899) 228-229.

The German settlers were hard workers, and their perseverance helped them to overcome the discomforts and hardships of frontier life. Most of them were engaged in agriculture and stock raising. A few of them were engaged in manufacture and trade and helped in the industrial development of the state. They were especially interested in education and religion, enjoyed music and dramatic art, and had their dramatic, literary, and singing societies.

Many of the German settlements provided elementary schools for their children. The first ones were founded by L. C. Ervendberg and Dr. Johann Anton Fisher at Industry, Cat Spring, Biegel, La Grange, and Columbus from 1840 to 1844 in connection with Protestant congregations which Ervendberg organized. The first school in Comfort was organized in 1856 by an American named Glass; and in other communities where the German element was well represented, schools were organized for the education of the children.

In September, 1842, thirty-eight members of Austin County asked the Texas Congress for the incorporation of Hermann's University; and on January 27, 1844, the University was incorporated and a league of land was donated to it by the Congress of Texas.¹⁵ The University was to be located somewhere between Mill and Cummins Creeks, and was to be managed by a president and twelve trustees.

In the periods from 1840 to 1844, Ervendberg and Dr.

¹⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, pp. 948-950.

Johann Anton Fisher organized Protestant congregations in Industry, Cat Spring, Biegel, La Grange, and Columbus. At a synodal meeting of German ministers at Industry in 1841, a constitution was made for the regulation of the different churches.

In general the Germans met their discomforts and bore the burdens of building new homes in Texas with American pioneer spirit. Their schools, churches, and societies helped them feel at home in Texas, and they had a high regard for their adopted state. They led a very simple life, and even the richest ones did not enjoy any special comforts or luxuries. Almost everything they used was either home-made or homegrown. The life on plantations cultivated by Germans was different from life on plantations cultivated by slaves.¹⁶ The planter and slave owner usually lived a life of ease and indolence, while on a German farm the owner and every member of the family worked, using the same system of intensive farming that they used in Germany. In German settlements and cities, almost all trade and industries were in the hands of thrifty and skilled German mechanics and tradesmen, while the Americans were lawyers, physicians, wholesale merchants, civil engineers, bankers and brokers, land agents, lumbermen, cotton factors, and public officials.

¹⁶M. Tiling, The German Element in Texas, p. 128.

CHAPTER VI

EAST TEXAS--1836 TO 1848

Before the battle of San Jacinto and independence, the president of Texas had been merely a provisional officer not elected by the people. In September, 1836, the people were asked to elect a president, senators, and representatives. The victory at San Jacinto made Sam Houston an idol and won for him the presidency of the Republic of Texas. Mirabeau B. Lamar became vice-president. Houston's first act was to unite the country and to secure the undivided support of the people. He selected the ablest men he could find to help him carry on the work of the government. Stephen F. Austin became Secretary of State and Henry Smith Secretary of the Treasury.¹

Volunteer soldiers and immigrants came into Texas in large numbers during the summer of 1836, and there was a great deal of excitement and disorder which naturally follows a war. Immigrants from the United States were attracted by the promise of land, or by sympathy for a people struggling against despotism, or by love of adventure. Newcomers lying in wait to begin new schemes, and reckless men who were stirring up wild and mutinous movements threatened the stability of the government. All through the summer and autumn of 1836 there were rumors of another Mexican inva-

¹J. L. Wortham, History of Texas, Vol. III, p. 273.

sion. New settlers continued to arrive, and in 1846 the country between the Red River and the coast and between the Sabine and Nueces Rivers was sprinkled with American farms and villages.

A general land office was established, and land officers were appointed in each district.² Land laws were passed to prevent fraud, to protect the helpless, to encourage immigrants, and to settle claims that arose because the public land had been granted by so many different authorities. Land was to be surveyed into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and the boundary between the United States and Texas was to be settled by commissioners.

Nearly all of the people of Texas wanted their independence recognized and wanted Texas to be a part of the United States, because most of the settlers came from the Union. William H. Wharton, and later Memucan Hunt, was sent as special commissioner to Washington. A resolution declaring Texas to be free and independent and providing for an agent to Texas was introduced into the United States Senate on March 1, 1837, and passed by a small majority. The question of annexation was brought up, but it met with little favor by the United States government; so Houston instructed Anson Jones, minister to the United States, to withdraw the proposition of annexation. France recognized Texas in

²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1276.

September, 1839, and England recognized it in 1840.³

When the independence of Texas was recognized in 1837, the United States had to make a boundary agreement with the Republic. Both nations agreed to accept the line as given in the Adams-Onís Treaty.⁴ When Texas was annexed to the United States, its legislature asked to have Congress change its eastern boundary so as to extend the jurisdiction of Texas over the west half of Sabine Pass, Sabine Lake, Sabine River and to the 32^d degree north latitude. Congress passed an act fixing the eastern boundary of Texas along the middle of the channel of those waters already named.

