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TEJANO RANGERS: THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION OF RANGING TRADITION, 1540-1880

by

Aminta Inelda Pérez

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in History
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

August 2013

Thesis Supervisors: Associate Professor Omar Valerio-Jiménez
Professor Emeritus Malcolm Rohrbough

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
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To my parents, Alejandro and Minerva Garza Pérez,
and my Grandmother Francisca Ynfante Pérez

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INTRODUCTION

I spent hot, humid south Texas afternoons with her on the front porch while the old one quietly spoke of the days when Rangers and "bandits" passed through the *rancheria* of *Los Arados*.[1] My paternal grandmother, Francisca Ynfante Pérez, matriarch of the Pérez clan, recited tales of her grandfather, Manuel Robles and the *rancheria* the Robles family owned and worked on the outskirts of King Ranch. She spoke of bi-yearly round ups, branding of livestock, buildings painted with a lime based whitewash, and her beloved Grandfather Manuel.

In 1916, during the violent years of the Mexican Revolution, Manuel's *compadres,*[2] residents of adjoining ranches*,* found his body hanging from the tall entry gate to *Los Arados*. My Great-Grandfather Manuel had been shot in the back and hanged. My grandmother, a child of nine or ten at the time, relived his death every time she told the story while sitting on the porch at 4 "D" Street in Brownsville, Texas. I listened intently and occasionally asked questions while stretched out on the cool, rust colored cement floor. She always spoke in soft tones when she spoke of Manuel, and in this way, she introduced me to the history of the white Texas Ranger, and the *Tejano sedicioso*.

[1] *Rancheria* in this text refers to a ranch compound including several buildings. Usually several family members reside in the same *rancheria* and houses face the central area, which is utilized as a meeting place. Manuel Robles was the patriarch of *Los Arados*; my grandmother was the third generation living in the *rancheria* with her parents Trinidad Ynfante and Genoveva Robles. She was born in 1907 so at the time of the *Sediciosos* insurrection she was 8 or 9 years old.

[2] Translation of *compadre* is friend.

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Sediciosos were border people of Mexican heritage who formulated plans for secession from the United States under the 1916 *Plan de San Diego*.[3] As she spoke, her grayish hazel eyes would become distant and then dance along the railroad cars stacked in the rail yard situated across the grassy field in front of the house. She explained that Manuel's *compadres*, Aniceto Pizaña and Luis de la Rosa, the men who discovered Manuel's remains, were also his murderers. In her opinion, Texas Rangers saved the Robles/Ynfante clan from complete annihilation at the hands of these evil villains.

My grandmother recited her tale from a vehemently pro-Ranger perspective, and although my questions forced her to conjure specific images from seventy years worth of memories, her heroes remained staunchly white, and the story exhibited no fluctuations throughout our 35-year relationship. The story she told went like this: One day the Rangers apparently arrived at the rancho predicting *sedicioso* raids and they insisted that the family leave *Los Arados* and catch the train to Brownsville-for their own safety.

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[3]See Robert Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1981), 49-52; James Sandos, "The Plan de San Diego: War and Diplomacy on the Texas Border, 1915-1916," *Arizona and the West* 14 (Spring 1972), 5-24; James Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan de San Diego, 1904-23* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992). Mistreatment and displacement of Mexican Americans and other oppressed populations led to the attempted formation of a coalition of Mexican American, Indian, Black, and Chinese along the American Southwest. According to Rosenbaum, the Liberating Army of Races and People planned to revolt, gain independence, and develop independent Republics for each group. Of particular concern to Euroamericans was the plan to exterminate white males over the age of 16.

Basilio Ramos was carrying a copy of the plan dated January 6, 1915 at San Diego, Texas when he was arrested and taken to Brownsville. Revolt was scheduled for February 20' 1915. "The Plan de San Diego, a Manifesto to the Oppressed People of America," a revised edition of the Plan, surfaced during the later portion of February, but all was quiet until four months later. July through November, 1915 *sedicioso* raided, burned railroad property, disrupted railroad business, raided King Ranch property, including the Norias Ranch holdings, and fought the U.S. Army and Texas Ranger patrols numerous times. Raids stopped in the winter, but resumed in the summer of 1916. Throughout 1915 and 1916 US Army and "Law and Order" vigilante groups covered the countryside, along with Texas Ranger units. These Ranger units committed so many atrocities against the *Tejano* population that local Army commander General Funston feared the image of the military would be ruined if lumped together with the Rangers. Historians disagree on precise numbers, but claim between three hundred and five thousand *Tejanos* were lynched or shot by Rangers through this time period.

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Manuel himself promptly organized their departure; however, he refused to leave the property unattended. Privately he explained to his family that two of his *compadres*, Aniceto Pizaña and Juan de la Rosa, leaders within the *sedicioso* movement would assure his safety. According to my Grandma Panchita, these men who Manuel trusted, unconditionally, murdered him because he had extended hospitality to their enemies; he had basically committed suicide by allowing the Rangers to remain at *Los Arados* overnight.

My grandmother passed away in 1998 believing that Manuel was murdered by men who were supposedly his friends; men whom he trusted as godfathers to two of his own children, and who trusted him sufficiently to ride past *Las Arados* without hiding their identities, flying red flags over their ranks pronouncing their seditious beliefs. She ardently praised the Rangers for having saved the remainder of her clan from the violent clutches of those seditious traitors who were so treacherous that they murdered their own friends and neighbors. As a young child, I joined her in celebrating our familial survival, cheering the heroic Rangers as saviors of our very bloodline.

Higher education granted me a path into the academic realm of the Texas Rangers, and while becoming increasingly informed about Ranger and *Tejano* interactions in Texas, Manuel Robles' murder became a more complicated story within my newly awakening critical mind, as did the Rangers themselves. My once revered Rangers became increasingly human, and their one dimensional hero identities became problematic as I realized that despite ideas regarding the benevolence of Rangers engrained in me since early childhood, many citizens in south Texas identified the Rangers as nothing more than murdering criminals licensed by the white establishment to

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kill Mexicans and Mexican Americans so their lands could be sold off to Euro Americans.[4]

As I continued researching I discovered that in 1919 a Mexican American from South Texas, State Representative J.T. Canales called for legislative investigation of the Texas Rangers based on accusations that Rangers had committed various forms of torture and brutality including horse and pistol whipping, exhibition of patent disregard for the law, mistreatment of suspects, and ultimately murder of innocents. The Adjutant General himself was accused of allowing Rangers to remain in service despite evidence supporting their guilt.[5] In the chaparral among the prickly pear and mesquite trees, and on the open plains and fields of South Texas, *Tejanos* suffered the wrath of a law enforcement organization that had historically operated under somewhat lenient state controls.

Photographer Robert Runyon, who rode with the Rangers during the tumultuous years of the early 20th century, documented Ranger activities in various situations. In one short series of photographs, three Rangers appear, two of them are dressed in period

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[4] Regarding issues of nomenclature, I will follow these guidelines: Spaniards are people of white European stock whether born in the Americas or in Spain; if specific references are made to place of birth of said Spaniard, if he/she is born in the Americas the term utilized is criollo; if born in Spain the term used is peninsular. *Tejanos* are Texans of Spanish and/or Mexican heritage; Mexican American refers to people of Mexican heritage who are citizens of the U.S. after 1848 and is used interchangeably with *Tejano*; the term Mexican or *mexicano* refers to people who are Mexican citizens. Euroamerican refers to people of European stock whether citizens or not, and white is used interchangeably although there are obvious problems with this defining language as many Spaniards and Mexican and Mexican Americans were and are considered white. I continue to work on the assignment of labels as this all encompassing title of "white" seems inappropriate however, the privilege of whiteness was evident in the interactions between people of color, including Native Americans, Meso Americans and Blacks and those that identified their European heritage as primarily white-whether of mixed blood or not.

[5] Julian Samora, Joe Bernal, and Albert Peña, *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 12; Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House in the Investigation of the Texas Ranger Force, 1919.

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frontier/western wear, the third man, attired in a bow tie and formal suit appears to be more of a "city slicker". South Texas sunshine glows on their cheeks and slight smiles of satiation linger on their tanned faces as they proudly straddle three beautifully groomed horses, their musculature strong and handsome. They are surrounded by flat land with a few short shrubby bushes and plants punctuating the scene. In the background an open sky stretches, broken only by the outline of the distant shapes of few cattle stretched across the horizon. In the foreground, the grass looks so hardy the viewer can almost feel the stiffness of the blades. If considering only these portions of this photograph, a typical western scene is documented on film; however, a darker reality is also documented here. In the grass, between and a little in front of the mounted men, four bodies, crumpled and stained after being dragged, lay broken and bleeding in black and white, ropes from each Ranger's saddle horn tied to still arms, legs and waists.[6] These photographs are testaments to the type of violence directed at Mexican Americans by Rangers on this South Texas landscape. Apparently, certain members of the Texas Rangers serving during Manuel's lifetime were violent men who exhibited little respect for human life, particularly when that life belonged to a *Tejano* or a Mexican. Estimates of the number of vigilante killings credited to Rangers during this time are estimated to be as high as 3000 souls.[7]

My education continued and while attempting to procure additional information about these Euro American Rangers, the myth of the white Texas Ranger slowly continued to disintegrate in relation to more than simply behavioral patterns; I found

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[6] Robert Runyan Collection. University of Texas, Austin.

[7] Samora, Bernal, Peña, *Gunpowder Justice*, 12.

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Spanish surnamed Rangers in the Muster Rolls of the Adjutant General's office. Despite the myth of the white Texas Ranger, to my surprise, Spanish surnamed individuals in fairly significant numbers were also identified as Texas Rangers from the 1830s through the 1880s. Intrigue and a significantly neglected niche within the context of historical analysis directed my search in to the archives and the history of Spanish surnamed Ranger companies in the Texas borderlands.

Within academic circles the glorification of the white Ranger was first addressed by Walter Prescott Webb's scholarly work *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* published in 1935. A number of writings were produced for a popular audience prior to Webb's publication, including several works by ex-Rangers themselves, some biographical others autobiographical. These works along with dime store novels and newspaper accounts perpetuated the popular myth of the white Texas Ranger as hero, frontier savior, and the embodiment of frontier justice, while vilifying those with darker skin tones in their story lines.[8] Readers experienced the thrill of Ranger accounts that spoke of life threatening battles against savage Indians and bandit Mexicans, both groups deemed detrimental to the advancement of "American" civilization. Several scholars followed the Webb school of thought well into the 20th century.[9]

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[8] Examples of sources informing popular culture included John Duval, *The Adventures of Big-Foot Wallace: The Texas Ranger and Hunter* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, 1871); W. J. Maltby, *Captain Jeff or Frontier Life in Texas with the Texas Rangers* (Colorado, Texas: Whipkey Printing Co., 1906); Albert Bigelow Paine, *Captain Bill McDonald, Texas Ranger* (New York: Little and Ives Co., 1909; Dan W. Roberts, *Rangers and Sovereignty* (San Antonio: Wood Printing and Engraving Co., 1914); James B. Gillette, *Six Years with the Texas Rangers, 1875-1881* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1921), to name only a few.

[9] Probably one of the most prominent was J. Frank Dobie, A *Vaquero of the Brush Country* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965);

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Despite this pro-Ranger historiography, Américo Paredes, a *Tejano* academic born and raised in South Texas, departed from Webb's theoretical framework and philosophical stance and boldly examined the Texas Rangers as racists and abusers of power in his1958 publication, *With His Pistol in His Hand.* Paredes critically examined and analyzed the historicity of Ranger abusiveness against *Tejanos*, and the *Tejano* folk music and stories that developed around the events surrounding Cortez' situation.[10] In 1979 a trio of Chicano historians followed Paredes' example and produced *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers*, a direct attack on the myth of the benevolent and just Ranger. Like Paredes twenty years earlier, the trio of Samora, Bernal, and Peña, argued that Rangers were basically strong arm enforcers utilized to assure Euro American dominance over the Mexican American population in Texas.[11]

Scholars have increasingly produced multiethnic studies since the 1970s, including revisionist works dealing with interactions between Rangers and people of color. More recently two studies even mentioned the presence of *Tejano* Rangers; however, these Rangers are either relegated to positions of marginality or are simply mentioned in passing.[12] One characteristic identifies continuity in Ranger literature:

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[10] Américo Paredes, *With His Pistol In His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958).

[11] Samora, Bernal, and Peña, *Gunpowder Justice.*

[12] Robert Utley, *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Utley mistakenly claims that two Ranger companies led and comprised of *Tejanos* in 1870 "were wholly unprecedented," 139. In discussing the two captains, Gregorio García and Cesario G. Falcón, he identifies their company locations and stations, and García's involvement in the Salt War in El Paso. Charles M. Robinson III, *The Men Who Wear the Star: The Story of the Texas Rangers* (New York: Random House, 2000), 161, 222, 242, 162. He briefly mentions the same two captains; Bruce A. Glasrud and Harold J. Weiss, ed. *Tracking the Texas Rangers: The Nineteenth Century* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013), includes a chapter by David E. Screws entitled "Hispanic Rangers Contribute to the Peace, 1838-1880," 188-198;

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whether historians applaud the mythological Ranger or deconstruct the Ranger myth as revisionists, Rangers within scholarly accounts, memoirs, as told to accounts, as well as popular myth, were and continue to be primarily identified as Euroamerican with the exception of a handful of references.

The overall point of this work is to establish the presence of Tejanos in the groups identified as Texas Rangers from the days of the Army of the Republic to the present. I will also address three additional points: First, the Texas Rangers traditions and methods were not born with Stephen F. Austin in 1824. The traditions of ranging and ranching were born on the northern frontier of New Spain. The methods of mounted, aggressive and offensive warfare central to the identity of Texas Ranger fighting character, were not developed by woodlands farmers, rather, they were traditions in northern New Spain and moved in to present day Texas with colonists as early as the 1700s; secondly, Tejanos whose genealogy could be traced to the founding families of the communities on the northern frontier, interacted with Euroamerican immigrants in the post-1821 period. Tejanos whose grandfathers were already veterans of rancho self-defense, and frontier military or militia service assisted newcomers and taught them to negotiate their worlds. The two fundamental questions for new arrivals were how to fight enemies in the harsh Texas environment, and how to become knowledgeable in the handling of livestock. Tejanos answered both those queries. Mounted ranching labor practices influenced mounted, offensive, hit and run tactics learned by the Spanish forces through years of Indian fighting in the Gran Chichimeca. These became the hallmark fighting methods employed by the Texas Rangers; thirdly, certain segments of Tejano Rangers, shared

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socioeconomic interests with Anglo Texans that allowed them to cooperate and fight for similar goals at various times.

By 1880, the decline of *Tejano* civil, property and political rights was exemplified by the absence of *Tejano* Rangers in the organization. Certain segments of the *Tejano* elite, if sufficiently connected within the new sociopolitical and economic order, including Ranger Captains, remained privileged within the emerging power structures. In this way the continuation of the privileged status of the Mexican American elite, who also happened to be leaders of Ranger companies, showed continuity of status based on privileges of class in at least a few instances.

Discussions related to borderlands and frontiers depend on a shared understanding of the meaning of these terms as well. Historian Oscar J. Martinez' ideas related to borderlands are followed in this work as he states that the border is a line that separates nations, provinces or localities and the borderland is the region adjacent to the border. Additionally, the "…territorial limit of a border depends on the geographic reach of the interaction with the 'other side'."[13] The acceptance of geographic fluidity in defining a borderland territory is important to my analysis of Rangers and communities within the Nueces Strip.

Regarding the conceptual underpinnings of the term frontier, the framework articulated in Patricia Nelson Limerick's, *The Legacy of Conquest* informed my own defining method. Unlike ideas expressed in Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis," Nelson Limerick proposed that the American West should be studied as a place rather than a process. Turner's thesis defined the frontier as the process by which civilization

[13] Oscar J. Martínez, *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994), 5.

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overpowered savagery; once interaction occurred, the frontier continued westward. In 1890, census data determined there were no more open lands; therefore, Turner concluded the frontier had reached its end. In contrast, Nelson Limerick's 1989 work focused on the many spaces defined as the "West," occupied by people of various racial and ethnic identities. Conquest defined the relations between those who populated the place before contact, and those who came with intentions of making the space their own. Confrontations were defined by struggles regarding "… [the] contest for property and profit…accompanied by a contest for cultural dominance."[14]

This work follows Nelson Limerick's idea of place versus process; however, differs in ideas related to terminology employed to discuss these places. Although in her 1987 publication Nelson Limerick promoted substitution of "American West" when speaking of areas previously called the frontier to change focus from the study of "process" exemplified by the Turnerian model to the study of "places," in 2000 Nelson Limerick's analyzed the American West in a global perspective, and found an interesting dilemma with the terminology. According to her introduction to *Something in the Soil,* published in 2000, Nelson Limerick had come to the conclusion that utilization of the word conquest, rather than frontier, would allow for the analysis of place and process on a global scale. Nelson Limerick claims that because global European expansion in the last half century has had such an impact on the development of the world, the term

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[14] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: WWW Norton & Co., 1987), 26-27.

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conquest could be utilized to signify the process. The "fog" regarding terminology would be "cleared away" by this terminology according to her analysis.[15]

My own work will continue to utilize the term frontier rather than conquest to discuss both place and process. As a *Tejana* raised on the border of south Texas, I am comfortable with the use of the term frontier based on a Mexican Texan historical and cultural perspective. Within *Tejano* communities discussions regarding these spaces have taken place for generations, and have taken various forms including *corridos*, theatrical presentations, poetry and oral histories. In these discussions, the term frontier (frontera) has consistently been utilized, suggesting that *Tejanos* themselves have historically and continue to define the term frontier in the manner articulated by Nelson Limerick in 1987; a place where conquest, interactions on common grounds, and confrontations regarding distribution of resources and power have, and continue to occur. The utilization of the word conquest to discuss the frontier assumes relationships between white and non-white populations in ways that limit agency and dissuades notation and analysis of variances that make situations within that place unique.

One last point is relative to this discussion of the intricate subtleties regarding word usage. I desist from using references to "western" frontiers or the West unless specifically discussing Euro American perceptions of westward movement, as the manner in which place and process are connected to the terminology and study of the "American West" implies that the center of importance (the source of culture) was east of the western frontier. In the case of this borderlands study, the "northern" frontier is of equal importance to the "western," and is defined as place located at the northern reaches of the

[15] Patricia Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckoning in the New West,* (New York: Norton and Company, 2000).

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cultural center (Mexico/south). In other words, place as a starting point of one's movement determines how one defines the destination, in this case a frontier, in his/her own mind. For example, a border person of Mexican heritage, either Mexican or Mexican American, discussing northern Mexico, and even the southern US, refers to the place as *la frontera norteña* (the northern frontier); a non-Mexican discussing the same place identifies the border region or refers to the specific places by individual names. Mexican people and their descendants on the "northern frontiers" of New Spain, Mexico, and lately the United States, recognized that their culture (the one contested) came from the south, making their frontier northern, while the Euroamerican frontier was "western" with a cultural heritage that came from the east. In this manner I explain my inclusion and periodic references to both a western and a northern frontier when discussing issues from specific ethnic/national perspectives.

In the 19th century, *Tejano* frontier communities followed hierarchical racial and class structures present since the days of the Spanish Empire. Although these relationships were likely cooperative and reciprocal, families of means, usually descendants of Spanish frontier settlers who were also soldiers, identified racially as white, and they were leader in community defense. Under the leadership of a local captain, Spaniards, *mestizos* and sometimes, even Indians were expected to take up arms in defense of the community, and they ranged. Within this tradition many *Tejano* landowners and those under their tutelage, philosophical, if not biological descendants of early Spanish settlers, participated in frontier defense from the time of settlement, before formation of the Texas Republic in 1836, to the post-Reconstruction period.

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This work examines two distinct periods of time, and locations. The first section of the work shows the historical foundation of the Texas Rangers and includes Chapters 1-3. The second section of the work, Chapter 4-6 addresses interactions between immigrant newcomers from the U.S and Europe and Tejanos. Friendships, business relationships, and social connections between Texians and Tejanos created spaces through which to share information and method. Points of intersection and the actual Tejanos themselves are center to this half of the presentation.

Chapter 1 deals with expansion of Spanish interests in to the northern frontier of New Spain known as the Gran Chichimeca. Spaniards in search of wealth combed the regions of the north for gold, silver and people to use or sell as laborers within the *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, *congrega* and *slave* systems. Settlers and soldiers enthusiastically joined expeditions to enslave or "pacify" non-cooperative Indians. Various tribes fought back consistently, and learned to use horses and weapons effectively, forcing Spanish settlers to adapt to a new frontier fighting method. Antagonisms and abuses ran high and the frontier was in a constant state of war.

Chapter 2 deals with the development of militarized communities in both Tejas and Nuevo Santander. Tejas communities were developed with presidio and formal military personnel in place, while Nuevo Santander was, from its inception, a militarized community dependent on citizen soldiers for their own defense. Within the populations that first arrived in the settlements were the ancestors of the later Tejano Rangers. Military know-how was grounded in not only one person's experience as an individual, but knowledge accumulated through generational continuity and adaptation to frontier conditions. Frontier families developed kinship networks and veterans of frontier warfare

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taught their children. As the heirs to ranching interests based on lands and livestock as payment for services, families gained stock-raising experience as well.

Chapter 3 addresses the role of militias in the defense of localities, and in the national military organization. The role and methods employed by citizens and soldiers within the frame of these groups is also addressed to show techniques, skills, equipment and methods that were fundamental knowledge to people that lived in a frontier region where armed hostilities were common.

Chapter 4 explains the connections between Tejanos and Anglo immigrants, particularly Stephen F. Austin. The history of the Texas Rangers theoretically begins with Stephen F. Austin's Rangers during the 1820s; however, the Old 300 settlers that Austin brought to Texas were from the woodlands of the east. Based on limited access to horses, or lack of experience, these men were not enthusiastic mounted fighters. When the fight for Texas independence ensued, Tejanos volunteered at an estimated rate of 1:3 versus 1:7 Anglos. They fought in traditional mounted fighting units of cavalry, in the tradition of the *compañias volantes*, the flying companies of the Spanish military. They made up the bulk of the cavalry during the Army of the People's fight against Santa Anna. Anglos that became Texas Rangers were exposed to their fighting techniques and skills during this time.

Chapter 5 focuses on Tejano Rangers in the old Tejas regions around San Antonio and Nacogdoches, and their interaction and participation with white Texian Rangers in the Army of the Republic from 1836-1845. Tejano Rangers who were members of founding families, and Anglos fought together in mixed companies, and again, were exposed to each other's fighting styles and techniques. In San Antonio, several Tejanos

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in Ranger companies were descendants of founding families, and ranged with Anglo Texans. In Nacogdoches several Tejano Rangers were also descendants of early settlers of Los Adaes. They mustered in to service in mixed units that were composed of Tejanos, Anglos and Creeks. Other Ranger units included Shawnee and Apache troops as well. Some of the connections between men in these companies point to shared socioeconomic interests in keeping slaves.

Rangers were directed to fight against Vicente Córdova, and Chief Duwali (Bowles), of the Texas Cherokee that lived north of Nacogdoches. Both were large landowners, and conveniently, also enemies of the state based on their unwillingness to accept infringements on their lands and political rights. Ranger units of Tejanos, Anglos and several Indian tribes, including three companies of Shawnee, Apache, and Tonkawa Rangers were mustered in to service to apprehend or kill both Córdova and Duwali and their people. The Cherokee, and certain Tejanos possessed coveted lands. They were identified as dangerous based on a convenient belief by both the Anglo newcomers, and their Tejanos allies that Córdova and Duwali were on the verge of rebellion against the newly independent Republic of Texas in support of the centralist Mexican government. When attempts at accommodation only yielded more abuse, rebellion became the only answer for both Córdova's Tejano allies, and Chief Bowles' Cherokee people. Anglo, Tejano and Indian Rangers were enforcers for local and state government officials and justified attacks against both Tejanos and Indians by claiming they were disloyal and a threat to the Texas Republic. Interestingly, leading Anglo, Tejano, and Indian Rangers shared socioeconomic interests in terms of their support of slavery.

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Chapter 6 deals with the period between 1850-1880. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the area previously defined as Nuevo Santander was split by the new Rio Grande River boundary. The Nueces Strip was a triangle region between Laredo, east to Corpus and South to Brownsville. Tejanos were enlisted in several organizations considered Texas Rangers during the period from 1850-1880, and many of those companies ranged the borderlands and the Nueces Strip towards Corpus Christi, Texas. Members of founding families were also leaders in these Rangers companies.

Twenty-five years after the last *Tejano* Ranger performed services for the state of Texas, my Great-Grandfather Manuel Robles was buried on the *Rancho de Los Arados*, a likely victim of the Anglo Rangers who my grandmother revered as heroes. There is little doubt scores of Rangers were, in fact, honorable and just in their enforcement of the law; however, the story is much more complicated. Dispelling the myth that Texas Rangers were noble, good and always white is at the foundation of this work. Modern day Texas Rangers come in all shapes, sizes and colors and it is my sincere belief that children of the State of Texas, particularly *Tejano* children, deserve to know that, as we say at home, "this ain't our first rodeo." Their ancestors were in one context, villainous in their treatment of Indigenous people, and in another, proud participants within a military and law enforcement history from which modern day Texas Ranger myth was born. Contrary to many historical and popular presentations, Spanish surnamed individuals were sometimes the enforcers of frontier justice, rather than simply outside of the law or the victims of that "justice." With this in mind, readers need not search for an argument supporting the infallible nature of the Mexican American versus the Euro-American Ranger. I do not wish to write a story of division; rather it is my intention to

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give credit where credit is due. This is the story of Spanish and Mexican participation in the development and evolution of frontier traditions that became central to Texas Ranger culture and identity.

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CHAPTER 1

CONQUEST AND INDIAN DISSENT, 1521-1776

In 1970, when I was about 6 years old, my Mom and Dad loaded my Mother's parents and my sister and I into a 1968 army green 4X4 Jeep Wagoneer and headed south from Brownsville, Texas in to Mexico. We veered off the main road in San Fernando, Tamaulipas, purchased some supplies at a small store, my Dad engaged the 4-wheel drive, and we headed straight in to the brush country and into the past. Our trek took us down dirt roads that were nothing more than trails marked by ruts in the earth. Through thorn bushes, mesquite, leech infested puddles, and curious livestock and vultures that only half-way attended to the passing of the light green vehicle, we headed to the Rancho de las Tres Palmas and the ranchlands that once belonged to my Great-Grandfather Vicente Rivera. My Grandmother Josefina Rivera Garza was born on these lands and our relatives continued to raise stock there.

We arrived after what seemed like hours of rough roads and slow progress. We neared the cluster of buildings that appeared like a mirage out of the chaparral. The road dumped us out onto a flat, unpaved, open area the size of two football fields. We had arrived at the Rancho de las Tres Palmas. Children ran to greet us as soon as we neared the main house. Following greetings and shared news of relatives and friends, a goat was slaughtered in the area between the main house and the communal kitchen, and I can still hear the goat's bleating in fear or complaint. The women prepared roasted goat, blood pudding, rice, beans, tortillas, and chile for the community. The meal was served on a wooden table outside of the rustic building that served as a communal kitchen and everyone was involved in the preparation.

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Houses belonging to different family members were constructed by communal effort. They packed mud into frames of woven mesquite limbs that were then sun baked and finally limewashed. They shone a brilliant white in the sunlight. Each home was built around a large central herding area that was about three acres in size and had livestock pens at either end. Mesquite fences kept herds of goats and sheep corralled at one end of the central circle and horses on the other end. Cattle roamed and grazed on cactus and grasses at a distance, but they roamed back in to the central herding area as night fell. It was an amazing sight to witness the herds collecting in the three-acre stretch.

My Grandma Josefina's father, my Great-Grandfather Vicente Rivera, worked livestock with his vaqueros and family on these lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Vicente Rivera and his family were *mestizos* or mixed blood folk themselves; however, some of the men he employed were Indian vaqueros. Historically, Indian vaqueros played significant roles in the development of ranching on the northern frontier. On thousands of ranchos across northern Mexico Spaniards and Indians shared lives of cooperation; however, there were also instances of conflict.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of Spanish expansion and conflict between colonizers and indigenous people on the northwestern frontiers of New Spain from the 1521-1776. Spanish invasion and implementation of clearly exploitive socioeconomic and political systems created hostility and violence between Spanish interlopers and indigenous masses unwilling to participate in Spanish society under the rules dictated by the "conquerors." Those rules stipulated conversion to Christianity and labor obligations exemplified by *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and various forms of

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slavery. Indigenous communities in the north that refused to be subjugated without a fight included Chichimecas, Pueblos, and Athapascans to name a few. In this openly hostile and volatile frontier environment, Spaniards and their Indian allies developed communities atop militaristic foundations that included ranging, offensive maneuvering against enemies, and the right to act as judge and jury when enemies were captured. This sense of entitlement and conquistadores' impositions of hegemonic social and political structures may have worked to subdue groups in the central regions. However, peace was limited and volatile when expansion threatened northern tribes' freedoms and traditional ways of life. In the central regions of Mexico, conquistadores imposed tribute and labor requirements on sedentary indigenous populations. Non-sedentary indigenous populations in northern New Spain refused to accept Spanish rule and forced authorities to develop new military strategy based on presidios and civilian-soldiers.[1]

Northern Expansion

Soon after Hernán Cortéz' conquered the Aztecs' capital city of Tenochtitlán in 1521, conquistadores explored outlying regions to procure more gold with the assistance of allied Indians. Dreams of gold died for 60% of Cortéz' conquistadores who were killed at the siege of Tenochtitlán. For the 40% who survived, and later arrivals,[2] in

[1] See Phillip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Expansion of New Spain, 1550-1600*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); .Max. L. Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). Ana María Alonso. *Thread of Blood: Conquest, Revolution and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

[2] Bernard Grunberg, "The Origins of the Conquistadores of Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 74:2 (May 1994): 263.

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addition to gold, other avenues for profits included exploitation of Indian labor, tribute, and the sale of Indians themselves.

Spanish expeditions initiated by fantasies of gold and rumors regarding the existence of the Seven Golden Cities of Cibola and the golden Land of Quivara initially led Spaniards to the lands of the Chichimeca and other northern lands. While the Spaniards did not find gold, they did discover rich silver mines in the center of Chichimeca lands in Zacatecas in 1546.[3] The silver discoveries in turn led to the development of ranching and agricultural operations to supply mining population.[4] Additionally, pressure to colonize the northern lands came from Jesuit priests who moved towards the expanses of the north to convert Indians and settle them on mission lands. Various combinations of conquistadores, soldiers, settlers, and clerics demanded Indian labor for their enterprises. One soldier expressed the reason young men came to Mexico as "…to serve God and his Majesty, to give light to those who were in the darkness and to grow rich as all men desire to do."[5] Identified as fierce, wild, nomadic hunter gatherers,[6] the Chichimecas included several tribes that resided between Saltillo and the

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[3] Phillip Wayne Powell, " The Chichimeca: Scourge of the Silver Frontier in Sixteenth Century Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical* Review 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 315-338 defines the boundaries within which the Chichimeca lived and included: the southern boundary as Querétaro, Cuitzco, Lake Chapala, and Guadalajara; Tlatenango, Colotán, and Nombre de Díos in the west; in the north, Cuencamé, Parras and Saltillo; eastern boundary was Valles, Xilitia and Zimpán;

[4] Miguel Aguilar-Robledo, The Formation of the Miraflores Hacienda: Land, Indians and Livestock in Eastern New Spain at the end of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 2 no.1 (1993): 87-110 discusses the development of ranching communities in the Huasteca region. Chichimeca attacks from the north led to the *congreagacion* of local Indian populations that were utilized as labor and recruited to assist in defense of the region by local *encomenderos*.

[5] David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, (Yale University Press; New Haven, 1992), 23.

[6] Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 132-133; for information supporting this view of the Chichimeca see the following by Phillip Wayne Powell, "Spanish Warfare Against the Chichimeca in the 1570s ," *Hispanic American*

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Río Lerma, including Guamares, Pames, Zacatecos, and Guachichiles, and several smaller groups that historically refused Aztec political control.[7] An ever-larger stream of military men and settlers searched for gold, slaves, and provoked confrontations with not only Chichimecas, but also Pueblos, Athapascans, and other tribes throughout the north. They imposed labor and tribute demands and claimed total sociopolitical and economic control of indigenous lands and bodies.

According to historians Phillip Powell and Max L. Moorehead, although there were many rebellions and tactics of warfare that helped shape the militaristic traditions of the frontier, the Chichimeca War (1550s-1590s) instigated an intense cycle of conflict and combat and was significant because the hit and run tactics employed by Chichimeca warriors stimulated the development of a different type of military strategy. Brave and aggressive warriors educated in guerilla warfare that included hit-and-run tactic led not only to the establishment of presidios, but the development of a system of ranging in answer to the warring strategies employed by non-sedentary indigenous folk that refused to acquiesce without resistance.[8] In anthropologist Anna María Alonzo's work *Thread of Blood* she explained that the soldiers that were employed along the northern frontier were from vaquero stock. Quoting historian Max Moorehead, she wrote of frontier soldiers, "they 'were neither elite troops nor raw recruits but hard-bitten, home grown

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Historical Review 24, no4 (Nov. 1944): 580-604; Phillip Wayne Powell "The Chichimecas: Scourge of the Silver Frontier in Sixteenth Century Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 315-338; see Phillip Wayne Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio in North America," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 no.2 (April 1982): 127. Chichimeca's removal of their clothing before a battle was a significant point of interest to Spaniards. Other pieces of reference to the cruelty of their behavior during warfare, i.e. scalping, mutilation, torture.

[7] Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1995), 50.

[8] Morehead, *The Presidio*, 24.

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vaqueros who were at ease in the saddle…and accustomed to the cruel and unconventional tactics of Indian warfare.'"[9]

Information regarding Spanish intent spread through tribal communication and trade routes.[10] Spaniards exploited Indian bodies for their labor, while attempting acculturation and religious indoctrination. They enslaved, killed, and kidnapped Indians who resisted, justifying these attacks against Indians by identifying them as thieves, heathens, and less than human. By 1580, the Chichimecas were mounted, armed, were willing to attack large groups of Spaniards and "intimidate" alliance Indians. In response, the Spaniards built fifty presidios by 1590. The Spaniards also attempted diplomacy, including considerations and gifting to establish peace, rather than simply relying on force. However, this maneuver wavered and through various period of time methods shifted from coercive and manipulative (gifting) to violent.[11]

Justification for War

Spaniards justified aggression against the Chichimeca based on an imposed identity as nomadic hunter-gatherers. In the 1560s an official report by *encomendero* Pedro de Ahumada justified war with the Zacatecos because they were naked and "…they had neither law, nor houses, nor trade." In contrast, scholar Charolette Gradie, asserted that Spanish documents written by Fray Bernadino Sahagún contradicted Ahumada's representation of the Zacatecos. He claimed Zacatecos, and Otomies were

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[9] Alonzo, *Thread of Blood*, 30-32.

[10] Phillip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Expansion of New Spain, 1550-1600,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952) 105-126; Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 31-33.

[11] Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio," 131, 135.

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sedentary, agrarians who grew corn, lived in rancherías, and had political and religious leaders. Obviously Ahumada and Sahagún disagreed on the cultural characteristics of the tribe.[12]

Spanish aggression caused population flight and retaliatory aggression by agrarian based communities forced to flee to mountainous regions of the Gran Chichimeca where mounted riders could not follow. Spaniards justified aggression by pontificating on the superiority of Spanish culture and religion.[13] Spanish expansionists who wrote that warriors were extremely aggressive and talented with weapons ignored the cause and effect of the situation;[14] however, indigenous fight and talent was not enough to deter Spanish search for gold further north, although it was enough to promote the development of presidios. The sedentary Pueblos and Athapascans of the north were next to feel Spanish aggression.

Labor Systems

State sanctioned forced labor systems were supported by the Crown from the earliest days of the Conquest in the 1520s and remained active in portions of Mexico until the Mexican Revolution of the early 20th century. The *encomienda*, *repartimiento*,

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[12] Charlotte M. Gradie, "Discovering the Chichimeca," *The Americas* 51, no.1 (July 1994): 75-76. Ahumada was commissioned by the Audencia of Nueva Galacia to control a rebellion by Zacatecos from Durango to the mining towns of Avino, Peñol Blanco, and San Lucas.

[13] Gradie, "Discovering the Chichimeca, 78. See Andrew Sluyter, "The Ecological Origins and Consequences of Cattle Ranching in 16th Century New Spain, *American Geological Survey* 86 no. 2 (April 1996), 161-177; Karl Butzer, "Cattle and Sheep from Old to New Spain: Historical Antecedents," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78 no. 1 (Mar. 1988), 29-56 for examination of the environmental impact of Spanish Conquest.

[14] Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 105-126. Chipman included a quote indicative of Chichimeca proficiency with weapons. A Spanish contemporary wrote: "[I]n the opinion of men familiar with foreign lands, the Zacatecos are the best archers in the world. They kill hares, which, even though running, they pierce with arrows; also deer, birds and other animals of the land, not even overlooking rats,"46.

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rescate, slavery, debt peonage and congrega systems were catalysts for the frontier relations that triggered rebellion and hostility, and in turn, fostered the development of militarized communities in the Gran Chichimeca. The Gran Chichimeca was a region between the eastern and western Sierra Madres. Bordered on the south by Querétaro and Guadalaja and north by Durango and Saltillo, the lands became increasingly arid as one moved northward. The indigenous people of the region known as Chichimecos were actually ten tribes. As more Spaniards arrived with horses the Chichimecos procured them and their fighting techniques gained speed and stealth. Moorehead wrote, "The hit-and-run tactics of the northern warriors forced the authorities to abandon their traditional military policy and again to modify even their revised procedures.[15]

Communities trained in frontier methods of fighting and ranching who embodied independent spirits, produced sons and daughters that moved further north in to present day Texas. The following narrative deals with examples of various labor and slave systems through different times and regions and the people that impacted the development of frontier relations and traditions. The Gran Chichimeca was extremely important to the development of ranging and the far northern regions of the New Spanish frontier beyond the early zones were also significant to that tradition and will be discussed in the following chapters.

[15] Moorehead, *The Presidio*, 7.

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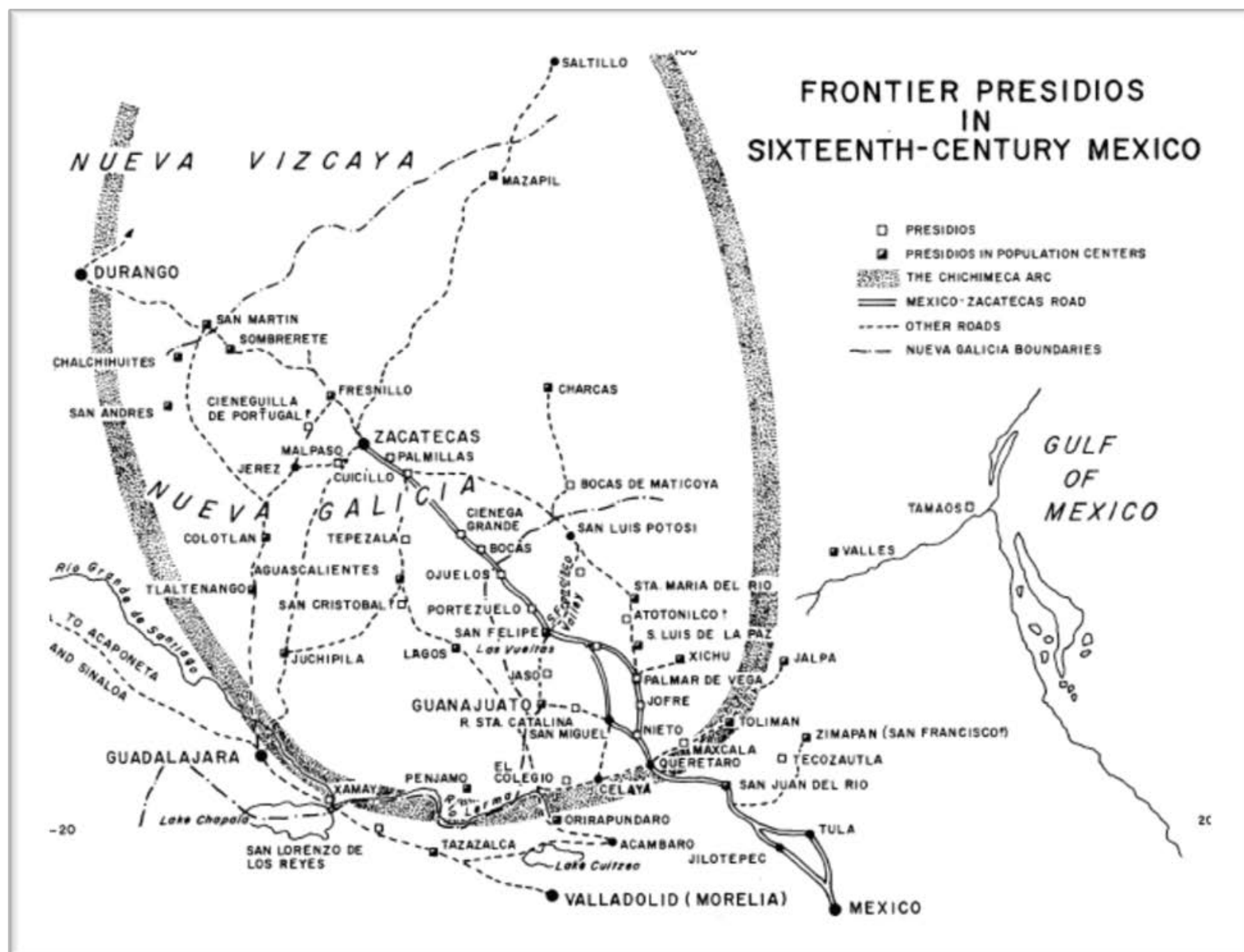

Figure 1 The Gran Chichimeca Arc, Roads and Presidios in Northern New Spain

Source: Phillip Wayne Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio in North America," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 13:2 (April 1982), 25.

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Encomienda

Following the fall of Tenochtitlán, populations of indigenous people in Aztec tribute paying towns were identified through Aztec tax assessor's records. They were reassigned to *conquistadores* in a system of *encomienda*.[16] The holder of an encomienda title was called an *encomendero* and Indians assigned to encomenderos were obligated to pay tribute, while the encomendero was responsible for social and religious education and defense of *encomienda* Indians (assumed to be pacified from hostile tribes). Historically utilized as a form of pay for soldiers, *encomienda was* initially rewarded by the Spanish Crown to Iberian soldiers for fighting Moors. In New Spain, soldiers, government officials, and explorers were granted encomiendas. Although similar to a serf system, Indians in New Spain were vassals of the King, not the encomendero. Theoretically the Crown established rules and limitations to control abuses such as overwork. However, local authorities failed to protect Indians to any significant degree.[17]

Throughout the 16th century, several examples prove royal intentions of controlling abuse of encomienda Indians. The devastating Indian mortality rate[18] and desire to reclaim authority over subjects in the colonies led both Emperor Charles V

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[16] Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521-1555*, (University of Texas Press: Austin, Texas, 1991) provides biographical information on 506 *encomenderos* within the first fifty years of conquest; Ida Altman, "Spanish Society in Mexico City after the Conquest," *HAHR* 71:3 (Aug.1991): 413-445 discusses distribution of *encomienda* in Central Mexico and the economic activity of various *encomenderos*.

[17] Elizabeth A.H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), 9; Meyer and Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History,*130-131

[18] Hanns J. Prem, "Spanish Colonization and Indian Property in Central Mexico," *Annals of American Geographers* 82 no. 3 (Sept. 1992), 444-459.

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(1519-1556) and his son Felipe II (1556-1598) to attempt the abolition of encomienda through a series of reforms that provide readers insight regarding the probable abuses perpetrated by Spaniards. The New Laws of 1542 by Charles V stipulated only the governor was empowered to assign tribute from newly discovered Indian groups. Indians were not to be used as personal servants, enslaved or taken as "campaign loot." However, in the distant frontiers, encomenderos continued to behave in their own interests.[19] Only three years later, in 1543, a pandemic of European hemorrhagic fever struck the Indian population. Four year later, the pandemic ended and 80% of the Indian population was dead.[20] By the time this first wave of hemorrhagic fever subsided, the Crown was sufficiently disturbed to deny *encomenderos* the right to use Indians as "free labor." Despite this flexing of royal muscle, loopholes included the rights of encomenderos to tribute payments, which allowed some Encomenderos "…the right to commute tribute payments to labor."[21] In other words, *encomenderos'* rights to accept

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[19] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds,* 11-12.

[20] Rodolfo Acuña-Soto, Leticia Calderon Romero, and James Maguire, "Large Epidemics of Hemorrhagic Fever in Mexico, 1545-1815," *American Journal of Medical Hygiene* 62 no. 6 (2000), 733. For a comparative table that includes symptoms, longevity of illness, mortality and dates for the four major outbreaks of hemorrhagic fever in Mexico in 1545, 1576, 1736 and 1815 see Table 1, 734: see Daniel T. Reff, *Depopulation and Cultural Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991) points to the possibility that Old World diseases impacted indigenous populations prior to direct Spanish/Indian contact. If Old World disease arrived prior to Spanish observation of Indian communities, the interpretations of what Spaniards saw and documented may be limited or even wrong in some cases, where the epidemics or illness may have recently caused a change in cultural behavioral patterns regarding everything from the manner in which kinship groups lived to the acceptance of Catholicism: for an in debt examination of the impact of various outbreaks throughout the Americas see Henry F. Dobyns, "Disease Transfer at Contact," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 273-291.

[21] Susan Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of Labor Coercion on the Periphery," *Hispanic American Historical Review* v.69 no. 3 (Summer, 1989), 433 gives the date for this change as 1549; Juan and Judith Villamarin, *Indian Labor in Mainland Colonial Spanish America* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1975), 60. This work provides case studies of Mexico, Ecuador, Peru Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Paraguay and Venezuela including a large amount of quantitative data involving the utilization and success of various labor methods in different parts of Latin America.

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payment in labor simply nullified the Crown's directive that Spaniards not use Indians as free labor. Historian Susan Deeds stated that aside from *encomenderos* claiming rights to "discovered" villages, lands, and Indians brought to missions, "[they also].claimed that their service in putting down rebellion entitled them to *encomienda* grants."[22]

Conquistadores were independent and aggressive and pushed their rights to rewards they considered their rights. Gauging the independent spirit of his subjects, Charles V abandoned the New Laws. Thirty years later, his son Felipe II, determined to promote indigenous religious conversion, enacted the Comprehensive Orders for New Discoveries in 1573 to advance the ideology of conquest towards pacification. Religious education, political, property, and human rights were central. Mistreatment of Indians was forbidden, and Spaniards were to exemplify good moral character, and promote acceptance of Spanish and Catholic rule through distribution of material goods.[23] Although Indian slavery had been abolished in central Mexico twenty years earlier,[24] the enslavement of Indians continued in the northeast for nearly two centuries.

Officials attempted to control the exploration or settlement of new lands without official permission; however, in northern regions, the Crown continued to pay soldiers

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[22] Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya ,"433;for information on how *encomienda* and *repartimiento* were used and negotiated in the central regions, see Robert Haskett, "Our Suffering with the Taxco Tribute: Involuntary Mine Labor and Indigenous Society in Central New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71:3 (Aug. 1991), 447-475; see José Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda* in the Northeast of Colonial Mexico, 1577-1723" *Journal of Social History* 21:4 (Summer, 1988), 425-449 for information on northern frontier *encomenderos*.

[23] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, 11-12.

[24] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda,*" 683.

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with *encomienda* titles in newly "pacified" areas.[25] This method of rewarding soldiers easily perpetuated abuse of indigenous people. Spaniards could easily manipulate indigenous populations into aggressive reactions by provoking rebellion through any number of abuses. When the tribes reacted to the provocation and acted to protect themselves, Spaniards then "pacified" the Indians through violence. The same soldiers that caused Indians to react violently to abuses they themselves perpetrated were then awarded *encomienda* for pacifying the Indians.

In 1575, three years after Felipe II initiated the Comprehensive Orders for New Discoveries, and thirty years after the first recorded pandemic, another outbreak of hemorrhagic fever decimated 45% of the Indian population[26] while labor demands rose in the farming and ranching industries of the north. The mines and settlements required transportation routes from the center for supplies and movement of silver. Laborers were needed for agriculture, ranching, mining, commerce, security, and movement of people and goods.[27]

Another fundamental problem with distribution of *encomienda* arose when several soldiers were granted the same *encomienda*, and Indian people were obligated to

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[25] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 78, 81, 125; several works have established that *encomiendas* were not necessarily the forerunners of the hacienda; James Lockhart, "*Encomienda* and Hacienda: Evolution of the Great Estate" *HAHR* 49 no3 (Aug. 1969): 411-429; see Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda Indiana* (Madrid, 1935) *and De encomienda y propiedad territorial en unas regions de la América española* (Mexico 1940): Leslie Byrd Simpson*, The Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 196, *and Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain,* 4 volumes, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934-1940).

[26] Acuña-Soto, et al., "Large Epidemics of Hemorrhagic Fever in Mexico," 734.

[27] Powell, "Presidios and Towns," 596-597.

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pay tribute to whomever held title.[28] In Nueva Vizcaya, Captain Bernardo Gomez de Montenegro and two other Spaniards were assigned the same Concho Indian group as *encomienda* by governmental grant in 1637, 1645, and 1655.[29] Until decided by the courts or until physical violence decided ownership of indigenous labor,[30] Indians were obligated to provide tribute for three different *encomenderos*.

Scholarship on the northeastern regions has shown that *encomienda*, *repartimiento* and slavery actually existed until at least the early eighteen century in certain areas of the northeast.[31] Although the Crown theoretically stopped distribution of *encomienda* in the 1540s, it was not officially abolished until 1720;[32] however, the *repartimiento de indios* replaced *encomienda* in many areas without much real change except in terminology. The forced labor abuses continued because New Spain required an infrastructure and the Crown required tribute, so government officials were assigned

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[28] Hanns J. Prem, "Spanish Colonization and Indian Property in Central Mexico, 1521-1620," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers 82 no.* 3 (Sept. 1992): 444-445.

[29] Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya ," 437: Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 692. Although uncertain as to the outcome of this situation, we can assume Gomez de Montenegro did not forego his tribute, and new title holders, at the least, claimed a part of their legally titled tribute payments during the time proceedings were scheduled, regardless of whether the Concho group already paid tribute to someone else; see Montemayor "La *congrega* o *encomienda*," 547-551, 559-662; Hoyo, *Historia* II, 433-444.