Early in 1837, rumors were spread that there was an intended attack on the towns of San Augustine and Nacogdoches by the Mexicans and Indians. Evidence was found that a conspiracy was being planned, and the leaders were expecting aid from the Indians and Mexicans of that region. A group of Mexicans in San Augustine County did rebel under the leadership of Vincente Cordova, Nathaniel Norris, and Cruz. They started for the Cherokee Nation and disclaimed their allegiance to Texas. General Rusk of Nacogdoches formed a group of citizens to break up the rebellion; but the rebels dispersed without any fighting, and the Indians claimed they

³E. Z. Rather, "Recognition of the Republic of Texas by the United States," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XIII (1910), 253.

⁴C. R. Wharton, Texas Under Many Flags, Vol. I, pp. 115-117.

had nothing to do with the rebellion. A special term of court was held at San Augustine, and several persons were tried and convicted of treason. Cordova fled from East Texas; and although he was pursued by the rangers, he finally escaped into Mexico. The rebellion was suppressed, but it helped to lead to the Cherokee War, for it seemed that the Indians had been involved.

Sam Houston was a Cherokee chief by adoption, and he liked the Indians, for they were his friends and they believed in him. In February, 1836, Houston had made a treaty with the Indians in northeast Texas, and the Cherokees were among those tribes.⁵ It provided that the Cherokees should have and possess the land north of the San Antonio Road between the Sabine and the Angelina Rivers. The Indians were to stay in their territory and the Texans were not to intrude; so the Indians remained passive during the Texas Revolution. When the Cherokees came to East Texas, they tried to get land grants from Mexico; but they were only given permission to occupy the land during good behavior. It has been estimated that the Cherokee and other East Texas tribes associated with them had more than 1,500 warriors and five times that many people at the beginning of the Revolution.

When Lamar became president of the Republic in 1838, he sent an agent to tell the Cherokees that because of their

⁵C. R. Wharton, Texas Under Many Flags, Vol. I, p. 341.

repeated crimes against the whites and because of their intrigues with the Mexicans in the Cordova rebellion, they must leave Texas and go back to the territory of the United States from which they had come twenty years before.⁶ The Indians refused to leave even though they knew the white men would take their lands and drive them out. They had no real title to the land, but Sam Houston had confirmed their right to the country by treaty; so they would not leave peacefully. The settlers were determined upon the immediate expulsion of the Cherokees; therefore they organized a force to fight them. The Cherokees were defeated and moved north, where they joined scattered remnants of their once powerful tribe and located in the Cherokee Nation. So East Texas was left for the white settlers.

The settlers were having trouble in Shelby County, which involved nearly all of East Texas. Shelby County was near the Neutral Ground, a strip of land twenty miles wide on the east side of the Sabine River which the American and Mexican governments had agreed to be neutral territory. Neither country exercised jurisdiction over the region, and there was no law in the territory; so desperadoes, outlaws, robbers, and other outcasts of society gathered in the Neutral Ground. After the American colonization in 1824 and again after the independence of Texas, some of the desperadoes

⁶C. R. Wharton, Texas Under Many Flags, Vol. II, p. 349.

crossed the Sabine and settled in what is now Shelby County, with a few in Sabine and San Augustine Counties. In the new country the men continued to live their lawless lives. They were gamblers, land pirates, horse thieves, negro thieves, counterfeiters, robbers, swindlers, and, in some cases, murderers. They were well organized and carried on their work in Shelby County while pretending to be good citizens. When the honest people learned of the work being carried on by the band, they decided to end their lawless activities.

Charles W. Jackson, a man of evil character and of bad reputation, organized a band of men called Regulators for the purpose of suppressing crime. Actually the men were to protect him against the enemy. The men opposing him organized a group called Moderators with Edward Merchant as leader. The Moderators and the Regulators waged war with each other. The Regulators took the town of Shelbyville and made it the headquarters for the band. A man named Moorman became leader of the Regulators and ordered twenty-five of the leading citizens of Shelby County exiled or put to death. The better class of citizens determined to rid the county of these undesirable characters. Additional men joined each side, and men had to band together for safety. The people were not safe in their homes. Sam Houston, President of the Republic, realized something had to be done about the situation in East Texas; so he commanded all citizens engaged in the trouble to lay down their arms and

to go home. He also called out the militia forces of San Augustine, Sabine, Rusk, and Nacogdoches Counties and ordered the arrest of the ten leading men of each party. The men were arrested and taken to San Augustine by order of the president. Court was held, and a set of resolutions for peace and order was signed by members of both parties. After order and peace were restored, citizens could go back to their homes and live peacefully.⁷

When Texas became independent, the Texas Congress began to create and to organize counties. Some of these were entirely within the East Texas Timber Region and some were partly in that section.⁸ The following counties were created in 1836.

Jasper County was named for William Jasper, a hero of the American Revolution. The boundary line began on the Sabine River at the northeast corner of Jefferson County and continued along its boundary to the Neches River. It followed this river to old Fort Terran and ran in a direct line to the mouth of Big Bear Creek. It followed the creek to Jones' bridge, then went in a direct line to McKims on to Bevil's ferry on the Sabine.⁹

⁷G. L. Crocket, Two Centuries in East Texas, pp. 196-201.

⁸Z. T. Fulmore, The History and Geography of Texas as Told in County Names, pp. 208-217. J. L. Clark and L. W. Newton, Texas: Its History and Resources (Map).

⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1397.

Nacogdoches County received its name from one of the Texas tribes in the Hasinai Confederacy. The boundary line began on the southeast corner of Rusk County and went down the Attoyac River to its junction with the Angelina River and up that river to the southern boundary line of Rusk County. The line then went east to the place of the beginning.¹⁰

The large cypress forest through which the Sabine River flows gave the name Sabine, or cypress, to the river and to the county which was located along the river. It included the territory west of the Sabine River, south of Shelby, east of San Augustine County, and north of Jasper that was not a part of another county.¹¹

In 1756 the Spanish built a presidio which they called San Augustine in honor of Saint Augustine. The surrounding county was given the same name, and the boundary line began at the Shelby county line on the Attoyac River and continued along the line to the county of Sabine. It then ran to the crossing of the road over the Pollygotch bayou and west on a line to Mr. Presnall's, then southeast to the road leading from San Augustine to Zavala and along the road to Jasper. The line continued to the Angelina River and up the river to the mouth of the Attoyac and up the west bank

¹⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1400.

¹¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1395.

to the place of beginning.¹²

Shelby County was named for Isaac Shelby. The boundary line started at the mouth of the small bayou that emptied into the Sabine River just below the town of Hamilton and went up the bayou to the crossing of the road leading from Hamilton to San Augustine. It followed the road to a point opposite Buckley's and ran straight, including his house and that of J. Rowe. It then went in a direct line to the road leading to San Augustine one and a half miles from Bradley's to Kerr's ferry on the Attoyac River and along it to the crossing of Trammel's trail. The line followed the trail to the Sabine River and went up the river to the Cherokee crossing and on the road to Jonesborough to the Big Cypress bayou. It went from there to Lake Soda and east to the United States and down the Sabine to the small bayou.¹³

Austin County received its name from Stephen F. Austin. The boundary line began on the San Benard at the lower line of Cole's League of Land and ran east with the upper line of Fort Bend County to the northeast corner on Buffalo bayou. From there it went in a northwardly direction with the county line between Harrisburg and Austin to the head of Spring Creek and in a direct line to Pond Creek. The line ran to

¹²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1394.

¹³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1390.

Beason's Creek, crossing the Brazos River, to the mouth of Coney Creek and up the creek with the line of Washington County to its source. It continued along this line to Harmon Hansley's grant on to David Shelby's grant, then to Samuel O. Pettis' and from there in a direct line to the head of San Benard to the lower line.¹⁴

Bastrop County was named in honor of Baron de Bastrop, and the boundary line began at the northwest corner of Isaac Casner's land grant on the dividing line between this county and Milam County. It went on a direct line to the lower corner of a league granted to M. Duty and across the Colorado River on a direct line to where the dividing line between Bastrop and Gonzales intersects the road leading from Nacogdoches to San Antonio.¹⁵

Colorado County was named for the Colorado River and was at first a municipality. The boundary began at the crossing of the lower line of the Municipality of Austin on the main Benard, then went west on the line to DeWitt's colony. It followed the DeWitt colony line to Buckner's Creek and followed it to the La Bahia road, then went east along the road to the Middle Ground between Mill Creek and Cummins Creek. It ran to the main fork of the San Benard and down it to the place of beginning.¹⁶

¹⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1520.

¹⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 428.

¹⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1034.