[30] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 692.

[31] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 684; see Andrés Montemayor, "La *congrega* o *encomienda* en el Nuevo Reino de León desde finales del siglo xvi hasta el siglo xviii," *Humanitas* 11 (1970): 539-575; Eugenio del Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de León* (1577-1723) 2vols. (Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Superiores de Monterrey,: Monterrey, 1972), I, 64-173, 311-333, II, 398-401, 433-439, 486-500.

[32] Benjamin Keen, *Bartolome de las casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and His Work*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1971), 364-365. Reforms were largely based on protests by fray Bartolomé de las Casas, who had been an encomendero and changed his stance after being witness to the abuse of Indians in the Indies. The Crown conducted investigations and held conferences to review opinions and possible solutions.

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to distribute and control labor. In the northern regions abuse of indigenous populations continued for a number of reasons. Labor was necessary for mining, farming, ranching, and domestic work and demand prompted the manipulation of Indian terms of service and rights. The isolation of the northern frontier also meant fewer official avenues for complaints against abuses committed against encomienda populations. Local officials often times colluded with one another to assure their own profits and usage of Indian populations and they refused to enforce anti-slavery laws.[33]

Repartimiento

In implementing repartimiento royal officials were to calculate and allot a particular number of Indian laborers to public or private projects rather than allowing encomenderos non-regulated control.[34] Weekly rotating allotments of villages' populations were assigned to projects for a total of twenty weeks a year with pay. Ten percent were employed in agriculture and four percent in mine labor. Indians assigned to construction of buildings, roads, and bridges built New Spain's infrastructure. They also provided transportation for people, goods, and building materials throughout New Spain.[35]

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[33] Deeds, "Rural Workers in Nueva Vizcaya," 421-425 for example of Spanish on Spanish violence instigated by multiple claims to *encomienda* and *repartimiento* Indians; José Cuello "The Persistence of Indian Slavery," 692-694 for violence and court cases between Spaniards regarding *encomienda* Indians, *repartimiento* and slaves.

[34] Deeds, "Rural Workers in Nueva Vizcaya," 421; Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery, 692.

[35] L.R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1973), xiii. MacLachlan and Rodríguez, 202-203 discusses the labor obligations and transitions from a forced to a free market labor system; 206-207 discusses how Indians in sedentary communities were prone to revolt against unfair treatment. The degree of violence exhibited during this type of rebellion was not usually as brutal as that exhibited by nomadic tribes seeking to remain free of Spanish rule, rather there was a desired outcome prompting the upheaval and once satisfied, the uprising calmed; see William B. Taylor, "Patterns and Variety in Mexican Village Uprisings," in *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience*

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Although royal authorities theoretically controlled repartimiento in order to limit abuses committed against Indian people, often times authorities allowed unscrupulous labor practices or participated in the exploitation of Indians themselves.[36] Church representatives also manipulated *repartimiento* Indians for their own gains and sometimes-even children paid the price. A documented example in 1631 explained that Fray Nicholás de Origuen of Cuernavaca ordered a group of children to assist in a monastery construction project by hauling sand and rock from a pit. Tragically, a landslide in the sandpit resulted in the deaths of several children.[37]

Towards the east, mission *indios de repartimiento* in Nueva Vizcaya, during the same period, faced a different type of problem. Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries *congrega*ted Tepehuanes, Conchos, Acaxee, Xiximi, Tepehuanes, and Tarahumaras located between Sinaloa to north of Durango. Villages provided Spaniards with an

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and Acculturation, ed. John E. Kicza, 109-141 (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1993) for more specific examination, discussion of causation and description of rural rebellions in central Mexico, Mixteca Alta and the Valley of Oaxaca.

[36] Agueda Jiménez Pelayo, "Condiciones del trabajo de *repartimiento* indígena in la Nueva Galacia en el siglo XVII," *Historia Mexicana* 38 no. 3 (Jan.-Mar., 1989): 457-460: Donald Chipman, "The Traffic in Indian Slaves in the Province of Pánuco, New Spain, 1523-1533," *The Americas* 23 no.2 (Oct. 1966): 146: see Baskes, "Coerced or Voluntary" for a micro-economic analysis of *repartimiento*. He states there were three types of *repartimiento* in Oaxaca, which worked on advancement of cash or goods (money, cotton, animals), to be paid back in a variety of ways in the future (cash from sale of grains when crops came in, or finished products), 6-7. For a more detailed account of this system see Jeremy Baskes, "Colonial Institutions and Cross-Cultural Trade: *Repartimiento* Credit and Indian Production of Cochineal in Eighteenth Century Oaxaca, Mexico," *The Journal of Economic History* 65 no.1 (March, 2005): 186-210; France V. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 29-30, 73,79.

[37] Robert Haskett, "Not a Pastor but a Wolf:" Indigenous-Clergy Relations in Early Cuernavaca and Taxco," *The Americas* 50 no.3 (Jan. 1994): 302. The clerics worked with local officials to stem the flow of Indians to Taxco mines by manipulating population numbers. Since 4% of the population was to perform mine labor, the lower the population count, which was completed every 5 years, the lower the number the obligation of Indians to the mines. In 1720, local authorities and priests petitioned *repartimiento* officials in the 1720s to forgo Taxco mine obligations because Indians were needed to rebuild the churches altars and organ damaged during the earthquake, 303-304.

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organized force of *indios de repartimiento*; however, despite Indians' willingness to perform labor obligations, Spanish-owned haciendas and ranches encroached on mission Indians' agricultural plots and water supplies and seriously hindered Indians' ability to produce subsistence crops. Labor demands, disease, and drought prompted a series of revolts by the various *congrega*ted tribes in the mid-1600s.[38]

In the later developing northeastern regions, *vecinos* inhabitants or residents of a place, were not supportive of mission development because they feared their own enterprises would suffer if Indian labor became tied to missions. In the northeast, *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems continued until the late 18th century,[39] despite the official end of *repartimiento* by royal decree in 1632. Slavery was also forbidden in central Mexico by 1550; however, local officials sanctioned the continuation of compulsive labor despite official rebuttal of the practice.[40]

Rescate

One strategy utilized by local officials to permit the continuation of forced labor was the *rescate* (rescue) system. Tribes sold Indian captives to Spaniards, who claimed to employ rescued Indians as *criados* (servants) in their households. A non-hereditary debt was paid off by the purchased Indian through service to their buyer's household. Spaniards that "rescued" Indians from "barbarism" were responsible for educating them

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[38] Susan Deeds, "Mission Villages and Agrarian Patterns in a Nueva Vizcaya Heartland, 1600-1750," *Journal of the Southwest* 33 no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 349-350

[39] Charles Gibson, *Spain in America*, (New York: Harper Collins Pub, 1966), 48-67, 136-159.

[40] Charles Gibson, *Spain in America*, 62-63.

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in Catholicism and the finer attributes of Hispanic culture.[41] Apache, Navajo Utes, and other indigenous people who resided further south, including the children of mission Indians, became Spanish *criados* for "the price of a good mule or thirty to forty pesos."[42]

According to historian Donald Chipman, the finer points regarding the temporary nature of *rescate* were not followed. In one case Nuño de Guzman sold nine or ten thousand rescate Indians, captives of the local Huastecos, to Caribbean bound slave traders during his governorship in Pánuco. Sailors on ships brought horses and mules from the islands in the Caribbean and they departed the coast of Mexico with *rescate* Indians. Chipman highlighted another catalyst for Indian rebellion when he stated that Juan Pérez de Gijon, Guzman's overseer, who was responsible for identifying slaves, willingly branded and sold free Indians, as well as *rescate* Indians to slave dealers.[43] There is little chance *rescate* Indians deported to the Caribbean ever returned to their homes despite their status as temporary servants. Free Indians who were branded with slave markings succumbed to the fate of slaves at the mercy and whim of whoever wielded the branding iron.

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[41] James F. Brooks, "This Evil Extends…Especially to the Feminine Sect'" *Feminist Studies* 22 no. 2 (Summer, 1996): 279-309 discusses the role and position of Spanish and Mexican women kidnapped and traded at *rescate* trade fairs by Indians on the New Mexican frontier.

[42] Robert Archibald, "Acculturation and Assimilation in Colonial New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 (July 1978): 205-17; Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico,* 51. Women paid a high price within this system as they were susceptible to sexual assault and usage within the households

[43] Chipman, "The Traffic in Indian Slaves," 149; see William Sherman, "Indian Slavery and the Cerrato Reforms," *HAHR* 51 no.1 (Feb. 1971): 25-50 for comparisons of kidnapping and branding of Central American Indians.

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Slavery

Slavery was a suitable means to deal with non-Christian populations according to both Church and Crown. In Europe, capture and enslavement were practiced enthusiastically in times of religious war, and in 1452, Pope Nicholas V legitimized enslavement of non-Christians when he decided the King of Portugal should sell Muslim captives of war into slavery. Spaniards embraced this notion, and in addition to individuals enslaved based on religious intolerance, others convicted of crimes such as ".conspiracy, treason, soothsaying, and even wife abduction" faced similar destinies.[44]

Laborers were needed for the mining, agriculture, and ranching industries that developed to supply mining communities in northern New Spain. Slave raiding entrepreneurs answered the demands.[45] A number of individuals participated in the slave trade, including soldiers, who often times were not paid sufficiently to support themselves. They supplemented their income by slave raiding and selling their Indian captives.[46] Slave raiding was believed a fundamental right of conquest, as was slaughtering and plundering if resistance followed contact.

The leader of an expedition, (*entrada*), called an *adelantado* (proprietor), oftentimes funded expeditions himself and recruited aggressive and ambitious men to accompany him. Although conversion was the fundamental goal professed by Crown

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[44] Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, xii. Seven hundred years of Moorish control in Spain guaranteed that Iberian beliefs regarding slavery intermingled with Muslim ideas of servitude including more "humane," paternalistic treatment of household slaves or indebted servants. The Crown and Church, influenced by these "enlightened" beliefs, pushed for increasingly humane treatment of captives; John, 9.

[45] Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), Chapter 2.

[46] Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 7, 14.

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and Church, the financial gains accrued through "discovery," and conquest of people, land and subterranean wealth swelled the coffers of both.[47]

Even prior to Spanish arrival in certain regions, rumors of Spanish slave raiding and brutality evoked disdain in native communities. Offensive movements against Spaniards were initially provoked by Spanish aggression in the form of intrusion and acquisition of the physical landscape imposed by force of arms, sociopolitical and economic control, slave raiding, kidnapping, and murder. Attempts to "protect" themselves and their goods led Spaniards to develop techniques that culminated in ranging.

Several early Spanish explorers engaged in indigenous slave trading, which established precedents for poor relations between the regions Indians and subsequent Spanish settlers in northern New Spain. Nuño Beltrán de Guzman, who was previously discussed in terms of his enslavement of *rescate* Indians in Pánuco, committed atrocities against other groups.[48] Aside from his enslavement of *rescate* Indians, he kidnapped, branded, enslaved, and sold subjugated Indians from the local population around Pánuco, and central regions of New Spain. In addition, as governor of the region, he allowed local Spanish residents to enslave and sell up to thirty Indian people per year.[49]

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[47] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 23.

[48] Reff, Daniel T. Reff, *Depopulation and Cultural* Change,17-27; Donald Chipman, "New Light on the Career of Nuño de Beltrán," *The Americas* 19 no.4 (April, 1963): 341-348. Politically powerful, he was an *oidore* (judge) in the three-man *audencia* (court) that ruled New Spain during the decade after Conquest. While Cortéz was in Spain in audience with the Crown, Beltrán de Guzman stripped his supporters of wealth, and position. Fearing retaliation, he left Mexico City on expedition, at about the time Cortéz' returned. By1528 he was forced to defend himself against charges that included mistreatment of Indians

[49] Silvio Zavala, "Nuño de Guzman y la esclavitud de los indios," *Historia Mexicana* 1 no. 3 (Jan.-Mar. 1952), 411-428; Chipman "The Traffic in Indian Slaves in the Province of Pánuco" presents a different, somewhat apologist view of Guzman's Pánuco days. According to Chipman, his enslavement of local

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Ultimately, Beltrán de Guzman facilitated the exchange of as many as 10,000 slaves for horses from the Caribbean. The Pánuco region was depopulated shortly after Spanish arrival as a direct consequence of slave raiding. Those Indians who were not captured fled to other areas in order to escape enslavement.[50] Undoubtedly, the aggressive interactions were witnessed or discussed by other groups and reinforced fears of Spanish intentions.

In 1529 Beltrán de Guzman led several hundred Spaniards and seven thousand allied Tlaxcala and Aztec soldiers towards the northwest. He founded five cities in the province of Nueva Galicía while leaving footprints defined by torture, slaughter, and enslavement in northern Nayarit and central and southern Sinaloa. He dragged a Tarascan king and burned him at the stake because his people did not pay sufficient gold in ransom. Guzman also kidnapped eight thousand Tarascans for his army.[51] The impact of this event, and others like it, were clear in Cabeza de Vaca's narrative in 1539. He stated "all" indigenous people within thirty to forty leagues of Culiacán, Sinaloa feared Spanish slave raids.[52] In response to Cabeza de Vaca's mention of rumors regarding wealthy cities in the north, Franciscan priest Marcos de Niza was sent on an

populations was exaggerated by scholars that did not examine the records sufficiently to understand the situation and his reasoning and Zumárraga may have not understood the situation.

[50] Silvio Zavala, "Nuño de Guzman," 411-428.

[51] Reff, *Depopulation and Cultural Change*, 17-27: He was arrested in 1537 and extradited to Spain where he was imprisoned for his remaining years; Chipman, "New Light," 341-348 discussed the possibility that once he returned to the homeland, Beltrán de Guzman lived within the Spanish court. Although perhaps a prisoner in terms of his having to remain in Spain, he was paid a yearly salary and did not die in squalor or as a shunned individual as previously presented in other works.

[52] Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards*, 7.

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expedition and reported the sighting of the golden city of Cibola, as well as the presence of slave raiders as far as the Río Sinaloa.[53]

Immediately upon hearing of the jeweled city, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led an expedition in to the north from 1540-42. He explored a region from northern Mexico to the present-day state of Kansas. Word of Spanish cruelties had already reached the far north. Captain Melchior Díaz, military leader of the expedition, stated while he reconnoitered the route 100-150 leagues north to the "despoblado" or depopulated areas between Culiacán and Cibola, he encounter a group of Indians that "…received him coldly and with mean faces because Cibolans had told them that the Spaniards were mortal and should be killed."[54] As Coronado's expedition moved towards the tribes of the present day U.S. southwest, his actions and those of the men in his command proved brutal and without consideration of the indigenous populations as anything other than conquered people. Indians were at the mercy of Spanish soldiers. Their bodies, their goods, and their services were at the will of their Spanish conquerors and Spanish brutality proved the words of warning the Indians Díaz met between Culiacán and Cibola should have been heeded. "Spaniards were mortal and should be killed." However, that was not the case, and Spanish expansion and conquest continued.

The Cibolans and other Pueblos suffered from Coronado's nefarious expansion techniques in several ways. Cibolans tolerated Spanish presence until Coronado's people raided tribal winter food stores and clothing. Coronado answered this resistance by burning people at the stake and enslaving others. By the time Spaniards were done,

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[53] Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards*, 6-7; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 301.

[54] Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards*, 6-7; Hammond, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 301.

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thirteen Pueblo communities were destroyed, and even his own soldiers and settlers filed official complaints of abuse against him.[55]

The above-mentioned examples provide a small background on reasons for continued conflict between Spaniards and tribes throughout the Chichimeca regions and beyond during the early years of conquest. The settlers and soldiers in these regions were aware of the hostilities inherent in the relationships they shared with many of the indigenous people on the frontier. The desire for wealth pushed colonists towards the northeast, and by the 1570s groups of settlers established communities in Coahuila and Nuevo León. These regions were points of recruitment for settlers that moved to regions in present day Texas in the 1700s.

Defensive Communities and Presidios in the 1500-1700s

Coinciding with Coronado's search for gilded cities in the 1540s, the Spanish silver strike in Zacatecas was followed by silver discoveries in Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Real de Monte, Pachuca, and Parral. Although expeditions and slave raiders roamed the frontier, after the discovery of mineral wealth more permanent settlements developed rapidly and brought "[m]issionaries, slave raiders, prospectors and miners, soldiers and merchant…"[56] Native people whose experiences with Spaniards were less than cordial continued to adapt and fight encroachment and enslavement.

From the earliest period of exploration and expansion, activity in the north had been a combination of government, and privately funded excursions; however, supply

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[55] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 22-24.

[56] John Miller Morris, *El Llano Estacado: Exploration and Imagination on the High Plains of Texas and New Mexico, 1536-1869*, (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1997), 135; Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards*, 30.

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lines and silver were at stake after the 1540s and more serious measures were necessary for protection of mine productivity. As Spaniards expanded, violence with local indigenous groups increased. The paths between the mines in the north, and central regions were directly in the line of Chichimeca trade routes, hunting grounds, and raiding areas.[57]

Directly following the Conquest of the Aztecs, *encomenderos* given title to lands on the northern frontier were expected to provide armed men for frontier defense. These men, combined with alliance Indians and militia units of various types, were expected to protect themselves and localities and sustain Spanish possession of the region. Privately funded garrisons were built in towns and along communication and supply lines.[58] The main highway from the central regions to Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, and Nuevo León, the *Camino Real de la Tierra Adentro* ("Main Upcountry Highway) proved a focal point of attack and disruption during the Chichimeca War (1550-90). In 1568, the fourth viceroy, Martín Enríquez (1568-1580), established the first presidio chain financed by the Crown to protect the movement of goods (bullion), and people along the highway.[59] Between the 1560s, and 1580s, fifty small presidios were built and manned by five to fifteen soldiers each, contracted yearly and paid by the Crown; however, "[t]heir favorite

[57] Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio," 128.

[58] Jack S. Williams, "The Evolution of the Presidio in Northern New Spain," *Historical Archeology* 38 no.3 (2004): 7-8; see Table 2 for a list of the private garrisons dating from 1521-1610.

[59] Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio," 128; Williams presents location, dates of activation, and fortification types for presidios throughout New Spain from 1521-the late 1700s in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

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activities were prospecting and capturing Indian slaves. They often acted more like bands of marauders than disciplined soldiers."[60]

Two problems regarding effectiveness are immediately apparent; first, the small number of soldiers stationed at each post was problematic considering they were fighting tribes of Indians; secondly, the vastness of the Gran Chichimeca meant a presidio manned by five to fifteen men could be easily avoided or attacked without much fear of sustaining significant damage. Additionally, soldiers' entrepreneurial interests likely diminished their effectiveness as military entities acting on behalf of the crown to protect communities and travel along the highways. In turn, settlers were often soldiers and those who were not must have understood and accepted the high probability of violent encounters with indigenous groups.

Prior to Spanish invasion, Indian people traditionally employed guerilla raiding or hit and run tactics in skirmishes fought against each other to claim "…boundaries, military prestige and wives," rather than all out "wars of extermination."[61] Spanish aggression, weapons, and horses changed the nature of this type of warfare for the people of the Gran Chichimeca. By the 1580s, raids, and likely trading with other tribes that had contact with Spaniards, supplied Chichimeca warriors with horses and various weapons, including firearms. Spanish administrators were forced to employ more soldiers and presidios near allied Indian towns to deter attacks against travelers and protect goods moving along the highways.[62]

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[60] Williams, "The Evolution of the Presidio," 8.

[61] Gradie, "Discovering the Chichimeca," 82.

[62] Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio, 132, 135.

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Entrepreneurial opportunities outweighed the constant threat of death to many settlers and frontier people implemented methods of "protection." Highway travel encouraged the establishment of inns and ranches built with *casafuerte* blockhouse style defensive structures. In certain instances, innkeepers' business agreement with the government stipulated they were to have enough weaponry and equipment to arm ten men as conditions for establishing their business. Individual houses were designed to repel attacks and even wagons were built as mini-forts. Products and people traveled in groups and by wagons and pack trains protected by mounted, armed men.[63]

The small number of formal soldiers stationed in the north assured settler participation in militaristic activities. Northerners created a type of social frontier identity, defined by the acceptance of the inherent probability of violent confrontation and valued the military prowess of individuals with high honors and respect. An entire cultural identity based in violence, both defending against it, and committing violent acts, was established and individual value and honor became directly correlated to a persons' ability to perform within that cultural context. Political and economic leaders within communities were oftentimes directly connected their ability to organize soldiers, make war and protect a community by force of arms.[64] Frontier people acquainted themselves with evolving frontier warfare. As previously mentioned, horses were utilized by indigenous people more frequently and in larger numbers. Movement in the open lands of the Gran Chichimeca became faster and deadlier. Firearms became part of the indigenous arsenal either traded illegally with Spaniards or French who were increasingly

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[63] Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio, 128.

[64] Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, Chapter 2. This chapter titled "Honor and Ethnicity" deals specifically with a community in Namiquipa, Chihuahua and the surrounding populations.

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a threat from the east. Settlers learned to utilize guerilla warfare tactics, including offensive engagement of enemies utilizing hit and run strategies, night raiding, and ambush.

Nueva Vizcaya (Coahuila) and Nuevo León

The frontier regions northwest of Zacatecas were important as frontier regions; however, this study is largely based on the people and regions on the northeastern borders of the Spanish Empire. Los Adaes, San Antonio, and the Nueces Strip, (bounded by Laredo, Matamoros, and Corpus Christi) were populated by people from Nuevo León and Coahuila (Nueva Vizcaya).

The independent and militarized attitudes and actions shared by citizens in the settlements in Tejas, including ranging and fighting methods, were developed and were practiced on the northern frontiers of Coahuila and Nuevo León. The silver mines of Zacatecas were important to the settlement of the northern frontier. However, the people of Coahuila and Nuevo León largely populated Los Adaes, San Antonio, and the communities of the Nueces Strip within Nuevo Santander, (bounded by Laredo, Matamoros and Corpus Christi).

Movement of Spaniards with an appetite for acquiring mines and slaves continued in to the northeastern regions of New Spain. Saltillo in Coahuila and Monterrey in Nuevo León were established by "veteran Indian fighters of the Chichimeca Wars," and they fought Indians as well as each other for control of area resources. In 1577 Alberto de Canto led a slaving expedition of Portuguese and Bosque raiders and founded Saltillo and Monterrey, the two primary northeastern "centers of settlement." In 1582, another slave raiding expedition led by Luis Carvajal, the founder of the province of Nuevo León,

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entered the region and ranged from the Rio Grande to Tampico and Saltillo to the coast in search of Indian slaves.[65] According to historian José Cuello's work, enemy Indians in the northeast were either hunted and sold or kept in a state of forced labor within a modified encomienda system long after the system collapsed in central regions. In the northeast, the encomienda became a system of unpaid repartimiento obligations. Indians were not considered wards, they were simply seasonal workers; thus, encomenderos were not responsible for their care. Oftentimes armed encomenderos and their men hunted Indians captured them and forced labor obligations from them while enslaving their wives and daughters to assure male relatives would not flee the region.[66] Labor shortages continued in the northeast and abusive labor policies continued which in turn fueled fires of dissent.

In 1625, Nuevo León's government imposed a new brand of enslavement on the region's Indian populations. Governor Martín de Zavala implemented the *congrega* system, and entire indigenous communities were rounded up and placed in Spanish controlled *rancherías*. Like *encomienda*, the stated purpose of rounding up non-alliance Indians was to educate them in Spanish culture and religion. Captives from as far away as the Gulf Coast were sold to mining, agricultural, and ranching *congrega*.[67]

Along with the Spanish, Portuguese, and Bosque colonizers to the northeast, certain Indian populations were central to the way the northeastern regions developed militarized community traditions. Allied Indians facilitated the creation of a cultural and

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[65] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 685.

[66] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 686-693.

[67] Patricia Osante, *Orígenes Del Nuevo Santander, 1748-1772*, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1997), 34-39; Miller, 6-7, 11-13.

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physical space where safety and prosperity were central in the minds of those actively cooperating with the conquerors. Allied Indians contributed their bodies to the regional survival efforts by laboring in the fields, ranges, and mines, and like their Spanish neighbors, participated in civil militia. There were various regions where Indian allies fought with Spaniards in the northern frontier; however, settlers and presidio soldiers that built the foundations of communities in Tejas and Nuevo Santander in the early to mid-eighteenth century came from these regions. The cooperative relations between citizens of Spanish descent and allied Indians were recorded in these experiences.

Indian Communities and Cooperative Citizen Militia

Several Indian villages and mining towns provided foundations for the major centers in the northeast and were connected to each other based on familial ties, trade routes, and a tradition of frontier experience.[68] As early as 1591, four hundred Tlaxcalan families were recruited around Mexico City to settle in the village of San Esteban in the Saltillo Valley to become stockmen, ranchers, and to fight the Chichimeca.[69] In 1598, the Chichimeca-Tlaxcalan pueblo of Parras, eighty miles west of Saltillo was settled, as was the mining town of Mazapil, about a hundred miles to the southwest of Saltillo. The area surrounding Monterrey was the trade center for several mines that produced silver and lead used in processing silver, the most important of which was San Gregorio de Cerralvo.[70]

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[68] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 685.

[69] David Adams, "Embattled Borderlands: Northern Nuevo León and the Indios Barbaros, 1680-1870," *The Southwest Historical Quarterly* 95:no. 2 (Oct. 1991):205.

[70] Cuello, "The Persistence of Indian Slavery and *Encomienda*," 685.

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Allied Indians developed their own communities, and as time progressed, impacted the region in a variety of ways. Almost one hundred years after the first Tlaxcalan families settled San Esteban, their descendants established the town of Bustamante (San Miguel de Aguayo), Nuevo León in 1686, and they were also militarized communities. Within a few years they became mine operations and influenced the development of the Spanish mining camp of Villaldama, which depended on San Miguel and San Antonio Valenzuela to support their supply needs. Bustamante's Indian population pacified and settled the Chichimecas, known as the Alazapa people, who became civil militiamen in the pueblo of San Antonio Valenzuela, and two other groups at San Bernardino de la Candela, in Coahuila, and Punta de Lampazos in Nuevo León.[71] The descendants of these frontier Tlascalan people became members of the Segunda Compañia Volante, an important flying company that will be discussed in the following chapters.

Civil militiamen from the allied Indian towns of Bustamante and Valenzuela were responsible for protection of the passes through the mountains leading to the Valle de Santiago. They were armed like their Spanish counterparts and sometimes campaigned with other militia groups from communities in the area or with regular troop, and "…they campaigned…as far as the Sierra de Tamaulipas." The militiamen were lauded for protecting Monterrey from invasion by "indios barbaros" or hostile Indians and for protecting the people at the mining community of Boca de Leónes. Local defense also included local residents (by this time likely mesitizo) including Indian allies, employed in civilian militias. Interestingly, a formal presidial force was not assigned to Nuevo León

[71] Adams, "Embattled Borderlands," 206-212. Otomíes and Tarascans from central regions also influenced the border regions; however, more in depth studies are necessary.

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until 1782 when a "compañia volante" or swift, mobile, flying company of light cavalry, was established in Lampazos. Half of the company was reassigned to Texas in the early nineteenth century and included descendants of those previously mentioned Tlaxcalans who settled the northern frontier as Spanish allies.[72]

By the later portion of the eighteenth century the lands around San Antonio, La Bahía, and Nacogdoches had been settled by Spanish colonists for many years. From the Nueces River to the Rio Grande, Nuevo Santander had been a colony for fifty years, and ranchlands had been distributed to ranchers along both the Rio Grande and the Nueces. In the regions defined by Spanish authorities as Tejas and Nuevo Santander, Indians of various tribal affiliations were settled and depended on resources from lands usurped by Spaniards for their herds, crops, and homes. Violence remained a significant issue throughout both regions and Spaniards clashed with Indian people who refused to accept Spanish domination. In the northern communities of Tejas and Nuevo Santander, the presidio soldiers and settlers originally from the regions of Nuevo León, and Coahuila, defended themselves on a frontier constantly threatened by enemy Indians or foreigners with eyes on Spanish possessions.

Conclusion

The forced labor and slave systems imposed by Spanish conquerors demanded that indigenous people of various tribal affiliations acquiesce or fight for survival. Aside from the various tribes of the Gran Chichimeca, who simply refused to accept Spanish control, various forms of abusive and inhumane treatment meant continued turmoil among Spanish settlers, soldiers, and enemy Indians of New Spain. The numerous

[72] Adams, "Embattled Borderlands," 212-213.

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brutalities committed against Indian bodies through invasion, *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, *rescate*, *congrega* slavery, and outright extermination led to violent responses by Indians unwilling to cooperate with Spanish demands. The warfare on the northern frontier in particular, led Spanish officials and colonists to develop techniques influenced by guerilla warfare historically employed by northern tribes against each other. Mounted, armed, and reinforced groups scouted across the landscape and searched for Indians in an effort to ambush them, either as retaliation for raiding or to capture slaves.

After the discovery of silver in the Zacatecas region, the movement of slave raiders and settlers towards the northeast in search of slaves and silver, resulted in the establishment of presidios and communities along the far northern frontiers of Nuevo León and Coahuila. Communities in these regions were settled by New Spanish subjects who were slave hunters, miners, farmers, ranchers, or allied Indians that may have been any of these as well. These colonists were responsible for defense of the region and were organized either as civil militia, as encomenderos that utilized a force of armed men recruited from his tribute payers, allied Indian militia men, or regular soldiers. While defending themselves, they simultaneously searched the region for Indian labor by using mounted, armed troops that scoured (ranged) the wilderness in search of encomienda Indians. Traditions were exported to the communities of present-day Texas by people raised within a culture of violence and trained in frontier ranging and fighting methods.

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CHAPTER 2

MILITARIZED POPULATIONS: 18TH CENTURY TEJAS AND NUEVO SANTANDER

I sat in the wooden pews of Mission San José in San Antonio, Texas and enjoyed the peace of the place. A cool breeze pushed through the open wooden doors and the scent of burning mesquite lingered on the wind. In the natural light of the church the faces of the saints softly smiled down at me, and I wondered about the lives of the people who built this place. It is quiet here, but as I listen to the silence I can almost hear the sound of hooves pounding the ground outside as anxious horses wait for their riders to return to them. Perhaps the riders came in to Mission San José before an expedition to range in search of horses, cattle, or simply to assault enemy populations, and decided a prayer was in order. Children cry and priests direct the daily activities of the mission, and in my mind's eye Spanish riders mount their horses and leave the compound waving goodbye to their loved ones.

This chapter examines the establishment of militarized communities in the provinces of Tejas, particularly Los Adaes (Nacogdoches), San Antonio and La Bahía (Goliad), and Laredo in Nuevo Santander. Within these regions, military families with strong backgrounds in frontier survival, including both military and ranching experience, were active participants in the establishment of these communities. Although there were many settlements, members of clans that were active in the communities here noted, became formally recognized Texas Rangers from the 1830s until the 1880s. Ranging methods were nothing new to Tejano Rangers whose forefathers had been ranging the frontiers for generations.

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Migration to the Northeast

Indian Conflict

Interactions between Spaniards and Indians on the northeastern frontier varied and evolved through time. Similar to the movement of Indian people based on Spanish invasion of the Gran Chichimeca, Anglo Americans invaded the Great Plains regions of the U.S. Plains tribes from the north were pushed from their territories towards the south and west and came in to conflict with Spanish settlers in Tejas, Nuevo León and Coahuíla. Along with the tribes that roamed the Gran Chichimeca, these northern Indians became factors in the development of settlement, and warfare patterns in the northeastern frontiers of New Spain by the early eighteenth centuries.[1]

Although certain groups of Spaniards and Indians shared treaties, trade, and alliances, relationships were often tentative and fragile. The Apache and Comanche people roamed a corridor between Tejas and Nuevo Santander and followed it down to Coahuíla and Nuevo León from the early 1700s to the mid-nineteenth century. Patricia Osante, in her work *Orígenes Del Nuevo Santander, 1748-1772* claimed Indian and Spanish conflict between 1709 and 1714 resulted in the deaths of at least 1,000 people and the theft of 40,000 head of sheep in the northern frontier.[2] Between 1771-1779 one hundred and sixteen ranches and haciendas were abandoned, 1,624 people had been

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[1] See Pekka Hämäläinen*, The Comanche Empire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Jackson, *Los Mesteños*.

[2] Patricia Osante, *Orígenes Del Nuevo Santander, 1748-1772*, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1997), 34-39. Her research did not include the number of Indigenous people murdered, kidnapped or molested by Spaniards during this period; Hubert J. Miller, *Jose de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander,* (Edinburg, Texas: The New Santander Press, 1980), .6-7, 11-13.

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killed, one hundred fifty-seven people had been kidnapped, and Apache warriors appropriated 68,256 head of livestock in the region.[3] Local civilian militia units periodically combined with regular troops and fought with little support from the national government.[4] Officials planned to utilize the settlements in Tejas and Nuevo Santander as buffers between enemy tribes and the more densely populated regions of Mexico. They may have succeeded at limiting the incursion of northern tribes into central Mexico, but they were not entirely successful at keeping frontier people safe. Throughout the colonial period, communities shared both alliance and violent relationships with indigenous people;[5] however, as late as 1870 northerners suffered the repercussions of continue hostilities evident by the thirty people who were killed in Lampazos, Nuevo León before regular troops and local militiamen routed Comanche warriors.[6] The point is that cooperative relationships between soldiers and local people, forged in the fires of sustained frontier violence for three hundred years, continued in northern Mexico and Texas as late as the 1870s. Indian conflict was central to the way frontier communities and people developed. The other reason for the initial establishment of settlements along the far northern frontier line was fear of foreign incursion.

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[3] Ernest Wallace and David M. Vigness, eds., D*ocuments of Texas History, Vol. 1 (1528-1546)*, (Lubbock: Library, Texas Technologies College, 1960), 24-25; Chipman, Spanish Texas, 191.

[4] Adams, *Conflict and Commerce on the Rio Grande*, 212.

[5] See Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* for examples of antagonisms and conflict between Spaniards and tribes in the Gran Chichimeca.

[6] Adams, *Conflict and Commerce on the Rio Grande,* 205, 220.

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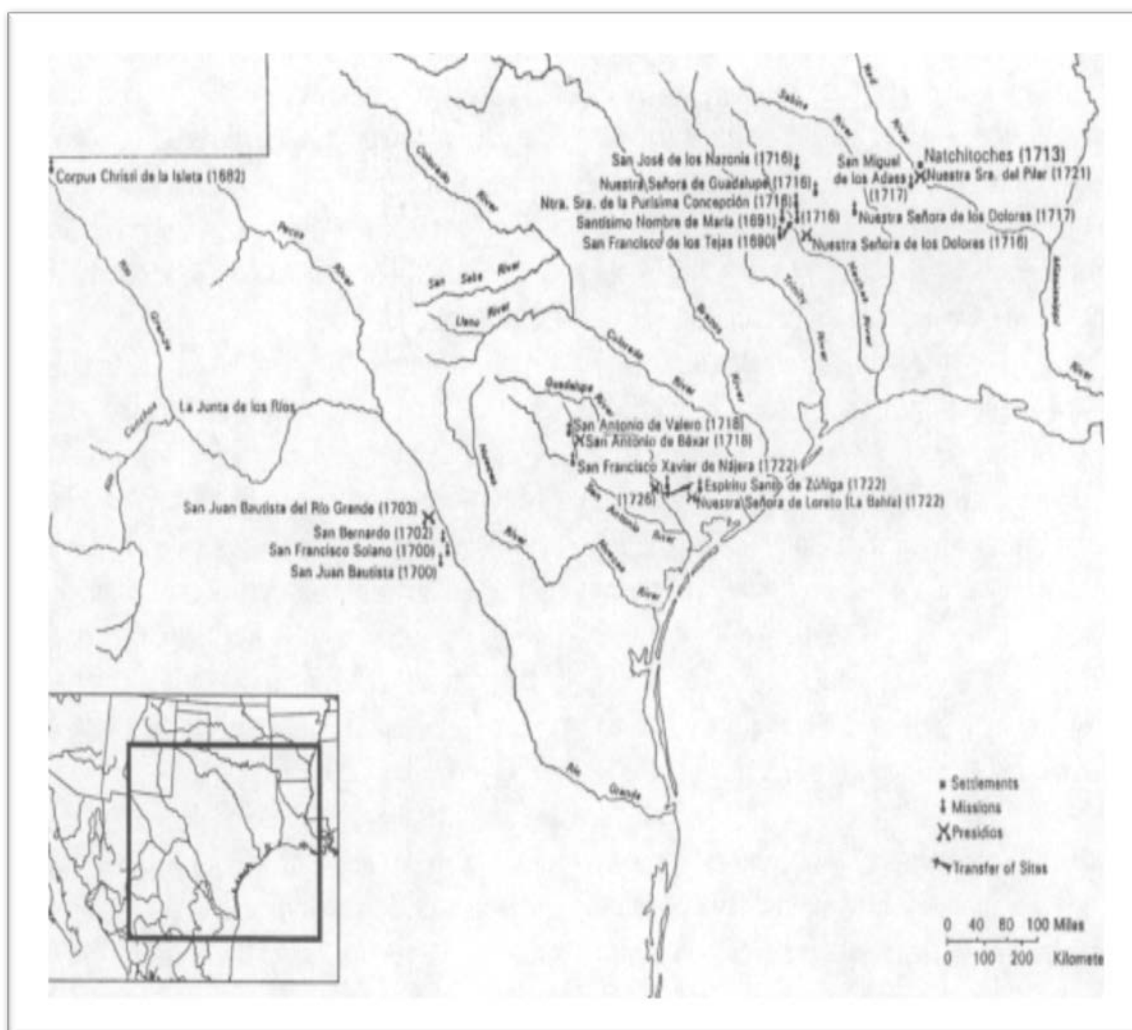

Figure 2 Eighteenth Century Northern New Spain's Missions and Presidios of Texas and Louisiana

Source: James E. Ivy, "The Presidios of San Antonio de Béxar: Historical Archeology Research, *Historical Archeology* 38:3 (2004), 107.

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Foreign Incursion

Despite tentative alliances between the French and Spanish Crowns in the 17th century, Spanish officials discovered French plans for territorial acquisition of New Spanish lands. During the interrogation of captured "pirate" Denis Thomas in1686[7] the twenty year old, who was previously a sailor on a French expedition led by René Robert Cavaelier, Sieur de La Salle, admitted that French intentions were to claim portions of far northern Spanish lands. By navigating the Mississippi and establishing settlements and fortifications along the Gulf Coast the French hoped to gain a foothold on lands claimed by Spain.[8] In addition to Thomas' claims, in 1699 the governor of Havana also received intelligence that England planned to invade Spanish colonies in Georgia and Florida.[9] The European arena was in turmoil and throughout the Americas colonial holdings and relationships between neighboring powers were in transition.

Despite the fact that Spain and France were allies, the Spanish response to Thomas' information was swift. Officials in New Spain immediately began efforts to

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[7] James E. Bruseth and Toni S Turner, *From a Watery Grave: The Discovery and Excavation of La Salle's Shipwreck, La Belle*, College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 7-8.

[8] Robert S. Weddle, *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle*, 2nd ed. (College Station, Texas, Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 2-14. The author's introduction is very interesting and provides different insight from the first as this edition was produced after the discovery of La Salle's sunken ship the *Belle* at Green's Bayou in 1995, the diary of Enríque Battoto, Jean Baptist Minet's two-part journal, and interrogation records of two surviving members of La Salle's expedition, Pierre and Jean Baptist Talon. See also "The Enrique Barroto Diary" in Robert S. Weddle et. al, eds., *La Salle, the Mississippi, and the Gulf: Three Primary Documents* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 171-75; J. Barto Arnold III, "The Texas Historical Commission's Underwater Archeological Survey of 1995 and the Preliminary Report on the Belle, La Salle's Shipwreck of 1686," *Historical Archeology* 30, no. 4 (1996): 66-87; Curtis Tunnel, "A Cache of Cannon: La Salle's Colony in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 no. 1 (July, 1998), 19-43.William Foster, ed., *The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel*, (Austin: Texas State Historical Commission, 1998).

[9] Gilberto Cruz*, Let There Be Towns: Spanish Municipal Origins in the American Southwest,* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1988), 52.

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populate the north. In 1688 the governor of Coahuíla, Captain Alonso de León, headed towards east Texas to show a Spanish presence on the Louisiana and Tejas frontier. He happened upon French survivors of La Salle's expedition living among the Indians on the Gulf Coast of Tejas.[10] Apparently Thomas' information had been reliable.

As time passed the French increased their presence, and settlements sprang up in the Lower Mississippi Valley; Biloxi was founded in 1699, followed by Mobile in 1702, Natchitoches in 1713 and New Orleans in 1718.[11] Natchitoches and New Orleans, in particular, became important points of trade and commerce, and sanctuary for refugee revolutionaries from Texas in later years. Considering these developments and ongoing contentions between Spaniards and Indians, upon hearing of French incursions, Spanish officials settled the northern frontier region without hesitation. San Antonio de Bexár, Los Adaes, and La Bahía were founded during this tumultuous period. Nuevo Santander was established in the mid-1700s, and at that time, colonial concerns continued to center on protection against foreigners and northern non-sedentary tribes.

Tejas

Founded in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the three communities of Los Adaes, (1716), San Antonio (1718), and La Bahía (1721), like San Juan Bautista, were mission presidio complexes. As in Coahuíla and Nuevo León, a pattern of activities and responsibilities created a frontier culture defined by clerical representatives were responsible for education of Indians, and religious needs of Spanish soldiers and their

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[10] Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards*, 214.

[11] Cruz, *Let There Be Towns,* 52.

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families. Soldiers were responsible for protection of the frontier and the settlements against non-alliance Indians, referred to by Spaniards as "indios bárbaros." Mission Indians were theoretically converts to the Catholic faith and lived within or in proximity to the missions. They were responsible for the agricultural labor and the manual labor that built and sustained the missions and included stock raising, farming, artisan work, and stoop labor. High-ranking officials were charged with the safety and survival of the community.[12]

Variations in settlement patterns and characteristics were evident in the three Tejas locations. In the eastern region of Los Adaes, distance from the central government in miles produced a neglected, independent minded population whose business and trade interests were both profit and survival. They turned towards the French at Natchitoches, and the Hasanai Confederacy for economic and social connections. The distance from both central governmental control and help produced people who were less concerned with following the rules created by a distant government. In San Antonio military men were responsible for soldiering and law enforcement. Citizens oftentimes provided reinforcement for the limited number of men stationed in the presidio whether in a law enforcement or Indian fighting capacity. Hostilities between San Antonio area residents and Indian people were common and required attention, both in terms of negotiations and armed confrontation. In La Bahía soldiers were responsible for both coastal and local community defense. Soldiers protected against foreign incursion, including smuggling, and supported the La Bahía Mission population from enemy tribes.

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[12] See Alonzo, *Thread of Blood*, Chapters 1-2.

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The Crown offered land grants as incentives for both soldiers and civilian settlers to travel to the furthest outposts of the Spanish Empire. Frontier families connected through marriage and kinship while veteran frontier fighters trained new generations and newcomers to the region in fighting techniques that included guns, horseback warfare, hit and run tactics, and raiding.[13] These characteristics were common Texas Rangers fighting techniques in the early-19th century as well. The tradition of ranging among the population of Los Adaes began even prior to the arrival of recruits to east Texas.

Los Adaes

The early settler soldiers of Los Adaes came from frontier regions of Zacatecas, Zelaya and Saltillo, regions historically protected by ranging citizen soldiers and militias. Early settlers served their military duty, retired and remained in the Los Adaes region. They and their descendants were experienced military personnel who farmed, ranched, and lived within a frontier community where they shared both cordial and conflicting relationships with indigenous people.[14]

The family histories in this story begin with the establishment of a Spanish presence, albeit temporary, in northeastern Texas in the 1690s. An expedition by Captain Alonso de León included a young soldier named Diego Ramón. Diego Ramon was the son of the famous frontier fighter, Sgt. Major Joseph Ramon from Queretaro, whose feats were recognized throughout Nuevo León and Coahuíla. Diego Ramón will be discussed

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[13] See Powell, *Genesis of the Frontier Presidio*; Susan Deeds, " Tenure Patterns in Northern New Spain," *The Americas* 41:4 (April 1985): 446-461; Susan Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of Labor Coercion on the Periphery," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 69:3 (Aug., 1989): 425-449.

[14] Francis X. Galán, "Glimpses of Life at Los Adaes," Texas Beyond History, University of Texas, http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/life.html.

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in detail shortly; however, he is a prime example of a frontier rancher and soldier, descended from frontier rancher soldiers, and whose children became frontier ranchers and soldiers. Likely granted land for his military service, as his father before him, and his children, he became the owner of a huge hacienda called Carrizalejo in Coahuíla. He was a member of several expeditions in to the northern regions and ultimately became the third governor of Coahuíla. After his political activities as governor, he helped found several missions and ultimately became the Captain of the presidio mission complex of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande in 1702.[15] His activities and the activities of his children show continuity in familial military activities on the far northern frontier of New Spain.

On April 12, 1716, Domingo Ramón, son of Captain Diego Ramón, commander of the San Juan Bautista presidio on the Rio Grande, led an expedition to the central and eastern regions of present day Tejas. He established a Spanish military presence and the first mission in Texas, including San Francisco de los Tejas, built along the disputed eastern border of Spanish Tejas and French populated Louisiana.[16]

Kinship ties within the military establishment of the frontier was evident by the participation of several family members in the events connected to the population of Texas. Captain Domingo Ramón, whose father Captain Diego Ramón, mentioned above, had initially explored the east Texas region, was welcomed to San Juan Bautista by his

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[15] John Inclan, "The Descendants of Major Diego Ramon," http://www.somosprimos.com/inclan/majordiegoramon.htm; Robert S. Weddle, "RAMON, DIEGO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fra23), accessed June 09, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[16] Chipman, *Spanish Texas,* 111-112.

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father. In his diary Diego Ramón formally wrote of his approach to his father's presidio. He wrote, "[t]he captain of said presidio, Sergeant Major Diego Ramón, my father, accompanied by other officials and soldiers, came out to receive us in two lines and we returned the courtesy by firing our harquebuses…"[17] Along with his interaction with his father, Sergeant Major Diego Ramón, Captain Doming Ramón was accompanied on his expedition by his brother and fellow officer Second Lieutenant Diego Ramón. His son, Seargent Diego Ramon, was also with him. In the coming years Captain Domingo Ramón and his son Diego Ramón would become leaders of the Presidio La Bahía; however, in 1716 Diego Ramón's concern was to gain permission to be the best man for one of his fellow soldiers.[18] The expedition successfully imposed a Spanish presence in the borderlands of east Tejas and Louisiana and relations with the French in Louisiana developed in a cautious manner.

Although trade between the French and Spanish was illegal per Spanish law, commercial and trade relationships between French, Spanish, and local Caddo and Adais people became increasingly normal through time. The War of the Quadruple Alliance in Europe pitted Spanish and French against one another in 1719 and served as a catalyst for hostilities in the colonies. After he received word of the European conflict between Spanish and French forces in Europe, Lt. Philippe Blondel of the French Natchitoches presidio led seven men in an attack on the Spanish Mission San Miguél de Linares de los Adaes. After they stole the vestments and anything else they could find, French soldiers

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[17] Debbie S Cunnningham, "The Domingo Rámon Diary of the 1716 Expedition into the Province of the Tejas Indians: An Annotated Translation," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterl*y 10:1 (July 2006), 38-67.

[18] Cunningham, "The Domingo Rámon Diary," 48.

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also attempted to take chickens as war booty. Blondel captured chickens from the coop and tied several of his prizes to his saddle horn. The chickens became agitated and spooked Blandel's horse. He was thrown, and in the excitement of the moment one of the two prisoners captured by the French escaped and warned Spaniards of a rumored oncoming French invasion.[19] The people of Los Adaes, led by Captain Domingo Ramón, fled to San Antonio and did not return until 1721 when the Marquis de San Miguél de Aguayo set out to fortify the eastern border once again. He traveled with 500 soldiers, 2,800 horses, and 6,400 sheep and goats.[20] Historian Donald Chipman wrote, "The Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo [had] anchored Spanish Texas at three vital points: Los Adaes, Garcitas Creek [later Goliad], and San Antonio."[21] Near the Neches River, the Marquis built the presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes. The fortified settlement was the new capital of Tejas, and was manned by 100 soldiers and protected by 6 cannons.[22]

Los Adaes was built twelve miles from the French trade settlement of Natchitoches, in proximity to present day Robeline, Louisiana. Settlers were important to Tejano Ranger history because the people of this region ultimately became the founders and settlers of Nacogdoches. Many of the Spanish surnamed men from within this

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[19] Robert S. Weddle, "CHICKEN WAR," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qfc02), accessed June 13, 2013.

[20] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 167-168.

[21] Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 128.

[22] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 167-168.

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community volunteered and fought for Texas Independence and were members of the Texas Ranger corp.

One hundred soldiers remained in Los Adaes after Aguayo's departure and they defined frontier cultural norms in the regions. The initial population of soldiers recruited to serve in Los Adaes in 1721 came from Saltillo, Zelaya, and Zacatecas, frontier regions with a history of formal military, Indian fighting, and civilian militia. Thirty-one of the presidial soldiers brought families and became permanent settlers after retirement. Many of the single soldiers lived within Los Adaes, while soldiers with families established farms and ranches in outlying lands that were worked by both family members and servants. Those who gained the support of the governor became minor officers and were able to establish larger ranches.[23]

In terms of occupations, people of Los Adaes were soldiers, farmers, cowboys, muleteers, blacksmiths, guitar players, carpenters, tailors, barbers, grave-diggers, and traders. Soldiers were likely employed in the same manner as the French at the Presidio St. Jean Baptiste in Natchitoches. They worked 48 hours as soldiers and 48 hours off, during which time they labored in various endeavors. The Natchitoches French traded horses, cattle, and sheep with Los Adaes ranchers, despite Spanish law forbidding trade with foreign nations. Trade proved to be a binding activity for the people of these outlying regions, along with a shared frontier existence and Roman Catholic religion. Soldier-cowboys of Los Adaes were considered excellent horsemen, and although they

[23] Francis X. Galán, "Los Adaes: Glimpses of Life," University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts, http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/life.html.