Goliad County's boundary lines were determined by the following law:

Beginning on the Coleta creek, on the line of Refugio district, being the upper line as run by William Richardson, deputy surveyor of Refugio county, and running with said line to the Aransas river; thence up said river with the meanders, to the crossing of the Mier road; thence N. W. to the line of Bexar district; thence with said line to the San Antonio river, at the mouth of the Cibolo; thence N. 15 deg. East to the Gonzales district line; thence with said line South Easterly to the intersection of the N. W. boundary of DeWitt county; thence with said boundary S. 51 deg. W. to the W. corner thereof, as established by an act of the Legislature in 1848; thence S. 39 deg. E. with the S. W. boundary line of DeWitt county, to a point S. 51 deg. W. of the S. corner of Gonzales district; thence N. 51 deg. E. to the Coleta creek and down the same to the beginning.¹⁷

The town of Gonzales, which had received its name from Raphael Gonzales, gave the name to Gonzales County. The boundary line began on the west bank of the Lavaca River at the lower corner of a piece of land deeded to Andrew Kent and continued on a line to where the La Bahia road crossed the Guadalupe River. It continued in the same direction for fifteen miles from the river to a point on the southwest corner and went to the crossing of the road leading from Gonzales to San Antonio on the western branch of the Sandies. It then went to the upper San Antonio road and along it to the northeast corner of DeWitt's colony and along its boundary to the Lavaca River.¹⁸

Harris County was first Harrisburg and was changed to

¹⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 26.

¹⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1384.

Harris in honor of J. R. Harris. The boundary began at the entrance of Clear Creek into Galveston Bay, running up the creek with the line of the Municipality of Brazoria, and along the line to the Brazos River. It followed the river to the upper line of a league of land granted to Isaacs, and ran along the line to the northeast corner of the league. It then went north to include the settlements on Spring Creek to the southern line of the Municipality of Washington and far enough east to intersect the line dividing the Department of Brazos and Nacogdoches. It ran along that line to Galveston Bay.¹⁹

Liberty County took its name from the town of Liberty. Its boundary began on the Gulf of Mexico at the southwestern corner of Jefferson County and then went north along its western boundary to the Big Sandy Creek and down it to the Neches River. It then ran up the river to the southeast corner of Houston County and south along its southern boundary to the Trinity River. Then it ran across the river in the same direction for nine miles in a direct line to the head of Cedar bayou and down it to the Gulf of Mexico.²⁰

A county was named for Benjamin Milam. The western boundary line ran with the dividing ridge of the waters of the Brazos and Colorado Rivers from the place where the east boundary line of Bexar County struck the ridge to the

¹⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1022.

²⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1426.

uppermost point of the cross timbers. It then continued northeast to the Brazos River.²¹

Red River County was named for the river of the same name. Its boundary began at the mouth of the Bois d'Arc, followed it to the Carter Cliffs and crossed south to a place west of the head of the Big Cypress. It continued east to its head, down to Sodo Lake and east to the United States boundary line to Red River back to the beginning.²²

The town and county of Victoria were named for Guadalupe Victoria, the first president of the Republic of Mexico. The boundary line between Matagorda and Victoria began on a league in the Gulf and went in a direct line to the main channel of the Pass Cavallo. It continued to the main channel of La Vaca Bay to the western boundary of Matagorda County.²³

Washington County was named for George Washington. It began at the mouth of Caney Creek and the boundary line went up the creek to its most northwestern source and went to the southeast corner of the Harmon Hensley land grant. It then went west on the ridge dividing the waters of Cumming's Creek and the waters of New Years and Yegua Creeks, then north along the ridge with the eastern boundary of the

²¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1565.

²²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1431.

²³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 566.

counties of Fayette and Mina to the old San Antonio road. It went east along the road to the Navasota River to Caney Creek.²⁴

The following counties were created in 1837.

Houston County, named for Sam Houston, was at first a part of Nacogdoches County. It included all of Nacogdoches in the boundary beginning on the east bank of the Trinity River two leagues above the mouth of Kickapoo Creek, and went from there in a northeasterly direction to the Neches at the mouth of Big Pine Creek. It continued along the Neches to the thirty-second degree north latitude, then due west to the Trinity River and down it to the place of the beginning on the Trinity River.²⁵

Fannin County was named for James Walker Fannin. The boundary line began at the mouth of Bois d'Arc Creek on Red River and went up the creek to the crossing at the residence of Carter T. Cliff. It then went south as far as sixty miles from the beginning on a straight line, then west to a point south of the head of the upper Washita. From there the line ran north to Red River to the place of beginning, unless surveying should be made void by the act creating the boundary.²⁶

Fayette County was named for the Marquis de La Fayette. The county line began at Grassmeyer's ferry on the Colorado,

²⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1391.

²⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1330.

²⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 368.

going in a northeasterly direction at right angles with the general course of the Brazos River to the divide between the waters of the Brazos and the Colorado down the divide to the southeast corner of the William Burnett grant. The line then went southwardly, crossing the Colorado River where the upper line of the J. Duty grant corners upon the river and following the same course to the Lavaca and to the upper corner of the William Ponton grant. It then went up the Lavaca with the line between Austin's and DeWitt's colonies to the head of the stream, then in a northeasterly direction to the place of beginning.²⁷

Montgomery County was named for Richard Montgomery and included all of Washington County lying east of the Brazos River and southeast of the Navasota River.²⁸

The county of Robertson was named in honor of Sterling C. Robertson, and the boundary line began at the northwest corner of Brazos County, going up the Brazos River twenty-five hundred varas above the northwest corner of a survey made for John Welch. It then went north sixty degrees east to the Navasota River, and down it to the Brazos county line.²⁹

Only one county in the East Texas Timber Region was

²⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1377.

²⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 1375.

²⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1366.

created in 1839, and it was named Harrison in honor of Jonas Harrison. The boundary line began at the mouth of Murval's bayou in a direct line to Norris' crossing of the Attoyac River and continuing to its source or to the crossing of Trammel's trace. It followed the trace to the Sabine River, going up the river to the Cherokee crossing and along the road leading to Jonesborough to the Big Cypress bayou. It then went down the road to Lake Soda, then east to the United States boundary line and due south to the Sabine River and along it to Murval's bayou.³⁰

Two counties in this region were created in 1840. One was named Bowie County for James Bowie. The boundary line began on the Red River at Shaw's ferry and ran due south to the southern boundary line of Red River County. It then went east to the line between the United States and Texas, following the line to Red River and back to Shaw's ferry.³¹

The other county was named for Mirabeau B. Lamar, and the boundary line began at the mouth of Upper Pine Creek, with the line going due south to Big Cypress and up that stream to its source. It then went due west to the Fannin county line and along it to the Red River, and down the river to the beginning of the county line.³²

³⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 159.

³¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 561.

³²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 561.

Two other counties in the East Texas Timber Region were created in 1841 and in 1843 respectively. One of them was named Brazos because of the Brazos River. It is a triangular-shaped piece of land with the Brazos and the Navasota Rivers forming two sides and the northern boundary being marked by the old San Antonio road west from the Navasota River to a point on the road south of Leander Harl's place. A straight line follows to the crossing of the Brazos at old Fort Tenoxtitlan.³³

The other county was named for Thomas J. Rusk, and the eastern boundary line began at the southwest corner of said county as now established. It ran due north to the Sabine River and followed up the Sabine as already established.³⁴

Texas created many counties in 1846, and the following are in the East Texas Timber Region.

Anderson County was named for Kenneth L. Anderson, and the boundary line began at Houston Mound in Houston County about one-half mile north of Murchison's prairie. It continued westwardly by a direct line through the old Tonio village on the North Elkhart Creek and went to the Trinity River. It began again at Houston's Mount, continuing the direct line eastwardly to the Neches River, then going up the river to the northeast corner of John Ferguson's land.

³³F. W. Johnson, Texas and the Texans, Vol. II, p. 740.

³⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1054.

It continued a direct line parallel to the first line to the Trinity River and down to intersect the first line.³⁵

Angelina County received its name from the Angelina River; the boundary line began where the Jasper county line corners on the Angelina River. It went up the river to the southern boundary line of the Cherokee county line at the lower end of Juan Cruiz's Island, then south fifty degrees west with said line to the Neches River. The line continued down the Neches River to the Jasper county line and along that line north eighty degrees east to the place of beginning.³⁶

Cass County was named for General Lewis Cass, and the boundary line began in the middle of Big Cypress bayou five and a half miles east of where the old line run by Sedawn dividing the counties of Bowie and Red River ran into the bayou. The line then went due north to the Sulphur fork of the Red River and down the middle of Sulphur fork to the old United States line, then due south to the middle of Lake Soda. It continued up the middle of the lake to its head and up the Cypress bayou to the mouth of Boggy River.³⁷

Cherokee County received its name from the Cherokee Indians, and at first it was a part of Nacogdoches County.

³⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1326.

³⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1426.

³⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1441.

The boundary created for the county began at a point on the Neches River due west from the southeast corner of the Neches-Sabine survey and went east to the southeast corner thereof. It continued east to the western boundary of Rusk County and south along that line to the southwest corner, then east to the Angelina River. It followed the river to the lower end of Juan Cruz's survey of an island in the Angelina River to a point opposite the lower end of the island on the west bank of the river. It then went south fifty degrees west to the Neches River and followed it north to the point of beginning.³⁸

Newton County was named for Sergeant John Newton. The boundary line between Newton and Jasper Counties began at the southwest corner of survey number one on the southern line of the Jasper land district and went northwardly to the eastern corner of G. B. Brownrigg's labor. It then went northwardly to the northeast corner of Thomas E. Heninton's survey and continued in a direct line to McKinis' place on the Sabine county line.³⁹

Panola County, named for the Indian word "panolo," meaning cotton, began on the boundary line of Louisiana and of Harrison County two miles south of a point east of Edward Smith's. It then went north to the center channel of

³⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1369.

³⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 1011.

Ferry Lake and up that lake to the mouth of the Big Cypress bayou. It went up the bayou to the crossing of Cherokee trace, following it southward to the Sabine River and down it to a point directly west of the place of starting.⁴⁰

Polk County was named for James Knox Polk, and the boundary began on the east side of the Trinity River at the mouth of Menard's Creek. It then went east eighteen miles and changed to the southern boundary of Houston County, crossing the road leading from Swartwont to Bell's ferry, two miles west of Peter Cauble's. It went west along the Houston county line to the Trinity River, going in the same direction to the eastern boundary line of Montgomery County, and changing to a southerly direction along that line to a point opposite the place of beginning.⁴¹

Smith County, named for General James Smith, was at first a part of Nacogdoches County. The boundary began at a point due north sixteen miles from Nacogdoches, then went due east to the Attoyac Creek and due west thirty miles. It then ran due north to the Sabine River and down the river to the crossing of Trammel's trace, going along it south and then west to where the trace crosses the west boundary line of J. Adam's league. It then ran to the Attoyac River and down it to the Attoyac Creek.⁴²

⁴⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 617.

⁴¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1333.

⁴²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 759.

Titus County was named for A. J. Titus. The boundary began at the southeast corner of Hopkins County, going north to the middle of the Big Sulphur fork of Red River and down the middle of the stream to a point five and one-half miles below where the western boundary line of Bowie County crosses the same. It then went south to Cypress and up the stream to the mouth of the dry fork of the same, then up it to a point due east of the beginning point and on to the southeast corner of Hopkins County.⁴³

Tyler County was named for John Tyler, and the boundary line began on the west side of the Neches River where the Houston county line meets it. It went west along this line to the line established as the western boundary of Polk County and in a southerly direction along the line twenty-five miles. It then went south to Village Creek and down the creek with the line of Jefferson County to the Neches River and up the river to the place of beginning.⁴⁴

Upshur County was named for Abel P. Upshur. The boundary line began at the southeast corner of George Martin's survey and the north corner of R. M. Watkin's survey on Big Cypress bayou. It then went south to the Sabine River and up the river to a point one mile above Harris' Creek in Nacogdoches County. The line then went north to the dry

⁴³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1504.

⁴⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1348.

fork of Big Cypress and with the dry fork and Big Cypress to the place of beginning.⁴⁵

Walker County was named in honor of Robert John Walker. The boundary began in the middle of the Trinity River at Robbins' ferry and went along the San Antonio road to the northwest corner of the L. G. Clipper survey. It then followed a straight line to the northwest corner of a survey made for James H. Collard and going straight to a point on the San Jacinto River three miles below the mouth of East Sandy Creek straight with the general course of the San Jacinto. It ran due east to the west boundary line of Polk County, following it to its northwest corner and along the north boundary to the middle of the Trinity River.⁴⁶

Burleson County was named for Colonel Burleson. The boundary line began on the Brazos River at the northeast corner of H. E. Davis' survey below Nashville and followed south sixty degrees west to the eastern boundary of Bastrop County. It continued along that line in a southeasterly direction to the old San Antonio road and along it in a northeasterly direction to the south branch of the Yegua, following it to its junction with the Yegua. The line followed the Yegua to the Brazos River.⁴⁷

⁴⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1445.

⁴⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 53.

⁴⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 708.

Caldwell County, named for Matthew Caldwell, began its boundary line at the mouth of Plum Creek on the San Marcos River and continued it north forty-five degrees east to the southwest boundary of Bastrop County. The line ran from there north forty-five degrees west along the boundary until it reached the San Antonio road and Travis line; then it went in a southwesterly direction on the road to the San Marcos River, following it to Plum Creek.⁴⁸

Cooke County was named for W. G. Cooke, and the boundary line began on the Red River at the northwest corner of Grayson County, then going south to Denton County. On the west it went to the northwest corner of Denton County and then south thirty miles to the southwest corner of the same county. It went west sixty miles and north to Red River.⁴⁹

Denton County, named for John B. Denton, began at the southwest corner of Collin County. The county line then went west thirty miles, north thirty miles, east thirty miles, and south thirty miles.⁵⁰

DeWitt County was named for Green DeWitt, and the boundary line began at the lower corner of the Jesse McCoy grant on the northeast bank of the Guadalupe River, then going north fifty-one degrees east. It then went south

⁴⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 54.

⁴⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 183.