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were described as "savage" in dress, they were "…efficient with carbine and broadsword," according to French traveler Pierre Marie Francois de Pages.[24]

In 1727 the King of Spain sent Pedro de Rivera y Villalón on a royal inspection, and he presented a series of suggestions to answer the presidial shortcomings he witnessed. He suggested closure of certain *presidio*s based on the enormity of abuses and/or inefficiencies. Rivera considered the Presidio de los Tejas unnecessary since the missions guarded by the presidio stood without converts. Rivera was satisfied with the guard and leadership of Joséph Ramón, but pushed for a decrease in the number of soldiers assigned to the presidio.[25] The Crown basically demanded a cessation of frontier violence, but a decrease in the cost of running presidios.[26] The Regulations of 1729 were the result of Rivera's report, and stipulated a decrease in the overall manpower not only of Presidio de los Tejas, but three others as well. Los Adaes troop numbers dropped from 100 to 60, La Bahía's numbers fell from 90 to 40, and San Antonio lost 10 men and went from 54 soldiers to 44. Presidio de los Tejas closed despite the pleas of the attached Mission Concepcíon, Mission San Francisco, and Mission San Jóse. Missionaries argued the *presidio* was the only protective force for miles and that they

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[24] Galán, "Los Adaes: Glimpses of Life," http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/life.html.

[25] Bexar Archive Translation, (referred to as BAT from here on) Box 2C14 v.1, 214-224, dated 1727, Series of letters between Marqúes de Casafuerte and Brigadier Pedro de Rivera discussing clerical requests for the utilization of soldiers to force Indians to settle in Los Adaes missions. Letters discussed the one hundred troops left in Los Adaes by Aguayo, and established that Rivera did not believe troops should be dispatched in forces larger than 2-3 soldiers when accompanying the religious to Indian rancherias so as not to provoke hostility from Indians who may feel threatened in to conversion by a large show of Spanish forces; see Marquis de Aguayo Papers (1720-1722), Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, Box 2Q299 for a copy of Aguayo's diary of the expedition; Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 130-133.

[26] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier* 214.

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would be unprotected against hostilities without presidial support. The problem was resolved by relocating the missions to Barton Springs in Austin, and then to San Antonio in 1730.[27] The missions still stand as part of the 5-mission complex in San Antonio.

Thirty years later the scope of the clerical inability to convert local Adais and Caddo Indians was obvious, and in 1768 the College of Nuestra Señora Guadalupe de los Zacatecas recalled members of the clergy from Los Adeas. Although local Indian folk were not interested in conversion, they had fairly good trade relations with both the Spanish and French. By 1762 the soldier-settler-citizens in Los Adaes and the surrounding ranches numbered about five hundred people. The New Regulations for Presidios in 1772 ordered the closure of all presidios in Texas except Bexár and La Bahía. The resettlement of Los Adaesaños to San Antonio changed life for the people of Los Adaes. Governor Ripperdá ordered community leader Antonio Gil Ybarbo to prepare residents to relocate to San Antonio in five days. Soldiers were ordered to continue their military duty at Bexár. Upon hearing the news some citizens actually fled to the woods, refusing to abandon their homes. Most complied and began the three-month march to San Antonio. Along the road many Los Adaeseños perished while others were simply in misery. They left homes without tools or means of support or survival except what they could carry. Once in San Antonio, the group appointed Ybarbo as their leader. Ybarbo was a solider born to a military family at Los Adaes, and the owner of Rancho Lobanillo, the largest ranch in the Los Adaes region. He was married to María Padilla, and she remained at the Rancho Lobanillo along with her son while her husband

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[27] Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 131.

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dealt with the difficulties of relocation, including formulation of a means by which to return.[28]

In San Antonio seventy-five men signed a petition requesting that they be allowed to return to their homes in east Texas. Ybarbo and his friend Gil Flores, another soldier from Los Adaes, along with allied Caddoan Chief El Texito traveled to Mexico City to plead their case before Spanish officials. Ybarbo was granted permission to establish a new settlement on the lower Trinity, and was appointed captain of the settlement. Flores was Lieutenant, and El Texito was named Indian Captain of the new location that they called Bucarelí. The settlement was established in 1774 and Ybarbo funded the development of the locality; however, hostile relations with Comanche between 1777 and 1779 led to the abandonment of the location and the resettlement of the Los Adaesaños in closer proximity to El Texito's people at the former Nacogdoches mission.[29] Ybarbo immediately established and led a local citizen militia.[30]

Correspondence related to the occupation of land in Nacogdoches informs readers that Ybarbo was land wealthy and generous with his family. In 1779 Ybarbo, who was the captain of the militia, and Lieutenant Governor of Nacogdoches wrote a contract that stated his daughter and her husband Juan Ignacio Guerrero, a smith by trade, were

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[28] Chipman, *Spanish Texas,* 188-190.

[29] Francis X. Galán, "Los Adaes: Final Years," University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts, http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/final.html.

[30] Bexar Archive, Letter Cabello to Croix, April 5, 1779, 236:12 frame 1030, Letter regarding establishment of militia corps at Nacogdoches. Cabello was not sure exactly where Ybarbo was settled, but knew he had abandoned Nacogdoches. Told Croix he would communicate with him as soon as he located Ybarbo.

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entitled to settle a ranch on his lands in Attoyac.[31] Ybarbo's family continued the tradition of military service, as did Gil Flores' relations.

Not all Adaeseños joined Ybarbo when he left San Antonio. Of the citizens that did not go to Bucarelí, forty-five of them received parcels of land around San Antonio after the 1793 secularization of Mission San Antonio de Valero. Some individuals joined civilian society at the Villa de San Fernando while others remained in military service at the presidio at San Antonio de Bexár. A few soldiers remained at presidio La Bahía during the exodus from Los Adaes, and remained in military service there.[32]

Of forty-five settlers that received parcels of land from the Spanish government and remained in San Antonio, Manuél Berban exemplifies the lineage of military community kinship ties. He became a councilman and attorney in San Antonio and was an active leader in the community. Berban was the son of military man Lt. Joséph Gonzales, the military leader at Los Adaes who was plagued by illness and died on the march to San Antonio. Berbán's mother was Victoria Berbán (spelled both Derbanne and H'Derbanne), the daughter of a Natchitoches presidio soldier.[33] This kind of military kinship connection from generation to generation was common and supported acceptance and participation within a culture of violence on the frontier. Many frontier people were products of marriages of two people of military heritage. Years of Indian conflict, and

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[31] BAT, Contract between Gil Ybarbo and Juan Ignacio Guerrero concerning management of ranch near Attoyac, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexár/image_lg.php?doc=e_bx_002889&rel=e_bx_000986.

[32] Francis X. Galán, "Los Adaes: Legacy of Los Adaes," University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/legacy.html.

[33] Francis X. Galán, "Los Adaes: Legacy," University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts, http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/legacy.html.

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participation in militias trained the population of Nacogdoches. The descendants of early Adaeseños became Texas Rangers under Captain Collins and Captain Luís Sánchez in the late 1830s. The surnames of early settlers registered in census documents of early Los Adaes and Nacogdoches were repeated in Ranger Muster Rolls in the 1830s. The Ybarbo, Flores, Sepulveda(o), Martínez, Lopez, Mora and Sánchez clans were all represented in the Army of the Republic between in 1836-1845.[34]

The military kinship ties in San Antonio were lengthy and families likely communicated and were constantly in contact with each other, considering the community was not large. Berbán, Menchaca, Ruiz, and Cabrera military and ranching families intermarried through the years.[35] Tejano Ranger Juan Berbán, a descendant of Manuél Berban, served under Captain José María Gonzales in 1839. John Coffee Hays, famous for his U.S.-Mexican War leadership of a brutal force of Texas Rangers, served with these men soon after his arrival in Texas. Being in proximity to members of Tejano families who for generations fought and worked on the plains between San Antonio and the Presidio La Bahía likely presented some lessons for the young Hays. He became the leader of a Spy Company manned by Tejano Rangers after his service with several Tejanos including Berban in Gonzales' company.[36] This company will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, but the point is that Tejano founding families impacted the

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[34] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins, Nacogdoches Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia AGR, TRR, TM, TSLA, 401-717:11 include Vital Flores and his children: Muster roll, Luís Sánchez, Texas Mounted Militia, AGR, TRR, TM, TSLA, 401:720:37.

[35] Stephen Gibson, "Cabrera Family," *Bexár**genealogy**.com/archives/familyfiles/cabrera.rtf;* Stephen Gibson, Menchaca Family," *Bexár**genealogy**.com/archives/familyfiles/cabrera.rtf.*

[36] Muster roll, John Hays Mounted Spy Company, Bexár, AGR, TRR, TSLA.

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future of Texas by sharing the traditions they established on the frontier with Anglo newcomers. San Antonio Tejanos also played a significant role in spreading Texas frontier ranging and fighting culture.

San Antonio

In 1708 an expedition led by the commander of the Rio Grande presidio, Captain Pedro de Aguirre, arrived in the area of present day San Antonio and established the foundations for settlement.[37] On May 1, 1718 the mission of San Antonio de Valero, or El Alamo, was founded along the San Antonio River, and was shortly followed by the formal recognition of the military outpost Villa de Bexár by Captain Martín de Alarcón, five days later.[38] Numerous descendants of the troops that first arrived with Alarcón and shortly thereafter, continued in military service and gained status within the newly developing settlement. Groups intermarried and developed kinship bonds that remained interwoven for generations. Children grew up and replaced parents in positions of importance within the sociopolitical and economic arenas. The Ramón, Urrutia, Menchaca, Pérez, and Navarro clans provide examples of 18th century San Antonio military families connected through kinship ties, frontier military experience, ranching, and class status. These frontier families were composed of seasoned soldiers, ranchers, and horsemen. They fought together, defended and raided against Indians of various

[37] Cruz, *Let There Be Towns*, 56-57

[38] Ramiro Sánchez, *Frontier Odyssey: Early Life in a Texas Spanish Town* (Austin, Texas: Jenkins Publishing Company, San Felipe Press, 1981), 15; Cruz, *Let There Be Towns,* 58 refers to this date as May 1, 1718.

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nations, and enforced the law. Many of their descendants became Texas Revolutionary fighters, and Texas Rangers.

Family Ties

The story of José de Urrutia serves as an interesting point of departure, since he is an example of social mobility through marriage and continuity of military service through family lines. He and his brother Toribio Urrutia arrived in New Spain from Basque county as young men. José Urrutia immediately sought out a military appointment, and joined Don Domingo Téran de los Ríos' expedition in to Tejas to establish a presidio on the Neches River on the Louisiana-Tejas line in the 1690s. Because of an injury he received during the return trip to the settlements of northern Coahuíla, he remained with the Indians of the San Marcos or Colorado River for seven years. He learned the language and customs of several tribes during his time with the indigenous populations of Tejas. In later years he was directed to establish lines of communication and alliances with groups that were enemies of the Apache, and the relationships he built with various tribes became significant.[39]

Upon his return from Indian country Urrutia was respected for his achievements among the tribes and he became familiar with prominent military officials. In 1697 he married Captain Diego Ramón's daughter Doña Antonio Ramón in Monclova, Coahuíla. Ramón, mentioned earlier, was a respected *hacendado* and the military commander of presidio San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. Along with leading the presidio soldiers,

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[39] John Inclan, *Biography of Captain José de Urrutia: Commander of the Presidio at San Antonio de Bexár* (http://www.geneabios.com/urrutia.htm), accessed Dec. 12, 2012.

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he was also in charge of a flying company, or *compañia volante*.[40] Several flying companies were scattered throughout the northern frontier regions. Mounted, swift and light, the men of the flying company were able to fight on foot as well as mounted. The cavalry maneuvers of the compañia volante were a continuation of the methods developed to deal with Chichimeca Indian warfare since the 1540s,[41] but the official "compañia volante was first identified as a legitimate military group in 1718 when the Viceroy Duque de Linares ordered the organization of mobile units of seventy men to offensively pursue Indians on the frontier.[42]

Although Urrutia became an important officer in his own right, he became part of a family of military men raised in an area where Indian hostilities, slave raiding, ranching and equestrian cultures dominated both the physical and mental landscape; thus, Viceroy de Linares' order was likely not a significant stretch from the methods already employed by San Juan Bautista's soldiers. Captain Diego Ramón's son Captain Domingo Ramón built and commanded presidio La Bahía and based on the equestrian nature of the far northern frontier, it is likely that his troops were trained in horse culture. Domingo Ramón's son Diego Ramón took over command of La Bahía until he was demoted for neglect of duty. He became a Lieutenant at the presidio of San Antonio, and served at both presidio Amarillas on the San Saba, and San Juan de Horcasista until he was

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40 Robert S. Weddle, " RAMÓN, DIEGO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fra23), accessed March 16, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

41 Powell, "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio," 115.

42 Andres Tijerína, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994,), 79.

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arrested in 1757 for neglect of duty. It is not clear what happened to Diego Ramón the younger, but he did inherit Domingo Ramón's Santa Mónica hacienda in Coahuíla after his father's death. Aside from military involvement, the Rámon family was well established in the ranching industry by the early 18th century.[43]

The Ramón family and several others exemplify early connections between military people, ranching, land holding, and kinship ties which assured the continuation of status and self-preservation. Military service on the frontier meant soldiers ranged to detect, engage or capture Indians, and cattle. Control of people, animals and the landscape was based in equestrian and armed culture and those traditions were passed down through generations. Survival, status and profits were based on those controls.

Urrutia earned the right to marry in to this class of frontier nobility through his birthright as a European and through his military service. Urrutia became the commander of Bexár from 1733-1741 and the family developed kinship ties to families in San Antonio that were also experienced military people and ranchers. The Urrutia-Ramón union produced one daughter who they named Antonia Urrutia, and she married Francisco Menchaca, one of the first soldiers garrisoned in Bexár. The couple probably met at San Juan Bautista and married there since three of their children were born at San Juan Bautista, including Captain Pedro Joséph Menchaca in 1711, and Captain Luís Antonio Menchaca, in 1713.[44] The Menchaca family moved to San Antonio, where

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[43] Robert S. Weddle, "RAMÓN, DIEGO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fra23), accessed March 16, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association

[44] Muster Roll of the Presidio at San Antonio de Bexár (1718), Los Bexáreños Genealogical Register, contributed by Jesse Rodríguez, Vol. XIX, No. 1, March 31, 2002. http://web.me.com/macurray/Gonzalez%20Direct%20Lines/ps02/ps02_456.html accessed March 16, 2012.

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Antonia Urrutia's father and uncle were both in charge of the presidio during the early to mid-eighteenth century. Captain Luís Antonio Menchaca became the presidial commander at Bexár after the retirement of his uncle, Toribio Urrutia who was married to Joséfa Flores y Valdes. Interestingly, Toribio Urrutia was the son of José de Urrutia and his second wife Doña Rosa Flores y Valdes, whose mother was a de la Garza Falcón.[45] The de la Garza kinship network was vast and spread throughout the frontier, and they were connected to almost every family addressed in this work. In the later nineteenth century Cesario de la Garza Falcón became a Texas Ranger captain and a Union Army officer. Doña Rosa Flores y Valdes' de la Garza family members will be discussed in more detail later in the work.

Returning to the subject of familial ties in the Menchaca family line, Luís Antonio Menchaca's son José Menchaca became the 1st Lieutenant and regidor of Villa San Fernando in 1778 after his father retired.[46] His brother Luis Mariano Menchaca became a stockman. Their father Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca was not only a military man, but was actually the wealthiest stockman in Tejas during the later eighteenth century. Rancho San Francisco in present day Wilson County, once the property of the San Francisco Mission, was purchased by Luis Antonio Menchaca after mission land secularization.[47] Records indicate Luís Antonio Menchaca died there in 1793.[48]

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[45] Steve Gibson, "The Descendants of José Antonio Menchaca," Bexár Genealogy, bexargenealogy.com/archivefamilyfileses/jamenchaca.rtf accessed March 2, 2012.

[46] Weddle, et.al,, *Drama and Conflict: The Texas Saga, 1776*, 61.

[47] Jack Jackson, "MENCHACA, LUIS ANTONIO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fme14), accessed April 12, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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On the same 1718 Muster Roll of the Presidio de San Antonio Bexár that listed Captain Luís Antonio Menchaca's father, Francisco Menchaca as one of the first soldiers garrisoned in Bexár, Lieutenant Don Matheo Pérez was identified as an officer under the command of Captain Santiago Ximenes. The Pérez genealogical record provides another example of intermarriage and growing kinship ties among soldiers garrisoned at San Antonio. Surnames of the first soldiers in San Antonio included Pérez, Ximenes, Flores, Hernández, Galván, and Menchaca to name only a few, and they exemplify status gained through military ability, ranching culture, and generationally perpetuated ideas of honor acquired and connected to violence.

Archeologist Anna María Alonzo's work, *Thread of Blood* presents an interesting analysis of the birth of a culture of violence on the northern frontier lands of Chihuahua. Based on the necessity of frontier fighting skills, communities in frontier regions developed a culture of violence that surpassed generations and continues to the present.[49] Like the formation of frontier identity and culture discussed by Alonzo in Chihuahua, military families in Tejas and Coahuíla married in to other military families and continued to teach their children the frontier culture of violence. Based on the degree of violence experienced on the frontier marriage sometimes did not last for long. Notwithstanding, members of military clans were apparently willing to remarry those left behind after the death of first spouses.

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[48] Steve Gibson, "The Descendants of José Antonio Menchaca," Bexár Genealogy, bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/jamenchaca.rtf, accessed March 2, 2012.

[49] Anna María Alonzo, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995).

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Lieutenant Matheo Pérez's family members prove prime examples of this process in at least two instances. He had a son named Luís Pérez whose first wife passed away. Luís Pérez remarried Francisco Menchaca's daughter Micaéla Menchaca, who was also a widow. Her first husband was Juan Galván, a prominent military figure in his own right as well. Lt. Matheo Pérez had a second son who was also a soldier. His name was Sergeant Baltazar de los Reyes Pérez, and he married Rosalía Flores y Valdes, herself a member of a prominent military family from Coahuíla. Their son José Remigio Pérez became a corporal in the Spanish military. Their son, whose name was Alejo Pérez married Juana Gertrudis Navarro, the daughter of José Angel Navarro, a community leader and Spanish soldier. Alejo Pérez died and Juana Gertrudis Navarro married American explorer Alexander Alsbury.[50] One of Angel Navarro's sons was Texas Revolution hero José Antonio Navarro who himself married in to the prominent ranching and military de la Garza clan of Mier.[51] The Navarro family and their kin fought against both Spanish and Mexican rule during several different conflicts.[52]

The revolutionary activities of the Navarro family and their will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, along with revolutionary and, Texas Ranger Antonio Menchaca, who was a descendant of Francisco Menchaca, Luís Menchaca and the Urrutias. These two families are members of kinship networks fashioned from the intermarrying of powerful

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[50] "The Perez Genealogy Site, Descendants of Jose María Perez and Antonia Navarro," http://home.earthlink.net/~perezgenealogy/navarro_and_ruiz.html.

[51] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Angel Navarro, Bexár Genealogy," bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/**Navarro**.

[52] Stephen Gibson,"Descendants of Matheo Pérez, Bexár Genealogy," bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/mperes.rtf accessed March 1, 2012.

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military clans. In the case of Navarro, he was also a descendant of the Flores part of Rosalía Flores y Valdez' clan. Along with the military strength within the family, they were also an extremely prominent ranching family.

Members of the San Antonio Flores ranching family were assertive and militarily active. When the Texas Revolutionary War began in 1835, several Flores men joined other Tejanos in the fight for Texas independence. Three brothers, Manuél Flores, Salvador Flores, and José María Flores served in Tejano revolutionary leader Juan Seguín's Cavalry Company. The Flores brothers continued to intermarry with founding and military families. 1st Lt. Manuél Flores married María Joséfa Courbiere, a descendant of French soldier Andres Benito Courbiere and María Feliciana Durán.[53] Manuel Flores was connected to the Menchacas through at least one kinship bond based on this union. In1804 Luís Mariano Menchaca had married into the Durán clan, a family of frontier folk that was originally from Nuevo León.[54]

Captain Salvador Flores was revolutionary leader Captain Juan Seguín's second in command and led cavalry forces in the Revolutionary Army from 1835 to 1836. The youngest Flores brother, Private José María Flores, shared a special bond with Seguín. He married Seguín's sister, Lionida Seguín, and Juan Seguín married the Flores brother's sister Gertrudis Flores.[55] Military service and ranching formed the foundation of these

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[53] Steve Gibson," Descendants of Pedro Flores de Abrego," bexargenealogy.com/archives/archives/family/files/flores.htm.

[54] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of José Antonio Menchaca,"bexargenealogy.com/archives/archives/family/files/menchaca.htm.

[55] "The Salvador Rodríguez Family, from Lanzarote Island," http://bexargenealogy.com/islanders/Rodríguez.html.

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Texas communities, and in certain instances, the independent nature of the frontiersmen caused her problems with authorities. These men were the descendants of José Antonio Flores de Abrego and will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Juan Seguín's family history also proved assertive, independent and militaristic family members preceded him.

Erasmo Seguín, Juan Seguín's father, was the great-grandson of Pedro Ocón y Trillo, a soldier in early San Antonio. He married the daughter of a soldier, Ignacia Flores Valdés. Aside from his military identity, Pedro Ocón was an alderman, rancher, and farmer. Pedro Ocón y Trillo moved to Saltillo, another frontier community, for a period of time, but returned to San Antonio where his daughter Luísa Ocón y Trillo, married Bartolomé Seguín, a successful carpenter, farmer, estate appraiser, and political leader. Luísa and Bartolomé Seguín's son Santiago Seguín developed ranch and farm interests with lands and stock he inherited from his grandfather Pedro Ocón y Trillo. Santiago Seguín's frontier spirit, in relation to hard work, showed in his success as a rancher, farmer, stone hauler, and even muleteer;[56] however, his independent spirit also included an assertive if not aggressive disposition.

Santiago Seguín was arrested for stealing cattle from the herds of Mission Espíritu Santo in 1778, but charges were dropped. Although he did not have a significant land grant, Santiago Seguín and a number of relatives pastured hundreds of cattle and mustangs on Cibolo Creek. By 1784 he had married and become a councilman, but his participation in civil government did not mean he was without a rebellious spirit. He organized a protest against government demands that Bexáreños pay for a new jail. He

[56] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 2.

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also signed a complaint against ex-governor Domingo Cabello for attempted conspiracy to defraud the people of livestock. Santiago Seguín's refusal to contribute or pay taxes for building projects and his formal complaint against ex-Governor Cabello show his sense of social activism and his belief in righteous defiance against what he construed as unfair or unjust imposition of demands by the government. In addition, he was willing to raise his fists in situations. A year after his election to the position of alderman was denied by Governor Manuél Muñoz Santiago, Seguín was charged with the assault of councilman Manuél Berbán. The governor claimed Seguín exhibited "scandalous behavior"[57] and it is likely that the temperament that caused these charges were also responsible for the governor denying him the alderman position. His spirit of defiance and independence was supported by frontier conditions and situations and Santiago Seguin was a product of his frontier.

Tejanos worked stock in the countryside, fought Indians, and often worked as peace officers and soldiers simply based on necessity. Experience and proximity to dangerous situations forced Bexareños to defend themselves, their stock and community, and to act assertively and even aggressively when they deemed it necessary to do so. Frontier spirit was evident in Santiago Seguín's actions and in the actions of his descendants. Erasmo Seguín and his son Juan Seguín were pivotal actors during several rebellious moves to gain independence from both Spain and Mexico. They became significant participants in the move for Texas Independence.

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[57] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 2-3.

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Indian Conflict and more

A year after Alarcón's soldiers arrived in San Antonio, the viceroy ordered the upgrading of armament and reinforcement of personnel on the northern frontier to defend against foreign attack. The War of the Quadruple Alliance prompted the immediate movement of troops towards regions deemed vulnerable. In addition to establishing a presence in Los Adaes as discussed earlier in the work, the Marqués de Aguayo, Joséph Azlor Vitro de Vera, "…reinforced the presidio at San Antonio and…commission[ed] a detached garrison to guard the Matagorda Bay area."[58] A constabulary force was also established by royal decree in the early 1720s to protect the northern frontiers. Ranging, tracking, chasing and fighting on horseback and on foot were characteristics of *La Acordada,* a system of frontier defense and law enforcement created as a result of continued Indian hostilities, and an increase in overall criminal activity. Flying companies were given the power to hunt, detain, judge, and execute those deemed criminals. Volunteers provided their own firearms, ammunition, horses and subsistence, and were headed by a captain based in México City.[59]

A few examples of the violent culture of the San Antonio area show the nature of the aggression and retaliation that characterized relationships between Apache and Bexareños, and the utilization of tactics that strengthened the military character of the population. In the early 1720s Captain Nicholas Flores y Valdéz another Urrutia relative by marriage to Doña Nicolasa Ximenes y Baldés, was assigned the captaincy of the

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[58] Cruz, *Let There Be Towns,* 58.

[59] Mike Cox, *The Texas Rangers: Wearing the Cinco Peso, 1821-1900*, (New York: Tom Doherty Books, 2008), 24.

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newly organized presidio at Bexar by the Marqúes de Aguayo.[60] With thirty troops and thirty mission Indians acting as auxiliaries, Flores de Valdes tracked a group of Apache he believed raided Bexár's horse herd. The San Antonio troops tracked the Apache for three hundred miles, discovered their encampment, and ambushed the group. The Spaniards and their indigenous allies killed thirty-two Apache warriors, took twenty women and children prisoner, and took one hundred twenty horses as loot. The priest in charge of the mission was furious about the expedition. He stated that the commander attacked the Apaches without violent provocation and that the whole affair had been nothing more than a slaving expedition.[61]

The horse culture of the frontier impacted indigenous and Spanish forces in similar ways. Both groups could travel great distances and fight on horseback, raid targeted populations, kill by ambush, steal property, kidnap people when possible, and return to their communities situated away from the points of violence. Although Indian populations and actions are consistently presented in terms of attack, raiding, violent encounters, the legitimacy given one group versus the other is interesting when one examines these characteristics. The Texas Rangers of the 19th century were notorious for the same kind of looting behavior expressed in the above stated example and will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

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60 "FLORES DE VALDES, NICOLAS," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffl15), accessed March 19, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

61 John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of New Mexico, California, Texas and Coahuila*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 225.

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Pedro de Rivera's 1727 report estimated the total population of Spaniards in San Antonio was about two hundred. The number included only forty-five soldiers housed at the presidio, nine soldiers on guard and escort duty at the missions, and four civilian families and soldiers' families living around the presidio.[62] Despite their small number they remained and fought for their place on the landscape. As mentioned earlier, the Regulations of 1729, based on Rivera's report, decreased the number of soldier at Presidio Bexar by ten men. Soldiers were directed to avoid provocation, enslavement, and exploitation, of indigenous people. They were also directed to avoid separation of families if they did confront and capture Indian people. The rules were sanctioned by the King as an attempt to quell both the expense of confrontations and brutalities. However, only three years after the Regulations of 1729 were announced, the Crown reversed the decision, and San Antonio settlers and officials were again cleared to attack Apaches and take captives as loot.[63]

Captain José de Urrutia became the presidial commander in 1733, and in July an order by the Marquis de Casafuerte, Captain General of the Royal Armies, proved conflict between Apaches and Bexareños had again escalated. In answer to a request by the governor, Don Marquez de Casafuerte ordered that captains in the presidios of Bexár, La Bahía, Los Adaes and even the Rio Grande send troops to aid other communities

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62 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 225.

63 John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds,* 271-276. Warring against Indians was prohibited unless peaceful persuasion had been attempted; taking sides in Indian confrontations unless specifically invited was unacceptable; Indians were not be exploited for economic gains; soldiers were not allowed to antagonize indigenous groups into confrontations that could easily prompt slave raiding situations); families of Indians captured during war should not be separated; if Indians sued for peace, Spanish officials were expected to accept.

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whenever requested, particularly to Bexár since they seemed to be experiencing the most problems.[64] The persistence of conflict and the degree to which community involvement in military action was expected, was made clear a few years later in an official order by the governor. In October of 1737 Governor Antonio Juaguerí Urrutia's address to the citizenry of San Antonio provide us a glimpse in to the methods used to sound the alarm and organize the community when under attack, and the degree to which citizens were armed. He wrote:

> [A]s the only means we have for announcing the enemy to the settlers and the presidial troops is by firing a gun so that when this is heard all may know that it is the enemy and they should arm themselves and meet at the place where the shot was heard…I command no person from all the residents of said villa and of the presidio or its soldiers shall dare fire a gun for any reason…other than in case the enemy should be seen…. [65]

Reading of the order was to be completed when the largest number of settlers was gathered. The fine for shooting weapons in the city was ten pesos.[66] The problem was sufficiently serious to warrant the definition of a legal fine.

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[64] BA, Letter from Governor Don Marquez de Casafuerte to the settlements, July 13, 1737, Box 2C14 v.3.

[65] BAT, Translation of Jáuegri y Urrutia ordinance relative to the use of firearms, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexar/gallery_doc.php?doc=e_bx_001950.

[66] BAT, Translation of Jáuegri y Urrutia ordinance relative to the use of firearms, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexar/gallery_doc.php?doc=e_bx_001950.

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The Urrutias years of commanding the presidio were full of confrontation and violence, and the mounted nature of the citizenry was made evident by the attempts made to acquire horses. In 1737 Captain José Urrutia captured Mescalero Apache Chief Cabellos Colorados, his two-year old daughter, and fifteen additional Apache people, half of whom were women. Urrutia tried ransoming his captives for horses, but the Apache refused, proving horses were also of the utmost importance to the Apache since they were unwilling to sacrifice mounts for the release of their people. Despite their unwillingness to trade horses for people, for ten months the Apache warriors continued to attack Bexár. Perhaps as a means to deter these attacks, in 1738 Urrutia led an offensive attack against the Indians at San Saba. Whatever Urrutia's intentions, his actions were criticized by Fray Benito Francisco who called the affair nothing more than a "slave raiding expedition."[67] The degree of entrepreneurial focus related to the capture of indigenous people is a subject that deserves significant attention in another work. However, the point is that the tradition of frontier slave raiding expeditions for profit was obviously not lost on the Tejas settlers. By the time Urrutia went on "campaign" and returned with Indians as loot, frontier slave raiding tradition had been in place for over two hundred years.[68] The manner in which the community reacted to Indian conflict differed and sometimes caused turmoil within the settlement.

In 1742 Captain Toribio de Urrutia took over his father's post, and quickly dealt with an issue that sheds light on the differences in the aggressive character of experienced

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[67] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds,* 272.

[68] See James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship and Community in the Southwest Borderlands (*Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

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frontier people versus newcomers to the frontier. A notarized report by Urrutia in 1743 answered charges by Canary Islanders, who had not arrived in on the Texas frontier until the early 1730s. Apparently Canary Islanders did not follow the norms of frontier citizen soldier participation and did not understand their expected role within the community. They complained that Captain Urrutia had conscripted them then arrested them for not joining in pursuit of enemy Indians that had entered the villa. In their defense, the Canary Islanders claimed they did not have horses; therefore, they could not have joined the chase. No proof as to the truth of their claims was discussed; however, Urrutia emphasized the necessity of protecting the villa and stated that citizens with suitable horses were expected to join in pursuit of enemies. He explained that he conscripted the Canary Islanders because he deemed it necessary to protect the settlement, and that he arrested them not because they avoided service, but because they disrespected him.[69] It is unclear whether the incident was caused by insubordination on the part of the Canary Islanders or whether the incident was simply caused by a blow to Urrutia's pride. Although certain truths remained unclear, the proceedings exemplified a clear difference in what the Canary Islanders believed they were responsible for doing versus what Urrutia believed was their duty. The tenacity and drive expected of frontier inhabitants was clearly expressed in Urrutia's commentary, and the Islanders simply did not agree. Two other points made clear by these proceedings was that unfriendly Indians were coming in to the settlement for reasons that were not defined, and that Urrutia was in

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[69] BAT, Toribio de Urrutia's reply to the Cabildo concerning citizenship of settlers, and jurisdiction of justice of San Fernando,,http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexar/gallery_lg.php?s=0&t=5&doc=e_bx_001966_001; BA Box 2C16:15:51.

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search of as much manpower as possible when he chased Indians. Troubles between Spanish settlers and indigenous people continued and Urrutia's aggressive methods may have been the catalyst for increased conflict.

In 1744 Apaches approached Fray Santa Anna and requested a mission and peace between themselves and Spaniards based on Comanche incursions in to Texas in general, and in to Apache hunting grounds specifically. Instead of negotiating peace, Urrutia led a slave raiding expedition against an Apache *rancheria* north of the Colorado River a year later. In answer to Spanish aggression, the Apaches brought the violence back to the people of San Antonio on the night of June 30, 1745. Three hundred and fifty Lipan and Natagés Apaches went to war with the Spaniards. Violent confrontation ensued for weeks in retaliation for the Colorado River attack. Only the support of one hundred mission Indians from Mission San Antonio de Valero saved the besieged Spaniards.[70] Alliances between indigenous people, and Tejano and Anglo Texas Rangers were also part of Ranger method. Throughout the ranger records Indians worked as scouts; however, during the 1830s and 1840s there were also several companies of Indians recognized as Texas Rangers, including at least one company of Apaches.[71]

The Apache attack on Bexár ended only when an Apache prisoner escaped and convinced Apache leaders of Spaniards' supposedly peaceful intentions. The Apaches agreed to peace, and again requested a mission.[72] The Spaniards again did not answer

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[70] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, 272.

[71] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, Chapter 5.

[72] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, 27: García, *Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón*, 207 states that Apache traveled south due to Comanche incursion and were forced to raid Spanish settlements.

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Apache requests quickly, and the Comanches soon entered the equation and requested a mission of their own.[73] Officials in Mexico City decided an Apache mission would reinforce peace, and in 1757 San Saba mission was built with a presidio down the river. Northern tribes were figuratively discarded and resentful of the establishment of an Apache mission over their own request. In 1758 two thousand warriors from the Nations of the North, led by the Comanches[74] surrounded the Mission San Saba.[75] The northern tribal members claimed they were in search of Apaches that murdered some of their people. Members of the Northern tribe group were allowed entry to the mission compound to search for the guilty parties. The story was a ruse to gain entry to the mission compound, and they killed eight of the thirty-five people in the mission and wounded several others. In the dark of night survivors of the attack escaped to the San Saba presidio that was situated down the river. A report by survivor Father Miguél Molina discussed the event. He wrote, "[a]ll were armed with rifles, sabers, and lances with pikes…. they brought youths armed with bows and arrows, for the purpose of

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[73] Jack Jackson, *Los Mesteños: Spanish Ranching in Texas. 1721-1821,* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1986), 271-276, 285.

[74] Jackson, *Los Mesteños,* 21; in his reference Nations of the North include Caddo, Hasinai, Tonkawa, and Wichita (subgroups of the Wichita include the Taovayan and Tawakoni, groups he claims to be the most hostile and probably the most recognized as the Nations of the North); John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, 297-298; refers to the norteños as including Tejas, Bidais, Tonkawa and Comanche; Hadley, Naylor, Schuetz-Miller, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier, A Documentary History: Volume Two, Part Two The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor, 1700-1765*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 515 includes a letter from witness Fray Miguél Molina sent to his superiors claiming that the corporal of the guard recognized warriors from the "Tejas, Tancagues, Vydays and other nations from the interior with whom he had dealt peacefully on many occasions."

[75] John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds,* 288, 297.

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teaching them and encouraging them in their cruel and bloodthirsty ways of living, no doubt."[76]

Fray Molina's statement exemplifies Spanish interpretation of violence directed at Spaniards by Indians, and ethnocentrism engrained in the very men assigned to protect Indigenous people. He chastised the Indians for teaching their youth what he called "bloodthirsty ways of living," while ignoring the same military zeal in Spanish models of child rearing.[77] We should not forget that Spanish boys were commonly in the military by the age of fifteen, including José de Escandón himself. At least one of the first troops stationed at San Antonio was described as being "not younger than 15."[78] This means the youngest soldier at Bexar may have been no more than 15years-old and the "bloodthirsty ways of living" were traditions in frontier Texas Spanish communities.

In relation to bloodthirsty methods, Spaniards desired to make someone pay for the attack on San Saba, and despite not having proof of their involvement in the attack, Col. Diego Parilla scouted and attacked a Taovayan village in retaliation for the San Saba attack. The well-fortified village limited the efficacy and success of his raid and the troops were forced to return to San Antonio without satisfaction of either killing a large

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[76] Hadley, et al., *The Presidio and Militia,* 515.

[77] Odie B. Faulk, *The Leather Jacket Soldier: Spanish Military Equipment and Institutions of the late 18th Century* (Pasadena, California: Socio-Technical Publications, 1971), 54-55. This is an extremely interesting overview of soldiers and their training, weaponry, uniforms, social, economic conditions in the presidio, pay, and families.

[78] Muster Roll of the Presidio at San Antonio de Bexár (1718), Los Bexáreños Genealogical Register, contributed by Jesse Rodríguez, Vol. XIX, No. 1, March 31, 2002. http://web.me.com/macurray/Gonzalez%20Direct%20Lines/ps02/ps02_456.html accessed March 16, 2012.

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number of Indians or taking captives.[79] Aside from participating in this type of offensive attack on Indian communities, Bexareños were responsible for defending their regions from Indian attack and from crime in general.

Despite the royal establishment of the *Acordada*, in San Antonio, the military was also responsible for law enforcement as late as the 1740s. An example of a case investigated by Captain Toribio Urrutia proved that presidio soldiers and citizens were utilized as law enforcement agents and performed in the capacity of police officers. Urrutia was in charge of investigating a case in which Antonio Tello, master mason at the San Antonio mission, murdered Matías Treviño. Tello was having an affair with Treviño's wife, and according to testimony, Tello killed Treviño by luring him into the woods. Treviño previously loaned Tello money, and in order to isolate Treviño, Tello asked Treviño to join him in the woods located close to the mission. Tello told Treviño he could pay him with a yearling calf given to him by the priests as payment for his work, but that the yearling was in the woods and needed to be brought out. While Treviño picked up the yearling to carry it over his shoulder, the mason shot him in the side and beat him with the rifle barrel. Treviño escaped the attacker and rode his horse to town where he died after he gave testimony against both his wife, who had apparently threatened to have Tello kill him, and the mason who ambushed him. Soldiers were sent to arrest Treviño's wife, and they took her to the blacksmith for shackles. She remained in the alcaldes house to wait for further proceedings. Tello claimed sanctuary within in the mission, and denied that he purposefully killed Treviño. When asked for his side of

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[79] Robert Wooster, "MILITARY HISTORY," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qzmtg), accessed March 16, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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the story Tello gave testimony that stated that he saw someone in the woods that he believed to be an Apache raider, and he shot him. After examination of Treviño's wound Urrutia confronted Tello and declared that the powder burns on the man's body countered his presentation of the story. While Urrutia tried to figure out how to extract Treviño from his formally claimed sanctuary in the church, he put a guard around the church. Pages of testimony from witnesses to various incidents were called and testimony was meticulously recorded throughout days. Despite all of the care taken to assure Tello's prosecution, when the governor finally allowed the troops to enter the church to arrest him, the troops found only an old rag and a bar of soap in a bag.[80] Apparently Indian fighters did not make the best police officers or guards in the 1740s and in fact, they were sometimes abusive of their power.

La Bahía

The Presidio La Bahía del Espíritu Santo was built over the remains of the French Fort St. Louis. Ninety men at Presidio La Báhia protected the Mission Espíritu Santo de Zuniga that was established for the conversion of Coco, Cujane and Karankawa.[81] An incident in the fall of 1723 exemplified the brutal nature of soldiers on the frontier, the abusive characteristics, and the total disregard for Indian lives they sometimes exemplified. Captain Domingo Ramón, the son of San Juan Bautista Captain Diego Ramón, was the military commander of Presidio La Bahía at the time. An Indian man entered a soldier's house in hopes of receiving a ration of freshly slaughtered beef. He

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[80] BAT, Translation of criminal proceedings against Antonio Tello, charged with the murder of Matias Treviño, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexár/gallery_doc.php?doc=e_bx_001969.

[81] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 167-168.

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offended the woman of the house by dusting himself off too close to where she was grinding corn. The soldier ordered him to leave without any meat. When he refused to go, the soldier attacked him, and in defense, he struck the soldier with a fireplace log then fled. Soldiers chased and stabbed the offender, and seeing their comrade being attacked, members of the tribe reacted and wounded a soldier. In an attempt to manipulate the Indian people back to the presidio, Captain Ramón asked the fleeting Indians to return and partake of a bull specifically slaughtered for them. He had the meat placed strategically so that a canon could be fired at the group that included men, women, and children. The plan failed when the Indians noticed the placement of the cannon and attempted to flee. Captain Ramón was stabbed with scissors while trying to forcefully corral Indians so soldiers could shoot them. He died 8 days later from his wound, and was replaced by his son Captain Diego Ramón.[82]

Another type of cruelty associated with the frontier from an early period involved scalping. In a 1768 report sent form La Bahía to Governor Hugo O'Conor, Francisco Tovar stated troops led by Marcos Losoya, including Antonio Guerrero, were attacked by an undisclosed group of Indians on the way to Presidio Orocquiza. One of the Indian wounded a lieutenant in the arm with a knife, and the troop attacked them. The soldiers were only able to kill two Indians, and Losoya presented two scalps to Tovar who reported the incident to Governor O'Conor.[83] This crime against humanity was

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[82] Diana Hadley, et al., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History: Volume Two, Part Two The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor, 1700-1765*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 466-467. Another report claimed Ramón ordered soldiers to collect rope from throughout the presidio to hang the Indians.

[83] BAT, Tovar to Oconór reporting that some of La Bahía soldiers fought with Indians at a place called el Brevario, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/Bexár/gallery_lg.php?doc=e_bx_002224_001&t=4&s=0.

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normalized and perpetrated by frontier people for generations. Rangers were also guilty of this barbaric act well in to the 1870s. The men who perpetrated this act in this particular case were important to this story based on documentation of the legitimacy of the act itself, and their genealogy.

Antonio Guerrero was the son of Cayetano Guerrero. He developed a kinship tie to Gil Ybarbo based on the marriage of his brother Juan Igncio Guerrero to Gil Ybarbo's daughter Antonia Ybarbo. Their daughter Anna María Guerrero married José Flores, who was Gil Flores' son (Ybarbo's second in command). Anna María Guerrero and José Flores' son Vital Flores and his two sons were Texas Ranger discussed later in the work.[84] Toribio Losoya was Antonio Losoya's grandson, and he fought with Juan Seguín's troop during the Texas Revolution. He was killed at the Alamo.[85]

Entwined in these events at Los Adaes, San Antonio and La Bahía are shadows of a frontier spirit shaped by distance from the center. Frontier people were responsible for their own defense, supplies, and survival. Assertive, independent, motivated individuals led the settlements and citizen soldiers along with formal military personnel practiced offensive, mounted military actions supported by the equestrian skills utilized within the ranching economy and society around them.[86] In the south, the settlements of Nuevo Santander were establishing roots thirty years after San Antonio's presidio mission complex was organized.

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[84] Steve Gibson, "The Descendants of Cayetano Guerrero," *bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/cguerrero.rtf.*

[85] Steve Gibson, "The Descendants of Miguél Antonio Losoya," "*bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/losoya.rtf.*

[86] See Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, Chapter 4.

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Nuevo Santander

In Nuevo Santander, the citizens that had established themselves along the Rio Grande under the direction of Blas María de la Garza Falcón prepared themselves for whatever the frontier region had to offer. By 1757, only eight years after their initial settlement plans were started, Escandón's 22 villages and ranches dotted the area along Rio Grande. The region was populated by 1,296 Spanish families composed of 7,994 people of whom only 116 were soldiers. Of particular interest were three *villas del norte,* Laredo, Camargo and a settlement that was not a villa at the time, San Juan de los Esteros, or present day Matamoros, Tamaulipas. Laredo boasted eleven families for a total of 85 people in 1757. Camargo's 97 families included 638 people, one priest, 170 Indians and eleven soldiers. Although there were only a few soldiers assigned to the colony, male citizens in all of Nuevo Santander were expected to possess guns, swords, horses and ammunition and to protect the settlements whenever threatened.[87]

Patricia Osante made a compelling argument that Escandón was basically creating a privileged class of military and entrepreneurial adventurers in Nuevo Santander and several points of reference support her theory. Investors willing to settle and establish themselves as military commanders in the villas were to receive 500-800 pesos a year, "noble titles, political authority and direct participation in the commercial network…" of the villas, while common soldiers were promised lands, the military *fuero*, along with pay of 225 pesos annually, with sergeant's pay at 250 pesos. Theoretically, a landed soldier class was to swell the civilian population following their military tour of duty by remaining in the communities on lands titled to them through rights of settlement. In

[87] García, *Captain Blás Mária de la Garza Falcón*, 21-22.

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Nuevo Santander, Escandón was notoriously slow at formally assigning the land titles he promised settlers and soldiers; except to his favorites.[88]

Community captains often assigned citizens to ranging activities, and long military campaigns despite civilian identities. They were required to maintain horses, weapons, ammunition, along with a spirit of battle readiness at all times; however, they received none of the benefits of military enlistment.[89] Neither regular pay nor provisions were provided for soldiers or citizens who were quickly in debt by simply fulfilling their assigned community duties.[90]

The Plan for Colonization

Twenty-five years after the first *cabildos* (town council) was sworn in to office in San Antonio in the 1720s, José de Escandón y la Helguera was granted rights of colonization. Mier, Camargo, Revilla, Reynosa, Refugio, Dolores, and Laredo were settled by a small number of professional soldiers. Independent spirited citizen soldiers were expected to and applauded for enforcing security measures against external enemies (Indians and foreign incursion) and for supporting local systems of justice against criminal behavior.

The initial colonization of Nuevo Santander began about thirty years after San Antonio in 1749 when Spanish officials attempted to disrupt English encroachment on the Gulf coast during the Jenkins' War. Under the leadership of forty-six year old

[88] Osante, "Colonization and Control," 232-236.

[89] Faulk, *The Leather Jacket Soldier,* 42;

[90] Osante, *Orígenes Del Nuevo Santander,* 162-163.

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criollo[91] Don José de Escandón, the province stretched from the Tampico and Pánuco Rivers in the south to the mouth of the San Antonio River in the north. Three thousand Spanish subjects rapidly settled twenty-two small communities, most of them south of the Rio Grande. By 1755 de Escandón had placed six thousand colonists. On the northern banks of the river, the towns of Laredo, and Dolores prospered in farming and stock raising, and small settlements and ranches soon spread towards the Nueces River. The area defined as the Nueces Strip quickly gained prominence as prime cattle raising lands on the Spanish, Mexican and later the U.S. frontier.[92]

José de Escandón's method of settling Nuevo Santander was unlike that of other Spanish frontier colonizers in terms of defense. Although Escandón included soldiers in his group of colonists, they were settlers, rather than members of a presidio garrison. By 1775 there were only 146 soldiers stationed amongst 8,993 settlers. The responsibility for protection of the settlements fell largely on citizen soldiers, and the captain responsible for organizing and protecting the settlement was often the leading citizen within the community, a patriarch to his people, a position often defined and gained through rights of primogeniture. Settlers commonly built high walls around their

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[91] The term *criollo* identifies a Spaniard born in the Americas as opposed to a *peninsular*, a Spaniard born on the Iberian peninsula (Spain). Place of birth was extremely important to Spaniards because of the inequities promoted by the Spanish crown: being born in Spain (*peninsular*) meant a person had significantly more rights and opportunities in colonial New Spain. *Criollo*, although considered Spanish whites, were treated as second class citizens by their *peninsular* brethren and were restricted in their political and economic aspirations solely based on place of birth. Tensions between these two groups rose significantly in the late 1700s as *criollos*, which increasingly identified themselves with their birthplace, resented the imposition of Spanish laws that did not treat them as equal to peninsulares. Although criollos sought equality for themselves, they did not promote equality for mixed blood *mestizos*, or Indians. See Meyer, and Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, Chapter 12, "Colonial Society: Race and Social Status" for a detailed examination.

[92] John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), 139-140.

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settlements and enclosed themselves when readying for a fight. People tended to remain close to communities or to travel in numbers for safety.[93]

Escandón assured the military nature of the colony he established based on his recruitment of individuals with military and frontier experience. Fear of Indigenous aggression, a desire for agricultural lands, mining, a growing population, and the ever-present fear of occupation promoted continued Spanish colonization. Refugee Indians from Nuevo León pushed in to the Rio Grande River delta to escape the treachery of Spanish slavers only to be squeezed again. Despite instances of accommodation and even acculturation,[94] some Indians people desired freedom from exploitation. Just as in the regions of central Texas, Tonkawa, Apache, Karankawa and Comanche people were not inclined to peacefully accept the rule of interlopers.[95] Because of trade route activity Indians had been introduced to French, English and Spanish goods, including guns and horses, and Spaniards in the region had to contend with Indigenous folk. In the traditions of their ancestors, they moved to frontier areas with an understanding that they had to defend themselves and their communities.

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[93] Parédes, *With A Pistol in His Hand,* 8.

[94] Omar Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

[95] W.W. Newcomb, Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962) provides a fascinating history of the various groups in terms of their social interactions, economic relationships, and general descriptions of patterns related to wealth, religion, social and political interactions between themselves and with other groups as well; for an extremely interesting memoir written in 1799 that outlines Apaches society as observed by a Lieutenant in the Royal Corp of Engineers see José Cortés, *Views From the Apache Frontier*: *Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); see Elizabeth A.H. John, ed., “Inside the Comanchería, 1785: The Diary of Pedro Vial and Francisco Xavier Chaves,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. XCVIII no.1 (July 1994): 1-56 for insight of two men, one captured as a child and raised with the Comanche, the other lived with them in manhood. They negotiated successfully for a peace treaty with one group of Comanche in 1785.

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Seven Point *Entrada*

In September 1747, after four months of planning and organizing he led a seven-point entry, or exploration, (*entrada)* manned by frontier militiamen and regular army troop. Escandón took a force of 765 frontier men recruited along the northern regions because of their fighting experience.[96] Several families were represented, however, the de la Garza Falcón family serve as an example of frontier military prowess within a clan. Blas María de la Garza Falcón led forty-two men from Cerralvo in exploration of the southern portions of the Rio Grande River. His brother Miguél de la Garza Falcón explored the northern areas of the Rio Grande by crossing around present-day Eagle Pass, with his fifty men from Monclova, Coahuíla. Blas María de la Garza Falcón, his father, Sargent Major Blás de la Garza Falcón, who was also the Governor of Coahuíla, and his brother Miguél de la Garza Falcón, were captains of presidios on the Nuevo León line. Blas María de la Garza Falcón's daughter Gertrudis de la Garza Falcón married her cousin Jose Salvador de la Garza Falcón, and she became the holder of one of the largest land grants in Texas. They had a daughter named Estefana Goseascochea.[97] She was the mother of Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, who in 1859 raised a force of Tejanos to fight sociopolitical disenfranchisement of Tejanos along the border in what became known as

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[96] Joséph, 5; Miller, *Jose de Escandón,* 11.