⁵⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1363.

thirty-nine degrees east and south fifty-one degrees. The line ran west to the intersection of the Coleta Creek and up it to the intersection thereof by the district lines of Gonzales, then south fifty-one degrees west. It continued west eighty-two thousand varas from the northeast boundary line of Gonzales and north thirty-nine degrees west to the intersection of a line running south fifty-one degrees from the Jesse McCoy grant and north fifty-one degrees east to the beginning.⁵¹

Limestone County received its name because of the soil formation. The boundary commenced at the mouth of Aquilla Creek where it empties into the Brazos River, then went north eighty-one degrees east until it intersected the present boundary line of the county near the Tehaucana hills. It continued north sixty degrees east along the line to the Trinity River.⁵²

Grayson County was named for Peter W. Grayson, and the boundary began on the Red River at the mouth of Choctaw bayou, going south twenty-two miles. It then went west twenty-five miles to the eastern boundary of Denton County and north one and a half miles to the northeast corner of Denton County. From there it went six and a half miles west and then north to the Red River.⁵³

⁵¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 40.

⁵²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 207.

⁵³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 9.

Grimes County was named for Jesse Grimes. The boundary line began at the southwest corner of Walker County in a southwardly direction to the northeast corner of a league of land granted to W. Montgomery and going to the southeast corner due south to the Harris county line. It followed the county line to the head of Spring Creek and from it to Pond Creek, then in a straight line to the mouth of Beason's Creek on the Brazos River. It went up this stream to the mouth of the Navasota and up it to the crossing of the San Antonio road, following it to the northwestern boundary line of Walker County. From there it followed the line to the place of beginning.⁵⁴

Guadalupe County was named for the Guadalupe River, and the boundary was determined by the following law:

Beginning at the mouth of Nash's Creek, where the same empties into the Guadalupe river in Gonzales county; running thence, north ten degrees east, eighteen miles; thence, a true line to a point on the road leading from San Antonio de Bexar to Nacogdoches, six miles eastwardly of the river San Marcos; thence, due west, to the Rio Blanco; thence up the Rio Blanco, with its meanders, to its source, thence a true line, to the Pinta Crossing of the Guadalupe river; thence down the Guadalupe, to a point from which a line running south 45° west will strike the Cibolo at the crossing of the San Antonio and Nacogdoches road; thence down the Cibolo, with its meanders, to the road leading from Gonzales to San Antonio; thence, with said road, to a point due south of the place of beginning; thence a true line, due north to the place of beginning.⁵⁵

Henderson County was named for James Pinckney Henderson,

⁵⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1356.

⁵⁵H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, pp. 750-751.

the first governor of the state of Texas. The boundary line began at a point on the Trinity River eight miles on a due course below where a line running due south from the northeast corner of Dallas County meets the river, and went north forty-five degrees east to a point due east to the southeast corner of Dallas County. It then ran east to a point forty-three miles east of the corner of Dallas County and south to the north boundary line of Anderson County, then going west along that line to the Trinity River, following it to the beginning.⁵⁶

Hopkins County was named for the pioneer Hopkins family. The boundary began at the southwest corner of Lamar County on the line of Fannin County and went south thirty miles, then east to a point due south of the east boundary line of Lamar County. It went north thirty miles and then west with the southern boundary of Lamar County to the place of beginning.⁵⁷

Hunt County was named in honor of General Memucan Hunt and was created from territories of Fannin and Nacogdoches Counties. The boundary began at the southwest corner of Lamar County, and went south thirty-eight and one-half miles, then west twenty-five miles. From there it ran north to the southeast corner of Collin County, following its eastern boundary to the southern boundary line of Fannin County and

⁵⁶H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 86.

⁵⁷H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1330.

then eighty degrees east to the beginning.⁵⁸

Lavaca County was named for the two Spanish words "la" and "vaca," and the boundary began 7,300 varas north, fifty-one degrees east from the lower corner of the Jesse McCoy grant on the east bank of the Guadalupe River. It ran north to the southwest corner of D. Burket's survey in Gonzales County, and then north eighty-one degrees east to a point on the main fork of the East Navidad River, following it to the northwest corner of A. W. Breedlove's survey on the east bank of the river. It followed the north line of Breedlove's survey east 4,600 varas to a point on the line running south thirty-nine degrees east, 40,700 varas and then south fifty-one degrees west to a point thirty-nine degrees east of the place of beginning.⁵⁹

Leon County was named for Martin de Leon. The boundary began on the west bank of the Trinity River where the San Antonio road crosses it, and went up the west bank of the river to the northeast corner of the A. W. Cooke survey and the southeast corner of the D. M. Brown survey. It then ran south sixty-one and a half degrees west to the Navasota River, going along the east bank of the river to the point where the San Antonio road crosses it. It followed the road to the place of beginning.⁶⁰

⁵⁸H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1364.

⁵⁹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1355.

⁶⁰H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol II, p. 1314.

Navarro County was named for Juan Antonio Navarro, the land commissioner for DeWitt's colony in 1831. The boundary line began on the east bank of the Brazos River at the northwest corner of Limestone County and followed the line to the Trinity River. It followed the river to the line of Dallas County, then went west to the corner and north with the Dallas county line to the old southern boundary of Fannin County. The line then went west to the Brazos River and down it to the place of beginning.⁶¹

Three counties of the East Texas Region were created in 1848. They were Van Zandt, Kaufman, and Williamson.

Kaufman County was named in honor of David S. Kaufman. The boundary line began on the northeast corner of Dallas County and went south to the Trinity River, following it for eight miles from the first corner of the river. It then went north forty-five degrees to a point due east of the southeast corner of Dallas County and then due east thirty-six and a half miles east of the said corner of Dallas County. It went north to the south boundary line of Hunt County, following it to the southwest corner, and then due north to the southeast corner of Collin County. It followed the Collin county line west to Dallas County.⁶²

Van Zandt County was named in honor of Isaac Van Zandt.

⁶¹H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. II, p. 1438.

⁶²H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 40.

The county included all territory that had been in the county of Henderson which, at the time of creating the new county, was not within the limits of the counties of Kaufman and Henderson.⁶³

Williamson County was named for Robert W. Williamson, and the boundary line began on the dividing waters of the Colorado and Brazos Rivers at the southeast corner of the Post Oak Island survey. It then went north seventy-one degrees east, eight miles, and north nineteen degrees west, twenty miles. It ran north sixty-five degrees west to the dividing ridge between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers, then down the ridge to the place of beginning.⁶⁴

Several counties of the East Texas Timber Region were created after 1848. They are Camp, Franklin, Gregg, Hardin, Madison, Marion, Morris, Rains, San Jacinto, Trinity, Wood, Bee, Tarrant, Freestone, Hill, Johnson, Lee, Waller, and Falls Counties.

Since most of the settlers were from the United States, they wanted to become a part of the Union. Just after Texas became independent, President Jackson refused annexation because many of the states were opposed to slavery and because he did not want to become involved in a war with Mexico. Mexico still claimed Texas. The United States decided, in 1845, to annex Texas as a state even though it might mean

⁶³H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 149.

⁶⁴H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, Vol. III, p. 76.

war with Mexico. Texas accepted the proposal to be admitted as a state; so delegates met at Washington-on-the-Brazos and formed a state constitution.⁶⁵

With the annexation of Texas, the Mexicans became hostile. The Mexican authorities were already angry because the American government had been insisting that claims of American citizens must be paid. A third dispute arose over the boundary between the United States and Mexico. General Zachary Taylor moved an American army toward the Rio Grande on March 9, 1846, the better to establish the claims of the United States to the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande Rivers. The movement of Taylor's army caused fighting between the Americans and the Mexicans, and war was declared. Governor James Pinckney Henderson led the Texas troops in the war and served under General Taylor. He led his men with courage and ability throughout the campaign.

East Texas sent soldiers to the war between the United States and Mexico. Captain Otis M. Wheeler and Lieutenant Joseph Baker led a company of volunteers from San Augustine. Two companies formed in Shelby County, one group being composed of former Moderators and the other being formed of Regulators. They fought side by side for a common cause and forgot about their troubles at home. At the close of the war, a public dinner was given to the returned soldiers

⁶⁵J. L. Wortham, A History of Texas, Vol. IV, p. 207.

and all were invited.

During the time Texas was a republic, its natural resources became apparent and wealth began to increase. In 1836, the total Anglo-American population of Texas was less than three thousand; in 1847 the white population was one hundred thousand. In this great stream of immigration that flowed into Texas during this period, a few came who had committed some crime. There were not enough of these to determine the character of any given locality, but many jokes and stories were told about them. The reputation of the state suffered, but Texas continued in progress and prosperity.

For many years adventurers from Spain and France had explored Texas. La Salle had attempted a settlement for France and had failed. For about fifty years Spain had tried to civilize and Christianize the Indians in East Texas. Finally the Spanish government had abolished the missions and presidios. During the following fifty years, very little had been done toward colonization in Texas.

In 1821, Texas was an almost uninhabited country, with the exception of savage Indians. The Anglo-Americans came and changed it into a great state. The East Texas Timber Region has been the gateway through which most of the settlers came to Texas. The settlers who stopped there did their part in establishing the present state of Texas. They

endured many hardships so that others coming later could have homes and opportunities in this land.

Without money, without books and magazines and many of the things we have today, they builded a state. Forced by their desire for equal rights and by their dread of tyranny, they stood against the offenses of an organized government and won freedom. The East Texans did their part in helping to win freedom from Mexico so they could lay a foundation for American civilization there.

The annexation of Texas led to the war between the United States and Mexico, which resulted in great wealth and opportunities for the American nation. The United States, for \$15,000,000, obtained the vast and wealthy area of land extending from the Gila River on the south to the forty-second parallel on the north and from the Rio Grande on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west.

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