[97] García, *Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón,* 28-29. This work is an annotated genealogy; see also Clotilde P. García, "GARZA FALCON, MARIA GERTRUDIS DE LA," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fga92), accessed June 15, 2013.

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the Cortina War.[98] His relations would also become Union soldiers in the American Civil War, Texas Rangers, and stock raisers.[99]

In 1766 Blas Mária de la Garza Falcón IV established the first ranch in the Nueces Valley called Santa Petronila. Others from Camargo followed his lead and set up ranches in the area.[100] As a military man he was probably confident in his abilities and knowledge of how to deal with hostility from local Karankawa. The de la Garza Falcón family participated in military service throughout the frontier, and through intermarriage even helped Irish *empresario* James Power become a mounted military man during the Texas Revolution. One of Blás Mária de la Garza Falcón's descendants was a Ranger captain as late as 1872,[101] and even in the present day, Texas Ranger R. de la Garza is stationed in Weslaco, Texas.

Although 25 men from Los Adaes were originally ordered to help Escandón,[102] La Bahia del Espíritu Santo sent fifty soldiers led by Captain Joaquín de Orobio Bazterra.[103] Despite Miguél de la Garza Falcón and Captain Joaquin de Orobio

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[98] Jerry Thompson, ed, *Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier*, *1859-1877*, (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 2000). Thompson's introduction to Cortina's Proclamations is extremely informative.

[99] Muster Rolls, Captain Cesarío Falcón, Frontier Forces, Adjutant General Records, Texas Ranger Records, Texas State Archives and Library Commission, 401-742: 1; see García, *Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón,* 51; U.S. Census, Santa Petronila, 1880.

[100] Alonso, *Tejano Legacy*, 23.

[101] Muster Rolls, Captain Cesarío Falcón, Frontier Forces, Adjutant General Records, Texas Ranger Records, Texas State Archives and Library Commission, 401-742: 1; see García, *Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón,* 5.

[102] BAT, Letter from Guemes y Horcasitas to Governor, September 31, 1746, Box 2C17:18.

[103] García, *Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón,* 11-12.

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Bazterra's failure to rendezvous at the mouth of the Rio Grande in late February, the *entrada* was a success.

Escandón knew how to travel and his portion of the expedition was successful. He left Querétaro with troops, priests, thirty Indians, and fifty servants, a surgeon, a blacksmith, and muleteers to assure efficacy.[104] All prongs of the expedition investigated the viability of the land they traversed, water availability, and identities and temperaments of native populations throughout the region. Explorers reported positive interactions with local Indigenous populations.[105] Colonization requests were approved on May 13, 1748, and on June 1, 1748. Escandón was named the official representative of Viceroy Francisco de Guemes y Horcasista, and assigned the title of governor, captain-general of Nuevo Santander.[106]

Fourteen initial settlements and missions were planned at a yearly cost to the Crown of fifty-eight thousand pesos for five hundred families. Escandón took his cue from his experiences in the Sierra Gorda, and chose to militarize settlements by utilizing citizens, rather than regular military troops. *Entrada* participants had first choice because *norteños* already familiar with frontier fighting, conditions and methods would be a strong base for community defense. He calculated that within two or three years his

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[104] Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 11; Israel Cavazos Garza, *Nuevo León y la colonización del Nuevo Santander* (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Programa Editorial de la Sección 21 Del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion, 1994), Appendix 3, p.57, includes a correspondence from Escandón to the governor of Nuevo León discussing his plans for the expedition. He supplied his men with food, and tools, which included ammunition, hatchets, cutlasses, and tents.

[105] Joséph, 5.

[106] Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 13.

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colonists could fend for themselves without burdening the Crown with presidios or soldier expenditures.[107]

The Settlements

Escandón established a total of twenty-three settlements between 1748 and 1755. A census in 1755 included one city, seventeen *villas*, two *poblaciones*, one *lugar* and two *reales de minas* (mining camps) with a population of 1, 331 non-military families, 6,350 non-Indian identified people, one hundred forty four military families, and 2,837 mission Indians.[108] Two years after the initial census information was calculated, José Tienda de Cuervo, the captain of the Vera Cruz dragoons, was appointed to inspect Nuevo Santander. The population in 1757 grew from 6,350 to 8,993 settlers in twenty-four villas. The ranching industry flourished with 58,000 horses, 25,000 cattle 1,874 burros and 288,000 sheep and goats. Small trade in agricultural production fueled goods included beans, maize and vegetables proved prominent crops. Trade in salt, fish, beef, veal, mutton, hides and tallow grew steadily from the time colonization to 1757.[109]

Escandón's colonists were trained by frontier experience, and they were assertive, efficient and able to actively defend themselves with little military support. Regular military units were not recruited in large numbers, and deployment was temporary even for those that were formally assigned to the region. After Cuervo's report suggested

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[107] Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 167; Wilkinson, *Laredo*, 15; Joséph, 5-6; Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 13.

[108] Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander*, Cuadro 4, 143; Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 24 includes 1,481 families, 6,383 persons, only forty four families of officials and soldiers and 2,837 mission Indians.

[109] Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 30-31; Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander* Cuadro 10, 179 details and articulates the type of horse, wild or saddle broken, mules, burros, goats, sheep and cattle within each community.

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personnel cuts were in order, each settlement was assigned a captain responsible for the governance of both the military and civilian populations. *The villas del norte* (Refugio, Reynosa, Camargo, Mier, Revilla, Dolores and Laredo) were left to the defense of their civilian populations, [110] however the civilian population consisted of individuals who were experienced frontier people.

In 1755 Escandón granted Villa de Dolores resident Thomas Sánchez permission to check on a settlement location near the Nueces River. Forty years prior to Sánchez's expedition, in1716 Captain Domingo Ramón stopped at the Nueces River to water his stock while on his way to populate the northeast. The summer must have been hot and dry. He wrote, "[h]ere we found very little water and watering hole so bad that it was necessary that we fix it with hoes."[111] Domingo Ramón, son of Captain Diego Ramón of Presidio San Juan Bautista, mentioned earlier, was also kin to the de la Garza clan, as were the Navarros of San Antonio, the Sánchez clan of Nacogdoches, and of Laredo, to name only a few.[112] This one kinship network exemplified the ties that existed throughout the northern frontier, and the military and ranching experience that influenced frontier military participation.

The lack of potable water in the Nueces location was a problem even in the summer of 1716 when Ramón examined the region on his way to reestablish the missions in east Texas. In 1755, Sánchez refused the location for a settlement and returned to the

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[110] Miller, *Jose de Escandón*, 27-28.

[111] Debbie S. Cunnningham, "The Domingo Ramón Diary," 38-67, 51.

[112] John Inclan, "The Descendants of Captain Diego Ramón," http://www.somosprimos.com/inclan/majordiego Ramón.htm.

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Rio Grande where he settled on the northern side of the Rio Grande. Within two years of the establishment of his herds on north of the Rio Grande, Sánchez owned 9, 000 to 12,000 head of small stock, including goats and sheep,[113] along with a large number of horses and cattle.[114] There were no presidio soldiers, and Sánchez and his descendants protected the region in the tradition established by Escandón's maneuver to create militarized civilian settlements protected by citizen soldiers. Descendants of the Sánchez clan became extremely active members of law enforcement and military units. Through the 1860s-1870, they participated in mounted militia, the Confederate Cavalry, and the Texas Rangers.[115] They will be discussed in later chapters, however, the web of intricate kinship, and military relationships continued through other lines of the family as well. One of Blas María de la Garza Falcón's nephews by marriage, Captain Pedro Lopez Prieto was taken prisoner by Carrizo Indians, and was a defender of Camargo during the Indian Wars of 1812. His sons José Antonio Prieto and Manuél López Prieto were officers in the local militia as well.[116] Although these men were soldiers in the

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[113] Eugene C. Barker, and Herbert Eugene Bolton, "Deposition of Thomas Sánchez," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 6:193.

[114] C. Richardson and Harwood P. Hinton, "RANCHING," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/azr02), accessed June 13, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[115] Captain Tomas Sánchez de la Garza, http://www.vsalgs.org/stnemgenealogy/tSánchez.html; Muster roll Refugio Benavides, Frontier Men, Adjutant General Records, Texas State Library and Archive Commission, Box 401-798: 2; Janet B Hewitt, et al., ed., *Texas Confederate Soldiers Name Roster, 1861-1865*, (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing, 1997), 22-25 lists Cristobal, Santos and Refugio Benavides in Santos Benavides 33rd Cavalry. Their cousins the Navarros and Menchacas (Manchaca) from San Antonio were also in the 33rd.

[116] García, *Captain Blás María de la Garza Falcón,* 31. His mother was Doña Margarita de la Garza Falcón, the daughter of Salvador and Gertrudis de la Garza Falcón.

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regular military, militia soldiers and citizen soldiers played larger roles in the defense of Nuevo Santander's communities.

Citizen Soldiers and Militias

As discussed in Chapter 1, royal officials inspected and reexamined the far northern frontier through the 18th century with several goals. Primarily royal officials sought to strengthen soldiers' defensive capabilities while lowering the cost of defense, and to fatten the Royal treasury through successful conversion and Hispanicization of indigenous people. Establishment of presidial fortifications and the support of a contingency of large regular military personnel were deemed unnecessary within the long-term colonization plan visualized and promoted by Escandón. The philosophical underpinnings of his plan included citizen involvement in defense, rather than a dependence on a Spanish military presence, assuring the Crown of a smaller price tag for defense. Of the twenty three presidios in existence throughout New Spain in 1764, the presidio Santa Anna de Camargo located at the at the fork of the Rio Grande and San Juan Rivers remained the lone regular military fort in Nuevo Santander.[117] The development of a community spirit of self-defense and ranging were directly connected to necessity. Although there were small groups of regular military personnel, the majority of soldiering and law enforcement came from people that rose from their own hearths and joined neighbors to address whatever issue demanded attention.

[117] Zorilla, Juan Fidel. *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander*, (Ciudad .Victoria, Tamaulipas: Instituto de Tamaulipeco Cultura, 1989), 20.

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Indians as Workers, Allies or Enemies

By the 1700s Indigenous people in the Seno Mexicano demanded Spanish attention. Their numbers included not only people native to the region, but refugees from Nuevo León who had fled Spanish expansion, escaped Spanish slave raiders, *encomienda*s, *congrega*, and other coercive labor practices. Certain groups attacked Spanish settlements and simply disappeared back to the unsettled expanses. As mentioned earlier, southern plains tribes were pushed from the north and increasingly squeezed in to New Spain's northern frontier. Apaches fled from the Comanches, their traditional enemies, but they were not the only tribes present in northern New Spain.[118] Historian Martín Salinas in his work, *Indians of the Rio Grande Delta* claimed that 200 years after Piñeda's trip, Escandón identified thirty-one different tribes in the area;[119] however, scholars have established that there may have been as many as 195 groups.[120]

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118 Jeffrey D. Carlisle, "APACHE INDIANS," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/bma33), accessed July 09, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Salinas, *Indians of the Rio Grande Delta,* 14-17; see George Castor Martín, *The Indian Tribes of Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio*, (Corpus Christi, Texas, 1936) for an articulate but brief descriptions of Karankawa Linguistic Family, including Karankawa, Coco, Copane and Coapite, Cujan; Coahuiltecan Linguistic Family, including Pamoque, Piguique, Pajalache; and Tamaultipecan Linguistic Family, including Malaguite, Araname, Lipan, Toboso; John, 276; García, 207 states that Apache was pushed south due to Comanche incursion, and were forced in to conflict with Spanish settlements.

119 Salinas, *The Indians of the Rio Grande Delta,* painstakingly addresses the various groups, their locations, languages spoken, connections and interactions with other Indians as well as Europeans, mission placements, food, shelter, transportation, warfare, diets, and likelihood of group survival and consolidation of ethnic identities.

120 Omar Valerio-Jiménez, "Indios Bárbaros," Divorcees, and Flocks of Vampires: Identity and Nation on the Rio Grande, 1749-1894, Dissertation, University of California, 2001, f.n.11, 45; Osante, *Orígenes Del Nuevo Santander,* 22 discusses the variation in number of Indigenous groups identified in the Seno Mexicano as presented by scholars; included in the numbers are Isabel Eguilaz, 188, Juan Fidel Zorilla, 175, Gabriel Saldívar, 107, Franco Carrasco 195, Ciro De la Garza Treviño 86, Vicente Riva Palacio and Arturo Gonzaléz 72.

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Throughout New Spain, interactions between non-Indians and Indians were complex, and often defined by fluidity of temperaments swiftly transformed relative to situation, time and place. A fair number of Olives, Huastecos, and to a lesser degree Tlaxcalan were central to the colonization efforts in Nuevo Santander.[121] These Indigenous settlers were expected to participate in settlement and defense of Nuevo Santander; however, racism was an integral reality in colonial Spanish culture[122] and other Indigenous folk were simply defined as enemies.

Regardless of tribal numbers, in Nuevo Santander Indigenous concurrence with racial and ethnic caste systems, and Spanish domination was crucial in defining the degree to which groups were accepted as "friends" or "foes." Friendly or at least non-aggressive relations between Indians, mestizos and whites were dependent on acquiescence, and adherence to hierarchies of power dictated by racial and ethnic identity and superiority of perceived whiteness. Historian Omar Valerio-Jiménez' work identified three categories Spaniards utilized to determine the types of relationships v*ecinos* (Spanish settlers) shared with Indians in Nuevo Santander. Indians were either identified as workers, allies or enemies depending on their complacency, and acceptance of assigned positions within a caste system. First, local, conquered Indians, who accepted subordinate, subservient roles as laborers were accepted within *vecinos* society as workers. Unconquered Indians were categorized as either allies or enemies. Both groups were autonomous, however, alliance Indians were utilized to assist Spaniards in

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[121] Zorilla, *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander*, 14-15.

[122] Zorilla, *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander*, 14-15; 30; Omar Valerio-Jiménez, "'Indios Bárbaros," Divorcees, and Flocks of Vampires: Identity and Nation on the Rio Grande, 1749-1894," PhD dissertation, University of California, 2001, 61-69.

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terms of labor and defense, but were "…not completely acculturated in to *vecino* society…" while *indios bárbaros* (barbarous Indians), completely refuted Spanish rule and were thus considered enemies. The only relationship shared between this last group and Spaniards was hostile, and aggressive,[123] and both groups readily attacked each other to kill, kidnap and steal cattle and horses.

In later chapters, the analysis provided by Valerio-Jiménez held true when assessing relationships between the northern tribes and their relationships with settlers in the San Antonio and Nacogdoches areas during various periods of time. In San Antonio the relationships between settlers and Comanche and Apache shifted throughout the 18th century. Alliances were forged between Spaniards and both tribes during different periods, and peace was tentative and fleeting depending on a plethora of situations. Between 1838 and 1839 in Nacogdoches examples of this categorization of unconquered Indians as enemies or allies depended on their acceptance of subordination to Spanish then Anglo-American rule. East Texas Comanche Chief Duwali (Bowles) refused to leave the same treaty specified lands given to him by both the Mexican government in 1824, and the Texas Consultation in 1835. French explorer Jean Louis Berlandier described the Cherokee settlements as being comparable to "French hamlets." The East Texas Comanche became conveniently identified as enemies after a 15-year tenure and development of lands they earned through treaties and military actions against Comanche. Although Duwali was ordered off his lands by the Texas government, he asked that his people be allowed to remain long enough to harvest their crops to avoid starvation. His request was denied, and he was forced to fight when the Army of the

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[123] Valerio-Jiménez, "*Indios Bárbaros,*" 14.

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Republic chased his people when after they refused to sign a treaty and attempted to flee the state.[124] Although the Cherokee were defined as enemies, several Indian tribes were revered as allies. During the 1830s, companies of Creek, Tonkawa, Shawnee, and Apache Texas Rangers were mustered in to the service of the foundling state.[125]

Conclusion

Families intermarried and shared kinship ties in the northern frontiers of New Spain, and they maneuvered within their environments and established two types of communities in Tejas and Nuevo Santander. The settlements of Tejas included Los Adaes, San Antonio and La Bahía. They were established as presidio and mission settlements whose inhabitants were largely descendants of frontier families from Coahuíla and Nuevo León. Within these frontier regions, citizens and soldiers historically acted together to protect communities. Limited numbers of regular military personnel prompted the utilization of citizen soldiers. A culture of violence was familiar to northern frontier Spanish subjects. They were people well versed and trained in Indian warfare by experience, tradition, and the retention of retired military personnel in localities also contributed to an increasingly militarized citizenry.

Traditions are established through the performance of acts, acceptance of those acts as integral to culture or group identity, and the repetition of those acts within the culture. In Tejas and Nuevo Santander, traditions established in frontier Coahuíla and

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[124] Dianna Everett, *The Texas Cherokee: A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 53, 87, 100-104, 108.

[125] Muster Rolls, Captain James Durst, Captain Plácido, Captain Castro, Chief Panther, Adjutant General Ranger Records, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas, Folder 401-118, 120. This situation is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

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Nuevo León prior to exploration and settlement of regions further north, resulted in the definition and transference of acceptable cultural patterns from Coahuíla and Nuevo León to the presidio communities of Tejas. Presidio soldiers brought their families, settled close to the presidios, and missions and slowly negotiated the landscape around them to produce a community with hinterlands used for ranching. After their tours of duty were up, many remained in the growing communities and continued to defend localities in militia units. Families intermarried and produced new generations of soldiers. All citizens were expected to participate in community defense and many became quite adept at ranging the countryside in search of enemies. The years of frontier clashes with Indians and law enforcement created men that were ready for the fight. In Tejas, the Seguín, Flores, Menchaca, Navarro, and Pérez families to name only a few, protected their region during the colonial period as soldiers, militiamen and citizens. After Mexican Independence, they continued to act militarily and ultimately joined the Revolutionary Army and Texas Ranger forces after generations of frontier experience in both ranging and ranching.

Unlike the early settlers of Tejas, in Nuevo Santander citizen soldiers settled lands with minimal support from formal military organizations; however, many of Escandón's settlers were ex-military and had the experience and knowledge to continue performing militarily or they were Spanish subjects with frontier experience. Captain Thomas Sánchez of Laredo, and Captain Blás María de la Garza Falcón of the Villa de Dolores and the Nueces Valley, developed strong ranching communities and successfully negotiated militia participation to assure the protection of their settlements. Their descendants were enthusiastic frontiersmen and ranchers and also became Texas Rangers.

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Enlistment, deployment and methods of fighting practiced by enlisted troops, volunteer militia and citizen soldiers are central factors in understanding the influence of colonial Spanish and Mexican traditions on the development of what has become understood to be the ways of the Texas Ranger in Texas lore. Frontier methods utilized by subjects of the Spanish Crown then the Mexican Republic, were adopted by Anglo settlers in Tejas, and included both offensive and defense maneuvers. Anglo Texas Rangers adopted a substantial part of those traditions without understanding the history or significance of what they learned regarding survival and fighting techniques, through contact with Tejano military and ranching families.

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CHAPTER 3

MILITIAS, CITIZENS, AND SOLDIERS IN THE LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Bright Texas sunshine, white and strong, dances off chrome and car windshields while country songs on the radio sadly address old dogs and love, both perfect and not. I am driving home to Brownsville, Texas. The hills between Austin and San Antonio have stimulated my imagination since I was 17 years old. I-37 out of San Antonio leads me towards the coast and the cut off to Highway 77 south through the chaparral of the Nueces Strip. I watch cattle chew sweet mesquite seedpods in the shade of the thorny trees. They are unbothered by my passing. I think of the bones of my ancestors and all the other frontier people whose bodies are embraced by the earth in these unkind lands.

This chapter examines the establishment and function of frontier fighting organizations. Formal government sanctioned troops, volunteer militia, and citizen soldiers protected and defend communities throughout the frontier settlements. A brief examination of the organization and methods employed within these organizations will provide a foundation for understanding the manner in which Tejanos learned the skills they later passed on to Anglo Texans.

The work of historian Andres Tijerina influenced my decision to find connections between Anglos and Tejanos, and the creation of Texas Ranger image. He wrote, "[c]onsidering the characteristics-good and bad-of the Rangers in mid-nineteenth century South Texas, it appears that the Rangers could well have represented something of a connective link between Tejano flying squadrons of the 1830s and the *Rurales* of the

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1890s."[1] Although I agree with his statement, I would add that Anglos were influenced by Tejanos from the start of their occupation in the 1820s. Tejanos shared their frontier culture, including experience in methods of fighting, and ranching with Anglo and Irish newcomers in both Tejas and regions of Nuevo Santander. The methods began with these formal and informal organizations, whose connections the second half of this chapter describe specifically.

Spanish and then Mexican national policy from 1716-1836 included organizational plans for both regular army and regular and volunteer militia units, each composed of foot soldiers and "flying companies" of armed and mounted troops (*compañias volantes).* The formal military organizations, although an asset to certain regions, were at times resented in others. The ongoing issue of being so far from the central government promoted independent characters in frontier people.

Presidio Shortcomings and Royal Intervention

Frontier presidios were learning environments and places where the right title meant the right to accumulate wealth. On the other hand, soldiers also experienced indignities and brutality. Both Indian tribes and soldiers were at the mercy of the Captain of the presidio and shortages that constantly plagued these isolated areas. Although the number of soldiers in frontier presidios varied and corruption was rampant, the presidios

[1] Andres Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag, 1821-1836*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press), 92; Andres Tijerina, "Tejano Origins in Mexican Texas," http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/tejanoorigins.htm.

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of Los Adaes, La Bahia, San Antonio, and even San Juan Bautista, were expected to perform together.[2]

From 1724-1729 Pedro de Rivera was sent by the King to investigate presidios on the northern frontiers. He found problems that included lack of weapons, horses, uniforms, and food, and excessive corruption, cruelty by officers, and neglect of both soldiers and presidios by those in charge.[3] 1n 1765, only thirty-five years after Rivera's report, the Marqués de Rubí investigated the *presidios* again and found little change since Rivera's earlier report. He examined the status of the guard, pricing of goods sold on posts, and overall effectiveness of defensive structures. Rubí concluded, like his predecessor, that corruption made presidios ineffective. Corrupt presidial commanders controlled soldiers' financial viability, paid them in script or refused them pay entirely. They forced soldiers to labor on private farm or ranch lands and dictated soldiers' enlistment time. The degree of abuse and inefficient management had not changed since the investigation of the 1720s. Historian Donald Chipman wrote, "[f]or the most part, a soldier's tour of duty at a frontier garrison meant unrelenting poverty, poor nutrition, and labor obligations on the private lands of the presidial commander."4

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[2] BAT, Proceedings concerning Casafuerte's order to Governor of Texas relative to the defense of the province, especially the Presidio of Bexar against Apache attacks, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/bexar/search.php?searchText=presidio+corruption&searchtype=documents&beginyear=&endyear=&Submit=Submit.

[3] See Thomas Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain: 1724-1729; A Documentary History of His Frontier Investigation and the Reglamento de 1729,* (Phoenix, University of Arizona Press, 1988); Fay Jackson Smith, *Captain of the Phantom Presidio: The History of the Presidio of Fronteras, Sonora, New Spain, 1686-1735,* (Norman: University of Arizona Press, 1993) for examples of the type of situation faced by frontier soldiers in this region. Primary sources including letters that specify the abuse inflicted by the company commander against his own troops.

[4] Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 173.

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Control of isolated stations[5] stocked with goods ear-marked as tribal gifts or supplies for troops was one way a captain could easily profit from his station. In 1762 the presidio captain of Presidio San Agustin de Ahumada wrote to the government and simply stated that he had supplied the Indians with 14 pounds of bullets from the presidio stores.[6] There was not even an attempt to corroborate the statement by including a tribal name, persons that received the bullets, or even witness statements. This lack of specificity in the correspondence defining the recipient of these "gifts", aligned with a lax system of accountability, suggest the captain of this presidio likely benefited from the appropriation of more than the bullets at this post for his own financial benefit.

Despite the ineffective and abusive nature of many of the presidio captains, measures were implemented to assure protection of territories throughout the remainder of the 18th century for a variety of reasons. [7] Along with *La Acordada,* discussed in previous chapters, colonists and allied Indians participated in *flying companies*. The end

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[5] BAT, Report Cortez to Munoz reporting no settlements other than the presidio at La Bahia, November 4, 1791, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/bexar/zoom.php?variable=e_bx_009574_001&s=0&t=1.

[6] BAT, Report of consumption of inventory of munitions issued at the Presidio San Agustin de Ahumada, January 2, 1762, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/bexar/search.php?searchText=presidio+corruption&searchtype=documents&beginyear=&endyear=&Submit=Submit.

[7] Sidney Brinckerhoff and Odie Faulk, *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of northern New Spain, With A Translation of The Royal Regulations of 1772*, (Phoenix, Arizona: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), 5 addressed French intrusion; Luis Navarro García, "The North of New Spain as a Political Problem in the Eighteenth Century," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontiers: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821*, ed. David Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 207 Spain feared Russian intrusion on the western coast as well. Russian ships had been spotted along the Alaskan shores as early as 1741, and Russian fur traders arrived and made their presence known along the Northwest Pacific; Michael Meyer and William Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 261 discussed British intrusion from the north was also a constant threat with the tumultuous state of affairs in the European arena. The Seven Years' War prompted Charles III to promote the development of a standing army in New Spain in 1762. . Although the probability of French aggression decreased into the later 18th century, English aggression from the Gulf Coast continued. By 1810 thirty three thousand men participated in the armed forces, although only thirty three percent of those were regular soldiers

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result was a mobile, state sanctioned, law enforcement group that wielded the power to punish offenders in the most severe fashion possible. Militarized towns nourished the development of self-preserving, independent, and isolated pockets of citizens active in community defense based on necessity, and tradition. Confrontations continued to boil and implementation of other regulations and plans continued.

Royal Regulations of 1772

The Marquís de Rubí's inspection resulted in the Royal Regulations of 1772. The plan outlined by Royal order included a philosophy of pacification of Indians by force of arms, diverging from previously claimed goals of pacification through kindness and conversion. This model was much more in line with future Texas Ranger philosophies.

The Regulations outlined the several changes in the frontier regions. The provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, California, New Mexico, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Texas, Nuevo León and Nuevo Santander were subject to a commandant-inspector, himself subject to the viceroy. A reorganization of presidios included the establishment of a chain of twenty *presidio*s to stretch from the Gulf of California to the Gulf of Mexico. Presidios were to be built in certain areas, and certain existing presidios were closed or relocated. Despite these efforts to secure the frontier, Indian raiding continued and the Crown ordered additional reform.

The Royal Regulations set rules for the reorganization of the northern frontier regions into militarized zones. The Internal Provinces were reorganized in 1776 and placed under the control of commandant-general Teodoro de Croix. De Croix found that *presidio*s were built on a European model of warfare, and were ineffective against an enemy that utilized "hit and run" strategies; secondly, he recognized that *presidio*s were

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understaffed, insufficiently, if not inappropriately equipped, and soldiers lacked training.[8] The presidial model of defense fell short in terms of military discipline, supplies, personnel, and deterrents to internal corruption. In total, the reports presented to the Crown and the ensuing regulations were insufficient to squash Indigenous rebellion or frontier lawlessness for over fifty years.

De Croix was crucial to the development of militarized towns and ultimately to strengthening of the ranging tradition of the frontier. His philosophy promoted an institutional shift and redefined the frontier landscape. Rather than promoting the establishment of a larger number of *presidio*s and the enlistments of soldiers, he decided to experiment with the creation of five towns in the region of Namiquipa, Chihuahua. His institutional plan included the development of cooperative efforts of communities defended by both civilian and military settlers. Each town was provided 64 square leagues and identified as militarized (*presidio*) towns; household heads included both soldiers and civilians. Regardless of ethnicity, whether Spanish, criollo, mestizo, mulatto, or allied Indian, settlers were provided access to farmlands and house lots on which to build homes. However, the distribution of farmlands and town lots was inequitable and based in class status. They were responsible for both development of the land and for arming themselves to defend against Apache attack. In his work on Namiquipa, Daniel Nugent wrote, "ideologically constructed categories" of race and

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[8] Faulk, *The Presidio*, 73-74; proves an excellent and concise explanation of why *presidio* soldiers were ineffective in calming the frontier; includes analysis of weapons, training, and abuse by superiors that contributed to the decline in soldier morale; Moorehead, *The Presidio* 35.

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ethnicity were superseded in importance and ultimately faded based on the more important identity of "farmer/soldier" or "armed peasantry."[9]

Flying Companies

The mounted flying company or *compañia volantes* exemplified various characteristics that ultimately defined the Texas Ranger of the nineteenth century. An equestrian rapid response and offensive fighting tradition was born on the frontiers of New Spain in answer to indigenous strategies of what historians have called 'hit and run' techniques similar to those utilized during modern guerilla warfare. Beginning in mid-seventeenth century the Apaches, and later Comanche, increasingly acquired horses and guns. Excellent equestrians, they proved formidable enemies and swift in their attacks.

While the Spanish frontier moved further north, French, English, and Spaniards engaged in illegal trade with Indigenous populations and provided horses and guns in increasing quantities.[10] Authorities responded to the increase in mobility and speed of Indians on horseback with *compañias volantes* initially composed of professional soldiers. Units of presidial soldiers and soldiers in flying companies often worked cooperatively. In 1691 Sonora was granted a *compañia volante* that consisted of 30 Sinaloan soldiers directed to cooperate with *presidio* troops from the El Paso area. Troops ranged the Sonoran frontier and were directed to control six Apache groups including the Faranones, Plains, Siete Ríos, Salinero (east of El Paso) and Pecos River Valley Apaches. Attacks on supply trains, travelers, outlying ranches and settlements,

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[9] Daniel Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 47.

[10] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 143, 163, 167, 173-178-179, 196.

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and missions were common as more people moved within and among the developing settlements. Flying companies answered the need for quick response[11] and as more Spanish subjects colonized frontier regions, the necessity for flying companies grew. Pedro Rivera's report published in 1733 included an assessment of three mobile garrisons between Sinaloa and Sonora to the Gulf Coast in addition to the twenty regular presidios.[12]

One company that was central to the establishment of a formal compañia volante presence in Bexar was not initially stationed there. In 1783 the inspector of troops in Coahuila, a cavalry officer, asked for the formation of two cavalry companies to range the frontier regions around Parras and Saltillo. He mustered the Segunda Compañia Volante de San Carlos de Parras unit in February of 1784. In 1791 military command of the Internal Provinces decided to move the troops and their families to Musquíz, Coahuila (Valle de Santa Rosa). Local residents of the Parras region objected to authorities and argued that without the protection of the company all stock in the region would be taken by "bárbaros" Indians from the north. Authorities ignored their concerns. From 1794 to 1803 the Segunda Compañia Volante was transferred to different places until 1803 when the troop was assigned to Bexár.[13] Several of the families discussed in this work had

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[11] Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniards,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 228-229; this work provides detailed accounts of the clashes, policies, and procedures utilized by Spaniards and Indians in dealing with each other in the Southwest. Forbes also claims that the Athapascan groups are not to blame for the demise of certain indigenous cultures as has been expressed by many historians and ethnohistorians; rather Spaniards and methods utilized by conquerors were the reason for the cultural demise of various groups.

[12] Moorhead, *The Presidio* 31-35; Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 129.

[13] Sergio Antonio Corona Paez, "Las Milicias Del Pais De La Laguna (1784-1798)," http://www.elsiglodetorreon.com.mx/noticia/627853.siglos-de-historia.html. He includes several of the men enlisted in the Compañia Volante.

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members who were enlisted in the compañias volantes. The Seguíns, Ruíz, Padilla, and others were members of this troop.

Interestingly, citizens of *Nuevo Santander* began settlement in the 1740s and 1750s and were not fortified with a compañia volante until 1789. Twenty years prior to De Croix's directives in the 1770s, Escandón's settlers were expected to defend their own communities along the Rio Grande. The hearty nature of the settlers was evident in their willingness to travel and settle at such a distance from the more populated regions, and to act in their own defense to create and sustain viable communities. While others relied on frontier presidios for protection and survival, Escandón's people voluntarily headed north with plans to create militarized towns years before De Croix institutionalized the citizen and professional soldier defensive plan for northern settlement. Perhaps De Croix actually observed and followed Escandón' model when he formulated the plans for militarized towns.[14]

Even prior to the assignment of the Segunda Compañia Volante to Bexár another flying company was assigned to Laredo; however, residents almost suffered the ravages of an inexperienced command. In the later eighteenth century, Captain Thomas Sánchez and other Laredo residents of Laredo complained to authorities that marauding bands of Indians were detrimental to developing trade and ranching interests and asked for support from military authorities. Forty-eight local men were active in the local volunteer militia and protected the community armed with muskets and leather shields; however, as more enemy Indians traveled through the region, larger numbers of troops were deemed necessary to effectively defend the area. The *Tercera Compañia Volante de Nuevo*

[14] See Osante, *Origínes de Nuevo Santander.*

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Santander and arrived in Laredo in 1789. The ineffectiveness of inexperienced military men on a violent frontier was exemplified in April 1790 when the captain in charge of the Tercera, Claudio la Comba chased a band of Apache that had performed a raid in the countryside outside of Laredo. The Apaches turned on him and headed into Laredo where they proceeded to enjoy a night of carousing while troops and local Spanish folk alike remained hidden. La Comba made a mistake when he did not calculate the size of enemy forces, but fortunately, the Indians withdrew in the morning.[15] La Comba was replaced by Captain José Ramón Díaz de Bustamante. Along with a change in personnel the governor promoted a policy change. The commander of the villa was ordered to treat with local indigenous people for peace, and he accomplished this for a number of years.[16] The two regions of Tejas and Nuevo Santander had flying companies within their settlements at least for a small period of time; however, the militia was a basic part of the defensive structure within communities as well. The example of La Comba proved the difficulty of the fight and showed the possible repercussions when inexperienced frontier fighters took up arms and the chase against experienced mounted frontier fighters. It is unlikely that Captain La Comba was sufficiently experienced to hold a captaincy on the northern frontier simply based on his actions. He was inexperienced or arrogant, and either shortcoming could have easily caused casualties among his own men and the town folk. Military officials likely understood the severity of these weaknesses. The citizens of Laredo, including its forty-five men militia thought they needed

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[15] John Adams, *Conflict and Commerce on the Rio Grande, 1755-1955,* (College Station: A&M Press, 2012), 24-26.

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assistance from the military only to find that the militia was the foundation of community protection.

The Militia

Militia units were the widely utilized community offensive and defensive military organizations. Historian Lyle McAlister's work, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain in 1764-1800*, states that in 1758, nine years after the first settlements were established in Nuevo Santander, regular military units on the entire northern frontier included only 1,058 troops. In Nuevo León and Nuevo Santander the Cavalry was composed of Flying Squadrons with a total enlistment of one hundred and sixty four troops.[17] About fifteen percent of the troops in the northern frontier were mounted and ranged vast areas by the mid-1700s. Eight years later, Bourbon reforms positively impacted the frontier by bringing at least one hundred forty three regular army soldiers in Nuevo Santander alone, distributed among thirteen flying companies. A captain and sergeant led each group composed of ten soldiers, quartered and deployed from the "most important villas" in the colony.[18] The militia gained status and formal standing during the same time period. Although certain militia units were connected to the formal military, many colonists and

[17] McAlister, Appendix 1, 93. His information was compiled through an examination of the following per his fn: "Estado que manifiesta el en que se hallan los Cuerpos de Infanteria, Dragones y Compañias Sueltas que hay en el Reino de Nuevo España, México, September, 7, 1758, Archivo General de la Nación, México: CV 3 (Amarillas), fol.419; "Instrucíon del segundo conde de Revillagigedo al sr. marques de las Amarillas," México, November 28, 1754, *Instrucciones que los vireyes del Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores*, (México, 1867), pars. 133-135, p.28; "La organizacíon del ejército en Nueva España," *Boletín del archive general de la nación*, XI (October-November-December, 1940), pp. 622-632, 650-662.

[18] Zorilla, *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander* 20; he did not define the villas. José Hermengildo Sánchez García, *Crónica Del Nuevo Santander*, (Mexico: D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Tamaulipas, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990), 81 discusses the activities of two different kind of soldiers in memories chronicling his life from 1766-90. In one case he discussed a company composed of 100 men; however, he claimed a flying company was composed of between 10 and 15 men and 30 men on foot; 80.

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their families were forced to act independently of formal military order and joined neighbors in defending themselves.

Following Spanish and French loss of territory after the Seven Years' War, Charles III promoted the strengthening and revitalization of colonial holdings and ordered the establishment of a larger military presence in New Spain to discourage foreign incursion while simultaneously dealing with Indian "troubles." Reforms stipulated the enlistment and categorization of men separated into three groups that included state funded regular army and militia units, and citizen soldiers that were organized as irregulars and not qualified for government pay or privileges.[19]

In 1764 a committee in Madrid was authorized to strategize and develop tactics to strengthen the military in New Spain, and the results were the establishment of two types of regular military units.[20] The *fijo* or permanent units were composed of troops raised and stationed in the colonies. The second type of unit was called the *refuerza* or metropolitan forces. Soldiers in this type of unit were mustered into service in Spain, and deployed to the colony only for a period of a few years.[21] Despite the plan, committee members understood the financial pressures inherent in supporting a large regular army, and concluded defensive efforts were to be largely undertaken and accomplished by a disciplined, well trained colonial militia, rather than a regular military.[22] The Crown, for

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[19] See Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974) for a thorough explanation of the various manifestations of the *military fueros* and the limitations and privileges incurred through various periods based on enlistment.

[20] McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar,"* 3.

[21] René Chartrand, *The Spanish Main, 1492-1800*, (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 56.

[22] McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar,"* 3.

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similar financial reasons, repeated Escandón's tactics and limited utilization of formal military troops on a colonial scale.

The militia is a fundamental part of this analysis because the history and ongoing influences of the flying or mounted aspect of New Spain's frontier defensive organizations, were significant to the weaving of the Texas Ranger equestrian lore, and the independent character traits so vehemently assigned to them by Ranger historians. Citizens and soldiers joined together and, despite their limited numeric strength, ranged and fought for the common good while simultaneously focusing on preservation of their families and lands. They also sought their own survival on an aggressive frontier smeared with the gore, and perpetual conflict provoked by conquest. Since the earliest expansion into the northern frontier in the 1500s, both mounted citizens and soldiers dealt with Indians and criminals as a necessity to survival.

Provincial and Urban Militias

Two types of *regular militias*, those in the direct employment of the government, were the result of the Madrid reforms. These militia units were categorized in two ways: a) provincial units; and b) urban units, the latter of which were structured along the lines of the thirty three regiments of infantry stationed in each province of Castile. The plans were for provincial militias headed by regular army officers, and augmented with regular soldiers to strengthen the ranks and provide behavioral and official examples. Despite these noted directives, several reports indicate that provincial militias, organized in both infantry and cavalry units, often lacked formal military training, regular uniforms, and

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weapons.[23] These characteristics would later be ascribed to Texas Rangers on the frontier.

Although urban militias were important, this work does not significantly address these organizations except to present formation and recruitment patterns. Urban militia units were found in Puebla and Mexico, and were sponsored by corporations or guilds. In Puebla, bakers, tanners and pork-butchers guilds, and the merchant guild sponsored two companies of cavalry. Companies of Lancers were mustered into service in Veracruz, as were two infantry companies of *pardos* (brown) and *morenos* (dark-skinned). The formal separation of racially defined groups in the urban regions suggest city dwellers, at least in Veracruz, and Mexico, were invested in continuing the established racial divides. In terms of activation of urban militia units, sources suggest they were called to duty during emergencies. Craftsmen and laborers formed an unspecified number of unorganized companies of infantry and cavalry in the coastal region and interior.[24]

The execution of the 1764 reform plan in New Spain was undertaken by, Lieutenant General Juan de Villalba y Angulo who was an Andalusian.[25] Villalba and the Regiment of America, a group composed of troops from Spain, were assigned to provide example and training to colonial soldiers. By August, 1766 Villalba successfully raised six regiments, three battalions and two mounted regiments of provincial militia.

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[23] McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar,"* 2.

[24] McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar,"* 2-3, Appendix 1, Table 1, 93. In the Appendix McAlister does not include numbers for the urban militia units and stated that he did not find strengths for them in 1758; however, he included information that points to the existence of not only Cavalry units, but Infantry units cited as two Regiments of Commerce in both Mexico and Puebla, a Company of Silversmiths of Mexico, and Corp of *pardos* of Mexico.

[25] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 204-215.

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However, Viceroy Marqúes de Croix's (1767-1771) inspection of the militias, concluded that a substantial number of these troops were unfit for service, either because of physical impediments, or obligations to large families that created hardships when militiamen were called to duty. Despite Villalba's recruitment efforts, a substantial number of units lacked officers, training, equipment, uniforms, and even weapons. De Croix resolved to depend on volunteers and to decrease considerably the size of regular militia regiments. He pontificated on how smaller numbers of well trained and equipped men were more effective than large numbers "on paper." His successors Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa (1771-1779) and Martin de Mayorga (1779-1783) continued the provincial militia reorganization project, and by 1781, militia manpower increased from 9,244 to 16,755 troops.[26]

Through these years, one important facet of the reform movement included a transformation in the ideology of warfare promoted by the Crown as well as the participation of citizen soldiers. Increasingly large numbers of Apaches, Comanches, and other tribes identified together simply as the Nations of the North, utilized hit and run tactics against the Spanish military. These indigenous nations obtained guns and horses from the English and Spanish traders. In an attempt to control indigenous people, the Regulations of 1772 promoted offensive warfare. By the 1780s the approach was again

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[26] McAlister, *"Fuero Militar,"* 4-5, Appendix 1, Tables 2 and 3, 95. Correspondences cited are in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, and are from De Croix to Arriaga dated in September and October, 1766. Interestingly, Villalba completed his enlistment project in August, 1766 and only a month later De Croix questioned his actions by claiming men unfit, untrained and unequipped. In correspondences written between September1766 and May, 1767 De Croix decided to decrease the number of militiamen. Chipman stated that in 1783 presidial and militia units totaled only 4,686 men; however it is unclear as to whether he is only dealing with numbers in Texas and not the entire frontier, which would explain the discrepancy in the numbers between him and McAlister. Chipman cites Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed., *Teodoro de De Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 53-67.

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modified by Viceroy Bernardo de Galvéz in the Instructions of 1786 that were modeled after French and English tactics of "peace through deceit." The official government policy promoted extermination, infighting, and dependency through gifts and trade, including badly made guns and alcohol.[27]

Comanche peace treaties were initiated first, and were more successful in New Mexico and Arizona than in Texas. A number of Apache tribes agreed to peace. However in many cases, they were forced onto *establecimientos de paz,* the forerunners of American Indian reservations. Peaceful relations in the northeastern frontier regions were harder to procure.[28] In Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, and Tejas, mounted ranging troops, both enlisted regular army, and militia, regulars and irregulars, remained prepared for hostilities.

Citizen Soldiers

By the time of Escandón's planned settlements in Nuevo Santander, two centuries of Indian hostilities in the Gran Chichimeca had produced experienced, seasoned frontier families, many of whom were recruited by Escandón's agents. According to historian Patricia Osante the plan for northern frontier colonization efforts "…served the interests of the impresarial group charged with its execution."[29] Escandón rewarded financial investors, stock raisers and high ranking military men in the colony with land allotments

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[27] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 214-230.

[28] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 229-235; 2,000 Apaches had settled on eight *establecimientos de paz* by 1793.

[29] Patricia Osante, trans. Ned F. Brierley, "Colonization and Control: The Case of Nuevo Santander," in *Choice, Persuasion and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*, ed. Jesús F. de la Teja and Ross Frank, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 228-232.

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larger than those promised to settlers, tax exemptions, and far reaching captaincy titles that gave them jurisdiction over expansive areas.[30] In addition to the military leadership, workers were necessary for the everyday functioning of communities.

A labor force was included within the settler class, and utilization of settlers who were knowledgeable in ranching and livestock production reduced the dependence on regional Indian labor. These settlers negated the importance of the mission itself for Indian reduction, and promoted the development of "…mixed settlements of Spaniards, castas and Indians, protected by military units under the command of the captains of the settlements."[31] Escandón was apparently willing to accept any settler, regardless of background or means; however, he was unwilling to follow through on basic stipulations of his contract with them regarding land rights. There is little doubt that he understood that whoever controlled the land also held economic, social and political advantages.

Ultimately destitute and impoverished, common soldiers and citizens oftentimes were forced to labor for haciendas for 10 pesos and 4 bushels of rations per week. These lands were owned by high ranking military men or stockmen who had received titles to their lands based on their favored status with Escandón. In this manner the larger haciendas and ranches were provided labor and developed and prospered.[32]

Perhaps this access to cheap labor was also the reason Escandón accepted even families with members involved in criminal activities. As were all of Escandón's settlers,

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[30] Osante, "Colonization and Control," 233-236; he basically broke the *Recopilacíon de leyes Indias*, Law 9, Title 5, Book 4 by promising investors two sitios (8,600 acres) of large livestock and twelve caballerías (1,260 acres) of farmland even though the law said no more than five peonies (105 acres) and no more than three caballerías (315 acres) were to be allotted to new settlers.

[31] Osante, "Colonization and Control," 234-235.

[32] Osante, "Colonization and Control," 232-236.

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they too were promised money for transportation and provisions for their first year, ten years of tax exemptions, two *sitios* for small livestock and six *caballerias* of farmland with water, in addition to royal protection.[33]

A hierarchy of power and wealth resulted in Nuevo Santander as elsewhere in New Spain. Wealthy settler stock raisers and upper-tiered military clans were overrepresented in the landowning class while settlers, soldiers, mission and friendly Indians were exploited as cheap labor. Evidence for favoritism and unequal distribution of lands can be observed in the situation of Vásquez Borrego, whom Escandón provided with an amount of land larger than that assigned a villa. Domingo de Unzaga Ibarrola and Francisco de Barberena were each granted captaincy of two settlements, Hoyos and the Borbón encampment, and Santa Bárbara and Altamira. They were also in charge of three flying squadrons.[34]

This class of military commanders produced descendants that were responsible for defensive organization in the settlements and remained the socioeconomic as well as political leaders within communities in the Nueces Strip. Led by descendants of those early settlers common citizens continued to attack and defend against Indians, bandits, and various other real or perceived dangers. A decade after colonization began in the Seno Mexicano thirteen flying companies manned by ten soldiers and a captain or sergeant each, protected the frontier. A total of only one hundred and forty three regular

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[33] Osante, “Colonization and Control,” 234-235.

[34] Osante, “Colonization and Control, 249, fn 26; in terms of mission and evangelization, Escandón did not want missions developed in his colony unless the missionaries could provide Indian free labor to farms and ranches.

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soldiers were spread throughout Escandón's settlements.[35] Despite these numbers, upon leaving Querétaro during the first leg of the colonization effort, Escandón had seven hundred and fifty soldiers with him, along with twenty five hundred other frontier settlers, including *vecinos* and Christianized Indians, and additional frontier people joined the caravan as it passed.[36] Thus, about thirty three percent of Escandón's settlers were soldiers from Querétaro and whatever civilians joined them were seasoned frontier people. Aside from recruiting farmers and ranchers, builders and mariners,[37] he established the foundations of militarized communities based on the chosen class of settlers. Although colonists were not necessarily members of the regular military they were experienced fighters.

The Life of a Militiaman

José Hermenegildo Sánchez García was a member of a military unit in Nuevo Santander from 1760-1799, and produced a chronicle that included documentation of military etiquette, equipage, personal experiences and ranging activities. His words provided insight to the experiences of men who were trained in organized units and those who continued in informal service.

Paid fifty pesos annually by the church in Real de Borbón, he was a teacher, poet, and Indian fighter, and in addition to narrating experiences, he produced poetry and

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[35] Zorilla, *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander*, 20.

[36] Zorilla, *El Poder Colonial en Nuevo Santander*, 23.

[37] Miller, *José de Escandón* 14.

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corridos explaining his experiences.[38] In 1792 a note from *Commandante general* Ramón de Castro to Governor Don Manuel Muñoz exemplify the expectations provincial officials had regarding access to troops like Sánchez García. Castro wrote, "…[P]rovide Señor Conde de la Sierragorda with 50 men under an officer's command to escort him to the villa of Laredo." Military men throughout the northern frontiers escorted officials, settlers, goods, and animals throughout the frontier. Authorities often ordered participation of locals without regard to whether "men" were civilian or military or whether they were armed as ordered by royal decree.[39]

Equipage

Troops in the later 18th century were required a minimum of weapons that included a saber or sword, the blade engraved with the words *"por mi ley y por mi rey"* (for my law and my king); a musket or shotgun, pistol, or blunderbuss, despite a shortage of powder and ball, and a leather shield. The shield was painted with the royal coat of arms, stamped with the same message of patronage as that on the saber.[40] A three-pound lance was also part of the colonial soldier's equipage.[41] Saddle quality varied

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[38] José Hermenegildo Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander,* (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultural y las Artes, 1990), 11-12.

[39] Bexar Archives, The Dolphe Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas Box 2K41v. 184 Frame 95, correspondence Aug. 23, 1792.

[40] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 77-78. See Faulk for information on presidial soldiers' equipage, regulations, and maneuvers; there were two shapes of shields, the *adarga* shaped like a heart based on a Moorish design and the *rodela*, a more circular design. The quality of the shield varied however, officers carried those of highest quality. These shields cost no less than three pesos and were produced in Padilla. A variety of pictures show the equipment and Faulk explains how and when each was used and the regulations and details, including laws associated with each piece. According to Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 226 the shield weighed four pounds, the lance weighed three pounds, the armor weighed eighteen pounds.

[41] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 217.

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however, the stirrups were metal, some bigger than others. The soldier's mount was protected by heavy leather armor theoretically strong enough to deflect arrows, lance tips and cactus needles.[42]

The Regulations of 1772 dictated troops standardize their dress and equipage; however, modeled on European standards, rather than local "realities" each soldier was required to supply himself with six horses, a colt and a mule, a total of one hundred twenty three pounds of equipment, including 18 pounds of leather armor that covered the soldier to the knees, food and water. Maneuvering offensively was difficult because the weight of their supplies and equipment slowed them and made pursuit cumbersome. Dust raised by their numerous horses also foiled surprise attacks.[43] The requirements were wholly unrealistic for the troops on the far northern frontiers of New Spain. If we look at only one requirement, most frontier troops were unlikely to have the means by which to acquire six horses and a mule on a soldier's salary. Despite the inability of soldiers to follow the regulations, they continued to serve the King.

Historian Thomas Knowles discussed the 1803 *Segunda Compañia Volante de San Carlos del Alamo de Parras* mustered into service in the province of Coahuila y Tejas and ultimately housed in San Antonio's old mission complex. Although stationed in Tejas, the Segunda was armed similarly to 18th century companies discussed by Sánchez García in Nuevo Santander. The leather coat was no longer listed, but lances, shields, sabers, pistols, and flintlock rifles or carbines, and a string or *remuda* of horses were necessary. Prominent members included Tejano revolutionary Juan Seguín and

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[42] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 77-78.

[43] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 217.

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many of the men who fought beside him during the War for Texas Independence. Although this company was extremely important to San Antonio's defense, between 1813 and 1817 the company disbanded and citizen soldiers were responsible for defending their community.[44] The point here is that the weaponry and strategies of light cavalry, offensive, swift movement were utilized in Tejas as well as in Nuevo Santander by members of the militias and regular troops.

Perhaps the man responsible for formulation of a successful mounted military and law enforcement group in the northern frontiers was Teodoro de Croix, governor and commander of the Interior Provinces from 1776-1783. According to historian David Weber, in 1778, De Croix formulated a plan to strengthen soldiers that fought rapidly moving, well armed, and mounted Indian forces. He created the *"tropa ligera"* or light troop force; this group of soldiers was officially relieved of the 18-pound armor, the three-pound lance and four-pound shield, so they required fewer horses. The troops moved swiftly, were excellent horsemen and ground fighters.[45] Interestingly, the *Segunda Compañia* discussed above was in service twenty-five years after De Croix implemented the *tropa ligera*, however, they were still encumbered by lance, and shield.[46] The accepted and popular form of defense and military equipage changed drastically as the years of the 19th century progressed, and the following chapter will address those changes in detail.

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[44] Thomas Knowles, *They Rode for the Lone Star: The Saga of the Texas Rangers*, (Dallas: Thomas Publishing Company, 1999), 6-7.

[45] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier,* 226.

[46] Knowles, *They Rode for the Lone Star*, 6-7.

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Maneuvers

In terms of fighting on horseback, Sánchez García described the maneuvers utilized by mounted units ranging in the later 1700s. Mounted soldiers commonly held both the reins and shield with the left hand, and used the right to fire a weapon or wield a sword, depending on the situation and command given. Shields were carried loosely, and skilled soldiers could deflect arrows and assure the leather was not pierced. Soldiers fighting in daylight engagements covered themselves when arrows were flying. In the darkness of night soldiers were trained to cover with the shield if they heard the sound of the bowstring striking the bow.[47] Since Spanish troops in various localities also utilized bow and arrows, Indian people were likely targets of Spanish arrows as well.[48]

Sánchez García discussed the techniques utilized by his company during confrontations. Mixed companies composed of foot soldiers and horsemen maneuvered their troops and horses to prepare for an encounter with an enemy. The leader ordered a "half moon" (*media luna*) or circle maneuver, and horsemen took the lead; "to the right and faces out" meant mounted soldiers reined their horses to the right, and faced out. The captain or sergeant then ordered a dismount by calling out "foot to ground," and the result was a half moon or half circle.[49] Although Sánchez García did not discuss the intricacies of this maneuver, logic dictated that the armored and large horses provided a wall against weapons, and coverage from which troops fired weapons. Visually it

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[47] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 78.

[48] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 209. The example refers to citizens in New Mexico utilizing bows and arrows based on a shortage of powder and ammunition, but it can be concluded that the shortage of armament was more than likely a typical reality throughout the frontier.

[49] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 80-82.

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resembled the western maneuver of rounding the wagons to defend people from attacks in an open area.

Military Etiquette and Discipline

The captain and officers ordered the individuals in the company without question, a familiar reality in modern military etiquette and law. Sánchez García's memoirs stated that soldiers could not "…eat, sleep, cough, sneeze, spit, speak loudly, smoke, use flint, or go to the bathroom" without an officer's permission. Being staked to the ground over an ant mound for three hours punished a soldier guilty of endangering the unit by making noise during quiet hour. If he uttered a sound, two soldiers were ordered to kill him. Only the pleading of his fellow soldiers freed from certain death.[50] A strict ideological framework and strict hierarchies of power proved the rule within companies of men that risked life and limb against an enemy, and their own commanding officers.

One could confidently say that Spanish officers were extreme disciplinarians. Certain authors claim regular enlistment in frontier areas was avoided in the late colonial and early Mexican periods because citizens were not interested in the type of discipline. Increasingly as the nineteenth century progressed, according to historian David Weber, citizen soldiers in volunteer militias increasingly became involved with the defensive structures within their communities as regular army enlistment fell. It is logical to conclude that his analysis, discussing New Mexico militia, held true of most frontier

[50] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 80-81. The soldier that was punished cried out loudly about spotting Indian tracks while the company was at rest. When the captain found out the report was false along with breaking the code of silence during rest he ordered the punishment described.

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communities when he wrote, "…the sense of community in small border settlements probably encouraged people to volunteer."[51]

Another issue related to military etiquette involves the aggressive and brutal nature of the frontier and the expectations regarding acceptable behavior in relation to warfare. Men were expected to protect their people, livestock, and property regardless of what they truly felt. Bravery, equestrian expertise and enthusiasm for a fight are traits synonymous with Texas Rangers in tradition and lore, but colonial New Spanish frontier men exemplified these characteristics even in Sánchez García time. In a poem called *Convite De Caja*, he described militia preparation for an Indian fight in the mountains. The zeal and enthusiasm in the verse indicated the spirit engendered in frontier people based on constant confrontational existences, and expectations. The poem not only glorifies warfare, including references to preparation of horses and munitions, but also includes lines related to the angelic assistance to militia. Apparently Sanchez believed epidemics of chicken pox and measles were supported by an angelic presence in support of Spanish endeavors. Cultural superiority was supported by a favored status in the eyes of God.[52]

Another element in this ideology related to strength and bravery, again, later discussed within Ranger literature, was the fearlessness in facing the enemy. Sánchez García showed a great reverence for fearlessness, as he proudly described how José Cortés and another militiaman were not afraid of riding into arrow fire without shields. Two "antiguos," Bautista Olazarán y Morquecho and Miguel de Ibarra did the same, and

[51] David Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1835; The American Southwest Under Mexico*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 114-115.

[52] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 78-82.

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Ibarra was such a proficient fighter he used his reins to deflect arrows. Despite Sánchez García's enthusiastic hoorahs for the exploits and bravery exemplified by these men, the author stated that Indians killed both men.[53] An interesting situation faced by John Coffee Hays in the 1840s showed a different side of this type of situation. Hays lost the reins on his horse during an attack on a Comanche camp west of Austin, and his horse went directly in to the enemy camp. He was forced to fight to survive, but those that watched admired his bravery and presented the story as if he had intended to ride into a fight.[54]

These verses give us the philosophical underpinnings of northern Spanish frontier culture. Bravery and identifiable indifference towards danger were traits defining heightened masculine identity, as was the ability to cause fear in enemy combatants simply by the utterance of a name. Sánchez García admired Juan Marcelo Gonzalez, José Antonio and Pedro Saldaña as men whose names supposedly made Indians "scream and run from a fight".[55] Although the reference sounds exaggerated, Sánchez García's message was clear: a man's reputation was amplified by the performance of fearless acts, as well as his ability to generate fear in others.

Regular military and militia troops cooperated in various ways throughout the frontier, however in certain regions volunteer irregulars were fundamental to defense. Resident historian of the Texas Ranger Hall of Fame and Museum, Thomas Knowles wrote, "[t]he rancheros of South Texas called not upon the soldiers of the presidio, but

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[53] Sanchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 78.

[54] Wilkins, *Riding for the Lone Star*, 78-79.

[55] Sánchez García, *Crónica del Nuevo Santander*, 78-79.

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their own riders to defend their herds against Indians and other raiders. It was among these riders that the cowboy tradition of Texas had their origins."[56] Interestingly, Knowles did not credit these irregulars with protecting other people or property within their communities.

According to Knowles, the presence of a trained military officer leading a group of local mounted citizens "set the stage for the special orders by which colonial leader Stephen F. Austin would later create the early 'ranging companies,' predecessors of the Texas Rangers."[57] However, 'ranging companies' had been effectively in place for over a hundred years by the time Austin was discussing the employment of rangers. Even at the turn of the century, the number of militia groups that operated on the frontiers of Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León and Tejas cooperated to ensure protection from various situations that included a resurgence of Indian hostilities, Mexican Independence, conflict with foreign powers, and Texas Independence.

Defense in the villas del norte: 1800-1824

By the opening of the nineteenth century, after decades of tentative peace between Spaniards, Apache and Comanche tribes, threads that bound alliances and peace treaties began to unravel. Spaniards born in New Spain questioned a colonial structure where privileges were based on primogeniture and granted to those born in Spain. As the War for independence appeared probable, officials diverted resources earmarked for native

[56] Knowles, *They Rode for the Lone Star*, 5.

[57] Knowles, *They Rode for the Lone Star*, 5.

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people. Goods and provisions for the reservations (*establecimiento de paz*) dried up and fueled a resurgence of hostilities between settlers and indigenous groups.[58]

Both state and local officials in the communities along the Rio Grande pontificated on benefits of cooperation between military and irregular forces. Locals were experienced and familiar with the rugged landscape while, theoretically, regulars were formally trained. Even though cooperation was the norm between the two forces, periodically, jealousy over power, and jurisdiction flared. Provincial Government officials themselves supported separation of power in both regular and militia groups.[59]

By 1800 there were two regular army flying companies in the northern regions; with one hundred troops in Nuevo León, and two hundred twenty five troops located in Nuevo Santander. These *compañias volantes* cooperated with frontier militia units that included the Corps of Colotlán with seven hundred twenty members, the Corps of the Sierra Gorda with two hundred forty, and the Corps of Nuevo Santander with three hundred sixty members. In addition, there were 2,000 men in the Frontier Militia Companies of Nuevo León, and the Companies of Nuevo Santander were manned by 1,000 for a total of 4,320 registered militiamen in the northern region.[60] Additionally, there were volunteer citizen soldiers that worked cooperatively with these units.

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[58] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 234-235.

[59] Matamoros Archive, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, Box 2Q268, X, 29-31. Correspondence from Juan Echeandia to the *Teniente* giving D. Andres Saldaña command of the military. From this point on this Archive is cited as MA.

[60] McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar,"* 67, Appendix 1, Table 5, 99.

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Citizens and Regional Characteristics

As to the nature of frontier people an 1810 report sent to the Cortez of Cádiz by Miguel Ramos Arizpe described the soldiers and ranchers of Nuevo Santander. According to his words these frontier people were severely virtuous, inflexible in terms of surrender, and impatient with inactivity or disorder.[61] Military hero General Vicente Filisola, also described the citizens of Nuevo Santander as intelligent, brave and great warriors capable of going up against any troops. He also claimed they were trained from infancy to proficiently shoot, guide, track, hunt men and animals, fight, canoe, cart, and butcher animals.[62]

Coastline Protection

Following the success of the War for Mexican Independence in 1821 the province of Nuevo Santander became the state of Tamaulipas, (*Estado Libre y Soberano de Tamaulipas*) in 1824, and the capital, Santander moved to San Carlos, then Aguayo, and ultimately renamed Ciudad Victoria. Included in this boundary were portions of the present day state of Texas, specifically the Nueces Triangle. Laredo and Refugio (renamed Matamoros in 1826) were focal points in understanding militia movement.

Defensive strategies were impacted by Mexican Independence and the threat of continued Spanish aggression against the new democracy. On the frontier of Tamaulipas,

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[61] José Fidel Zorilla, Maribel Míro Flaquer, Octavio Herrera Perez, *Textos de su historia, 1810-1921*, primera parte, Gobierno del Estado, Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas, 1990, 20.

[62] Oscar Rivera Saldaña, *Frontera Heroica: Colonización del Noreste de Mexíco, 1748-1821*, H. Tamaulipas, 1994, 87; in Eliseo Paredas Manzano, *Homenaje a los fundadores de la heroica, leal e invieta Matamoros en la sesquicentario de su nuevo nombre*, H. Matamoros, Tamaulipas, 1974, 23.

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regional militias' duties, both regular and irregular, resembled a combination of military, coast guard, customs, border patrol and law enforcement.

In close proximity to the coastline, fear of Spanish reinvasion prompted scrutiny of the waterways and coastlines from the Refugio area militia. At least one flying company was responsible for guarding the coast and inspecting ships in Brazos de Santiago and the Bay of Refugio. Spain was considered a "foreign threat" and newly acquired freedoms meant Mexicans were increasingly suspicious of strangers and goods that could support Spanish royalist forces. Cargo and passenger ships entering the area were inspected to assure people had passports, and goods were legal, and properly documented.[63]

Contraband shipments discovered throughout the 1820s to 1836 repeatedly included tobacco, *agua ardiente*, silver, ham, cotton, flour, gunpowder, shoes and even wood.[64] Periodically passengers without proper documents were either refused the right to disembark or arrested by officials for not having appropriate paperwork.[65] In 1825 and 1826 outbreaks of smallpox and measles led to the development of a health commission in the region, and the militia was assigned with enforcement of restrictions on ships to limit the possibility of epidemic. Interestingly, by 1830 there was a vaccine

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[63] MA, Box 2Q268 IX, 52 Dec. 7, 1824, correspondence, Alcalde Padilla stated strangers in the region should be registered; MA, Box 2Q267, VIII, 195, Dec. 21, 1824, correspondence stating strangers have to have passports.

[64] Regarding smuggling MA Box 2Q268, XII, 13 and2 57; MA Box 2Q272, XVII, 1, 14, 29, 51, 68, 79. 84, 95; related to silver, MA Box 2Q267, V, 8; related to tobacco Box 2Q269, XVI, 159, 162-164, 180-182; the ship Sally Ann was a point of concern throughout 1820s.

[65] MA, Correspondence from Lucas Fernandez (Victoria) to the *Alcalde* de las villas del margen, February 13, 1827, discussing the expulsion of Italian Domingo Sturiani who is to be expelled from Mexico if no passport or official papers are received.

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developed to fight smallpox and officials promoted the vaccination of citizens throughout Tamaulipas.[66]

Smuggling and contraband were significant issues discussed throughout official circles in the region. Contraband of any kind discovered on sea, or land by the militia was ordered seized and secured. Goods and parties involved in illegal activities were relinquished to a judge for proper trial.[67] Redistribution of goods confiscated from an "enemy" or conquered group was common practice in New Spain and continued through the Mexican period. Emilio Camilo Suarez of the *Gobernacion del Estado Libre De Las Tamaulipas* complained to the local Refugio *Ayuntamiento* in 1823 that confiscated tobacco should be forwarded to federal officials, rather than sold in the villas.[68] Based on this reference goods were likely appropriated by local officials or military/militia men as loot, and state officials meant to redirect those economic benefits to officials at higher level.

On September 9, 1824, a statement made by the *Aduana Nacional del Refugio* claimed fourteen bushels of tobacco were found in the vicinity of Manuel Lopez' *rancho.* Thirty-year-old "*baquero*" Manuel García, a member of the *Resguarda* (Guard) led by Marcelino García officially swore he discovered the bushels in a *sitio* (parcel) close to the *rancho*. Juan Longoria Serna wrote the account, signed the paperwork for Manuel García,

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[66] MA Box 2Q269, XIV, 160, 191, 197, 87; XIII, 144, 136; XII, 3, 1; XI, 199; MA Box 2Q266, II, 179.

[67] MA, Box 2Q268, X,15, correspondence dated Dec. 4, 1823, from Juan Francisco Gutierrez (Aguayo) to *Alcalde* (Refugio) discussing instructions on how to deal with contraband.

[68] MA, Box 2Q268, X, 17-22.

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and included a statement regarding his composition of the document. [69] Despite his own illiteracy, Manuel García completed his report for the state, perhaps wanting to be assured that he would be free of any accusations of misconduct.

One particular case pinpoints how this institutionalized tradition of officially sanctioned confiscation could quickly foster illegal and abusive behavior by law enforcement. Formal complaints were filed against two troops stationed at Brazos de Santiago by property owner, Ylario de la Garza, who claimed soldiers had entered his home without provocation or necessity, and stole tea, rice, oil and other goods. Apparently certain troops did not differentiate between partaking of confiscated goods as booty, and simply stealing from citizens.[70] Other instances of inappropriate behavior by troops included shooting in the streets and fighting.[71] Misbehavior by Rangers and other law enforcement officers continued into the later nineteenth century; suffice to state that troops were products of systems where the winners looted, and confiscation of goods was sometimes the only pay troops received or was the means necessary to supplement their income.

Law Enforcement

As law enforcement officials, militias could be ordered into action without a great deal of notice. Regular and volunteer militias, including flying companies, were expected to quickly respond to cries for assistance from their own and surrounding

[69] MA, Box 2Q268, X, 6, Sept. 9, 1824, correspondence from Joaquin Duran Bardo to *Alcalde* (Refugio) reporting apprehension of 14 bushels of tobacco; MA, Box 2Q268, X, 130-131, sworn statement of Manuel García written and signed by Juan Longoria Serna. Apparently García was not literate.

[70] MA, Box 2Q267, VII, 171.

[71] MA, Box 2Q266, III, 6.

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communities, not only against Indians, or foreign incursion. An example from the capital of San Carlos provided an example of cooperative relations between communities against criminals in the state of Tamaulipas. In July 1823, José Manuel de Zozaia sent a message to officials in Refugio and asked for immediate assistance from the local militia and flying company to protect the capital of San Carlos from murderers (*asesinos).* De Zozaia assured payment of any debt accrued by the forces in accomplishing their assignment.[72]

The *Alcalde* was responsible for enforcing directives from provincial leaders regarding the operation of local militia and regular military. In 1823, the Alcalde was ordered to secure horses and weaponry, and assure governmental payment for militia supplies obtained on credit. Unclaimed roaming horses and mules were to be utilized by the militia and regular military of Refugio unless claimed by owners.[73] Since the well being of the community was a priority, public sentiment dictated that if owners did not claim these animals, cared for through public support, the animals were to be used for the welfare of the community. Military officials constantly searched for horses and weapons for the troops.

On a somewhat similar note, methods of punishment for minor crimes were also framed by the general welfare needs of the community. In 1823 the provincial government ordered Refugio Alcalde Don Andres de Saldaña to prosecute vagrants and robbers and to punish criminals through public shaming; however, he complained that

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[72] MA Box 2Q268 X, 76-77; X, 99, Correspondence dated July 7, 1823 from José Manuel de Zozaia in San Carlos (alternative spelling Lezaria) to the *Ayuntamiento* in Refugio and to the Teniente Militar.

[73] MA Box 2Q268 X, 99, correspondences dated July 7, 1823 from José Manuel de Zozaia in San Carlos (alternative spelling Lezaria) to the Refugio *Ayuntamiento* and Teniente Militar.

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momentarily there were no public works projects in the state to employ offenders.[74] Public shaming was thus, correlated to laboring in public works. The repartimiento labor system forced indigenous people to work on public projects; implementing labor punishments equal to forced Indian labor was both a method utilized to strip ethnic privilege and to assure labor for community development.

In the 1820s militias still worked as security escorts for goods and people from one point to another. For example, on June 10, 1824 Matias Ximenes asked the *Presidente of the Ayuntamiento* in Refugio, Juan Bautista García to order Sergeant Marcelino García to have one corporal and three soldiers take Rafael Garase to San Fernando where they would be relieved of their duties and allowed to return.[75] In another case, on June 9, 1826, state official Feliciano Quintero asked the *Señor Juez de Haciendas* José Maria Villarreal to supply six civil militiamen to accompany Don Francisco Xavier Salinas and Don Pedro Capistran to San Fernando.[76]

Foreign Invasion, Indian Fights, Texas Rebels

Hostilities between *indios bárbaros* and *vecinos* manifested in a variety of ways and despite the presence of formal military units, in Nuevo Santander citizen soldiers acted as both Indian fighters and law enforcement officials. In 1818, Indian attacks on Refugio culminated in physical violence, stealing of livestock and goods, and kidnapping. In 1823 one such attack prompted regional political leader Juan Echeandia, in Soto la

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[74] MA Box 2Q268, X, 76-77; X, 99, correspondences dated July 7, 1823 from José Manuel de Zozaia in San Carlos (alternative spelling Lezaria) to the Refugio *Ayuntamiento* in and Teniente Militar.

[75] MA Box 2Q268, IX, 30.

[76] MA Box 2Q269, XIII, 45.

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Marina to write the Alcalde of Refugio, Ramon García, expressing sorrow over a recent Indian attack and kidnapping. He assured García of forthcoming support by the regular military; however, Echeandia insisted *vecinos* continue to both work the land, and volunteer defensive assistance to the *Comandante de Armas* to repel and punish "barbarous" Indians.[77] A few months later provincial leaders in San Carlos offered a solution to a shortage of horses in Refugio's militia. They ordered García to provide strong mounts to four militiamen.[78]

Between 1821 and 1835, Mexico experienced shifts in power and a variety of threats from different arenas. In 1821, the allied forces of Vicente Guerrero and Agustín Iturbide overthrew the Spanish Empire. In July 1822, Iturbide was crowned emperor of the Mexican Empire, however, by March 1823, he abdicated and the newly elected Congress abolished the Mexican Empire. Iturbide was exiled in Italy in May 1823, but he returned to Mexico almost as soon as he arrived. On July 19, 1823 he was executed in Tamaulipas. A few months after Iturbide's execution, in October 1824, the Mexican Congress adopted the federalist Constitution of 1824.[79]

The late 1820s and 1830s were difficult years for northern frontier people. Fear of Spanish attack after Mexican Independence remained a point of concern. Expulsion of Spanish royalist supporters became a common topic within newly independent governmental circles. In 1829 Juan Carreño in Ciudad Victoria raised the possibility of a Spanish invasion and prompted several officials to support the enlistment of locals in

[77] MA, Box 2Q268, X, 119-120, correspondence dated July 13, 1823.

[78] MA, Box 2Q268, X, 108.

[79] Timothy J. Henderson, *The Mexican War for Independence* (New York: Hill and Wang Publishing, 2009), XVI-XVII.

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militias and regular forces responsible for coastal and local defense.[80] In addition to the building of defensive structures against Spanish invasion, immigration from the U.S. was viewed as a point of concern. Manuel Mier y Terán was sent on an expedition by President Guadalupe Victoria in 1827. He was assigned to check on boundaries, resources, and the attitudes of Anglo colonists in Texas. Because he viewed the increasingly large Anglo population as problematic, his report suggested an increase in immigration of Mexicans and Europeans, and more garrisons around the settlements. His suggestions were considered and prompted the Law of April 6, 1830. Texians became disgruntled by two points they considered detrimental to their position: first, the proposed suspension of existing empresario contracts; and secondly, the end of the importation of slaves into Mexico. These prohibitions proved to be catalysts for protest that ultimately led to rebellion by Texian seditionists five years later.[81]

Indian Wars remained a constant concern in the Seno Mexicano, and despite periodic peace, relationships between Mexicans, Comanches, other northern tribes, and

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[80] MA Box 2Q270, XIX, 73-77, include correspondences dated Feb. 14-19, 1829, deal with Spanish expulsion. MA Box 2Q270, XX, 28, 52,61, 63, 82, 106, 119, 124, include correspondence from May-June, 1829, and promote expulsion of Spaniards throughout Coahuila and Texas. MA Box 2Q270, XX, 76, 80 and Box 2Q270, XIX, 58, Aug. 1, 1829 correspondence from Ciudad Victoria, Juan Carreño to Matamoros *Ayuntamiento* and *Alcalde* about a Spanish Expedition; MA Box 2Q270, XIX, 125, Aug. 1, 1829, correspondence from Reynosa, Juan Nepomuceno Molano asking about enlistment; MA Box 2Q270, XX, 10, Aug. 13, 1829, asking people to take up arms and resist the enemy; MA Box 2Q270, XIX, 52, Aug. 21, 1829, correspondence from Ciudad Victoria to Matamoros *Ayuntamiento* asks for militia to march to Ciudad Victoria to assist them; Box 2Q270, XX,19, Juan Carreño from Ciudad Victoria to Matamoros *Alcalde* dated Aug. 22, 1829 discusses contract for guns and rifles for civil militia.

[81] Curtis Bishop, "LAW OF APRIL 6, 1830," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ngl01), accessed July 13, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Margaret Swett Henson, "MIER Y TERAN, MANUEL DE," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmi02), accessed July 13, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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Apaches ebbed and waned from aggressive to tolerant.[82] Additionally, Texas seditionists taxed social and economic resources.[83] Frontier men were expected to volunteer for civil militias[84] if not the regular military[85] to defend the Mexican Republic from both traitorous rebels and Indians. Although men volunteered for military service within flying companies, deserters plagued regular military units in the region.[86] Citizens were pushed to donate seed, money, weapons and livestock to the defensive effort as well as manpower.[87] In 1835, military men even asked civic leaders to release

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[82] MA Box 2Q267, VIII, 104 Correspondence Aug. 4, 1827 from Bexar government explains signing of peace with Comanche Nation, but warns Comanche people should have passport when close to settlements and encampments; they should be avoided if possible unless contact is necessary. MA Box 2Q267, VIII, 102-103, correspondences Aug. 7, 1827 include copies of correspondence from Bexar sent to Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas from the Comandante General Inspector signed Antonio Elosua. He states that the armistice is only with Comanche and people should be careful not to mistake "Chariticas" for Comanche although they dress similarly because not friendly. MA Box XXVI, 75, March 9, 1836, Indian attack kills men; XXVI, 176 April 21, 1836 Comanche; XXVI, 179 June 1, 1836 cost of chasing Indians; MA Box 2Q266, I, 107, June 17, 1836 Secretary of Haciendas needs help dealing with frontier Indians; XXVI, 180, July 8, 1836, money needed for both Indian defense and Texas War; MA 2Q266, Box IV, 62, July 9, 1836 listed contributors to the war against the Indians.

[83] MA 2Q266, Box IV, 6, 8, June 20, 1835, P. de la Garza; wrote to the *Alcalde* in Matamoros asking for mules to take a cannon to Brazos de Santiago and equipment and officers to Texas; MA 2Q266, Box III, 181, correspondence dated September 4, 1835, he asks for mules to complete the march to Bexar; MA Box 2Q271, XXIII, 13, 67 dated October 16, 1835 from Ciudad Victoria, José Antonio Fernández wrote to the *Ayuntamiento* asking for the recruitment of a body of men from the different villas to go to Matamoros; XXVI, 180, July 8, 1836, money needed for both Indian defense and Texas War.

[84] MA Box 2Q271, XXIII, 81, 90, 91,88, 14, 95, 22, April-May, 1835 decrees and information regarding raising, arming and provisions for militia; MA Box 2Q266, III, 4, December, 1835 is a correspondence from Ciudad Juarez offering services to the civil militia.

[85] MA Box 2Q271, XXII, 11, 130; XXIII, 86; Box 2Q266, IV, 2, deal with recruitment and participation of regular military from Feb.-June, 1835.

[86] MA Box 2Q271, XXII, 11, May 10, 1830 is a correspondence from Manuel Mier y Téran to the Alcaldes of the villas. He writes from Matamoros in late April and May and August, September 1830; see Omar Valerio-Jiménez,. *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), Chapter 3.

[87] MA Box 2Q267, XX 104, Juan Carreño from Ciudad Victoria to Matamoros Alcalde José Domingo de la Garza asking for seed and other help from vecinos for war preparation; MA Box 2Q266, IV, 4, 12, June 3, 1836 Matamoros *Alcalde* Pedro de la Garza asked for supplies for the Texas troops; see Valerio-Jiménez, Chapter 3.

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prisoners to them for the defense effort,[88] despite an 1826 decree from Ciudad Victoria that denied criminals the right to become servicemen.[89] An increase in the number of participants in frontier defense was necessary with simultaneous threats from rebels in Tejas demanding independence, and Indians suffering from encroachment, reservation shortages, and simple hostility. At the end of the War for Texas independence, a new nation emerged with the help of several Tejano families who were directly in a counter position to the forces in Matamoros and Laredo, although born of the same traditions.

Conclusion

The activities and workings of volunteer militia and regular military units in eighteenth and early nineteenth century South Texas and northern Mexico demonstrate the existence of organized, armed and mounted citizen soldiers and regular military units ranging to protect local communities. People on the far northern frontiers of New Spain were Indian fighters, buffers to foreign incursion, and law enforcement from the time of settlement in the 1700s to the time of Mexican Independence in the 1820s. Spanish, Mexican and Indigenous frontier people joined both regular army and formal and informal militia groups. They not only defended their regions and homes, but they were also willing to act offensively and attack anyone they identified as enemies.

By the time Austin financed ten men to range around the Anglo settlements in the 1820s, men of Nuevo Santander, Tejas and Nuevo León had been active rangers for centuries. Despite the historical identification of Rangers as Anglo, and Stephen F.

[88] MA Box 2Q266, IV, 15, June 17, 1835, Marín Perfecto to the Matamoros *Ayuntamiento* asks for prisoners to utilize as soldiers.

[89] MA, Box 2Q267, V, 179.

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Austin as the father of the modern-day Texas Rangers, for three centuries, armed and mounted Spanish, mestizo and Indian flying companies protected communities and property in northern Spanish frontier regions. The following chapter outlines some of the Mexican and Mexican American people and locations that followed this tradition after Texas Independence.

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CHAPTER 4

TEJANOS AND THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC

I look out the second floor windows of my parents' home in Brownsville, Texas, and find the day almost gone. The orange, pinks and reds of the Texas sunset are smeared across clouds as if the heavens declared ownership of the sky with a signature stamped in vivid colors. From this perch I can see the Rio Grande, the boundary line between Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico. I was raised on this land. One of my earliest and most treasured memories was of my Grandfather Juan walking me to the cattle dipping pens across the street to watch frightened livestock herded and processed, one by one, through a tub of chemicals geared to eradicate the tick menace. Ticks were only one of the harsh environmental pressures on these lands. Mesquite, and cactus thorns meted out pain if approached carelessly, fire ants, wooly worms, and a number of insects wreaked chemical warfare on anyone foolish enough to approach too closely. Survival and prosperity in a place are directly connected to knowledge of the environment, landscape, people, and traditions of that place.

Early Euroamerican immigrants to present day Texas came from north and eastern regions along with certain European regions. Landscapes, weather, enemies, and modes of living were different and working livestock on large land tracts and on horseback was not necessarily common-place for the new immigrant population. Stock farms that utilized pens were much more common in the east.[1] Fighting on horseback in

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[1] Only a handful of authors have dealt with the cattle raising process from the eastern United States and support the notion that Texas and western cattle raising were influenced by a combination of methods employed by eastern and southern cattle ranchers. H. Sophie Burton, "'To Establish a Stock Farm for the Raising of Mules, Horses, Horned Cattle, Sheep and Hogs:' The Role of Spanish Bourbon Louisiana in the Establishment of Vacheries along the Louisiana-Texas Borderlands, 1766-1803," *Southwestern Historical*

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lands largely composed of forest and mountainous terrain was also not typical of what. How did Tejanos influence the new arrivals?

This chapter highlights two points: First, my intention is to shed light on the relationships shared between Euroamerican immigrants (including Stephen F. Austin) and leading Tejano families. Based on these ties, new arrivals learned the art of offensive, mounted scouting and engagement of the enemy on the range, as well as guerilla warfare tactics from frontier Tejanos. By the time Austin employed the first documented Texas Rangers in the 1820s,[2] Tejanos had ranged the northern frontiers for generations; thus, Austin's Rangers continued, rather than created, the Texas ranging tradition.

In Andrés Tijerina's 1994 work, *Tejanos and Texas under the Mexican Flag*, 1821-1836, Tijerina discussed the influence of Spanish traditional governmental positions, particularly the role of the *juez de campo*. The position was adapted to the New Spanish then Mexican environment from old world methods. The juez de campo was likely the most respected government official in the land, and militia, law enforcement and military leaders in New Spain and Mexico took their cues from the juez de campo. According to Tijerina, "Historian Paul Vanderwood, among others, [has] demonstrated rather lucidly that the spectre of special privileges of the Hermandad and the Mesta was resurrected …in the 1850s to become the basis for the notorious Rurales of the late nineteenth-

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Quarterly 109: 1 (July 2005), 98-132. See John Solomon Otto, "The Origins of Cattle Ranching in Colonial South Carolina, 1650-1715," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine,* 87:2 (April 1986), 117-124; John Solomon Otto, "Open Range Cattle Ranching in the Florida Pineywoods: A Problem in Comparative Agricultural History," *Proceeds of the American Philosophical Society,* 130: 3 (September 1986), 312-324; Terry G. Jordan, "The Origins of Anglo-American Cattle Ranching in Texas: A Documentation of Diffusion from the Lower South," *Economic Geography* 45:1 (January 1969), 63-87.

[2] See Texas Ranger Hall of Fame, "Texas Ranger Research Center: Founding of the Rangers in 1823, accessed February 2, 2011, http://www.texasranger.org/ReCenter/org1823.htm; "Rangers and Outlaws," Texas State Archives, accessed February 10, 2012, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/law/index.html.

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century Mexico.[3] Secondly, Tejanos were active volunteers and members of the Army of the Republic of Texas in 1835 and 1836 and members of the Republic Rangers between 1836-1845. Few scholars have discussed Tejano participation in either ranging or the movement for Texas independence. Paul Lack's 1992 publication *The Texas Revolutionary Experience*, and Raúl Ramos' 2008 work, *Beyond the Alamo* are two excellent exceptions. Both of these historians credited and discussed the roles of Tejanos during the Texas Revolution;[4] however, it is my intention to provide examples of the connections that facilitated the transference of information from one culture to the other and social, economic and political activities that showed the interactions between groups.

Tejano Relationships with the New Immigrants

Contrary to popular myth, European and American immigrants to Texas did not arrive at a desolate place where a few destitute Spanish colonists resided. By the time the first *empresario* contract was assigned to Stephen F. Austin, *Tejas* had been populated for over one hundred years by seasoned Indian fighters, experienced militia members, vaqueros, businessmen and politicians. They were members of militarized communities that shared a culture of armed, equestrian, offensive and defensive fighting tactics marked by a belief in taking the fight to the enemy, and they subscribed to the necessity of frontier justice as defined in the previously discussed actions of the *juez de campo* with roots in the 12th century Spanish frontier *Santa Hermandad.*[5] Based on cooperative

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[3] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, 76.

[4] Paul Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History, 1835-1836*, (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1992); Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2008).

[5] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, 74-75.

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business ventures, friendships, and shared interests, first settlers taught and shared their culture and knowledge with European and American newcomers. The guns that won Texas Independence belonged not only to newly arrived Euroamericans, they also belonged to Tejanos and Native American Texans. Tejano families, Euroamerican newcomers, and even a few Native American groups that will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, shared political and socioeconomic interests from the earliest days. Sometimes these groups were allies, and at other times enemies, but many of them shared particular characteristics that came to exemplify Texas frontier character. They were independent, highly spirited, assertive if not aggressive mounted ranchers, traders, merchants and political figures. They impacted the development of the idolized version of the later 19th century Texas Ranger.

The Austins, Seguíns, and Veramendis

Interactions between the Austin family and Tejanos did not begin with Stephen F. Austin. Moses Austin, Stephen F. Austin's father, and New Spain's recruiter for colonization of Spanish Louisiana, the Baron de Bastrop, Felipe Enrique Neri shaped the future of Texas through a chance encounter in a Kentucky tavern in the early part of the 19th century. Although years passed between the time they met, in the early 1820s Moses Austin arrived in Béxar and as a Spanish citizen, requested permission from Governor Antonio Martínez to settle three hundred families from the U.S. in *Tejas*. Governor Martínez, increasingly under pressure to control the northern borders from incursion, refused his request, and ordered Austin to leave Béxar; however, as Austin walked across the plaza to mount his horse, he recognized the Baron de Bastrop and the two became reacquainted. Neri listened to Austin's plan, wrote out an Application for Colonization in

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his own hand and presented his recommendation for Austin's colony to Governor Martínez. Austin's application was forwarded to officials in Monterrey,[6] and on January 17, 1821 the leadership of the Eastern Internal Provinces sent the *ayuntamiento* of Béxar official approval for Austin's request. Moses Austin was in Natchitoches, Louisiana, headed for Missouri when Governor Martínez received the approval. Martínez sent a Commission of Béxar's prominent military, political, and economic elite that included Erasmo Seguín, Juan Martin de Veramendi, and Francisco Ruiz to Natchitoches to inform Austin.[7]

Moses Austin never saw his dream to fruition; he died from pneumonia due to exposure during his trip home from Texas. He entrusted the successful implementation of his settlement plans to his son Stephen F. Austin who was to travel from his residence in New Orleans and meet him in Natchitoches. The Commission of Tejanos arrived in February 1821 to inform the elder Austin, and assist him on his return to San Antonio. They missed Moses Austin, but waited for him until July when Stephen F. Austin finally arrived. A few days after Austin's arrival, they received word of Moses Austin's death in mid-June.[8] Erasmo Seguín became an important authority/parental figure to Stephen

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[6] The Austin Papers, Eugene C. Barker, editor, 3 vol. (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1924), 371, (from this point this collection will be referred to as AP); Moses Austin's Application For Colonization Permit, AP II: 319; see Charles A. Bacarisse, "Baron de Bastrop," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 58 (January 1955); Jerry Patterson, "Saving Texas History: The Texas General Land Office; Archives and Records Newsletter," Vol. 7 No. 1, Fall 2010 http://www.glo.texas.gov/what-we- do/history and archives/_publications/STH-newsletter-summer-2010; Eugene C. Baker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (1926; reprint, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 43-80.

[7] Letter Governor Martínez to Felix Trudeau, February 26, 1821, AP II, 384; Letter from Governor Martínez to Don Ambrosio Maria de Alasoro, AP II: 382; Letter from Baron de Bastrop to Moses Austin, March 2, 1821 AP II: 384.

[8] Letter from Maria Austin to Stephen F. Austin, August 25, 1821, AP II: 407. Although she had written to Stephen F. Austin regarding Moses Austin's death, he apparently had not received the letters. She wrote to explain the details of his death.

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based on his presence and assistance at such a crucial moment. Austin's own father was dead, and this business venture was tedious and littered with bureaucratic complications. Austin wrote his mother of the support he received from Erasmo Seguín.[9] New Spain was in the midst of a fight for independence, and a general sense of unease penetrated the affairs of the state. In this atmosphere of uncertainty Erasmo Seguín, along with several other Tejanos, became significant actors in Austin's life.

In early August 1821 Stephen F. Austin and fifteen men who accompanied him joined the Tejanos on their return to San Antonio. In the form of true frontier hospitality, the Tejano escorts not only waited for Austin and his men for five months, as they approached Béxar Seguín even sent word to Governor Martínez from the Guadalupe River region and asked him to procure a house where the Americans could stay. Austin's group remained a few days in Béxar before setting off to explore lands for settlement,[10] and by October 1821 Austin sent a report of his observations of appropriate lands to Governor Martínez, and so began the legal Anglo settlement of Tejas. The letters Stephen F. Austin left behind after his untimely death in December 1836 showed the depth of the relationships he developed with Tejanos and the importance of those relationships.

Erasmo Seguín and his family played a significant role in Austin's life. Although the friendship between his son Juan Nepomuceno Seguín, and Austin has been discussed

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[9] Letter from Stephen F. Austin to Maria Austin, July 13, 1821, AP I: 401. On July 4, 1821 Stephen F. Austin wrote a letter to his father informing him that he was in Natchitoches with the Mexican Commission, and conveyed news of the approval of their colonization plan. Letter Stephen F. Austin to Moses Austin, July 4, 1821, AP II: 400.

[10] Letter from Erasmo Seguín to Governor Antonio Martínez, August 10, 1821, AP II: 406.

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in several works,[11] the ties between the Austin and Seguín families have not been examined in relation to the impact of their friendships, and the military and ranching knowledge passed on to Austin and other Anglo newcomers through their relationships with Tejanos. Erasmo Seguín was himself a fifth generation military and political leader in San Antonio; he was a postmaster, merchant, farmer, and rancher. Aside from escorting the young American to Bexár, he developed a long and intimate friendship and business relationship with Austin from the start of their interactions in Natchitoches.

Upon hearing of the death of Austin's father while in Natchitoches, Erasmo Seguín counseled Austin to continue ahead with the planned settlement. Although the Commission had been assigned to escort Moses Austin, they escorted Austin and a group of fifteen of his men towards San Antonio.[12] Conversation between the men in the group likely included discussions regarding politics, economic opportunities, and responsibilities of citizenship that included militia service. Seguín family members had been northern frontier soldiers since the 1720, and the Ruiz and Veramendi clans also had significant military ties.[13] While in route from Natchitoches to San Antonio the group

[11] See Jesus de la Teja, ed., *A Revolution Remembered: The Memoires and Selected Correspondence of Juan N. Seguín*, (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2002); Timothy M. Matovonia, *The Alamo Remembered: Tejano Accounts and Perspectives,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

[12] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Maria Austin, July 13, 1821, AP II: 1745; Letter Maria Austin to Stephen Austin, June 8, 1821, AP II: 1745 informed Stephen of his father's illness; Moses Austin's Death Certificate, June 16, 1821, AP II; 1745; De La Teja, 6.

[13] Letter of introduction from the Baron de Bastrop to Moses Austin, March 3, 1821, AP II: Part 1, 384; Neri vouched for "Merrimendez" [sic] and his character, and identified Veramendi as his "God father" despite the misspelling of his name.

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was exposed on the road, and it is likely that they discussed military methodology and techniques for both offensive and defensive actions.[14]

For generations the people of Bexár had been aggressive Indian fighters and protectors of their region against foreign incursion. In his work, "Efficient in the Cause," Stephen Hardin wrote, "As sons and grandsons of *presidiales*, rugged members of presidio garrisons, Tejano volunteers inherited skills in warfare against hostile Indians. Their military lineage bred an awareness of organization, light cavalry tactics, and a propensity for the offensive."[15] They worked not only defensively, but chased and punished those deemed enemies. Seguín knew Austin was becoming part of the larger body of frontier settlers and that as *empresario* he was responsible for the safety of the population in his settlements. After his departure from Béxar, Seguín continued a relationship with Austin that lasted throughout his life.

Mexican governmental officials named Austin the Lieutenant Colonel of the settlements, with power to direct civil and military order along the Colorado and Brazos region as early as June 1823.[16] Per the "Militia law of the Mexican Nation" Austin was directed to raise militia companies to protect his region. This task must have proven difficult for the enthusiastic young Austin. After almost a year and a half, in November

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[14] Summons from Cabildo, October 26, 1760, BAT: 2C22 v. 48, 170-172 served as an example of the world Béxareños and Tejanos shared with other frontier people. The summons from the *cabildo* called for all citizens to bring arms and munitions to the town center for inspection. The summons also ordered that no one leave the villa without proper authorization because people were getting killed without anyone knowing who, why, how or when exactly people were being lost.

[15] Stephen L. Hardin, "Efficient in the Cause," in *Tejano Journey, 1770-1850*, Gerald Poyo, ed., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 49.

[16] Baron de Bastrop Addressed the Colonists, August 9, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 683.

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of 1824, Austin commissioned William S. Brown Lieutenant of the First Militia.[17] Initially this first company was too small to be identified as more than a detachment; however, the fact that militia volunteers were not numerous did not hinder Austin's enthusiastic attempt at proving his place within the frontier community, even if it was at the cost of regional indigenous populations.

Corporal punishment against Indian people was a common practice in colonial New Spain, and Austin followed the same methods. Variances in the identities of those punished for certain crimes allow readers a glimpse in to the hierarchical system of race and class stratification that privileged those identified as white. Whipping was an accepted and utilized method of punishment in colonial New Spain, but officially approved as a punishment only for non-White populations. Spaniards who were considered white were often times not punished in the same manner as those deemed Indians. One example of this process was evident in a 1795 when Governor Manuel Muñoz issued a 17 article proclamation that explained rules and punishments related to the theft or slaughter of the King's herds. Although Spaniards were charged fines for offending the King's property, an Indian convicted of the theft or slaughtering of stock without a license received a 10-peso fine and thirty days on a chain gang for a first offense. Indians convicted of a second offense received fifty lashes, while Spaniards only paid twice the initial fine and suffered no corporal punishment whatsoever. There is no doubt that hierarchical racial and class structures that ultimately led to Mexican Independence were fueled by these arbitrary and racist rules. Although racial classifications for punishments were theoretically abolished early in the next century,

[17] Commission of Militia Officer, Stephen Austin announced William S. Brown the first Lieutenant of the first militia unit, November 4, 1824, AP II: Part 1, 977.

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traditional racist punishments were probably practiced prior to the official proclamation of 1795, and likely remained in place despite official disapproval.[18] A quarter century after racially defined punishments were done away with Austin ordered his militia to search for a group of Tanchaues who supposedly stole horses from two settlers on the La Bahía Road. Austin ordered the militia to find and punish the Indians by "whipping them severely, and shaving the[ir] heads."[19] Perhaps in conversations with old families of Béxar, Austin learned that this type of aggression was accepted and employed against people deemed inferior by generations of frontier people in New Spain.

There were many occasions for conversation, familiarity and shared advice. Relationships were not only shared between Austin and the Tejano male elite, rather families and friends shared in these connections. Upon the arrival of Austin's younger brother James E.B. Austin the Seguín family opened their home to him for a year to study and learn the Spanish language. Stephen F. Austin prompted James Austin, called Santiago by his Mexican hosts, to become fluent in the Spanish language, and to practice his pronunciation whenever he had the opportunity.[20] James and Stephen F. Austin stayed with the Seguín family several times throughout the years. Stephen F. Austin wrote of his gratitude and respect for Don Erasmo Seguín, and was impressed by the fact that the older Seguín repeatedly refused payment for the times both he and his brother

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[18] Jackson, *Los Mesteños*, 423; see BAT 159: 52-81; Béxar Archives Microfilm Roll 26 frames 18-23.

[19] Letter Austin to Amos Rawls, June 22, 1824, AP II: Part 1, 840. Austin's directive stated that if the group could not get the tribe to give up the guilty parties, Rawls was to take as many horses, mules and other property that would satisfy the amount the settlers believed the horses were worth, and they were to inform the Indians that they had ten days to return the horses, or their property would be confiscated by the injured parties as payment for their losses.

[20] Letter Stephen F. Austin to James E.B Austin, December 25, 1822, AP II: 560.

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stayed with the family. Apparently, Austin was so grateful for Seguín's constant regard that he directed Samuel William, his secretary, to purchase a cotton gin for Don Seguín, who at the time was trying his hand at growing cotton.[21] In the tradition of frontier hospitality and friendship, money was not exchanged when friends visited one another, and Austin recognized the generosity and importance of the Seguín family friendship, as did James Austin.

The importance of his friendship with the Tejanos and his attempts at reciprocity were apparent in a letter James Austin wrote to Stephen F. Austin in 1826. He asked his brother to care for Juan Seguín, who was scheduled to pass through San Felipe de Austin on his way to New Orleans on business. Based on his gratitude for all the Seguíns had done for him, James Austin asked Stephen F. Austin to provide Juan Seguín with letters of recommendations for connections in New Orleans, and to provision him with "…the best[,] let it cost what it may." A special request shows the degree of affection and consideration James Austin had for the younger Seguín. Aside from necessities, James Austin asked his brother to contact a certain Mr. Pickett for "…good butter for him [Juan Seguín] to take along on the road."[22] James Austin apparently knew Seguín's likes and specifically asked for "good butter." One wonders about the experiences James Austin shared with the family during his prolonged visit to have promoted such a degree of attention to comforts he wished bestowed upon his friend. Familiarity allowed for the development of trust that supported establishment of relationships with others who perhaps were not family members in the traditional sense, but who were referred.

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[21] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Samuel Williams, May 9, 1833, AP I: 966.

[22] Letter from James E.B Austin to Stephen F. Austin, August 22, 1826, AP II: Part 2, 1432-1434.

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In November 1826, while Juan Seguín was still in New Orleans, Erasmo Seguín sent Stephen F. Austin a letter that exemplified the degree of trust Seguín shared with Austin. His letter discussed the arrival of Samuel Williams, Austin's secretary, and a companion in travel. Based on Austin's recommendation regarding the good character exhibited by Williams, the pair was welcomed into the Seguín home. In addition, Erasmo Seguín stated he had sent Ambrosio Rodríguez, one of the members of Juan Seguín's militia group, to Austin's colony with fresh horses for his son's return trip from New Orleans. He asked Austin to take care of Rodríguez and his companion, and to remind them to attend to the horses during their wait. The elder Seguín also informed Austin that he had received word from friends that his brother was on his way back from Saltillo.[23] Seguín and Austin trusted each other to care of each other's people, and without hesitation both men did exactly that on multiple occasions.

Josefa A. Bezerra de Seguín, Erasmo Seguín's wife was also in contact with Austin. As a Tejana matriarch she likely spent time with James Austin while he resided in her home. She expressed fondness for both Austin men and wrote to Stephen F. Austin in 1824. She forwarded information to Austin from her husband who was in Mexico City at the Congressional gathering of delegates assigned the task of producing a democratic constitution. Erasmo Seguín sent word that the constitution would likely be ready by April then he would return. Aside from this political business, Mrs. Bezerra de Seguín stated that the Baron de Bastrop had introduced her to Austin's cousin, addressed only as Mr. Austin. Before closing, Mrs. Bezerra de Seguín sent greetings to "Santiago" (James Austin), and in a more somber tone sent condolences regarding the passing of

[23] Letter from Erasmo Seguín to Stephen F. Austin, November 18, 1826, AP II: Part 2, 1505.

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Austin's mother, along with affections from the entire family.[24] The language and sentiment in letters shared between the Seguíns and Austins repeatedly stress affections from family, and friends. Friends were important in these frontier communities, and Anglos like Samuel Williams, mentioned above, became well acquainted with the families of well known and respected Tejano businessmen, politicians and ranchers. Connections to and between elite military families were important for the elite families themselves and for those that sought to improve their socioeconomic and political status. Many of the new Anglo arrivals quickly recognized and made sure that their interests were also interests of the leading Tejanos.

One of the commissioners sent to escort Austin to Bexár, Juan Martín de Veramendi, was a well-educated, successful and seasoned merchant, and rancher who established rancho San José on Cibolo Creek in 1810. He married María Josefa Navarro, the sister of Veramendi's childhood friends the Navarros. Veramendi's father-in-law Angel Navarro was a soldier, who appointed Veramendi to his first political position. His wife's brothers were Lieutenant José Angel Navarro, an officer in the Spanish army, and later *jefe politico*, and Juan Antonio Navarro, a Texas revolutionary and politician.[25] The Veramendi, Navarro, Seguín and Ruiz families shared bloodlines as well as frontier relationships that included dependence, and cooperation, and Austin became part of this extensive social and familial network. As early as 1821 after only a short acquaintance Erasmo Seguín began embracing Austin and supported his growth within the economic realm by joining Austin in "trade" and "commerce" with Indians around Austin's

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[24] Letter from Maria Josefa A. Bezerra de Seguín to Austin July 1824, AP II: 899; Stephen F. Austin's as it appears through various letters was John Austin.

[25] De La Teja, *Tejano Leadership*, 30-31.

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colony.[26] The support continued and expanded as they years progressed and the connections between Austin and other Tejanos became more pronounced.

In 1828 Don Erasmo Seguín invested in a ranch with Don Juan Martín de Veramendi and they offered Austin access to profits from their venture. Despite the availability of livestock throughout their own region, they asked Austin to consult local ranchers about the quality and availability of stock in his settlements.[27] By including Austin in their economic endeavors they demonstrated their desire to support his financial success, along with their faith in his abilities to choose high-quality livestock, or to find men capable of choosing quality stock. They may have even set up the means for Austin to succeed in the stock trade. During this time frame, there were only two "Mexicans by birth" in San Felipe de Austin and they included Erasmo Seguín's "servant" Antonio Mancha, and vaquero José Leal.[28] Yet, these two men were critically important because they likely assisted in training new arrivals in open range Texas stock raising, and mounted fighting techniques. The elite Tejano rancheros in the adjoining Nacogdoches region were also likely allies to new arrivals based on their ranching background and their elite status. The Ybarbo, Flores and several other families will be discussed later in the work.

Although some Anglo immigrants may have practiced stock raising prior to their arrival in Texas, the Texas landscape and environment called for specific skills not employed by eastern stockmen. A couple of examples of common methods included pen

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[26] Letter from Erasmo Seguín to Stephen F. Austin, August 30, 1821, AP II: Part 2, 1746.

[27] Letter from Erasmo Seguín to Stephen F. Austin, October 30, 1828, AP II: Part 1, 137.

[28] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Political Chief Ramon Musquiz, April 2, 1828, AP II: Part 1, 86-87.

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stock raising rooted in techniques used in Great Britain, and the non-interactive Florida method of simply allowing livestock to wander the swamplands without tending to the stock until slaughter.[29] In terms of methods employed by Tejanos, a combination of attention and allowances proved necessary based on landscape, threats that would result in losses, general herd size, and even time of year. Cattle were protected and worked by vaqueros that were responsible for working them, rounding them up, branding, and protecting them and the ranches from dangerous predators, both animal and human.[30]

Stephen L. Hardin' work proved invaluable in describing the crossover of two specific ranching tools employed to conduct ranch labor and also utilized during violent confrontations. Although he specifically referred to violent engagements with Indians, rancheros would have utilized the same methods regardless of the enemy. Hardin wrote, "During engagements with Indians, rancheros incorporated range skills developed while herding cattle and defensive military techniques. A favorite tactic was to snare an enemy brave within the wide loop of a lasso, yank him out of the saddle and drag him to death."[31] In addition, Hardin explained Spanish rancheros historically employed a device called a *desjarretadera*, a lance with a half-moon blade that they used to cut the tendons on a steer from horseback. The lance head changed from the half-moon to a

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[29] For comparison of ranching methods see Jackson, *Los Mesteños*; Burton, "To Establish a Stock Farm for the Raising of Mules, Horses, Horned Cattle, Sheep and Hog:"; Otto. "The Origins of Cattle Ranching in Colonial South Carolina"; and Otto, "Open Range Cattle Ranching in the Florida Pineywoods: A Problem in Comparative Agricultural History."

[30] BAT, 2C20, Vol. 34 is a list of regulations, some of which deal with the conflict between the old military and ranching interests and the newer Canary Islanders who were primarily farmers. In San Antonio several court battles were waged between farming and ranching factions because neither wanted to accept responsibility for fencing their property to keep stock out of farming plots. By 1761 the powerful ranching section apparently won the battle. This document stipulated that farmers were responsible for fencing lands, but were to leave gateways on the main trails.

[31] Hardin, "Efficient in the Cause," 50.

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spearhead as methods changed, but "[i]n the hands of experienced rancheros, the lasso and the lance constituted a lethal double threat."[32]

Through these early years, and perhaps because they knew the difficulties faced by colonists, Tejano friends attempted to educate Austin in the traditions of frontier militia activity. Historian Andrés Tijerina wrote, "…for the first two years Governor Trespalacios personally guided Austin's defense arrangements…through the Baron de Bastrop," however, Austin's settlers lagged in their follow through when given the authority to act and protect their region.[33] Many works on the Texas Rangers profess that Austin's colonists were responsible for their own protection in the tradition of rough and tumble frontier men from the northern and eastern woodlands of the US. However, as mentioned above, citizen-soldiers were not so easily pressed in to militia service in Austin's colonies, and there must have been some discussion among Tejanos regarding the northern colonists' inability or apparent lack of desire to protect themselves. As early as 1823 Austin's settlers were protected by a company of fourteen soldiers assigned to the colony by Governor Trespalacios,[34] and a volunteer citizen militia that did not produce exemplary results in terms of offensive positioning against enemies.

In August of 1823, Lt. Moses Morrison's militia company proved impotent in dealing with disturbances by Indian groups unwilling to acquiesce to colonial rule.[35] Austin addressed the colonists and stated his famous and often quoted line, "I will

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, 87.

[34] Letter from Stephen F. Austin to Colonel J. M. Guerra, August 11 1823, AP II: Part 1, 710-711.

[35] Letter Moses Morrison to Robert Kuykendall, August 3, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 676; Letter Stephen F. Austin to Governor Luciano Garcia, August 11, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 686.

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employ ten men in addition to those employed by the Government to act as rangers for the common good."[36] Less than a week after Austin's magnanimous statement that he would pay for ten men, Austin asked Governor Luciano García if he would fund ten additional men and a sergeant.[37] The political weight of the statement was impressive considering that almost 200 years later scholars continue to discuss Austin's willingness to pay for rangers from his own pocket, without addressing the fact that he asked the Mexican government to pay for them in a letter written a week later. Austin's political maneuvering did not negate his willingness to take up arms and participate in violent confrontations with those he deemed enemies.

In October 1823, Austin himself led a surprise ambush on a group of Tancahues accused of stealing horses and intimidating settlers on the Colorado. After Austin "…compelled the captain to deliver a severe lashing to the marauders" he explained to the Tancahues that next time he would see to it that the molesters were shot.[38] The punishment meted out again pointed to his education by Béxareños; however, again his colonists did not appear overly enthusiastic, or willing to participate in the necessary mobilization of forces without pay.

In November 1823 Austin requested an additional thirty soldiers to protect colonists from Indians and robbers on the roads between the colony and the coast. Austin claimed a lack of proper powder for the rifles, and asked for extra lances, shields or guns from the Béxar presidio. He also stated that without at least a small mounted force it was

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[36] Stephen F. Austin's Address to the Colonists, Written on the back of Baron de Bastrop's Proclamation of August 6, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 678.

[37] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Governor Luciano Garcia, August 11, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 686.

[38] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Governor Luciano Garcia, October 20, 1823, AP II: Part 1, 701-702.

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impossible to assure the safety of travelers on the road.[39] According to military writer Philip Katcher, cavalry units were not commonly employed in the United States until the Civil War for a number of reasons. An analysis of the 1850s period revealed an underlying problem with the availability of horses and the training of troops. Horses were not usually found among the poor, uneducated, often foreign-born city dwellers recruited for military service. Because recruits were not trained in horse handling prior to enlistment, they depended on training to learn not only to ride, but cavalry fighting techniques were not often taught in the two cavalry schools open in the 1850s. Prior to the 1850s troops were even more limited in access and training.[40] Although Austin's settlers were products of a time thirty years earlier, it is unlikely that Austin, despite his militia experience in Missouri, or his settlers, were familiar with hit and run, aggressive, mounted tactics common on Indian frontiers where horses had been readily available for generations by the time of Austin's settlement.[41] Austin's relationships with Tejanos and their familiarity and adherence to these traditional methods evidently enhanced Austin's own understanding of the futility of controlling outlying regions and roads without mounted troops.

In December 1823 Austin brandished the title of Lieutenant Colonel[42] and he ordered his colonists to organize local militias "from Big Lake on the Colorado River to

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[39] Letter from Stephen F. Austin to Colonel J. M. Guerra, August 11. 1823, AP II: Part 1, 710-711.

[40] Philip Katcher, *US Cavalry on the Plains, 1850-1890*, (Great Britain: Osprey Publishing Co, 1985), 21-23.

[41] For a significant work on horse culture see Jackson, *Los Mesteños*; J. Frank Dobie, *The Wild Horse Desert.*

[42] Baron de Bastrop to Colonists: Proclamation of Governor Garcia, August 4, 1832, AP II: Part 1, 677.

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the Sea Shore."[43] Historian Andres Tijerina discussed the unwillingness of Anglo settlers along the Colorado and Brazos to utilize flying companies, preferring what he called "obsolete ground tactics handed down to them by their forefathers from the experience at Bunker Hill and New Orleans against the British."[44] Austin's colonists' inability to swiftly range the lands, or even mobilize, forced Austin to apologize to Colonel Mateo Ahumada for his troops' inabilities as late as August 1824. Although Austin claimed his troops lacked speed and stealth based on their need to travel large distances, he enthusiastically reported that Cherokee allies, led by Chiefs Bowles and Chief Fields, had agreed to attack enemy Indians in the region.[45] In essence, the Cherokee were the militia for Austin's colony during this period. Aside from the fact that Indians were willing to fight for him while his own settlers were not, Austin complained to Minister of Foreign Affairs Lucas Alamán about punishments dictated for criminals in his region by Monterrey's Commandante General. Austin complained that unlike Béxar, his region did not have presidial soldiers or even a jail to house prisoners, and that official Decrees that criminals, Indians and other "vagabonds" be employed in hard labor, as punishment for crimes until otherwise notified was problematic.[46] He wrote, "…a [c]ondemnation to hard labour [sic] without an adequate guard to enforce the Decrees is only to exasperate a criminal…I have therefore in some cases been driven to the painful alternatives of either permitting a Criminal to escape unpunished or of taking upon

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[43] Order of Military Organization, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen F. Austin, December 5, 1823, AP II: 715.

[44] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag,* 88.

[45] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Mateo Ahumada, August 26, 1824, AP II: 1336.

[46] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Lucas Alaman, January 20, 1824, AP II, 727.

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myself the responsibility of inflicting corporal punishment."[47] Austin's position at this point was similar to that of the *juez de campo* simply by necessity.

Tijerina wrote of the *juez de campo*, "[h]is was a broad authority as primary judge with civil and criminal jurisdiction in the city as well as in the *despoblado*. He was empowered to pursue, to deputize, and to prosecute.[48] Almost accidentally Austin found himself in a position of extreme importance and power. He was the leader of a community in which he had the right to act as judge, jury and executioner without necessarily consulting with anyone else. Austin did not enjoy his position of power and in fact, he asked Alamán about the possibility of creating a Commission to set rules and oversee corporal punishment because he did not feel comfortable in this role. Ironically, after Mexican Independence in 1824, the central government did not facilitate a larger mobilization of federal troops to the reaches of Texas; rather, federal authorities assigned localities with most of the task of protecting their own regions.

The Regulations for Presidios of 1826 shifted the responsibility for military actions in the localities from federal to local troops.[49] Tejanos did not suffer from this transition based on their already long-standing commitment to the care of their own *vecindarios*. Citizen soldiers always understood their role as members of militarized frontier communities; armed struggle, either within the settlement, as part of agile and mounted militia units, or as members of *compañias volantes*. Along with sharing their military experience, several of Austin's Tejano friends shared their experience as

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[47] Letter Stephen F. Austin to Lucas Alaman, January 20, 1824, AP II, 728.

[48] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag,* 74-75.

[49] Montejano, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846*, 115.

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ranchers, another employ that stressed horsemanship and defense of localities, in this case the ranch. People within ranching areas were also expected to fight and defend themselves and their property.

Erasmo Seguín had extensive experience protecting his community in the San Antonio region as a soldier, militiaman, politician and business owner. He was a rancher and merchant. By 1810 Seguín was working five hundred head of livestock on the 22,000 acre rancho *La Mora*, lands that previously belonged to Mission San Antonio de Valero. A year after he acquired the ranch, anti-royalist soldiers within federal ranks attempted to take control of the Nacogdoches garrison. Perhaps to assure his recent land acquisition was protected, Seguín led the Béxar militia and recaptured the Nacogdoches garrison. The difficult political situations were only beginning for Erasmo Seguín and his family. They maneuvered through tumultuous political waters that included negotiating their loyalties during the Mexican Independence movement. Between 1811 and 1820 Don Erasmo Seguín's was charged with disloyalty once, stripped of his property and position as postmaster by New Spanish officials, and regained his position and goods after he was found innocent. He became alcalde of Béxar in 1820 and was elected as the only Tejano delegate to the constitutional convention in 1823. He was a member of the legislative body that created the Constitution of 1824, and he was pivotal to the acceptance of the General Colonization Law that gave *empresarios* the land and rights to distribute lands in Tejas.[50] Erasmo Seguín became embroiled in the turmoil of the Texas Revolutionary movement in 1835 to 1836 along with his son Juan Seguín.

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[50] Edmonson, J.R. *The Alamo Story-From History to Current Conflicts,* (Plano, Texas: Republic of Texas Press, 2000), 51-52, 71-72.

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By 1830, Erasmo Seguín's son Juan Nepomuceno Seguín had become involved in business and affairs of the state while the elder Seguín began the construction of his famous rancho *Casa Blanca.* The rancho became a focal point for revolutionary activity during the War for Texas Independence. Livestock from the rancho's herds fed Texas troops, and the house and area proved important for storage and distribution of supplies. A day's ride south of town on the San Antonio River, today there is little proof to show the fortified structure was ever there. A plaque marks the spot on a small hill overlooking the river where Erasmo Seguín built his dream. The land is ideal for stock raising even today, considering the water source, and Erasmo Seguín purchased nine thousand acres to assure he had sufficient space. The Casa Blanca was a square, walled structure with palisades protected by three brass cannons.[51] He built a *casa fuerte* in the tradition of the ranchos built by settlers in the Gran Chichimeca for three hundred years. As a successful merchant, politician and businessman, Erasmo Seguín prepared to protect his rancheria in the same way that generations of rancheros had done before him. Stephen F. Austin remained his friend and the ties that bound Tejano military elite and new immigrants remained, although somewhat shaken at times based on the inability of newer Anglo arrivals to distinguish between Mexican enemies and Tejano allies.

Despite these situations, the ideologies followed by certain elite Anglo and Tejano populations were similar and will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. Like the Anglo population that arrived during the Wars for Independence, the Seguíns, Navarros, Veramendis, and others throughout different regions of Texas were proponents of both

[51] Fane Burt, "Seguin's Mansion Now Only Rubble," *The San Antonio Express,* March 16, 1969, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/archives/newsarch/casa.html; De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 4-5.

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immigration and slavery in the colonies. The status enjoyed by Tejanos prompted certain ideas that allowed them to support both the free movement of populations to Tejas and the enslavement of others. The relationships forged in frontier societies and the labor systems discussed earlier in the work actually point to the logical acceptance of slavery within the ranks of frontier people. Tejanos and northern New Spanish populations in general had been raised on slavery of various types by the time of Texas Independence, and the military and political elite were likely raised in households in which slaves were a fundamental reality. Stephen F. Austin had also been raised in an environment that supported slavery. In fact, while he was still only a young man, his father bid him to procure 12 slaves for him to work his mines in Missouri.[52] It is likely that he shared many conversations with his Tejano friends regarding the future of slavery and immigration.

New Immigrants and The Navarro and Ruíz Families

José Antonio Navarro was a proponent of immigration and continued slave importation. A rancher, merchant, politician, lawyer, land commissioner, and Texas revolutionary, Navarro remained one of the only voices for Tejano rights after Texas independence. He was also a friend and business associate of the Austins, Seguíns, and many other Anglo Americans who he dealt with during the turbulent years between Texas independence and U.S. annexation. He was well connected to Tejano political and military leaders as the son of a military officer, nephew of military leader José Francisco Ruiz, and brother-in-law of Governor Juan Martin de Veramendi. Navarro's political and

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[52] Letter from Moses Austin to Stephen F. Austin, September 16, 1812, AP: II, Part 1, 217. Moses Austin thought 50 slaves at his mines would pay for themselves in a year. He asked Stephen F. Austin if he could try to get 12 slaves from Mr. Hampton and make them payable in New Orleans.

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military involvement was fostered early on by his uncle José Francisco Ruiz's support of the anti-royalist 1812-1813 Gutierrez-McGee Expedition.[53] José Antonio Navarro was only 18 years old when he decided to join an anti-Spanish movement along with several prominent Tejanos, including his uncle José Francisco Ruiz, Juan Antonio Veramendi, and Erasmo Seguín. The entire family was ultimately forced to flee Texas when royalist forces arrived in San Antonio.[54] Social and kinship networks allowed populations to survive the tumultuous years of war and turmoil through cooperative efforts and alliances.

José Antonio Navarro's familial and social connections proved the extent of kinship ties and alliances. Despite his loyalty to the crown, Navarro's royalist soldier brother José Angel Navarro was removed from his military post based on the actions of his relatives and he was "forced to flee for his life" to interior of Mexico despite his innocence; however, he was not permanently ostracized from either political or military service.[55] His sister Josefa Navarro, and her husband Governor Veramendi adopted José Angel Navarro's daughter Juana Navarro after the death of his wife. Juana Navarro was raised with Alamo Defender Jim Bowie's future wife Ursula de Veramendi. Juana Navarro was at the Battle of the Alamo with her son Alejo Pérez and her younger sister

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[53] William C. Davis, *Lone Star Rising: The Revolutionary Birth of the Texas Republic*, (New York; Simon and Schuster, 2004), 24-26.

[54] Richard Bruce Winders, *Crisis in the Southwest: the United States, Mexico and the struggle over Texas* (Lanham, Maryland: The Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 76; Stanley Noyes, *The Comanche: The Horse People,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 192.

[55] James E. Crisp, "José Antonio Navarro: The Problem of Tejano Powerlessness," in *Tejano Leadership in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas*, ed. Jesus de la Teja, (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 2010), 149-150; "José Antonio Navarro, 1796-1871, accessed Jan. 6, 2012, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/history/bios/navarro/jose_navarro.html.

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Gertrudis Navarro. Juana Navarro married Dr. Horace Alexander Alsbury, another Texas revolutionary.[56]

José Antonio Navarro returned to Texas three years after his exile and was elected to the state legislature of Coahuila y Tejas and then to the Mexican Congress. His uncle Francisco Ruiz did not return until 1822 then continued his military service. From his post in Nacogdoches, Francisco Ruiz wrote to his friend Austin in 1827, and apologized for not being able to travel with him to Bexár until after peace negotiations with the "Wacos and Tahuacoanos," were concluded. The correspondence indicated that Ruiz knew James Austin as well Stephen F. Austin, and he asked Austin to send his affections to the younger Austin. It also indicated that that Stephen F. Austin knew Gaspar Flores, who was part of the political and military elite of Béxar, based on the familiarity with which Ruiz discussed Flores with Austin.[57] Flores was the leader of the Béxar militia that only a year earlier had led one hundred cavalry mustered in after the 1826 Regulations for Presidios revamped the organization of the militia and handed localities increased responsibilities for regional defense. In 1830 he led a group of 150 mounted militiamen into Tawakoni territory[58] that likely included the entirety of Béxar's leaders, including the Navarros.

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[56] Crisp, "José Antonio Navarro, 1796-1871," accessed Jan. 6, 2012, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/history/bios/navarro/jose_navarro.html; Crystal Sasse Ragsdale, "ALSBURY, JUANA GERTRUDIS NAVARRO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fal49), accessed January 4, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[57] Letter Francisco Ruiz to Stephen F. Austin, May 28, 1827, AP: II: Part 2, 1797.

[58] Tijerina, *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag*, 85.

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José Antonio Navarro was an avid supporter of American settlement to populate the frontier, to assist in controlling Indians, and to promote economic development.[59] He was enthusiastic about the possible benefits of both financial and cross-cultural cooperation. As a businessman, Navarro surely saw opportunity in expanding lines of cooperation with Anglo newcomers. He periodically conducted business with Austin, and one exchange provides us with an example of the manner in which business was completed on the frontier. In 1828 Navarro sent $130.00 to Austin via a soldier named Corporal Sosa that was riding mail through the region. In a letter, Navarro requested that Austin purchase coffee and gunpowder for him at his earliest convenience since both were lacking in San Antonio. Austin agreed to purchase the goods, and informed Navarro that should new clothes arrive for sale in his location, he would purchase quality pieces for Navarro.[60] The interaction showed a degree of trust between the men based on the fact that Navarro sent Austin money without goods, and that Austin claimed he would purchase goods for Navarro, thus, theoretically putting himself in debt until the goods were purchased by Navarro.

Along with business interests, the men shared personal relations as well. In 1829 Austin informed Navarro that his brother James Austin (Santiago) was dead.[61] There was a somber tone of respect in the words used and obviously James Austin was also a friend of Navarro's. Although Austin and Navarro shared a business and somewhat personal relationship, there was a closer and friendlier relationship between Navarro and

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[59] "José Antonio Navarro," accessed Jan. 6, 2012, http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/giants/navarro-01.html.

[60] Letter Stephen F. Austin to José Antonio Navarro, February 27, 1828, AP II: 1609-1610.

[61] Letter Stephen F. Austin to José Antonio Navarro, October 19, 1829, Mirabeau B. Lamar Papers, TSLA.

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Samuel Williams. Williams was Austin's secretary and an extremely ambitious and driven man. Navarro's own ambition and political power likely attracted Williams and the two became friends.

In 1833 a group of settlers in Austin's colony sent Stephen F. Austin to Mexico City to represent them. They submitted a request that the central government allow Texas a political identity independent of Coahuila. Béxareños feared this action would trigger federal authorities' anxieties regarding the possibility of rebellion and they were correct. Austin was imprisoned by central government authorities for inciting sedition when he explained his reason for being in Mexico City. According to one historian, José Antonio Navarro showed his frustration with Austin when he told Austin's secretary Samuel Williams "…that although he hoped Austin would be completely cleared…[he] Navarro had previously warned him as a friend about how to avoid sorrows-but Austin had behaved instead like a child when he did not get his way."[62] Considering the situation, one can feel the frustration Navarro expressed in these words, and the words also prove how close he was to Williams. Navarro's faith in his ability to trust Williams was strong. Navarro proved his trust in Williams while they waited for Austin's return from prison in Mexico in 1834. Navarro wrote to Williams and stated "that he expected nothing from Santa Anna but 'militarism and the civil death of the sacrosanct liberty.'"[63] Those words could easily have led to Navarro's imprisonment or worse if federal authorities were notified of his criticism of Santa Anna. Navarro obviously had sufficient faith in his relationship with Williams to know that information would not get back to

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[62] Crisp, "José Antonio Navarro," 152.

[63] Crisp, "José Antonio Navarro," 152.

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authorities. Williams himself came in to contact with authorities in Béxar a year later. Williams was arrested by federal troops for revolutionary activities against the central government, and Navarro became a revolutionary himself, albeit passively, when he provided Williams with a horse to escape federal authorities after his incarceration. Although perhaps not the most exciting and dangerous escape plan, Navarro distracting officials while Samuel Williams rode away on Navarro's horse.[64] Williams was a fortunate man to have such a friend, and perhaps the influence of the other military men in the Navarro clan made the escape a little smoother.

By the time of Samuel William's flight, Texians and *Tejanos* were involved in ideological conversations regarding the direction that *Tejas* should go in terms of whether or not to rebel and if rebellion were the answer, what ideology would they follow? Within these conversations, protection of the federalism embodied in the Constitution of 1824, and outright independence were important topics. Navarro's brother José Angel Navarro, a supporter of federalism, and the *jefe politico* of the state, refused to follow orders from the central government to disband local militias. Instead he ordered militia units that included both Tejanos and Texians to Monclova to attempt a rescue of the federalist government there from centralist intervention in state's affairs.[65] Juan Seguín led one group, and his militia's actions against the centralist government's aggression in Monclova began his rebellion.

These few examples of the interactions between Tejano leaders and elites in Béxar and Stephen F. Austin's family and friends illustrate wide-ranging cross-cultural

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Crisp, "José Antonio Navarro," 222-223.

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relationships. The point of this examination is show that the history of Austin's "Rangers" was not quite as mythic or heroic as has been presented. Despite his interaction with *Tejano* men with extensive experience in frontier militias and flying companies, the men in Austin's colony did not embrace those roles in quite the way Ranger historians have established in the literature.

During the early years, Anglo Americans were likely to fight on foot, and were oftentimes reluctant to fight at all. It is unclear when or how many of Austin's settlers embraced the traditional frontier means of offensive ranging. What is clear is that they were given opportunities to learn the traditional patterns of frontier defense by men who were well versed in techniques practiced throughout the frontier era.

The De León, Benavides, Carbajál Families, and Revolution

Tejano ranchers along the Texas gulf coast also established intricate social relationships with Anglo American newcomers to the Victoria and Goliad regions. The social links between the resident Tejanos and the newcomers were mutually beneficial. The Tejanos gained allies to protect their settlements while the Anglo-Celtic immigrants entered an extensive network of Tejano colonists, from whom they learned frontier survival skills. Among the region's Tejanos were the De León, de la Garza, Carbajál, and Benavides kinship groups who established friendships, intermarried, and educated the Anglo-Celtic newcomers about frontier culture.[66] Describing the critical skills of Tejano colonists, historian Jack Jackson wrote, "…secular ranching in Texas was the prerogative of military men. In the northern provinces soldiering and ranching went hand

[66] Steven L. Hardin, "Efficient in the Cause," in *Tejano Journey, 1770-1850,* ed. Geraldo E. Poyo, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 67.

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in hand…[r]anching in virgin territories meant fighting Indians to protect stock, a function of the military establishment."[67]

Martín De León was an *empresario*, a military officer, rancher, horse trader, and businessman that first established a rancho along the Nueces River and later at the Aransas.[68] His father's family moved to Nuevo Santander with José de Escandón during early settlement and established himself at Burgos at the foot of the Sierra Madres as a defensive stand against Indians in the mountains. From earliest days, De León respected the power of military organization, patriarchal authority and responsibility to family. After declining his father's offer to continue his education, De León chose to become a muleteer, a career that required a mounted and agile leader with the ability to defend against attack. Those skills served him well during a ten-year military career. He was appointed captain of an extremely active Indian fighting cavalry company called the *Fieles de Burgos*.[69]

Between colonization in 1749 and 1798 the local Indian population in the Burgos region fell from 25,000 to 1,700. Attacks and scouts by the Fieles de Burgos, rampant disease, and incursions from northern enemy tribes devastated local indigenous population. With frontier and Indian fighting experience under his belt, De León sought to change his fate after his ten-year military enlistment, and in doing so, changed Texas

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[67] Jackson, *Los Mesteños*, 54; he also dedicated a large portion of his analysis to the influences, sacrifices and identity of Tejano ranchers involved in the move for Texas Independence.

[68] Anna Carolina Castillo Crimm*, De León: A Tejano Family History*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 56.

[69] Castillo Crimm, *De León*, 21-30. For a description of the possible wealth associated with muleteering she wrote, "[t]hey used a felt or straw hat with a wide brim and low crown, decorated with silver ornaments in various shapes…Truly typical was the famous snakeskin, always full of gold and silver, which was used as a belt…the trousers and jacket were buttoned with pieces of pure silver carved with whimsical design."

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history. De León and his wife Patricia De León, the daughter of the Burgos military commander, were experienced frontier people when they decided to risk all and trudge into the Texas wilderness in 1801. Like the settlements further north, the Spanish government supported settlement on lands between the Rio Grande and La Bahía to increase the population of colonists, and to control the movement of Indians and foreigners. De León's family set their sights on the lands around the presidio community of La Bahía. They initially settled at the Nueces, and later moved to the Aransas River. Upon hearing of Austin's legal arrival, and his *empresario* status, De León applied for, and was granted an *empresario* contract himself. The Mexican government approved his request for land along the Guadalupe River. With his son Fernando, who became the settlement's land commissioner, De León assigned titles to an estimated forty-one Mexican families, and to a number of Anglo-Celtics illegally situated on those lands. To the chagrin of La Bahía officials, sixteen families from Canada, France, Germany, Ireland and the U.S. were accepted as part of De León's grant. The Irish Catholic Linn brothers, Edward and John, became close family friends, and ranchers. Communication between the two families was so significant that Fernando became literate in English, and the Linns learned to speak Spanish in a fairly short time.[70] Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Anglo-Celtic immigrants settled on Green De Witt's *empresario* grant adjacent to De León's property. Because De Witt was unable to fulfill his stated quota, De León took over the grant. In addition to the Linn brothers who learned horse and livestock raising from De León's clan, there were other immigrants indebted to *Tejanos* for their charitable considerations.

[70] Castillo Crimm, *De León*, 83-84, 107; Castillo Crimm, *Leadership Lost*, 108-111.

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In 1828, local Tejano ranchers, soldiers, and descendants of military families at La Bahía received word that officials in Saltillo had secularized the mission lands. This decision, unfortunately, did not benefit Tejano families. Instead the government assigned *empresario* rights to Power and Heweston for the settlement of two hundred Irish families on lands Tejanos had been promised for years. Carlos de la Garza, likely a relative of early colonist Blas María de la Garza Falcón, was a descendant of three generations of La Bahía soldiers. With one hundred of his fellow citizens, de la Garza filed for a redress of the official decision to deny them mission lands. In the meantime, James Power and John Heweston brought in the first batch of immigrants, who arrived impoverished, ill, and in need. Because they had no shelter, the newcomers stayed at the abandoned Refugio Mission. Despite suffering from the prejudices of a distant government's neglect to grant him land, de la Garza became an ally of the newcomers. Finding the settlers in a dire state, he provided food, medicine, and clothing for the Irish immigrants, and even brought several families to his father's ranch. In the years that followed, Tejanos also helped the Irish immigrants establish their small farms along the San Antonio River. In 1829, de la Garza proved he had embraced these newcomers when he invited the Irish farmers to his wedding in La Bahía.[71]

Intermarriage allowed newcomers to immerse themselves in the Tejano culture, with all the privileges and responsibilities attached. As in other regions of Texas, intermarriage in region of La Bahía usually involved Anglo American or European immigrant men and Tejanas. Such marriages provided these men with a wide social network of Tejano families, and often helped them achieve a measure of social mobility

[71] Castro Crimm, *De León,* 100-108.

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by acquiring land from their wives' families. In 1832, James Power saw opportunity for upward mobility and social integration when he married Dolores Portilla, daughter of Nuevo Santander colonizer, and De León's friend, Felipé Roque de la Portilla. After Dolores' Portilla's death, Power clung to his position among the Tejano elite by marrying his wife's sister Tomasita Portilla. They had five children of their own and she raised her sister's two children as well.[72] Power understood the benefits of alliances with those that understood the world around them, and Tejano military and ranching elite were the strongest allies a newcomer could hope for in this time and place.

The Irish farmers embraced Tejanos' ranching culture after their first crops failed due to the arid conditions of South Texas. Along with borrowing ranching knowledge from Tejanos, several Irish immigrants in Refugio also married into local *Tejano* families and established kinship ties. Heweston, Power's initial partner in the *empresario* venture, married the daughter of one of the Mexican officials at La Bahía. Phillip Dimmitt, a businessman and future Texas revolutionary military leader who married Tejana María Luísa Laso. Both Power and Dimmitt's children were raised in traditional Tejano households.[73] Extensive interactions between Irish and Tejano settlers also created cooperative educational goals. José Miguél Aldrete, husband to Martin De León's daughter Candelaria De León, became a Refugio rancher, politician, and alcalde. Like generations had done before them, Aldrete and De León brought tutors to their ranches to

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[72] Castro Crimm, De Léon, 106; William Allen and Sue Hastings Taylor, *Aransas: The Life of a Texas Coastal County* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1997); Joe E. Ericson, *Judges of the Republic of Texas (1836–1846): A Biographical Directory* (Dallas: Taylor, 1980). John Brendan Flannery, *The Irish Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1980). William H. Oberste, *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1953; 2d ed. 1973).

[73] Obserte, *Texas-Irish Empresarios*, 80-83.

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educate their offspring, and the children of their vaqueros. In what was perhaps an act of benevolence dictated by his status, de la Garza chose to open a Catholic boy's school on his property for Tejano boys, and the children of his Irish friends.[74] Surely de la Garza understood that young men educated together, as members of one Catholic faith, assured their future cooperation, a necessary element for survival in ranching communities in terms of both working livestock and fighting common enemies.

The intricate social relationships between Tejanos and Anglo-Celtic immigrants would influence future political alliances. De León's son, Silvestre, as well his sons-in-law Placido Benavides, and José María Jesús Carbajál, chose to support their friends and kin against what they viewed as the Mexican government's move towards tyranny. Rafael Manchola, another son-in-law, La Bahía soldier, and rancher would have likely joined the fight but he died in the 1833 cholera epidemic along with De León's son Agapito.[75] Manchola was the politician that successfully requested the name change from La Bahía to Goliad. Don Martín De León died the following year during another cholera outbreak. His family was left to decide on how to maneuver the approaching storm that increasingly looked like an assault on Texas' independence, rather than a fight for federalist nationhood. The clan, along with other Tejano leaders, decided centralist rule was not acceptable, and in 1835 supported what they defined a fight for the Constitution of 1824.[76] That year, José Miguél Aldrete, his son Trinidad, and other

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[74] Carlos Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, vol. 7, (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1958), 73; Castro Crimm, "De León, Leadership," 106; Martin De León's father Don Bernardo De León hired priests to teach him, and his brothers Santiago, Juan and Jose.

[75] De la Teja, *Tejano Leadership*, 106.

[76] Castillo Crimm, *De León*, 122-144.

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Tejanos joined Dimmitt's takeover of the Goliad presidio in cooperative efforts to stop what they viewed was Santa Anna's attempt to destroy the Constitution of 1824.[77]

Placido Benavides was a relative of the Laredo area Benavides clan discussed in more detail in the following chapter, and he married into the De León family in 1832. He was a frontiersman from Reynosa, Tamaulipas, one of Escandón's riverfront communities with an active history of military and militia participation.[78] An educated man, Benavides was initially hired by De León as a teacher on his rancho, however he became a close companion of Fernando and Silvestre De León. His friendship with the newcomers was evident, as he was close to his Anglo-Celtic brothers-in-law. Fernando De León, who spent time in town, shared evening card games over drinks with the Linn brothers.[79] Benavides also spent time working on his house in town, which family historian Castro-Crimm described as, "…a Spanish style torreón, the circular, towerlike, defensive turret, with *troneras* or gun slits on the lower floors…a style learned from the Moors..." and "…used for decades on the frontier for defense against Indians."[80] John Linn also built his home in town facing the public square. It is likely that Fernando De León, the Linn brothers, and perhaps Placido Benavides and his brothers, Ysidro, Nicolás

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[77] Hobart Huson, "ALDRETE, JOSÉ MIGUEL," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fal04), accessed March 12, 2011. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[78] Many documents related to the formation and upkeep of militia and regular military in the Matamoros Archives; just a few examples from 1823, a time when the Benavides men were in Reynosa: See correspondence related to vagrants and robbers, February 13, 1823, MA X: 86; call to arms of the militia MA X: 29-30; Militia Veterans and Militia Report, April 17, 1823, MA X: 23; Letter San Carlos to Refugio, MA X: 98; Letter from the Gov. of Tamaulipas to frontier villas, February 21, 1827, MA XI: 44:

[79] Castro Crimm*, De León*, 107.

[80] Castro Crimm, *De León*, 114. See Powell for reference from the 1500s.

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and Eugenio, spent many evenings discussing their respective construction projects, the nature of Mexico's political situation, and their position as settlers on the edges of a nation in flux. San Antonio land surveyor José María Jesús Carbajál joined the group in 1832. Benavides and Carbajál, a San Antonio native from a long military line, married sisters Agustina and Refugia De León later in the year.[81]

Stephen F. Austin was a friend of the Carbajál family who came to their assistance. After the death of José María Jesús Carbajál's father, Austin offered to have Carbajál educated in the U.S. Carbajál returned to San Antonio in 1830, a literate, educated, English speaking Protestant. Becoming politically active, he became a land surveyor. When smallpox struck Béxar in 1832, Carbajál fled with his family to Martín De León's settlement. He and his family not only received land titles, but he also one of De León's employees. Carbajál worked with De León's trusted friend James Kerr, one of De Witt's initial settlers, and with Fernando De León. The three men worked together surveying land and had to depend on each other in the open range in a harsh environment, from Indian attacks and other dangers. As time progressed, Carbajál's language skills and job led him to establish increasing contact with settlers in Austin's northeastern areas during the tumultuous early 1830s.[82] With Austin jailed in Mexico, Carbajál feared rebellion was in the air in the upper settlements. New single, slave-owning immigrants arrived in increasingly larger numbers and joined William Travis' War Party in opposition to Austin's Peace Party, composed of old colonists with families not interested in conflict with the government unless necessary. Carbajál was in contact with his friend

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[81] Hammett, *Empresario*, 10-12, Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty* Years, 28-29; Grimes, *300 Years in Victoria County*, 60-61.

[82] Castro Crimm, *De León*, 87, 88-91, 94, 113, 115, 133-135.

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Austin and with Samuel Williams during the latter part of Austin's imprisonment. Austin warned Carbajál not to be manipulated during his own election to the Monclova legislature in 1835.[83] Upon his release, Austin returned with a completely different agenda and attitude. He advocated armed rebellion without hesitation.[84] Carbajál had to decide how to respond to Santa Anna's decision to suppress the Monclova faction deemed traitorous and guilty of governmental opposition. Along with Travis, and future Vice-President of the Republic Lorenzo de Zavala, Carbajál was on Santa Anna's list of "traitors."[85]

Tejano familial ties influenced political decisions by several leading men whose political sympathies were initially not clear. Carbajál, Benavides, Fernando De León, and Silvestre De León, gathered the family in September of 1835 to decide on their next move. Based on the government's threat to kill Carbajál if he was caught, Benavides and Fernando De León chose to side with the federalist forces amassing in the region. Silvestre De León was not as keen on the idea, but based on the situation, he chose to stick with his family. In Goliad, the Aldrete men also chose to protect Carbajál.[86]

The arrival of General Antonio Cos in Refugio on September 20, 1835, revealed the complicated situation regarding loyalties in the region. Only a group from Goliad led by Carlos de la Garza welcomed Cos' party. De la Garza pledged a cavalry unit of local rancheros (including Juan and Augustín Moya), La Bahía presidial soldiers, and

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[83] Letter Austin to Samuel M. Williams, April 15, 1835, AP III: 62; Letter from Stephen F. Austin to Samuel M. Williams, AP III: 73.

[84] Lack, The *Revolutionary Experience*, 27-29.

[85] Castro-Crimm, "De León," 144.

[86] Ibid., 143.

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Karankawa people from the San Antonio River area to the centralist cause. Similarly, many of the Irish immigrants from the Refugio area, people whom de la Garza had helped years earlier, remained loyal to Mexican government.[87] The Irish respected de la Garza's role as their friend, guardian, and provider based on his history with them. When deciphering the politics of the time, they must have looked to de la Garza for the best route to follow.

Over thirty Tejano rancheros decided to fight against Santa Anna's centralist state. Among those who joined George M. Collinsworth's group from Matagorda were Placido Benavides, Carbajál, Mariano Carbajál, and Silvestre De León. Together these two groups decided to take the presidio at Goliad for control of the valley ranches to supply the army. On October 8, 1835, the group forced their way into the presidio and informed Austin they had control. Tejano federalist mounted forces, including Juan Antonio Padilla, joined the fight. Padilla was a rancher, soldier in the Béxar cavalry company since 1818, politician, and a descendant of military families discussed in previous chapters. In a letter to Austin, informing him of the taking of Victoria on the same day, Padilla attested that he was the last of the civic militia and that if he should be killed, his sixteen year old son would join the fight and avenge his death.[88] He was later elected to the Consultation, and served in the General Council as the Victoria representative in December of 1835.[89] In the years that followed Texas Independence

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[87] Ibid., 148.

[88] Letters from Benjamin F. Smith to Stephen F. Austin, October 8, 1835, AP III: 693; J. Antonio Padilla to Stephen F. Austin, October 8, 1835, AP III: 164;

[89] Padilla, Juan Antonio. *[Formal statement regarding colonization of families in Texas, March 19, 1836]*, Letter, March 19, 1836; digital images, (http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth5922/ : accessed February 09, 2013), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History,

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Padilla, or perhaps his son, was a Ranger in Joseph Durst's company and Stephen Collins' Company in 1838.[90]

Phillip Dimmitt, now a captain, and Col. William Fannin took charge of Goliad after Collingsworth's group took control on October 8, 1835. By mid-October they led their force towards San Antonio to join Austin's main army to confront General Cos. Apparently Dimmitt was uncertain about whether or not he should take Padilla and Benavides' advice that the privates of the company at Goliad should be included in the service of Texas. Interestingly he stated that Padilla and a detachment of "creoles" were to deliver the correspondence, and that they could be retained as "expresses" and were placed at Austin's "disposal."[91] It is doubtful that Dimmitt knew Padilla, since Padilla was from San Antonio. He obviously did not know Padilla was a friend of Austin's, known to him for years, and in fact that Padilla had warned Austin's men in a letter dated September 2, 1835, that troops were mysteriously gathering in Béxar.[92] Dimmitt's use of "creoles" in this letter to describe Tejanos suggests familiarity, perhaps because of his Tejana wife, with Mexican terminology that defined a person's position within colonial hierarchical social structures.

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http://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, Tex. Juan Antonio Padilla, became the secretary to the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, and after Mexican Independence became secretary of state of Coahuila and *Tejas* from 1822 to 1825. He became general land commissioner in 1828 and as a friend of Stephen F. Austin supported Euro-American colonization, and was pro-Federalist. His political beliefs prompted his arrest for murder and fraud in 1830, but he was released in 1832 and returned to San Antonio for a period, then to the capital of Monclova where he regained the post of secretary of state in 1834.

[90] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11; Durst, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-718 Folder 14.

[91] Letter Phillip Dimmit to Stephen F. Austin, October 15, 1835, AP III: 186.

[92] Letter Juan Antonio Padilla to D.C. Barrett and Eduardo Gritten, Sept. 2, 1835, AP III: 100.

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Dimmitt's letter a week later, informed Austin that Col. James Power of San Patricio, was worried about leaving "his people" since nearly all the men were with the force, so steps were taken to move them beyond the Guadalupe River.[93] It is likely that Fernando De León was placed in charge of moving the women and children from the locality. Additionally, supplies were to be sent to "the Rancho of Don Erasmo Seguín," however, Dimmitt believed, "…it would be impossible …to supply Juan Seguín with arms," although powder, small shot and subsistence were possible.[94] Juan Seguín had been traveling to support the Goliad troop in early October, but he received word from Austin to assist him in San Antonio. He met Austin in Salado on October 13th according to Seguín's memoirs,[95] but ten days later, Austin wrote a letter addressed to the Army, in which he introduced "Don Juan Seguín" as "[t]he Mexican who came to camp last night with his followers…" and stated he had "vest[ed] [Seguín] with authority to raise a company of Mexican volunteers to cooperate with us-they will be of essential service in many respects." [96] Perhaps Austin's year and a half imprisonment in Mexico had psychologically impacted him and separated him from his Tejano friends and allies. His references seemed distant and cold. He referred to Seguín with whom he had shared a friendship for over a decade, whose family had taken care of both he and his brother, and with whom he shared social as well as business ties simply as "the Mexican who came to camp last night." Either he was embarrassed or afraid to define Seguín as his friend, or

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93 Letter Phillip Dimmitt to Stephen F. Austin, October 25, 1835, AP III: 209.

94 Ibid.

95 De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered,* 78.

96 Letter Stephen F. Austin to the Army of the People, October 23, 1835, AP III: 304.

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he truly was not interested in crediting Mexicans as central characters within the movement for independence. In the second part of this statement, he used language of exclusion. When he stated that he had approved "…the Mexican company of volunteers to cooperate with us-" the statement demands recognition of a central "us" that in this case was defined as Anglo, versus the Mexican "other" that remained at the periphery of the credits despite the centrality of their participation. Additionally, in his statement Austin explained that he allowed Mexicans to join the fight because "they will be of essential service in many respects." In a matter of two sentences Austin turned men with whom he had years of fighting, laughing and loving experience in to tools for Anglo advancement, rather than recognizing their contributions and their centrality in the movement for Texas Independence.

Tejanos continued to support the Texian cause, and shortly there were one hundred thirty five Tejanos in the service of the Texian Army. Salvador Flores was Seguín's second in command and brother-in-law. Flores was a soldier, and a descendant of soldiers discussed in earlier chapters. He was also a member of one of the most prominent ranching families in San Antonio, and likely a friend of Austin, based on his own kinship ties to the Seguín clan. He was Seguín's brother-in-law in two different ways. Seguín was married to his sister and Seguín's sister was married to Flores' younger brother. These relationships will be discussed in more detail in the following section. In mid-November 1835, Seguín sent Flores to range towards the south, and his orders were to locate advancing Mexican troops. He was to burn the grasslands ahead of

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any troops he might come across to assure the destruction of food sources for cavalry units.[97]

In San Antonio, Seguín and Benavides' troops of Tejanos joined James Bowie, and Fannin in a fight at Mission Concepcion where they routed a Mexican cavalry of four hundred with only one hundred troops.[98] James Bowie's representation as a legendary hero at the Alamo has fallen short in certain ways, perhaps based on the unwillingness of Texas historians to discuss one facet of his life. Upon learning of Santa Anna's intended arrival, Bowie, who by this time was extremely ill, did not simply run to the Alamo, rather, he took his sister-in-law Juana Navarro Alsbury, her baby son Alejo Pérez and her younger sister Gertrudis Navarro with him.[99] Several Tejanas and their children actually survived, although only minimally discussed in the literature or popular culture of the Alamo today. Although Bowie could not save himself, he did attempt to save his Tejano family.

The Battle of the Alamo is well known, and will not be addressed here in detail except to record the participation and death of Tejanos who were part of Seguín and Benavides' commands. Among the Tejano casualties was Juan Antonio Padilla, who had written to Austin from Goliad that if he died his sixteen-year-old son would avenge his

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[97] Letter Stephen F. Austin to James Fannin, November 14, 1835, AP III: 253-254.

[98] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 78; Castro Crimm, *De León*, 146-147.

[99] John S. Ford, *Mrs. Alsbury's Recollections of the Alamo* (MS, John Salmon Ford Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin); John Ogden Leal, *San Fernando Church Baptismal Records*, 1812–1825 (MS, DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio). *San Antonio Daily Express*, July 26, 1888, May 12, 19, 1907; Glenn Scott, "Juana Navarro de Alsbury," in *Women in Early Texas*, ed. Evelyn M. Carrington (Austin: Jenkins, 1975).

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death.[100] Gregorio Esparza had taken his wife and children in to the Alamo while they waited for his friend John William Smith, godfather to one of Esparza's children, to secure a cart to transport his family to Nacogdoches. Despite Esparzas plans and efforts, his family was caught in the Alamo during the fight. Esparza's family witnessed his death from their sanctuary. He was shot down while he manned a cannon on the Alamo wall.[101] Also killed during the battle were Antonio Fuentes, Toribio Losoya, Andres Nava, José Maria Guerrero[102] and Juan Abanillo.[103] All these men were Béxareños, except Guerrero who was from Laredo, although he too was a frontiersman from a militarized community. Their efforts and actions as members of militarized communities allowed them to fully participate in the movement for Texas Independence, and to fight as their ancestors had fought for their place on the frontiers of Texas.

Tejano soldiers utilized skills that mirrored those honed as members of militias and as ranch laborers. They ranged, observed the enemy (spied), fought on horseback, and supplied intelligence and provisions from their own ranches.[104] After the Battle of Concepcion on October 28, Tejanos continued to range, patrolling, and protecting the roads. Anglo soldiers soon imitated methods employed by *Tejanos*, and started their own

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[100] J. Antonio Padilla to Stephen F. Austin, October 8, 1835, AP III: 164.

[101] Timothy Matovina, *The Alamo Remembered: Tejano Accounts and Perspectives*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 68-69, 80-81.Smith escaped the massacre because he, along with Juana Navarro Alsbury's husband, and Seguin were sent out to find reinforcements. Navarro Alsbury was Bowie's sister-in-law.

[102] Raúl Casso IV, "Damacio Jiménez: The Lost and Found Alamo Defender," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 96 (July 1992), 36-42.

[103] Casso, "Damacio Jiménez," 35-40.

[104] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 24-30; Castro Crimm, *De León*, 147.

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ranging units to protect the roads. In late November, Jim Bowie, impatient at the lack of movement on the part of the military, decided to fight Mexican cavalry troops who were escorting silver shipments for the military payroll. Joining Bowie were Lt. Manuel Flores, Salvador Flores' brother and also Seguín's brother-in-law. They led a force of riders that attacked the pack train, but they found only grass for the military's animals in the packs.[105] It is difficult to estimate whether laughter, or disgust filled the minds and hearts of these riders. If their desire was to fight, the opportunity arrived in December.

The Siege of Béxar, considered the first major armed conflict of the Texas Revolution, followed in December 1835. According to various scholars, there were likely at least 180 Tejanos in the battle. Among the combatants were 160 of Seguín's men, including his companies under Salvador Flores and Manuel Leal, 20 troops with Benavides, Aldrete and Collingsworth from Goliad, and an uncertain number with Dimmitt from Goliad. Participation rates for these Tejanos appear high to certain historians, while others believed these numbers were probable based on two factors: first, Cos alienated the Tejano population by being abusive, even towards the Tejano elite.[106] According to Bowie, Cos said he would make Don Erasmo Seguín and other elite

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[105] Narrative of Robert Hancock Hunter, (1860), http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/hunternarrative.htm, accessed October 13, 2012; Pension Petition, Julian Dias (Diaz) 1874, 28th of November 1874] http://www.tamu.edu/ccbn/dewitt/musterBéxar9, accessed January 10, 2011; De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 18. Four Flores brothers served in the war effort, and fought at the siege of Béxar, and San Jacinto as well. Salvador Flores fought with Seguín in 1835 and 1836; his brother José Maria Victoriano married Seguín's sister Maria Leonides, Manuel and Nepomuceno were lieutenants for the Army as well.

[106] This site is a dialogue between several scholars including W.L. McKeehan, and Jesus de la Teja discussing the works and the legitimacy of the numbers presented by various scholars. Discussion includes a qualitative analysis of various sources and conclusions. No title, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/central/forum/forum26.html, accessed February 10, 2010.

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"…sweep the public square…and their ladies grind tortias [sic] for his soldiers."[107] The second factor was the location of the fighting was in a predominantly Tejano region so Tejanos joined the fight.[108] Aside from these two accepted reasons for high participation, I would add that for at least a hundred years, militarized communities in Tejas and Nuevo Santander demanded aggressive participation of all citizens for survival of the community. Santa Anna's move to strip states' rights provoked a fight from Tejanos who were likely hypersensitive to a distant government's desire to control them since they were basically independent of tight governmental control since settlement. In Victoria, Goliad, San Patricio, and Refugio the De León family, their kin and friends struggled with their place in this fight.

The De León family split at the end of the Battle of Goliad. Placido Benavides, and Aldrete rode towards San Antonio with Collinsworth where they joined with Seguín's men and proved a healthy cavalry. Carbajál and Silvestre De León remained with Dimmitt at Goliad. In late October, Dimmitt decided to attack Fort Lipantitlán on the Nueces to gain control of the regional presidios; however, his men were short of mounts and food. Through the Aldrete kinship ties, Carbajál and Silvestre De León provided Dimmitt with twenty horses and cattle from their ranches to feed troops.[109] The Texians were not prepared to wage war; rather they were again on foot and hungry, as were many troops in Austin's army in the north.

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[107] Letter James Bowie and J.W. Fannin to Austin, October 22, 1835, AP III: 202-203.

[108] Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 114; McKeehan, de la Teja discussion, no title http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/central/forum/forum26.html, accessed February 10, 2013.

[109] Stephen Hardin, *Texian Illiad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution.1835-1836,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 44: Castro Crimm, *De León,* 147.

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Tejano and Anglo-Celtic leaders in the area joined Ira Westover in an assault on the fort. Among the local troops were Kerr, Power, Francisco Roque de la Portilla (the younger brother of Powell's wife), John Linn, and Silvestre De León. However, troops were sparse and surrendered easily. The main body of the Mexican force was headed to attack Goliad. The Irish of San Patricio, old friends of centralist supporter ranchero Carlos de la Garza sent word to the Mexican military, which soon turned around. With the support of the San Patricio Irish, the Mexican Cavalry attacked the Texian/Tejanos who fled into the tree lines along the Nueces and fired from cover as the Mexicans approached. The Texian long rifles did damage, and ultimately the Mexican troop evacuated and headed towards Matamoros. Lacking adequate supplies and without sufficient soldiers, Westover threw the cannons into the river and returned to Goliad where Dimmitt became furious at their loss of the fort after what came to be known as The Battle of Nueces Crossing. His verbal assaults were sufficiently abusive that Carbajál, Linn and Silvestre De León, left the presidio infuriated.[110] This incident exemplified the loyalty of San Patricio's Irish, perhaps not so much to the Mexican centralists as to Carlos de la Garza.

While the Victoria family suffered the indignations of Dimmitt's words, on December 4, 1835, Seguín and Benavides' men, including Carbajál, at least 180 strong, fought General Cos' forces during the siege of Béxar. Four days of fighting ensued and escalated to street, hand-to-hand, and house-to-house brawling. General Cos was destined to lose after he was reinforced with inexperienced convict labor. The convicts refused to fight, and food and water dwindled until defeat was eminent. Cos surrendered

[110] Hardin, *Texian Illiad,* 42; Castro Crimm, *De León*, 149.

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and was sent home with his convict pack trailing along, one of the conditions of surrender and release. Béxar did not want to take on criminals of any kind, just as had been the case since the establishment of the settlement. If they had been military prisoners, perhaps the situation would have been different. Benavides' had attempted to include the Mexican military men from La Bahía in the Texian army when the presidio was taken over in early October.[111] Austin himself attempted to negotiate the possible defection of the San Fernando Company of Cavalry from the Mexican Army on October 31, 1835.[112] It is unclear whether they actually followed through on the plan. The letter that Austin sent to Bowie, in which he discussed creating a distraction to cause the Cavalry to be ordered out, included reference to acquiring "rockets" from Seguín's rancho.[113]

Benavides, Carbajál and their men returned home after General Cos' exit, and Seguín settled down to the business of rebuilding. In Victoria, the families disagreed on what to do next. They did know that Benavides, Silvestre De León, and the Aldrete, along with Carbajál, were now considered traitors by the government.

From December 1835 to March 1836, when Texas declared independence, the Victoria men tried to support the cause in a number of ways. Fernando De León, Carbajál and Kerr, in late December, ran a herd of horses to Louisiana, bought weapons and supplies for the cause, and were arrested when the Mexican ship Bravo attacked their schooner. Kerr was ultimately released, but Fernando De León and Carbajál were taken

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[111] Letter from Phillip Dimmitt to Stephen F. Austin, October 15, 1835, AP III: 186.

[112] Letter from Stephen F. Austin to James Bowie and James Fannin, October 31, 1835, AP II: Part 1, 226. Antonio de la Garza brought word that the San Fernando and Rio Grande Cavalry companies stationed at Padilla's house wanted to join the Independence movement.

[113] Ibid.

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to Matamoros, and imprisoned. In February they escaped from the Casamata fortress through the assistance of Placido Benavides and a group of his men who arrived in Matamoros after requests for a spy mission, were approved by Major Morris at Goliad. Benavides brought word back of Santa Anna's arrival at the Rio Grande and his mustering of troops. A number of battles and skirmishes took place around Victoria when General Urrea was sent to control the coastline. Of importance to this analysis were the ties, ranging traditions and cross cultural interactions within these frontier communities. Aside from the De León family, Carlos de la Garza continued to support centralist rule through his leadership of the Guardia Victoriana. As mentioned earlier, many of the San Patricio Irish were centralists; however, some fought for the federalists. When Fannin's troops were taken prisoner and sentenced to death, de la Garza pleaded for leniency for his friends within the company. His requests were denied, so de la Garza committed treasonous acts that could have meant his own death by helping at least six of his friends escape. Despite his successful rescue of some of his friends, de la Garza lost close allies. He did not know that Mariano Carbajál, José Maria Carbajál's younger brother, was in the group of those sentenced to die. Mariano Carbajál was executed with the rest of Fannin's men on Palm Sunday, March 26, 1836.[114]

Almost three weeks earlier, the Alamo had fallen, and the countryside was in complete chaos while families attempted to leave the region. When the Mexican military arrived, friendships again, remained important to the Tejano elite. Despite the fact that Doña Patricia De León, the matriarch of the family, wanted to remain neutral, she took in John Linn's family and hid them from Mexican patrols. Her own children were at risk,

[114] Castro-Crimm, *De León*, 159.

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and in fact, First Lieutenant Benavides led his cavalry company despite the arrival of increasingly racist Anglo American colonists who promoted the establishment of segregated companies. Manuel Carbajál, another of José Maria Carbajál's brothers, accompanied Benavides. Simultaneously, Fernando De León, who had supplied the Texian army, was held in the Victoria jail by Mexican troops and tortured. He was chained to the wall, tortured, and ultimately revealed the location of hidden stores. He remained in jail until war's end.[115]

The loss of Santa Anna's forces at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, changed the lives of Tejanos in Tejas and in Nuevo Santander, and not necessarily for the better. Seguín's command fought valiantly for Texas' independence and he remained an important member of the community and politician for a number of years. In the aftermath of the Texas rebellion, Texians vilified Seguín, and many landed Tejanos, and perhaps purposefully labeled them traitors. His enemies ultimately routed him out of the country. Seguín joined many Tejanos that fled Texas in fear of losing their lives, and in that way lands were emptied for new arrivals. Seguín returned years later, and reestablished a political presence in the San Antonio area. In Victoria, the De León clan came together from the ranchos. Children, and grandchildren embarked on John Linn's boat, C.P. Williams, into exile in New Orleans.[116] The family remained in this state for many years, only to return to find their lands squatted on, or stolen, and their livestock plundered. Government officials stole the land through an array of illegal schemes and actions. John Linn, old friend and associate, became a Texas State Senator in the years

[115] Grimes, *300 Years in Victoria County*, 88.

[116] Letter from P Dimmitt to T. Rusk, July, 1836, Rusk Papers, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas; Lack, 206; Grimes, 135.

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after the Revolution, and he brought court cases against those who he thought had taken De León lands through fraudulent means. Linn brought charges against judges, district attorneys, and even the sheriff. In an unusual ending to stories of land theft involving Tejanos and Anglos in the second portion of the 19th century, Fernando De León actually won and was granted portions of his family's lands.[117]

Lastly, the fate of Carlos de la Garza proved interesting. Because de la Garza established his home as a refuge from the invading forces of Dimmitt, Fannin, and others, he was not bothered after the Battle of Goliad. Abuse by Fannin's drunken troops forced many people to flee and seek refuge at Rancho Carlos. During his life, de la Garza showed his benevolent spirit; he fed, clothed and sheltered Irish immigrants even though he knew they were going to be given land that should have been granted to him; he risked his life to save his federalist friends despite their oppositional politics; and he gave sanctuary to fellow citizens even if they did not agree with his politics. Apparently he continued to act as a ranger, local leader, rancher, and Indian fighter until his death.[118]

Conclusion

Previous chapters discussed the tradition of ranging established by Spaniards and Mexicans, particularly those patrolling from the Rio Grande to the San Antonio region.

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[117] Castro-Crimm, *De Leon,* 250-260; Linn, 79-85.

[118] See Harbert Davenport, "Men of Goliad," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43 (July 1939); John Crittenden Duval, *Early Times in Texas, or the Adventures of Jack Dobell* (Austin: Gammel, 1892; new ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Roy Grimes, ed., *300 Years in Victoria County* (Victoria, Texas: Victoria *Advocate*, 1968; rpt., Austin: Nortex, 1985); Hobart Huson, *Refugio: A Comprehensive History of Refugio County from Aboriginal Times to 1953* (2 vols. Woodsboro, Texas: Rooke Foundation, 1953, 1955). Kathryn Stoner O'Connor, *The Presidio La Bahía del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, 1721 to 1846*, (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1966). Victor Marion Rose, *History of Victoria* (Laredo, 1883; rpt., Victoria, Texas: Book Mart, 1961).

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For nearly a century prior to Austin's arrival in Texas, militiamen from Nuevo Leon, Nuevo Santander, and the province of *Tejas* and Coahuila performed ranging duties in Texas. Upon his entry into Tejano society, and through his friendships with some of San Antonio's leading ranchers and military leaders, Austin was witness to strategies employed by militias and citizen soldiers in Mexican communities. From Tejanos, he learned ranching methods that their ancestors had followed for centuries. The Seguín, Navarro, Ruiz, and Veramendi families, along with the De León, Benavides, Carbajál, Aldrete, and De La Garza families were members of traditional militarized ranching communities for generations. Austin, his colonists, and those that arrived later (including Irish men like the Linn brothers, James Power, and Kerr) shared their lives with Tejanos and learned their culture and methods. Even after the Texas Revolution, Tejanos' cavalry skills were respected and utilized in companies of non-Tejano men that increasingly forgot the methods they utilized were not their own.

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CHAPTER 5

TEJANO AND EUROAMERICAN INTERACTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC, 1836-1845

I drove my truck through Austin, Texas and headed to my friend Frank's ranch on a beautiful spring afternoon. The tranquility and peace of the Texas Hill Country hides the history of violence tied to this landscape. Indian people of various nations and clans lived throughout Texas and the northern regions of New Spain for hundreds of years before white men arrived. Interlopers on a landscape thriving with established political structures, trade systems, and social norms, European immigrants provoked changes in the Gran Chichimeca and Tejas in the early years of colonial development, and as time and people progressed, the methods were strengthened and formalized. *Tejanos* in Spanish and Mexican military and militia units roamed these lands a hundred years before Anglo-European-Americans arrived in Texas, and they continued to do so with white American and European allies after relationships developed.

Frank and I exchanged greetings, saddled up a couple of horses and rode towards the river, around escarpments and terrain composed of rough limestone and oak. Frank's people, Irish, German, and English came from a seashore village in Maine, and from "someplace in the South, a while back," whereas mine came from the *norteño* ranches of Goliad, Texas, San Fernando, Tamaulipas, and China, Nuevo León. I watch Frank maneuver his mount around a boulder, and I wonder what life would have been like for Frank and I, if we had met a hundred and fifty years earlier on this frontier.

Two armies protected Texas from 1835 to 1845 and Tejanos fought alongside Euroamerican comrades in both the Army of the People (1835-1836) during the fight for

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Independence, then in the Army of the Republic of Texas, (1836-1845) until United States annexation. Tejanos, in both formal military and volunteer detachments fought for Stephen F. Austin's Army of the People and in the Army of the Republic, sometimes in groups with Eureamericans, and sometimes in all Spanish surnamed units. The one certainty is Tejanos interacted with particular pockets of white settlers during the ten-year period between the start of the revolution and annexation simply based on examination of muster rolls. During the decade between Texas Independence and the U.S.-Mexican War, Tejanos increasingly suffered discrimination and institutionalized oppression.

Traditional Tejano socioeconomic position and political representation all but disappeared as large hordes of American immigrants[1] starved for power and land arrived from the U.S. Immigrants from the U.S. harbored racist ideas, and failed to understand Tejano history, culture, or contributions to the fight for Texas independence. Despite Anglo displacement and removal of Tejanos to the periphery of the new sociopolitical order, Tejano Rangers continued to act against enemy Indians, Mexican forces, and

[1] Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 189-202; Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Identity in San Antonio*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 173-191; Kerry Knerr, "Men of Word and Deed: Whiteness, Masculinity and Popular Culture Production of the Texas Rangers" (2012) Wellesley, Honor's Thesis Collection, Paper 55. 33-34, http://repository.wellesley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=thesiscollection&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2Furl%3Fsa%3Dt%26rct%3Dj%26q%3Dkerry%2520kneer%2520dissertation%26source%3Dweb%26cd%3D1%26ved%3D0CC8QFjAA%26url%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Frepository.wellesley.edu%252Fcgi%252Fviewcontent.cgi%253Farticle%253D1014%2526context%253Dthesiscollection%26ei%3DDp3dUazQI6jLyQH804DgDg%26usg%3DAFQjCNFWqqRxzBxM0-_BWWWPq_VahnVMIQ%26sig2%3DRKKwQhcaMK0vSKEduWFSaA%26bvm%3Dbv.48705608%2Cd.aWc#search=%22kerry%20kneer%20dissertation%22. The Panic of 1837 was a significant push factor and caused a flood of Americans from the east and Old Southwest to enter Texas to try to profit on lands and already established trade relations with the U.S.

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criminals[2] and continued to have contact with Anglo-American-Celtic Rangers during the period.

In this chapter I address Tejano participation in the Revolutionary War from 1835-1836, and the Republic Rangers from 1836-1845. Tejano militia and frontier traditions dictated that at the sound of a gunshot within the city, citizen soldiers were to arm themselves and defend the locality, and be at the ready to ride out with the presidial soldiers to protect the *vecindario* (locality). Generational participation in mounted Indian fighting, ranging to locate and fight enemies, livestock work, and business travel demystified the processes of war. They participated in mounted companies in both the Revolutionary and Republic Armies. Secondly, this chapter explains how through a process of acculturation Euroamericans were exposed to and adopted Tejano militarized culture, and appropriated those skills as their own while the larger society simultaneously marginalized and persecuted Tejano citizens. White settlers became the majority, and the shift in population brought children of Manifest Destiny to power. Tejanos were robbed of land, property and status, and justification for anti-Mexican, racist and expansionist goals were couched in the development of a creation narrative that juxtaposed the 'white Texas Ranger' versus the 'Mexican bandit'. The rhetoric of Manifest Destiny supported the expansionist tendencies of Texians, a the term Anglo Texans used for themselves. Within this heated cauldron of agitation, Tejano soldiers of the revolution and the early Republic found themselves increasingly defined as enemies because of their Mexican heritage. Without consideration for their sacrifices to the Republic of Texas, or their

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[2] See Arnoldo De Leon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Towards Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Armando Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998).

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loyalty to a state they helped create, white ethnocentric and racist newcomers defined people of Mexican heritage as traitors.[3] If Tejanos had been credited with teaching Texans to ranch, fight, and believe in independent action in terms of protecting home and hearth, their position within the Texas and U.S. sociopolitical and economic arenas would likely have been different. If they had been recognized as loyal, patriotic, brave soldiers in the movement against Mexican tyranny, and as Rangers, justification for theft of their lands and exploitation and abuse of their bodies through manipulative legal practices would not have been possible. Despite their loyalty to the Lone Star state, many Tejano were forced to flee to Mexico in the 1840s to save themselves and their families from physical violence. Tejano Rangers had forefathers that protected the frontier for generations, including the Seguíns, Flores, Menchaca, Pérez clans of the San Antonio and Nueces Strip. Despite their military participation and movement from Los Adaes to San Antonio and then Nacogdoches, the Sánchez's, Ybarbos, and Floreses, along with various Indigenous people from the Nacogdoches area, performed as Rangers for generations. They were marginalized and pushed to the periphery of the story of Texas Independence and Texas Rangers history when they were no longer necessary; they undid their own positions by sharing knowledge and experience with a plethora of white men, some of whom later became highly revered Texas Rangers. A brief examination of Tejano and Native cavalry participation in the early Anglo settlements, followed by cross cultural interaction in formal organizations identify the spaces in which Tejanos passed on ranging and ranching skills.

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[3] See Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas 1836-1986*; see Arnoldo De Leon, Arnoldo and Kenneth Stewart. *Tejanos and the Numbers Game: A Socio-Historical Interpretation of the Federal Census, 1850-1900*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1989).

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Cavalry Limitations Before and During the Revolutionary

Army Period

The horse is central to the iconography of the Texas Ranger, and the mythical portrayal of the white hero Ranger on horseback was perpetuated in the newspapers as early as 1875 in a poem that was simultaneously anti-Mexican.[4] Dime store novels, comics and television shows in the modern era continued the trend, however, the historical record suggests that Euro-American settlers, even Stephen F. Austin's colonists in the early settlement period, were not highly enthusiastic mounted men. Tejano historian Andres Tijerína analyzed the military organization of San Felipe de Austin, and stated that colonists slowly adopted Tejano offensive cavalry tactics between 1822 and 1832, but not without resistance. They were familiar with participation in marching units and followed methods, he wrote, "…handed down by their forefathers from the experience of Bunker Hill and New Orleans against the British."[5] Organization of militia in general, and mounted units specifically,[6] was difficult for Stephen F. Austin. As late as 1830, the government sent him repeated prompts to formally organize and have elections for officers of militia. Despite the reorganization of militia rules in the regulations of 1826, in which the Mexican government assigned the majority of responsibilities, which had previously been distributed to formal presidio units, to

[4] Buckskin Sam, "Ranging the Chaparral, or the Midnight Bugler," *The Dallas Weekly Herald*, 1 May 1875, 1:6.

[5] Andres Tijerína, *Tejanos and Texas: Under the Mexican Flag, 1821-1836,* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1994), 88.

[6] For examples of Austin's militia marching on campaigns against the Indians, rather than riding, see Letter William S. Hall to Austin, April 27, 1826, AP II: 1314; Letter Austin to Ahumada, March 27, 1826, AP II: 1302; Letter Austin to Ahumada, May 8, 1826, APII: 1324-1325.

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localities, Austin's letter show repeated apologies for inaction, or delays. Militia units were either without horses,[7] without sufficient powder, too sick, or too few to commit to a strike. Although militia organization was successful on paper, troops were not easily put to the fight, and Austin requested Indian allies to either join the militia, or simply attack in the interests of the colonists on several occasions.[8] His letters of apology to the governor for delayed organization of units suggested a shortage of horses in the settlement, horses were too weak to range, or men were not interested in fighting on horseback. The recruitment of mounted troops remained problematic in to the Revolutionary period.

With the onset of the War for Texas Independence, Austin became Commander in Chief of the Army of the People in 1835, however the provisional government's plans for military organization were a testament to the unimportant role assigned the cavalry by the majority of non-Spanish surnamed officials. They established laws to form an army in November of 1835; however, plans for cavalry units were not addressed until a month later[9] when Sam Houston, appointed Major General of the Texas Army and future President of the Republic of Texas, set guidelines for the formation of a Legion of Cavalry. The force of 384 men was to be divided into two squadrons of three companies

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[7] Letter Austin to Mateo Ahumada, n.d., AP II: 1315-1316; Letter William S. Hall to Austin, April 27, 1826, AP II: 1314; Letter Austin to Ahumada, March 27, 1826, AP II: 1302; Letter Austin to Ahumada, May 8, 1826, APII: 1324-1325; see Tijerína, *Tejanos and Texas*, 77-80 for a discussion of the slow transition from marching to mounted militia in the settlements.

[8] Letter Austin to Militiamen explained Regulations of 1826, May 1, 1826, AP II: 1317; Letter Austin to Ahumada, September 10, 1825, AP II; 1198 stated men were sick so unable to campaign; Letter Austin to Ahumada, April 30, 1826, AP II: 1785 asks governor if Cherokee allies can be used to fight Tahuacoanos and Tahuarases; Letter Austin to Cherokee Chiefs, May 8, 1826, AP II: 1323 stated settlers did not want to fight Indians; Tijerína, 87-90.

[9] Letter RR Royall to Austin, October 6, 1835, AP III: 182.

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of sixty men.[10] Perhaps Houston's encounter with Juan Seguín and his men at a war counsel with Stephen F. Austin at Salado Creek, the previous month, on October 13, 1835,[11] along with his own experience with horse culture as a member of the Cherokee nation[12] influenced his decision to promote the development of cavalry units. Austin also showed his support for the cavalry in a letter from Salado Creek dated October 25. He asked the provisional government to organize a militia, including 300 regular infantry and artillery, and a 150 man cavalry.[13] Although Euroamerican military participation grew with the influx of easterners, horses remained difficult to procure on the Texas frontier. Even Austin's messenger, famed Ranger Deaf Smith could not procure a fresh mount after delivering correspondence from Austin to the Consultation at the height of

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[10] Thomas W. Cutrer, "ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qja03), accessed January 3, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association. The Provisional Government Plan for the Revolutionary Army initially included one brigade of 1,120 men split between one regiment of infantry and one regiment of artillery; each of these regiments were divided and organized in two battalions; these were divided in to five companies of fifty six men; Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Defenders of the Republic of Texas* (Austin: Laurel House, 1989); Frances Terry Ingmire, *Texas Frontiersman, 1839–1860: Minute Men, Militia, Home Guard, Indian Fighter* (St. Louis: Fort Ingmire, 1982);. Joseph Milton Nance, *After San Jacinto: The Texas-Mexican Frontier, 1836–1841* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963).

[11] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 77.

[12] Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813–1863* (8 vols., Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938–43; rpt., Austin and New York: Pemberton Press, 1970), 4: 125; see also Gregory and Rennard Strickland, *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829–1833* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976). Sam Houston lived with Cherokee people, was adopted and married to a Cherokee woman. He spent what amounted to at least six years living among the Cherokee. He developed a respect and understanding of the importance of horse culture in terms of warfare. Edward Burleson went to war with the Cherokee in the region after Texas independence and infuriated Houston.

[13] Letter Austin to the Permanent Council, October 25, 1936 AP III, includes a special memorandum for Lorenzo de Zavala-enumerated list of suggestions for keeping the Constitution of 1824 as a foundation of the federalism they supported; and special directions for the establishment of a militia and regular army that included cavalry. Both Houston and Austin had witnessed cavalry actions in and around San Antonio by Seguín, Bowie and Travis and many Tejano troops from the ranching communities around San Antonio Victoria, and Goliad.

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conflict in November 1835.[14] Despite limitations in mounts, language barriers, and increasingly illogical but nativist rhetoric (which promoted the idea that Tejanos were somehow disloyal), Tejanos fought for independence and the newly established state at a rate double that of Euroamericans.

Military historian Tim Todish estimated that throughout the Revolutionary period, one in seven white Texians participated in the Army of the People, versus one in three *Tejanos*.[15] Proportionate to their population, Tejano troop numbers and methods could not have been lost on Houston. Within about two weeks of Juan Seguín's meeting with Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston at Salado Creek, Seguín's troops had fought or skirmished successfully with Mexican soldiers on several occasions. Seguín's men routed a Mexican force with Jim Bowie at Mission Concepcíon, and fought with famed future Ranger Ed Burleson, at the Grass Fight in November. They successfully fought with William B. Travis at the siege of Bexar in early December and expelled the Mexican Army. Seguín and Travis' combined light cavalry also captured one hundred Mexican Army horses south of San Antonio.[16] Houston knew the inclusion of a "Legion of cavalry" was essential for victory based on his own experience, and these successful forays, so he attempted to recruit cavalry.

In January 1836 President Houston ordered lieutenant colonel of cavalry William B. Travis, the soon-to-be-hero of the Alamo, to recruit 100 cavalrymen for service in San Antonio. Travis recruited only twenty-nine men and unsuccessfully attempted to resign

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[14] Paul D. Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*, (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1992), 131.

[15] Todish, *Alamo Sourcebook,* 13.

[16] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 78-79.

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because of his failure. Within a few days of his return to San Antonio he was in command of about fifty men,[17] including Seguín, commissioned as a captain of regular cavalry.[18] By the time Houston called for forces to meet in San Jacinto in April 1836 after the fall of the Alamo, the number of Tejanos enlisted in Seguín's company swelled to one hundred. Houston assigned forty Tejanos to act as rear guard for families from San Antonio River ranchos and Nacogdoches on their way towards Louisiana in what came to be known as the Runaway Scrape. When he ordered Seguín and his remaining troops to protect the horses and supplies in the rear of the San Jacinto battlefield, rather than to fight the Mexican Army, Seguín refused the order. He and his lieutenant Antonio Menchaca, found Houston, and informed him they had come to fight, not herd horses, and if that was his order, Seguín claimed he would rather tend to his family headed toward Nacogdoches.[19] Houston changed his orders and assigned the company of Tejanos to the "…left wing, under Sidney Sherman."[20]

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[17] Archie P. McDonald, "TRAVIS, WILLIAM BARRET," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ftr03), accessed February 12, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Letter from W.B. Travis to Austin dated November 6 1835, APIII: 242 is a request for resignation dated a month before Travis was given the commission, so it is unclear if he tried to resign again after his commission or if this was a mistake in McDonald's research in relation to the dates on his requested resignation.

[18] Seguín's recollection of these events in De La Téja, *A Revolution Remembered,* 79; however, in f.n.16 De La Teja claimed there is some confusion regarding whether or not Seguín accepted the commission. He cited Gammels, I: 878 and explained documents recording the proceedings of the Convention at Washington, Feb. 6, 1836 stated that Seguín refused the Captain of Cavalry title, so delegates suggested the commission should be passed on to Jesus Cuellar, another of the troops at the siege of Bexar.

[19] Menchaca, *Memoires*, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/menchacamem.htm. Within this recollection, it is unclear whether the voice is actually Menchaca's or Seguín's. There is no documented account of this incident by Seguín.

[20] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 83.

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The decision to limit Tejano involvement on the battlefield suggests Houston believed Tejanos had already performed above and beyond their duty to Texas and wanted to limit the likelihood they would be harmed; or he tried to protect them from possible U.S. volunteers who voiced extremely anti-Mexican sentiments without differentiation between Tejanos loyal to the cause of Independence, and Mexican troops, or a combination of both. Houston did not order Seguín to the rear because he was uncertain of Seguín's abilities. As mentioned, Houston knew of the successful participation of Tejanos in battle, and a letter from Houston to the Louisiana governor written during this time trumpeted Seguín's "chivalrous and estimable conduct in battle."[21] Seguín and Tejanos loyalists exemplified Tejano fighting spirit forged on horseback within a ranching frontier culture that demanded participation from citizen soldiers trained in the art of mounted warfare honed through generations of trial and error. Tejanos shared knowledge with certain groups prior to the revolutionary period, like Austin, and the Irishmen in Victoria; however, some of the newer arrivals either walked or arrived on ships without horses. Although it is uncertain whether those troops had equine experience, it is not likely they had previously received training in cavalry or ranging methods.

The New Orleans Grays, a group of U.S. volunteers whose numbers were almost completely devastated at the Alamo, were not trained horsemen, if we consider their methods of transportation to Texas. Like numerous American volunteers, the Grays walked into east Texas from Louisiana without horses. Dimmit's company at Goliad,

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[21] *The Writings of Sam Houston*, Letters from Houston to Governor of Louisiana, Oct. 1, 1837, 4:125.

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who had been provided mounts by the De León clan,[22] lent a few horses to the Grays on their way to the San Antonio.[23] David Crockett also walked into east Texas and was provided a horse paid for by the Army of the People.[24] Two other groups from Louisiana were scheduled to arrive by ship or on foot in late November 1835.[25] Although it is impossible to ascertain exactly how much experience these men had with horses, certain instances show limits as to their knowledge.

An order delivered by Stephen F. Austin at the Mill Camp north of San Antonio to the Texians in camp on November 6, 1835 sheds light on troop inexperience with horses. Austin instituted a General Order and demanded troops "tie up and secure their horses overnight as information ha[d] been given that small parties ha[d] been ordered to steal them…."[26] Experienced horsemen would have known to hobble the horses at night to prevent wandering, particularly in a hostile environment or situation. Austin knew the protocol, perhaps because of his decade and a half of interaction with Tejanos. Another example of the limited supply of horses, and probable inexperience with such, was

[22] Castro Crimm, De Léon, 180.

[23] Letter Phillip Dimmitt to Austin, November 13, 1835, APIII: 250-251; Letter from M.R. Wiggington to Colonel Lewis, Louisville, April 22, 1836, APIII; 337 discusses the departure of people from Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania headed for Texas to join Houston's army; *Roster of the New Orleans Grays*; in John Henry Brown, *History of Texas*, (St. Louis: Becktold and Co., 1886); men from thirty six states and six countries participated, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/musterbexar5.htm accessed November 20, 2012.

[24] Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience,* 210-211.

[25] Letter from Phillip Dimmit to Austin, November 6, 1835, AP III: 241.

[26] General Order on Security and Feeding, November 16, 1835, Stephen F. Austin and F. W. Johnson Adjutant and Inspector Gen. at Mill Station, Muster at Gonzales and Battle of Bexar, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/musterbexar5.htm, accessed January 5, 2012.

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exemplified by the recruitment of a company from the eastern Lavaca region at the beginning of the Republic period.

In September 1836 Seguín was returning to San Antonio after visiting his family in Nacogdoches, and stopped at Velasco to report to Houston, and was commissioned as commander of a regiment of three companies of cavalry to be headquartered in San Antonio. On his way, Seguín reported to the Commander of the Texas Army General Thomas Rusk at Lavaca. Rusk ordered Seguín to recruit one of his companies from the local Euroamerican population before returning to San Antonio. It is unclear why Rusk ordered local recruitment, or if he produced a list of recruits for enlistment. What is certain is that on October 11, 1836 Seguín left Lavaca with his "dismounted" company, and arrived in San Antonio on October 17 where Seguín was ordered to acquire mounts for the troop.[27] Since Seguín's recruits had no access to even common saddle horses to transport them to San Antonio, it is unlikely they had experience with ranging or fighting on horseback. Rusk promoted local recruitment for one of two possible reasons; he either wanted to expel certain individuals from the region; or he supported the development of local men's fighting skills and recognized the utility and value of attaching them to seasoned frontier fighters and horsemen like Seguín and his men. A shift in participation of mounted men suggests that through observation and interaction during the Revolutionary War, Texians and immigrants from both the U.S. and Europe,[28]

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[27] De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 84-85.

[28] Letter from M.R. Wiggington to Colonel Lewis, Louisville, April 22, 1836, APIII; 337 discusses the departure of people from Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania headed for Texas to join Houston's army. *Roster of the New Orleans Grays*; in John Henry Brown, *History of Texas*, (St. Louis: Becktold and Co., 1886); men from thirty six states and six countries participated, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/musterbexar5.htm accessed November 20, 2012;

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recognized the utility of Tejano method, and learned and adopted these through various degrees of acculturation. Despite the disproportionate ratio of Texian (1:7) versus Tejano (1:3) participation in the Army of the People (1835-1836), white Euroamerican recruits in the Army of the Republic (1836-1845) swelled the ranks after Texas Independence. Mounted troops that enlisted as regular troops in the Army of the Republic one mounted and five formally recognized cavalry companies, including Seguín's three companies. Militia units that were considered Texas Rangers included a total of ninety-four companies out of 190 that claimed to be mounted in their muster rolls. There were five spy companies listed in the militia totals as well. [29]

If we consider the surviving muster rolls as representative of the enlistment situation at the time, the majority of militia and regular troop in the Army of the Republic were non-Spanish surnamed.[30] This quick shift in participation suggests that through observation and interactions during the Revolutionary War, Texians and immigrants from both the U.S. and Europe recognized the utility of Tejano methods and learned and adopted these through various degrees of acculturation. The following section addresses Tejano activities within various military units and their sociopolitical and economic interactions with each other and with Euroamericans that arrived with the coming Texas Revolution.

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[29] See Army of the Republic Muster Rolls, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/tslac/30072/tsl-30072.html for specific leaders and companies titled mounted, Mounted Gunmen, Mounted Riflemen, Mounted Rangers, Cavalry, and Spies.

[30] See Index to the Rolls of the Republic of Texas Militia Rolls, 1835-1845, http://www.tshaonline.org/supsites/military/rep_mil1.htm.

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Revolutionary and Republic Rangers 1836-1845

In post-Independence Texas, the frontier remained a vicious and unpredictable space. Fears of Mexican governmental aggression, volatile Indian relations, and Anglo as well as Mexican bandits remained a source of anxiety. Between 1836 and 1845 a number of groups protected the frontiers of Texas and were considered Texas Rangers. Despite "fluidity" in the names of organizations, leadership, membership and lines of command,[31] Rangers protected the frontier from enemies, and foreign incursion.

The Adjutant General's Chart of Texas Military Organizations is considered the authority on the issue, and defined various groups as "Texas Rangers." Tejanos were active members within many of the companies, in both all Spanish-surnamed and mixed groups that included: Republic of Texas militia units, Republic Mounted Volunteers, Mounted Gunmen, Mounted Riflemen, Mounted Rangers, Corp of Corpus Christi Rangers, Mounted Men, and Spy Companies. After the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848), and through the Civil War, they were also members of units referred to as Minute Men and Texas State Troops.[32]

Of three hundred eighty two surviving muster rolls and receipts kept by one hundred and forty two captains during the Republic, Spanish surnamed troops were documented in forty-four companies. Four of those companies were composed entirely of Spanish surnamed troops, although many more were mixed companies, both with a

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[31] Tony Black, Adjutant General Ranger Records Index, Texas State Library and Archives, http//:ww.libutexas.edu/taro/tslac/30072-P.html.

[32] Texas State Archives defines Texas Rangers during the Republic in the Adjutant General Ranger Records, Republic of Texas Militia military rolls index page as noted at http://www.lib/texas.edu/taro/tslac/30072/30072-P.html. See also Texas State Archive Adjutant General Index, Texas Rangers for a definition of variables affecting a number of titles identifying Texas Ranger groups.

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majority and minority of Spanish surnamed troops.[33] Exposure to Tejano ranging methods and ranching (vaquero) duties educated the newcomers to the ways of seasoned frontier Tejanos.

In order to discuss the continuity of Tejano military and ranching experience and connections between Tejanos and Euroamericans, I organized the following sections by region and time period. The first region stretches from San Antonio down into the Nueces Strip, and the second, around the Nacogdoches area. Seguín's mounted volunteers in the Army of the People, and the new companies of the Republic Rangers were often the same men. My aim is to show contact between those Tejanos and Anglos-Celtic-Americans within organizations and points of contact that fostered exposure, and cultural sharing. Reference to genealogical ties between families shows not only the significant intermarriage between old families, but also demonstrates how experienced military and ranching people handed down their traditions through generations. Tejano and non-Spanish surnamed troops in San Antonio and Nacogdoches served in mixed units and learned some of those traditions through interaction.

San Antonio and the Nueces Strip: Menchaca, Gonzales, Pérez, and Hays

Although this section deals with four Ranger captains active in the early years of the Republic, there were significant numbers that ranged with Seguín and others prior to 1836. Although formal military, militia and citizen soldiers protected the frontera from the time of colonization, in 1803 the Second Flying Company of San Carlos de Parras or La Segunda Compañia Volante de San Carlos de Parras (Alamo de Parras) was

[33] See Appendix I for a listing of companies, dates of service and Spanish surnamed soldiers.

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reassigned to San Antonio. The swift, mounted flying company was 100 Spanish lancers strong when members first arrived in Bexar from the northern frontier regions of Coahuíla. Although frontiersmen were mounted by sheer necessity, within the military structure, flying companies were formally established along the frontier in 1713 to assist regular military units whose entire mode of scouting and fighting were cumbersome and slow. In 1784 Tlaxcalan people from San José y Santiago de Alamo de Parras were recruited to the Segunda Compañia Volante de San Carlos de Parras. With their families the troops were assigned from Coahuíla to Nueva Vizcaya to Chihuahua. After almost twenty years they were ordered to San Antonio, and Captain Francisco Amangual quickly established the company at the previously abandoned mission San Antonio de Valero. The place came to be known as the Alamo, and local Bexáreños joined their ranks in the years that followed. Two of the San Antonio families that will be discussed in the following pages were members of the Segunda. Along with the Bexár Presidial Company, military activities in Tejas were supported or accomplished by the Segunda Compañia Volante. Both Captain Juan N. Seguín and Captain Francisco Ruíz were leaders of the Segunda before they took on the leadership of the insurrection against the Mexican government.[34] The point is that mounted, formal military actions were well established by the time of the Revolutionary War, and many of the men involved in the action against the Mexican government in the 1830s were members of the flying companies or citizen militia units. Many of the revolutionaries were experienced fighters with independent natures, assertive characters, and knowledge of the frontier that in many instances was generations old. The first documented company of Tejano Republic

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[34] Wallace L. McKeehan, “La Segunda Compañia Volante de San Carlos de Parras,” http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/parrasco.htm.

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Rangers in the San Antonio region was the Mounted Gunmen of the Municipality of Bexar led by Captain Antonio Menchaca, followed by José María González' Mounted Volunteers of the Texas Militia, Antonio Pérez' Spy Company and John Coffee Hays' Spy Company.

Menchaca's company served from October 1836 to November 1837 and was composed of twenty-three Tejanos.[35] Previous chapters discussed his genealogical background; as a reminder, Menchaca, a descendant of the Menchacas, and Cadenas, married a Ramón, all colonial era military families from San Antonio and Presidio San Juan Bautista.[36] He was in Seguín's company during the revolution, and fought at San Jacinto.[37] Menchaca, along with most of the men discussed here, were ranchers, and experienced military men like their forefathers.

Julián Dias, one of Menchaca's Mounted Gunmen, also rode with Seguín during the Texas Revolution. His recruitment provides insight about how local Tejanos volunteered for military service in community groups reminiscent of military mustering in the mission grounds.[38] In early November 1835 Lt. Manuel Leal, who followed his father into the *Segunda Compañia Volante* and served under Francisco Ruíz,[39] recruited

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[35] Muster Rolls for Antonio Menchaca, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, Box 419-719 Folder 19.

[36] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Jose Antonio Menchaca," http://www.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/mmenchaca.rtf.

[37] Ibid.

[38] See numerous entries throughout the 18th century in the Bexar Archives.

[39] Randell Tarin, *The Second Compañia Volante De Parras, Manuel Leal Tarín,* http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/adp/history/bios/tarin/manuel.html; Leal's father, a soldier in the *Segunda Compañia Volante* participated in the Gutierrez-McGee Expedition, fled when Spanish forces overtook San Antonio, and left his family to fend for themselves. Leal's godfather, Padre Zambrano, took in the family. Leal joined Francisco Ruíz on his assignment to build Fort Tenochtitlán, but conditions were

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Dias and twenty other Tejanos at the recently secularized Mission Espada.[40] Leal's group joined forces with Salvador Flores' twenty rancheros from below San Antonio, and according to military historian Stephen Hardin, Leal and Flores' forty rancheros arrived at Austin's headquarters in San Antonio and joined Plácido Benavides' thirty ranchero volunteers from Victoria.[41]

Dias participated in the Grass Fight and the Siege of Bexar[42] under Lt. Salvador Flores, himself a member of a prominent San Antonio ranching and military family who was Seguín's second in command during the revolution. Flores was also Seguín's brother-in-law through Seguín's marriage to his sister María Gertrudis, and his own brother's marriage to Seguín's sister. Private José María Flores and María Lionides Seguín were happily married.[43] The Seguín-Flores kinship ties were complex, and serve as an example of the generational renewal and reinforcement of ties within family units with extended branches. Military service provided opportunities for land and livestock acquisition, and the creation of sufficient wealth for mercantile interests. José María

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so desperate that he ran away twice, but was brought back. In 1833, as increasingly relations with the Mexican government became more tenuous; he and his brother were caught trying to steal guns from the Alamo arsenal.

[40] Julián Dias, Republic Claims Records, Reel 212, Frame 466-471, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas, accessed January 12, 2012, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/apps/arc/repclaims/index.php?formType=name&lastName=Dias&firstName=Julian&searchType=beginLike&dosearch=Search+Now; see Appendix I.

[41] Stephen Hardin, "Efficient in the Cause," in *Tejano Journey: 1770-1850*, ed. Gerald Poyo, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 53.

[42] Julian Dias Republic Claims Records, Reel 212, Frame 466-471, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas, accessed January 12, 2012, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/apps/arc/repclaims/index.php?formType=name&lastName=Dias&firstName=Julian&searchType=beginLike&dosearch=Search+Now; see Appendix I.

[43] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Guillermo Seguín," http://www.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/gSeguín.rtf.

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Flores's and Juan Seguín's marriages were not the first to unite the Seguíns and Leals. One generation after Frenchman Guillermo de Seguín's arrived in New Spain, members of the Seguín and Flores de Abrégo families married in early 1700s Saltillo.[44] By intermarrying families formed sociopolitical and economic alliances and increased the probability that individual families would be protected in numbers, and lands would be secure within families. An examination of the historical record showed the Flores and Seguíns continued to intermarry as late as 1898.[45]

Returning to the original point of military interactions between Anglos and Tejanos and their service, Salvador and Manuel Flores were in charge of two of Seguín's Regiment companies and led non-Spanish surnamed troops as well as Tejanos in Republic Ranger units. Other members of founding families , who were also in contact with Texians within Ranger units, to whom the Seguín and Flores families were related included the Menchacas, Herreras Dias, and Pérez clans from San Antonio and the Sánchez, Ybarbo, and Berban families from the Nacogdoches area to name a few.[46]

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[44] Steve Gibson, *"Descendants of Francisco Hernandez,"* http://www.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/fhernandez.rtf. Jose Antonio Flores de Abrégo, Manuel's grandfather was inducted in to the Sons of the American Revolution in 1996 for his participation in the war effort around the Louisiana coastline. He provided 5000 soldiers under the command of General Bernardo de Galvéz with beef while they fought British forces.

Fifty years after the first ties between the families, Manuel's grandfather Francisco Antonio Flores de Abrégo arrived in Bexar in 1749, and married the daughter of one of the original presidial soldiers. The intermarriages in these somewhat isolated pockets of population were numerous, and are apparent in a simple scanning of the genealogical record for any of the following families: Seguín, Flores, Rodriguez, Herrera, Navarro, Menchaca, Ruíz, de la Garza, Ramon Urrutia, Losoya, and many other original clans.

[45] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Francisco Flores de Abrégo," http://wwww.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/fhernandez.rtf.

[46] Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Juan José Flores de Abrégo y Valdéz," http://wwww.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/fhernandez.rtf; Steve Gibson, "Descendants of Guillermo Seguín," http://wwww.bexargeneology.com/archives/familyfiles/gSeguín.rtf.

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Of Menchaca's twenty-three men, at least nine were volunteers in Seguín's mounted forces during the revolution.[47] One of the men in Menchaca's men, Pedro Herrera, like many Tejanos, including Seguín, exemplify the militarized culture that permeated the reality of frontier men. Herrera and Seguín himself served as professional soldiers in the Segunda Compañia Volante before the Texas turmoil, as did other men in the region. Herrera fought with Seguín as a volunteer during the revolution, then enlisted in Menchaca's Mounted Gunmen after independence. After Menchaca's company was disbanded in March of 1837, Herrera reenlisted in Seguín 1st Regiment, Cavalry, Co. B, first under the command of Lt. Manuel Flores, then under L.C. D'Antignac until February 20, 1838.[48] Seguín's Cavalry Regiment Companies A, B and C included several men that followed Herrera's pattern of enlistment; first they served as soldiers or militia men in the older towns under Spain and the Mexican Republic; next they served as volunteers during the revolutionary period (1835-36); and finally they became members of the Republic Army (1836-45). White Anglo-Celtic-American settlers and older Tejano clans became acquainted, interacted, and served together within units.

Company A was a completely non-Spanish surnamed troop under Seguín, and several names that appear on his muster rolls are of Celtic origin.[49] Although only a

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47 Republic Claims Records, http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/app/arc/repclaims; see claims for Remigio Casanova, Julian Diaz, Roque Flores, Diego Gonzales, Candelario Villanueva, Justo Travieso, Carlos Chacon, Cayetano Rivas.

48 Muster Rolls Antonio Menchaca, TM. RTMR, MR, TAGD, Box 419-719 Folder 19; Randell G. Tarín, "HERRERA, PEDRO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhe79), Published by the Texas State Historical Association, accessed March 21, 2013; Daughters of the Republic of Texas, Defenders of the Republic of Texas.

49 De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, Seguín's 1st Regiment Company A, Second Lieutenant John Miller, Muster Roll, Appendix 35, 149-150.

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handful of Co. A troops are addressed here, the majority may have been connected to the Irish in the Refugio/Victoria region based on a sample of their numbers. Their exposure to Seguín, and the other regimental companies under his command, Co. B composed almost completely of Spanish surnamed troops, likely influenced at least a few of them. Seguín's orders provide us with insight as to how troops that were unfamiliar with ranging and ranching became familiarized with both during their tours. Order No. 1 from the Republic of Texas War Department to Seguín stated, "You will at all times keep out scouting partys [sic] as far West as the Rio Bravo Del Norte…You are authorized…to proceed as far West as you may consider safe observing the condition of the enemy harassing them and bringing off as many Mules Horses and Cattle as you can obtain…."[50] Orders to range long distances created a space for teaching inexperienced troops how to ride, fight on horseback, and care for horses while on patrol. In addition, the order to capture and drive livestock necessitated that non-Spanish surnamed rangers learn livestock handling skills from Tejano Rangers who were also ranchers. The implication of the order was that Wharton knew at least some of Seguín's crew could range long distances, "harass" the enemy, and "bring off" livestock. A few examples prove that after serving in Seguín's regiment, certain men started ranching outfits of their own, and served in Texas Ranger units that became increasingly segregated.

Although Sergeant Edward Fitzgerald served in Seguín's Co. in San Antonio, he was from the Refugio area. After his formal enlistment, he returned to the Refugio region, and opened a law practice in Aransas City. In 1841-42 he served in a Ranger

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50 De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, Seguín's 1st Regiment Company A, Second Lieutenant John Miller, Muster Roll, Appendix 35, 149-150, Order #1 from Secretary of War John A. Wharton to Juan Seguín, War Department, September 17, 1836, 144.

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company identified as the Refugio County Mounted Minute Men.[51] His experience with Seguín provided him with enough ranging experience to assure his comfort in re-enlisting in a Ranger corps despite his legal profession.

James Beard was also one of Seguín's men in 1836; however, he was a member of the Old 300, one of original settlers to Stephen F. Austin's colony. Beard traveled with Stephen F. Austin from New Orleans to meet Moses Austin in Natchitoches during his initial trip in to Texas. Based on the fact that he accompanied Stephen F. Austin, Beard must also have traveled to San Antonio with him along with the Mexican commission of Erasmo Seguín, Juan Martín Veramendí, and Francisco Ruíz. Beard surely became acquainted with them, the landscape and danger of frontier Texas on the road to San Antonio. Beard exemplified one facet of the web of relationships that connected Anglo Rangers and Tejanos, in this case, circumstance. By the time Beard joined Seguín's company in 1836, he had known the Seguíns for over a decade, and was obviously comfortable and sufficiently friendly with Tejanos to join a mixed regiment. Although there are no records for Beard beyond his involvement in this organization, a young nineteen year old by the name of James S. Beard, likely a relative, born in Milam County listed his occupation as "cow man" when he joined the Texas Volunteer Guard in 1899.[52] Perhaps Beard learned enough from the Tejanos to assure his own family had access to the livestock economy.

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[51] Muster Rolls, Republic of Texas Minute Men Military Rolls, TAGD, Box 419-721 Folder 7-8; Texas History of the Republic Biographical Directories of the Texan Conventions and Congresses, 1832-1845, House of Representatives (Austin: Book Exchange, 1941), 84.

[52] Application for Enlistment, Texas Volunteer Guard, Adjutant General Service Records, 1836-1935, 401-181, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/apps/arc/service/viewdetails.php?id=1334&view=http://www/arc/service/data/TVG/view_bea1334i002.jpg#regImg.

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Company B of Seguín's regiment was manned almost entirely by Spanish surnamed troops, and was led by Lieutenant Manuel Flores,[53] Juan Seguín's brother-in-law. Descendants of the Rodríguez, Herrera, Gaitán, Pena, García, Maldonado, and Sánchez clans, to name a few, made up the bulk of this company. However, several non-Spanish surnamed soldiers served with these men, and later became ranchers and Rangers in other companies. Walter Lambert and his cousin Thomas O'Connor, Irish colonists and nephews of *empresario* James Power, served under Phillip Dimmit and Placido Benavides' rangers during the revolutionary period along with James and Patrick Quinn. Each of these men served through different periods, returned to their homes and successfully participated in frontier military units, even after many Tejanos lost their status in the years following the revolution.

Lambert returned to Refugio County after his term with Lt. Manuel Flores, where he joined Power in his mercantile business. He served as the local sheriff, and a Ranger on several occasions. Thomas O'Connor also returned to the Refugio area after his service with Flores, where he produced saddle horns, and purchased horses with his earnings. He acquired livestock, and land and at the time of his death was worth 4.5 million dollars. He and Lambert became efficient Indian fighters and joined in the effort that expelled the Karankawas from the region by 1850s. [54] It is likely that Lieutenant

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[53] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 1st Regiment Company B, Muster Roll Lieutenant Manuel Flores, Appendix 35, 149-150.

[54] Sam Houston Dixon and Louis Wiltz Kemp, *The Heroes of San Jacinto* (Houston: Anson Jones, 1932); Kathryn Stoner O'Connor, "O'CONNOR, THOMAS," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/foc13), accessed January 07, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Hobart Huson, "LAMBERT, WALTER," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fla17), accessed January 07, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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Flores and the other experienced ranchers in Co. B advised the Irishmen on the handling of livestock, and Tejano offensive Indian fighting methods on those long scouts to the Rio Grande. There were other Irishmen that fought with Tejanos during the revolution.

Before joining Lt. Manuel Flores' Co. B James Quinn was a settler in De León's colony. He joined and fought with Placido Benavides during the revolutionary war.[55] Citizen soldiers in the De León colony as well as the presidial forces at La Bahía likely influenced James Quinn's, and others' concepts of frontier defensive and offensive fighting. Fellow Irishman Patrick Quinn serves as an example of the situation faced by Irish immigrants who were raised in urban communities, thus were not experienced mounted fighters. Patrick Quinn arrived in New York City from Ireland in 1819, so his early years were spent in an urban environment, limiting his knowledge of the necessary skills to survive in a frontier region. He settled with his family in Refugio in 1829, and he likely attended the Catholic school that Carlos de la Garza built on his land, since he was about ten years old when his family arrived. At seventeen years of age he joined Dimmitt's command at Goliad, and served under Collingsworth. By November of 1836 he was barely eighteen years old, but he was a member of Flores' company. He returned to the Refugio area by 1841where he served in Texas Ranger companies led by Captain A.T. Miles, San Patricio Minute Men, and Captain Carrell's Spy Company in 1842. During the U.S.-Mexican War his riding skills proved impressive enough to land him an

[55] Roy Grimes, ed., *300 Years in Victoria County*, (Victoria, Texas: Victoria *Advocate*, 1968; rpt., Austin: Nortex, 1985), 64.

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enlistment in legendary Jack Hays' Mounted Ranger Regiment as a scout. He also established ranching interests that spanned three counties.[56]

John Walker enlisted and served under Lt. Manuel Flores' command in 1836. He later established *The San Antonio Ledger* in 1850, and in 1852 he and John S. Ford, one of the most famous Texas Rangers of all time, bought the *Southwestern Weekly* in Austin.[57] Walker and Ford were in the company of some of the greatest Tejano fighters, scouts and rangers of their time during the early years of their Texas adventures. Ford served under John Coffee Hays in 1836 and in the U.S. Mexican War (1846-1848)[58] so he was exposed to Hays' methods while he served under him. Hays had been with Tejanos for over a decade by this time both Hays and Ford learned local methods of fighting through their years among Tejanos versed in ranging, mounted warfare, and livestock husbandry. The interactions and relationships are apparent, but layered and complex, and others were similarly influenced. In the case of the Irish in the Victoria/Refugio region, their exposure to frontier militarized ranching communities was significant. Continued exposure to Tejanos in the above mentioned companies allowed them to successfully adopt and become extremely prosperous in the ranching economy. Anglo settlers were not always comfortable with horse culture.

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[56] Daughters of the Texas Revolution, *Daughters of the Texas Revolution: Patriot Ancestors Album*, (Paducah Kentucky: Turner Publishing Company, 1995), 227-228.

[57] Vivian Elizabeth Smyrl, "WALKER, JOSEPH," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwa79), accessed January 01, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Memoirs, John Salmon Ford papers. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Box 2-23/846 and 2-23/847.

[58] Seymour V. Connor, "FORD, JOHN SALMON [RIP]," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffo11), accessed June 19, 2013. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffo11

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Captain Salvador Flores, Lieutenant Manuel Flores' brother, led an entire troop of non-Spanish surnamed troops in Seguín's Regiment, Company C[59] and at least a portion of them were from Austin's settlements in east Texas. One member of Salvador Flores' company proved several points related to how exposure and interaction between Tejano and Anglo units allowed transfer of method, and also suggests the limited experience of certain colonists in their interactions with horses during early settlement.

John C. Campbell, originally a Dewitt colonist, first served with Captain Gipson Kuykendall during the revolutionary period.[60] Kuykendall was a member of Austin's Old 300, and was elected Lieutenant of the militia in 1822. Two pieces of correspondence show the limited experience of the farmers in Austin's colony in terms of horses and offensive warfare during the early years. In 1824 Alyett C. Butler sent J.H. Bell, the alcalde, and a member of the militia, a letter that implied neither of them knew much about horses. He wrote, "[i]f you made use of the horse you received for twenty dollars, in any way that might have caused his death, I shall expect you to pay me…but if you merely rode him home without using him afterwards, I am willing to sustain the loss.…"[61] Butler either did not know the horse was sick which tells us that he was inexperienced in the maintenance of horses, or Bell rode the horse to death, which also means he did not know horses and their limitations, again pointing to lack of experience. Another situation in 1826 that involved Kuykendall also suggested the limitation of Stephen F. Austin's militia in terms of ranging.

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59 De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 1st Regiment Company C, Muster Roll of Captain Salvador Flores, Appendix 35, 149-151.

60 No author, *Sons of the Republic of Texas History*, (Evansville, Indiana: M.T. Publishing, 2001), 50.

61 Letter Alyett C Butler to J.H. Bell, July 25, 1824, AP II: 859.

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Austin mustered and marched 160 militiamen from the settlements to a Tawakoni camp at the end of 1826, including Kuykendall's troops. There were no significant reasons expressed regarding the reason they planned to attack the Indians, but that was the plan. Although the militia group found the camp, the indigenous people were gone, and the militia decided to return to the settlement.[62] This decision to return home, rather than to scout, track, or range the countryside suggests the nature of the militia. Perhaps since they had marched to the location, the militia simply could not traverse the countryside. These two situations provide the observer with enough information to surmise the quality of survival skills mastered by these men who were primarily farmers, including Kuykendall.

By the time of the revolution, Campbell joined Kuykendall's company, but was ultimately part of the Nueces Strip culture. Because Campbell was originally a DeWitt colonist, he became a De León colonist when De León took over DeWitt's contract in the late 1820s when DeWitt did not meet his settler quota. Campbell was likely familiar with ranching and fighting methods employed by Tejanos. Interestingly, after the revolution, Campbell became a Sergeant in Captain Salvador Flores' company on November 21, 1836. The equestrian culture of the coastal plains region likely made joining Flores' cavalry unit an easy choice for Campbell. Following his term with Flores, Campbell joined Captain Bogart's Regular Rangers from September 1841 until January 1842.[63]

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[62] "Gibson Kuykendall," http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=gonefishin&id=I067102.

[63] Captain Bogart, Discharge Papers, Army of the Republic, Regular Rangers, Archives and Records Division, TSLA, 401-2, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/apps/arc/service/viewdetails.php?id=3250.

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Tejanos shared relationships within companies composed of both Spanish and non-Spanish-surnamed troops.

José María Gonzales led one of three Rangers specifically organized to fight the Comanches in 1839.[64] In September Gonzales led forty-six Mounted Volunteer Militia composed of twenty-seven Tejanos and twenty-one Euroamerican Rangers[65] recruited in the San Antonio region. In addition to Gonzales' troop, Seguín swore to the participation of fifty Tejanos under his command and fifty "Americans" under the leadership of L. B. Franks in the field for the same purpose in the summer of 1839. Seguín defined the point of his troop was to "…hunt[ing] the Indians…[from] the headwaters of the Medina, Hondo Seco and Cañon de Ubalde…"[66] These routes were likely traditional ranging areas for the compañias volantes, and since both Seguín and Gonzales were veterans of the same company, they likely followed the similar routes when he took up the fight in September of 1839.

Gonzales had been a loyal soldier and commanded *compañias volantes* at the Presidio in Bexar before the revolution; however, his federalist leanings caused him to reject Santa Anna's centralist government. In an act of rebellion in 1835 Gonzales and twenty soldiers freed Governor Agustín Viesca from centralist imprisonment on the Rio Grande then escorted him to Bexar where he planned to establish the new capital of Tejas-independent of Coahuíla. Although Texians were suspicious of the Mexicans,

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[64] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (Newhaven: Yale University Press), 2008, 57, 98, 106, 197, 217 for presentation of situation on Texas frontier; *Indian Relations in Texas*, https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/exhibits/indian/war/page2.html.

[65] Muster Roll José María Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, TM, AGR, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 19.

[66] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, Appendix 67, Seguín's Company of the 1839 Indian Campaign, 185.

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Gonzales stood before the Committee of the Consultation and asked to join the anti-centralist Texas movement. He and his troops were accepted as volunteers, and awarded $500 for supplies. Gonzales went so far as to issue a Proclamation to his former troops to join the cause.[67] In 1839 Gonzales again joined in the armed protection of Texas, and led representatives of old families, including the Galbans (Galvans), Hernández, de la Garza, Mindiola, and Herrera families, to name only a few. Two men in Gonzales' company in 1839 raised their own troops of Texas Ranger Spies in San Antonio during 1841. These two men, Antonio Pérez and John Coffee Hays exemplified the variances in the positive future outcomes for Tejano Rangers versus Anglo Rangers in the years that followed Texas independence.[68] Historian Kerry Knerr addressed the marginalization of the non-elite Tejano Rangers versus prominent leaders like Seguín, and legendary Anglo Rangers like John Coffee Hays. Knerr stated "P[é]rez, [who] arguably best exemplifies the struggles of individual Tejanos more so than the powerful Seguín, remains almost completely illegible."[69] Pérez's and Hays' Spy Companies prove the line of contact between Tejanos and Anglos in a ranging and fighting capacity. As fellow soldiers, Tejanos and Anglos shared information, tactics and affections in early Texas Ranger companies. Other types of personal connections likely led to cooperation between families to support each other and fight together.

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[67] Francis White Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, ed. Eugene C. Barker, (New York: The American Historical Society, 1914), 339; "VIESCA, AGUSTIN," Handbook of Texas Online (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fvi04), accessed January 12, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[68] Muster Roll José María Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, TM, AGR, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 19.

[69] Kerry Knerr "Men of Word and Deed: Whiteness, Masculinity and Popular Culture Productions of the Texas Rangers," Honors Thesis Collection. Wellesley Digital Scholarship and Archives 2012, Paper #55, 24.

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Antonio Pérez became the leader of a Spy Company that ranged for six months from January to June of 1841, and was responsible for patrol of the Nueces Strip. John O. Truehart, whose family had not arrived in Texas until 1838 had not shared in the experience of fighting in the Texas Revolution; however, he became part of a company of spies led by Pérez after independence. He was also the only non-Spanish surnamed ranger in Pérez's troop of thirteen.[70] The Truehart family became connected to Tejano elite ranching and military clans through marriage as well as through participation in Pérez's company. John O. Truehart's brother James Truehart married Petra de la Garza Menchaca, a relative of the San Antonio Menchaca and the de la Garzas in 1848.[71] Despite the positive cross-cultural interactions between families like the Menchacas and Trueharts,[72] in the post-Texas Independence, many Tejanos suffered the consequences of Texian aggression against their sociopolitical and economic power.

Texians arrived in Texas in larger numbers in the period after 1836, and oftentimes they recognized Tejanos only as Mexicans without regard for Tejano loyalty to the independence movement. Texians took over the political and economic structures by the power in sheer numbers, and Tejanos were increasingly marginalized and even stripped of their rights as citizens based on both loss of political power, and socially accepted persecution. Even Tejano leaders of the Independence movement suffered the

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70 Muster Rolls Antonio Pérez, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33; see John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth6725/m1/296.

71 "James Truehart," http://genforum.genealogy.com/cgi-bin/pageload.cgi?Garza,County::tx::48681.html, accessed June 15, 2013.

72 See Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*; Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo,* 193-199.

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effects of racist political movements, and the angst of Anglo newcomers that for a variety of reasons chose to promote the expulsion of, or the oppression of Tejanos.

Captain Seguín's memoirs hinted at his arrogance, but more importantly, showed that elite Tejanos were also targets of Texian aggression and mistreatment. In the years that followed the independence movement, many elite Tejanos were forced to flee to Mexico, regardless of their status as members of privileged families, or the fact that these Tejanos had fought for the Republic.[73] Seguín explained that rumors of his disloyalty were spread by "enemies" in San Antonio because "[t]he tokens of esteem and evidence of trust and confidence repeatedly bestowed up on [*sic*] me…could not fail to arouse a great deal of invidious and malignant feeling against me."[74] The second portion of his statement placed blame for his undoing on individuals within the Ranger ranks, but also tells us more broadly of the situation elite landed Tejanos faced. He stated,"[t]he jealousy evinced against me by several officers of the companies among the straggling adventurers, who [*sic*] were already beginning to work their dark intrigues against the native families, whose only crime was that they owned large tracts of land and desirable property."[75] Texian hostility against Seguín and other Tejano leaders was serious enough to force many Tejanos to flee after an 1842 Mexican Army raid by General Rafael Vázquez.

On March 5-7, 1842 Mexican Army General Rafael Vázquez temporarily occupied San Antonio and created doubts about Tejano loyalty to the newly established

[73] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo,* 172-177; Poyo, *Tejano Journey*, 128-131.

[74] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 89-90.

[75] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 89-90.

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Republic of Texas. Questions regarding Seguín's loyalty to the Texas cause were prompted by rumors started by General Vázquez that Seguín was a Mexican patriot. General Vázquez provided Seguín's enemies with the ammunition to strip him of political status. Seguín, and many other Tejano Rangers, including Manuel Flores, Ambrosio Rodriguez, and Matias Curbier, rode with other Army of the Republic soldiers under Captain John Coffee Hays against Vásquez's retreating troops. Despite this physical action that continued to prove his loyalty as a Texas patriot, Seguín resigned his position as mayor in April under suspicions of disloyalty.[76] Fearing for his life, Seguín fled to Mexico in hopes that Santa Anna would allow him to retire to Saltillo with his family. Instead, Santa Anna ordered Seguín to fight against Texas with General Adrian Woll or face prison.[77] An increasingly large number of Texians turned their rancor towards Tejanos who were some of the first to raise a defiant cry against their mother country.

Texians conveniently viewed Tejanos as disloyal by simply recognizing their Mexican ethnic identity as a means of defining their loyalties. Many Texians ignored Tejano participation in the fight for Independence to justify stripping these patriots of sociopolitical and economic power through legislative maneuvers that blocked Tejano political power. Texian aggression also included physical assaults against Tejanos identified as disloyal to the Republic of Texas.[78] Tejano unity and the tumultuous nature of relations between themselves and ever increasing numbers of American adventurers

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[76] Ibid.

[77] De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 89-90.

[78] For various stories of Anglo aggression against Tejanos in the post-independence period see Arnoldo de León, *They Called Them Greasers*; Castro-Crimm, *De León*.

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and Texians was evident based on the number of men that followed Seguín into the Mexican Army in 1842.

Two veterans of the Texas Revolutionary and Republic Armies, Manuel Leal, the lieutenant who recruited Tejanos from Mission Espada to fight for the Constitution of 1824,[79] and the herein discussed Spy Company commander Antonio Pérez, fled Texas and ultimately joined the Mexican Army as well.[80] Pérez and Leal were not only Texas Rangers, Pérez was a Spy Company captain, and both were veterans of the Army of the People;[81] yet they, and many others like them fled Texas in fear for their lives.

In March of 1842, Pérez and forty additional Tejanos were said to have left San Antonio with General Rafael Vázquez' retreating Mexican Army after they occupied San Antonio for a couple of days.[82] Six months later, many returned with Seguín as members of a company of mounted Tejanos called the Defensores de Bejar. They were part of General Adrian Woll's "reconquista"[83] of San Antonio and arrived in San Antonio on September 11, 1842 with 1600 troops.[84] Seguín claimed he had no choice

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[79] Republic Claims Records, TSLAC http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/apps/arc/repclaims; see records for Julian Dias mention incorporation of 20 men from Mission Espada in to Lieutenant Salvador Flores' company of mounted volunteers; De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, 98; see 90-96 for the narrative of events and individuals that led Seguín to Mexico.

[80] John Henry Brown, *The History of Texas 1685-1892*, (St. Louis, L.E. Daniell Publishing, 1893), 226, 231; De La Teja, *A Revolution Remembered,* 98.

[81] Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Defenders of the Republic of Texas*, *Texas Army Muster Rolls, Receipt Rolls, and other Rolls, 1836-1841* (Austin: Laurel House Press, 1987), 293-296 is a complete muster roll for November 1, 1837-January 1, 1838.

[82] Knerr, "Men of Word and Deed," 23.

[83] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo,* 293 for more on this notion of *reconquista*.

[84] Brown, *The History of Texas*, 231.

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but to fight with Woll's forces, and basically performed his duties to assure his own survival and that of his family. Pérez and other Tejanos who historian Knerr claims were probably more the typical Tejanos, must have been sufficiently persecuted by Texians to believe that flight was the only choice for their survival. Although Seguín returned to San Antonio and was able to reestablish himself as a political figure, Pérez never returned to his home. According to Knerr's research, a man named Antonio Pérez, a former resident of San Antonio, brought word of Indian depredations from Tucson to Phoenix in 1858. She wrote, "[i]n this last glimpse of Pérez's life, we see a wanderer, unable or unwilling to return." She then wrote, "As Anglo Texans (re)created themselves in the image of their American forefathers, they scaffold[ed] their republic on a system of racialized oppression."[85] The only problem with the statement was that Anglo Texans did not recreate themselves entirely in the image of the eastern woodsman or European herders. They employed equestrian ranching and ranging methods rooted in the flying company and vaquero methods to "(re)create" themselves on the Texas frontier. These methods had been passed down through generations of Tejanos. Additionally, "racialized oppression" was also the realm of Tejanos prior to the arrival of Anglos. Indian people throughout the northern frontier had repeatedly felt the impact of prejudicial and racist policies and traditions passed down through frontier families for three hundred years by the time Anglos employed similar beliefs against Tejanos. Despite the conflicts brewing between these populations, several Texians and Tejanos worked together and successfully maneuvered the world they shared. Several Anglos joined Tejanos in both intermarriage and cooperative relationships that facilitated the dispersal of knowledge

[85] Knerr, "Men of Word and Deed," 24.

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and experience to newly arrived Texians. In turn, Texians educated in the ways of frontier Tejano ranging and ranching methods exposed other Texians to time tested methods.

Revolutionary soldiers including John Coffee Hays, Deaf Smith, and several other Texians were involved with Tejanos throughout the Texas Revolutionary War and the Republic, and some became Texas Rangers. Hays has been trumpeted as the Ranger of Rangers by Ranger scholars to an extent that would make citing those works redundant. He was a temporary Texan who arrived during the Texas Revolution, and left in 1848 after the U.S.-Mexican War. Prior to his years of fame as a land surveyor and Ranger, Hays was a soldier in Erastus "Deaf" Smith's company during the Revolutionary war.[86] Like Seguín's men, Smith's troops were at the Battle of Concepción, the Grass Fight, the siege of Bexar, and San Jacinto. Smith and Seguín's troops must have been familiar with each other based on their assignments, proximity to each other, and their leaders' cultural similarities. Because Hays was in Smith's company it is also likely that he was witness to and trained in Tejano fighting methods, and was familiar with Tejanos based on his commander's relationship with the Tejano community.

Smith had years of interaction with frontier Tejanos, and based on patterns of acculturation, it is likely that Hays learned from this veteran frontiersman whose connections to the Tejano community were obvious in at least two different ways: First, Smith, called *El Sordo*,[87] married Guadalupe Ruíz Durán in 1822. She was a San

[86] Wilkins, *The Legend Begins*, Chapter 5 discusses contrary opinions within scholarly circles as to whether or not Hays was in Smith's company during the Texas Revolution.

[87] Translated as the deaf one-male [my translation].

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Antonio Tejana[88] related to the military and ranching Ruíz/Navarro clan discussed in this and the previous chapter. Through kinship ties Smith would have been included within family circles and taught the Texas frontier traditions of the armed, mounted ranch work and the fight. As a Mexican citizen, Smith would also have been responsible for participating in local militia service based on the Regulations for Presidios of 1826. He would have been exposed to experienced Tejano militia troops for about ten years prior to the Texas Revolution. In addition to his connection to Tejanos in San Antonio through his kinship ties to San Antonio families, Smith interacted with Tejano frontiersmen on the coastal region as well, another group of frontier fighters.

Smith became familiar with the independent spirited De León colonists after he received land on James Kerr's land grant in the DeWitt colony,[89] a few miles from Gonzales, Texas. Kerr was a friend and surveyor that worked for the patriarch of the De León clan. Martín De León was a veteran commander of the Spanish frontier militia, Indian fighter, prominent rancher and founder of Victoria, Texas. Because of Smith's connections to Kerr and Kerr's connections to the De León family, a clan that existed under a patriarch that was ready for the fight, Smith again had access to Tejano

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[88] Cleburne Huston, *Deaf Smith: Incredible Texas Spy*, (Waco: Texian Press, 1973), 75-80; Billy M, Jones, "Health Seekers in Early Anglo-American Texas," *Southwest Historical Quarterly*, 69:3 (January 1966): 292; Thomas W. Cutrer, "SMITH, ERASTUS [DEAF]," (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsm10), for an interesting analysis of Tejana/Anglo unions see Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," *Western Historical Quarterly* 7:4 (October, 1976), 369-370. *Tejanas* from almost half the elite families of San Antonio, an average of about one daughter from every elite household married Anglos. Deaf Smith married Guadalupe 8 years before this census information; see Teresa Paloma Acosta and Ruthie Vinegarten, *Las Tejanas: 300 Years of History,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 52. After Smith died, Guadalupe was the owner of a boarding house for men.

[89] Huston, "Deaf Smith," 75; Jones, "Health Seekers in Early Anglo-American Texas," 292; "Erastus Smith," http://www.sanjacinto-museum.org/Herzstein_Library/Veteran_Biographies/Harrisburg_Bios/biographies/default.asp?action=bio&id=3581.

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traditional methods of frontier offensive fighting tactics.[90] Again, by the time of the armed confrontations of the Texas Revolution, Smith was likely experienced in mounted, armed, offensive frontier fighting simply based on his kinship and friendship ties to soldiering and ranching families. He was likely mentored by any number of militarily competent family members and friends. It is logical that Smith taught the troops under his command during the Revolution all he knew about soldiering, which included the Tejano frontier fighting methods that he had learned from family and friends since his arrival in Tejas in the early 1820s. Smith and his relationships with family and friends showed how cross-cultural contact and interactions worked to transmit information from Tejanos to newly arrived Anglos. Examination of relationship suggest fighting and ranging methods credited to Anglo Texas Rangers were passed on to them by Tejanos, either directly, or by other Anglos who themselves learned from Tejanos.

Several avenues for cross-cultural interaction and lessons were possible through the mixing of Texian and Tejano troops in the Army of the Republic Ranger groups. Famous Texas Ranger John Coffee Hays, one of Deaf Smith's men, was a surveyor around Bexar after Texas independence. He and several other non-Spanish surnamed troops joined a Ranger company in 1839 that was manned by twenty-seven Tejanos, and led by Captain José María Gonzales. The interaction between Texians and Tejanos showed a cooperative spirit in the early days following the revolution, and men built bonds of friendship through their interactions and shared experiences during dangerous

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[90] Crimm Castro, *De León*, 87, 88-91, 94, 135, 145, 171, 194. Fernando De León worked with Kerr in the field and taught him about frontier conditions and how to maneuver within the frontier structure. While surveying on the coast they had an encounter with a group of Karankawa. A large cooking pot in the back of the wagon was tilted and pointed at the Karankawa group. The gaping mouth of the pot mimicked a cannon, and the fear of bloodshed was apparently enough to dissuade hostilities from either side.

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and tumultuous moments and situations. William Eskew (Hesskew), and F. Paschal were members of Gonzales' troop that served with Hays, and later joined Hays' company.[91]

Hays first led a Spy Company of ten non-Spanish surnamed troops from January to May of 1841. The men were required to supply their own equipment, horses and arms, the government paid them $3 a day and rations. William Eskew and F. Paschal joined Hays' command. They were his former comrades in arms who had also gained their early experience with Gonzales and his Tejano troops. James Truehart also served with Hays and he and his brother once again exemplified the future positive outcomes for Anglo versus Tejano Republic Rangers. Although the Truehart family did not participate in the Texas Revolution, James Truehart had been exposed to Tejano fighting methods through his interaction with other Anglos in Hays' company that had participated in the fight for Texas independence with Tejanos. He was also exposed to Pérez's company of Tejano Rangers, since Hays and Pérez scouted, ranged and fought together. [92] James Truehart was sufficiently involved with prominent Tejanos in his everyday circle so that they allowed him to become part of their kinship network.[93]

Historian/sociologist David Montejano's work discusses how Anglo and Tejano intermarriage transformed the identity of Tejano landed elite after the Revolutionary

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[91] Muster Roll José María Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, TM, AGR, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 19; Muster Rolls John Coffee Hays, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22.

[92] Muster Roll José María Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, TM, AGR, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 19; Muster Rolls John Coffee Hays, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22; Muster Rolls Antonio Pérez, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33.

[93] Muster Rolls John Coffee Hays, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22: Moore, 183; Kennard B. Copeland, "TRUEHEART, JAMES L.," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ftr14), accessed June 21, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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War.[94] Anglo men gained access to Tejano land, kinship networks and Mexican culture, including ranging, frontier fighting and ranching through marriage ties. In the case of the Truehart brothers, James Truehart's marriage to a Tejana from an elite clan in 1848 proved to be a positive sociopolitical and economic move. He was granted property that was formerly part of the Mission Espada through his marriage to Petra Margarita de la Garza, the daughter of José Garza and María Menchaca, themselves members of two prominent frontier military families.[95] Although James Truehart did not re-enlist and instead became a government official, his brother John O. Truehart enlisted as the only non-Spanish surnamed troop in Pérez' Spy Company in June 1841. Although his enlistment in this Tejano company appears somewhat questionable, upon closer examination kinship ties explain his enlistment in this company. He was related to the de la Garza's through his brother's marriage, and the men in the troop were also kin to him. Through kinship ties he was connected to at least five of the men in Pérez's company including Pérez himself. Leandro Garza, Francisco Granado, Antonio Casanova, Canato Pérez, and Pablo Pérez were descendants of the earliest families in San Antonio and shared kinship ties, and they must have welcomed the Truehart brothers. John O. Truehart was so comfortable around these Tejanos that he joined them in a company composed entirely of Tejanos, almost half of whom were his kin.[96] Family relations and friendships were important on a frontier where people facilitated each other's survival. It

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[94] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans,* Part 1.

[95] Steven Gibson, "The Descendants of Geronimo de la Garza," bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/delagarza.rtf.

[96] Muster Rolls Antonio Pérez, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33; Steve Gibson, *Pérez Descendants Report*, bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/mperes.rtf.; Steve Gibson, *Granado Genealogy*, bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/granado.rtf.

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was important to have allies with experience and knowledge as companions in a fight that included enemies of various stripes.

All of the men in these companies shared ranging experiences, and logically the unified effort influenced those who were not well versed in frontier Indian fighting, scouting or handling of horses. The memoirs of famous Texas Ranger, politician and writer John S. Ford's stated that Hays thought highly of Pérez's leadership skills and bravery. The two led combined troops in April 1841. Hays led twelve Texians and Pérez led thirteen Tejanos against Mexican "bandits" supported by Mexican cavalry seven miles outside of Laredo in April 1841.[97]

Hays' and Pérez' methods of attack during the encounter suggest these men followed frontier fighting methods. Pérez's and Hays' units reached Laredo and were met and attacked by Ignacio Garcia's bandit force of twenty-five men, supported by fifteen Mexican cavalry. According to Hays' account, the bandits attacked, the ranger units dismounted, fired defensive shots, remounted, and approached a hill where the bandits waited. The group dismounted, charged firing their pistols, remounted fresh horses, gave chase and caught twenty-five men with all their equipment.[98] The late eighteenth century militia units discussed in previous chapters practiced the same type of hit and run methods utilized in this example. These skills were honed by a number of groups throughout the Republic period, and these situations showed some of the ways that knowledge was transferred from Tejano to Anglo troops through interaction. From

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[97] Joseph Milton Nance, *After San Jacinto: The Texas Mexican Frontier, 1836-1841*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 411; *Texas Rangers, 1841*, http://jack0204.tripod.com/gen/Heskew/wm_heskew_ranger1841.htm.

[98] Nance, *After San Jacinto*, 410-415; Wilkins, *The Legend Begins,* cites Journal of the Sixth Congress of the Republic of Texas, III: 411 from Hays' report of April 14, 1841.

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June to August 1841 Hays formed a new mixed company of fourteen Tejanos, two from Pérez' dissolved company, and seventeen Texian troops.[99]

The tumultuous nature of the relationships between Mexicans and residents of Texans in the post-Independence period proved difficult for Tejanos who increasingly found themselves viewed with suspicion by Texians. Physically threatened, attacked and accused of disloyalty, many Tejanos chose to flee Texas and sought refuge in Mexico. Pérez and other Tejanos fled Texas with Mexican forces after the Vázquez attack on Bexár. He returned with Seguín's Mexican company the *Defensores de Bejar* when general Adrian Woll's attempted the *reconquista* (re-conquest) of Tejas.[100] According to Texian journal accounts of the Battle, Texian forces were entrenched and Seguín, Pérez and other Mexican officers could be seen pushing their men in the fight by "slapping them with the flat side of their sabres."[101] It must have been difficult for Texians and Tejanos like Pérez, Hays, Seguín, and the other Bexáreños who were former allies, to stand on opposite sides of the battlefield during the Battle of Salado and attempt to kill each other.

There were repercussions for Tejanos in Texas whether they actually participated or cooperated with the Mexican Army against the Republic or not. Even those who were loyal to Texas suffered the consequences of their ethnic identity. Cries of disloyalty echoed strongly after Woll's invasion and departure, and even Woll knew Tejanos would

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[99] Muster Rolls John Coffee Hays, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22; Nance, *After San Jacinto*, 410-415; Wilkins, *The Legend Begins,* cites Journal of the Sixth Congress of the Republic of Texas, III: 411 from Hays' report of April 14, 1841.

[100] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo,* 186-188.

[101] James Wilson Nicholes, "The Journal of James Wilson Nichols, 1820-1887," ed. Wallace L. McKeelhan, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/saladonichols.htm.

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probably suffer through accusations. Historian Raúl Ramos claimed that Anglo prisoners of war captured by Woll's forces were directed to produce documents to assist Tejano citizens. He wrote "Woll demanded that Anglo-Texan prisoners [of war] sign a letter acknowledging…that Tejanos treated Anglo-Texans kindly…[T]he letter sought to preempt charges of disloyalty after Woll's departure." [102] There were no easy answers for Tejanos, as issues of national identity, citizenship, and ethnicity were punctuated by violence, suspicion, and attempts to strip them of their sociopolitical rights. There were also bonds of friendship and kinship that allowed certain groups to simultaneously labor in cooperative relationships to protect the frontier. There were many Tejano Rangers who fought with Texians and remained loyal to the Republic.

Antonio Coy, a member of Pérez' Spy Company in 1841,[103] participated in the Laredo fight described above with Hays and Pérez. He was one of the two Tejanos who joined Hays' Spy Company during the second half of 1841. Ex-Ranger and historian John Henry Brown, who was also a participant in the skirmish in Laredo, wrote a piece that discussed how Hays' gathered intelligence about General Vázquez's location in March 1842 when he moved from the Rio Grande towards the settlements. Brown's work provides insight to the shifting attitudes about race, labor and power dynamics simply based on language,[104] however, the language he used to describe Coy versus white men in Hays' outfit proves insightful as to the changing racial climate in Texas,

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[102] Ramon, *Beyond the Alamo,* 189-190.

[103] Muster Rolls Antonio Pérez, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33.

[104] Muster Rolls John Coffee Hays, Spy Company, San Antonio, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSLAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22-23 show participation of both Chevallie and Dunn through different periods from 1841, 1843, 1844.

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and the obvious tone of the piece is reverent. Brown described the non-Spanish surnamed men with Hays in San Antonio as "…distinguished soldiers, and men of distinction…."[105] Within the narrative, Hays, who Brown described as "…a rising young ranger in San Antonio who gained a reputation as a bold and dashing Indian fighter…" required intelligence regarding location and numbers of General Vasquez' troops. Brown wrote "[Hays] first move was to send out as scouts, towards the Rio Grande, Mike Chevallie and James Dunn…" to check on Vasquez' position; however the two were ambushed and captured on the Nueces. Brown' called them scouts within the narrative however, when he discussed Coy's orders to continue the scout he stated, "[Hays] then sent out *his favorite Mexican servant* [emphasis mine], Antonio Coy, who in like manner, was captured on the Frio." [106]

The fact that Brown called Antonio Coy, Hays' "favorite Mexican servant" is testament to the patriarchal and racist attitudes and sentiment that impelled men like Pérez to flee their homes and join the Mexican Army against Texians who by this time were becoming belligerent against even elite Tejanos as was seen in the case of Seguín. Antonio Coy (de los Santos Coy) and his brother Trinidad de los Santos Coy, fought with Seguín during the revolution, at both the Battle of Gonzalez, and the siege of Bexar.[107]

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[105] Brown, *The History of Texas*, 212. He stated the names of these men as Capt. D. C. Ogden, French Strother Gray, Henry Clay Davis, John R. Cunningham, Kendrick Arnold, Cornelius Van Ness, Dr. Smithers, John Twohig and others.

[106] Brown, *The History of Texas*, 212.

[107] Robert H. Thonhoff, "COY, TRINIDAD," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcofs), accessed March 21, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcofs. see Robert Garcia, Jr., "Descendants of Alferez Francisco Hernandez: Soldiers of the Presidio de Texas de Bexar 1718," (San Antonio, Texas: Paso de la Conquista, 2007, Third Edition); Bill Groneman, *Eyewitness to the Alamo 1776*, (Austin: Madrona Press, 1976).

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The Coy brothers were descendants of military families that had ranged the New Spanish frontiers since 1627, and included Nicolás de los Santos Coy, a soldier and resident of Presidio San Juan Bautista that accompanied Domingo Rámon during the expedition that started the settlements of San Antonio and Los Adaes in 1716.[108] The fact that Brown could not identify Coy as a comrade in arms is testament to beliefs about white superiority punctuated by hierarchical reference in naming of the same labor: White men were "scouts" when they performed the same task that was simply presented as a chore for a "Mexican servant." This simple example of the use of two titles to describe the same labor suggests the methods used to slowly white wash both Texas and Ranger history. Tejanos defined as servants were inferior to "white" men, and could not be appreciated or included in the realm of heroic figures. The white washing of the Rangers was apparently in full swing at least as early as 1842 if we use Brown as a marker. Interestingly, after Coy was captured Hays sent out another Anglo troop, and Brown reverted to his deferential language when he wrote, "Hays, still keenly anxious to know the condition of things [Vasquez' location], sent a *special scout* [emphasis is mine] west to reconnoiter."[109]

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[108] Robert H. Thonhoff, "COY, TRINIDAD," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcofs), accessed March 21, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcofs. Trinidad was present at the Alamo, and escaped the slaughter only because Col. Travis ordered him to reconnoiter and report Santa Anna's whereabouts. Trinidad stopped at a ranch after days of scouting and was given news that Santa Anna's forces were close by, so he attempted to strike out for San Antonio only to find that his horse would not move. The rancher's son had accidentally put the horse in a corral with access to locoweed, and the horse ingested the weed. He was forced to borrow a horse, however, the horse's stamina did not withstand a chase by Mexican forces, and he dropped dead. After a short chase in the bush, Trinidad was caught and held prisoner by the Mexican forces until after the fall of the Alamo.

[109] Brown, *The History of Texas*, 212.

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Hays continued in the service of the U.S. government and led a troop of Rangers during the Mexican American War. Mexicans called them "the diablo Tejanos" (the Tejano devils)[110] but they were not Tejanos, they were Texians. By the time of the Mexican American War, white Texas Rangers in four companies joined the U.S. Army under Hays' command and they became known for their cruelty and feared as "devils" without respect for life, property or persons. Hays, who Brown so eloquently claimed was in charge of a troop of "…distinguished soldiers, and men of distinction…" in 1842, by 1846 led a group of what can only be called murderers that committed atrocities throughout the regions they invaded.[111]

Like Pérez, Hays left Texas and started a new life in California as a sheriff, and speculator. The Texas Ranger's Ranger lauded as the prime example of strong willed, courageous, brave Texan, moved to California and never came back; seems gold fever was more compelling than Texas fever.

The situation faced by Tejanos became increasingly problematic during the ten years between the Texas Revolution and annexation to the U.S. The San Antonio region, the hinterlands around the Nueces Strip, including Goliad and Victoria experienced protection from Tejano militia and citizen soldiers from the time of settlement in the early 1700s. In the nineteenth century, Tejanos embraced and assisted Tejano newcomers to Tejas and taught them ranching and ranching traditions established by their ancestors. In the regions around Nacogdoches, community development was somewhat different.

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[110] Stephen B. Oates, "Los Diablos Tejanos: The Texas Rangers in the Mexican War." *Journal of the West* 9, no. 4 (1970): 487-504.

[111] Americo Paredes, *With a Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1958), Julian Samora, *Gunpowder Justice*; Oates, *Los Diablos Tejanos*.

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Tejanos and various tribes that had historically provided protection for their area, also lost status and power after the Revolution. Spanish settlers performed Ranger duties for generations to survive on the Texas frontier, only to have their deeds and histories watered down by increasingly racist newcomers that adopted their methods and techniques only to marginalize Tejanos after they stripped them of their power.

Nacogdoches: The companies of Collins, Sánchez, the Shawnee, and Apache

The Mexican period opened with the issuance of *empresario* contracts that first brought Stephen F. Austin's Old 300, and later an ever growing influx of aggressive immigrants that defined the land as unsettled, not only in the San Antonio and Victoria regions, but also around Nacogdoches. By the1830s six hundred local Nacogdoches Tejanos felt the loss of political power based on increasing numbers of Anglos entering the region. Ethnic/racial identity decided voting patterns, and the winners of local elections decided not only local policies, but settled land disputes.

Although certain Tejano clans appear to have remained allied with white settlers, Tejanos, like their more southern brethren, were victimized by governmental policies that resulted in usurpation of property through legal manipulations, a process that became common practice throughout Texas after independence when justification for land theft was based on claims of disloyalty.[112] The simmering of this cauldron of ethnic

[112] James Michael Reynolds, "Family Life in a Borderlands Community: Nacogdoches, !779-1861," Texas, PhD Dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1978, 229-234, 256-261; Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 141,162-163, 166-167, 176-178; for specific references to land grants see Texas General Land Grant Office Archives, The Spanish Collection, and Republic and State Grants; Headright Grants: Second Headright were issued to those that arrived between March 2, 1836 and October 1, 1837; Third Headright were issue to those that arrived between October 1, 1837 and January 1, 1840; see Clerk Returns.

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interaction began when local Tejano militia Captain Vicente Córdova refused to take-up arms for independence against Mexico in 1835. Córdova's group of supporters chose to defend Nacogdoches against marauders, protect local women, children and property, as did 250 Anglos that also joined the Committee on Safety and Vigilance; however, Córdova's group supported the Mexican Constitution of 1824, and had no desire to fight for independence.[113] After Córdova's militia arrested an Anglo stranger believed to have attempted to set fire to Nacogdoches, Texians barged in to Córdova's camp, disarmed the militia group and confiscated their weapons in support of the Anglo prisoner. Córdova was likely livid when he and A. Irion, one of the leaders of the Vigilance Committee, met and Córdova clarified Tejano troops were not supporters of Santa Anna.[114] During the next couple of years after independence, the government of the Texas Republic issued land bounty certificates to veterans, and an ever-increasing number of Anglos arrived in Nacogdoches ready to claim their farm lands;[115] however, Tejano and Indian land grants proved problematic for Anglo newcomers who arrived after the region had been settled by Spaniards and Mexican for over a hundred years, and by Indians for a much larger period.

In August 1838, Texian's attacked Córdova's brother Telesforo and a group of ten Tejanos while rounding up horses, and a rebellion began with both Tejanos and Texians

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[113] Lack, "The Córdova Revolt," 92.

[114] Letter Irion to Córdova, April 14, 1836, Letter from Irion to Houston, April 17, 1836, Letter Raguet to Houston, April 17, 1836, A J Houston Collection, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission (from here forward AJHC); Lack, "Córdova Rebellion," 100-101.

[115] For specific references to land grants see Texas General Land Grant Office Archives, The Spanish Collection, and Republic and State Grants; Headright Grants: Second Headright were issued to those that arrived between March 2, 1836 and October 1, 1837; Third Headright were issue to those that arrived between October 1, 1837 and January 1, 1840; see Clerk Returns.

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claiming victimization and attack by the other. Although cloaked in theoretical language regarding the belief that "disloyal" Tejanos' should be stripped of their rights, Texians actively disenfranchised and failed to protect Tejano property rights.[116] The Cherokee under Chief Bowles, who held treaty rights to prime real estate north of Nacogdoches, were soon targeted as well.

Justifications for land theft were couched in ideas in support of the expansion of white civilization. Manifest Destiny was given an official voice by the policies of Mirabeau Lamar. Lamar promoted the punishment of Cherokees who refused to give up their treaty lands. He claimed they supported Nacogdoches Tejano Vicente Córdova's rebellion, which made them enemies of the Republic.[117] Córdova refused to fight against his countrymen during the Texas Revolution; however, he did agree to protect the community from marauding bands. Anglos that arrived in Nacogdoches after the Revolution supported an agrarian way of life that included slavery, which meant they wanted lands and concessions that included the right to own slaves. Tejanos owned most of the lands in the Nacogdoches region, and treaty rights gave indigenous groups including the Cherokee large tracts of land. Hostilities between Anglos, Tejanos and certain Indian groups were bound to occur. As an increasingly racists group of Anglos gained control of local and state government the tide turned against groups of Tejanos and Indians. The possibility that Cherokee under Chief Bowles were in collusion with Tejanos under the leadership of Córdova justified Anglo settler moves against the

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[116] Letter Irion to Córdova, April 14, 1836, Letter from Irion to Houston, April 17, 1836, Letter Raguet to Houston, April 17, 1836, AJHC; Lack, "Córdova Rebellion," 100-101.

[117] Letter from Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar to Chief Bowles and other headmen of the Cherokee Nation, May 26, 1839, The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, 2:500.

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property, political, civil rights, and eventually the lives of both these groups in 1838-1839.[118] However, not all Tejanos or Indians were targeted by Anglos. Tejanos and Indian tribes that supported slavery allied with Anglo newcomers in the fight against enemy groups.

Houston was concerned about Tejano and Indian anti-slavery group activities that would entangle them in hostilities with pro-slavery locals. In August of 1838, he wrote to U.S. Colonel James Many, a soldier that became increasingly sympathetic to the Indian cause the longer he served.[119] He explained "the Mexicans, with their abolition policy, and united with the Indians, will invite the slaves of the south to revolt."[120] The slavery issue had been central to the colonization of Tejas since 1823. Article 30 of the Imperial Colonization Law allowed *empresarios* to bring slave holding colonists in to Tejas, but specified that children born to slaves in Mexico were to be freed at 14 years of age. Slave trading in the colonies was also forbidden. Despite the prohibitions, politicians continued to wrangle and negotiate for exemptions, and slave owners also manipulated the laws. Although importation of slaves was illegal, slave holding immigrants went as far as to manipulate slaves in to placing their mark on documents specifying they were

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[118] See Lack "Córdova Revolt" for a concise explanation of the situation faced by Tejanos. Chief Bowles and the Cherokee are only briefly mentioned, but he details the arrest and trial of thirty-three Tejanos; see Anderson, f.n 54, 412 stated "Houston issued a special order on September 1, 1838, calling for the return of all household goods, kitchen furniture, corn, poultry, and cattle taken from Mrs. Johanna Ybarbo, a direct descendant of Juan Ybarbo….A few days later, a report from Nacogdoches indicated that some 200 head of cattle, and thirty to forty horses had been collected from Tejanos and that their ripened crops would likely perish. See Anderson for discussion of Chief Bowles and the Córdova affair, 156-157, 163-166, 168, 178-180.

[119] Carolyn Thomas Forman, "Colonel James B. Many: Commandant at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson, and Fort Smith," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 19 (June 1941): 119-128.

[120] Letter Houston to Many, August 28, 1838 National Archives Record Book, 393, "Houston and Many Correspondence," cited in Anderson, 169. For more on Many's dislike of Houston and increased sympathy for Indian people see Anderson, 87-88.

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not slaves, but indentured servants that were bound to their debt holders for travel expenses and supplies for 99 years. As the political situation shifted in the years between Mexican Independence and the Texas Revolution, slavery remained a point of contention between those that were for abolition, and those that supported slavery as crucial to the development of cotton farming.[121]

Houston knew that the slavery question in Texas was not new. As early as 1805 Nemesio Salcedo, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, sent a accusatory letter to the Texas governor claiming Captain Ugarte of the Nacogdoches military troop was rumored to have incited Natchitoches area slaves by telling them the military would protect runaway slaves in Nacogdoches.[122] Thirty years later, the Tejanos of the regions likely remained split on the issue of slavery. The legitimacy of slavery was a point of contemplation and political discussion throughout the 1820s and 1830s, and was often attached to the question of Anglo immigration.[123]

While the distant Mexican government debated both issues, a group of Cherokee moved from Indian Territory, to Dallas, then towards Nacogdoches. In the 1820s, Chief Bowles, then a recently arrived refugee, was persuaded to assist Mexican government

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[121] Jennifer Gauntt, "Houston the Emancipator," Sam Houston State University, http://www.shsu.edu/~pin_www/samhouston/HouEman.html, accessed July 4, 2013; Eugene C. Barker, "MEXICAN COLONIZATION LAWS," *Handbook of Texas Online*, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ugm01), accessed July 11, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[122] BAT, Letter from Nemesio Salcedo to the Governor of Texas, February 7, 1805, Box 2Q354: LXVI, 1, 93.

[123] Eugene C. Barker, "MEXICAN COLONIZATION LAWS," *Handbook of Texas Online*, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ugm01), accessed July 11, 2013, published by the Texas State Historical Association, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ugm0; Margaret Swett Henson, "ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIZATION," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uma01), accessed July 11, 2013, published by the Texas State Historical Association, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uma01.

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officials,[124] Stephen F. Austin and Captain Francisco Ruíz, in their war against the Tawakoni and Waco. In return, Chief Bowles received a land thirty miles northwest of Nacogdoches where he established a series of "French" style hamlets.[125] The land was rich and the community of 150 families did well with three thousand head of cattle, three thousand hogs, six hundred horses, cotton fields and even a school.[126] President Houston pushed the continuation of this treaty during the Texas Revolution, in hopes of deterring a Cherokee alliance with Mexican centralists to assure peace in the region. Chief Bowles accepted Houston's terms, however, the Congress of Texas never ratified the treaty. In 1838, when Chief Bowles was rumored to have entered into an alliance with Córdova, despite limited proof of the legitimacy of the claims, Chief Bowles was threatened with expulsion from his Texas lands, and was ultimately forced to fight.[127] The Cherokee were traditionally slaveholders [128] and it is likely that Chief Bowles' people followed traditional patterns, therefore, theoretically the Cherokee and local Anglos likely followed the same philosophical beliefs regarding the institution of slavery. However, Cherokee people controlled the lands that Anglos needed to expand their

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[124] Howard O, Pallan, *East Texas Family Records, The Cherokees of Texas, Cherokee, Henderson and Smith Counties, Texas*, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/smith/military/indian/cherokee.txt. Texas Cherokee a arrived in present day Dallas in 1819, and moved north of Nacogdoches based on pressures from native Indians.

[125] Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 72-74, 28.

[126] Howard O. Pollan, "The Cherokee of Texas, Cherokee, Henderson and Smith Counties, Texas," http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/smith/military/indian/cherokee.txt.

[127] Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 100-103.

[128] Bernard Vincent, "Slaveholding Indians: The Case of the Cherokee Nation," http://www.unive.it/media/allegato/dep/Ricerche/1_Vincent1.pdf; see Robert Halliburton Jr., *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians,* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1977); Katja May, *African Americans and Native Americans in the Creek and Cherokee Nations, 1830s to 1920s: Collision and Collusion*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996); Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

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enterprises. Although both Anglos and Cherokee believed in slavery, rich lands were at stake, and those lands were sufficiently coveted to make enemies of two groups that would have theoretically been allies based on their support of the continuation of a slaveholding society in east Texas. It is likely the prosperity of the Cherokee people created envy in Anglos who often times arrived in Texas hungry and owning little.[129]

In 1839, hawkish and newly elected President Mirabeau B. Lamar, himself an expansionist supporter of Manifest Destiny, explained "savages" should be driven off of lands to make room for Anglos, because Anglos would inherit the earth based on their ability to cultivate.[130] Perhaps Lamar had not noticed the fifteen years of labor the Texas Cherokees had invested in their communities and lands, or their ability to cultivate.

Tejanos in Nacogdoches could trace their lineages back to the military families of Presidios of Los Adaes, La Bahía and Bexar. In the newly formed Republic, little of this history mattered to immigrants that arrived with plans to acquire lands. Conflicts resulted from increased Texian belligerence regarding Tejano and Indian land, political, and even civil rights.[131] By 1838, fears of a revolt pushed Mirabeau B. Lamar's government to attempt negotiations with the Cherokee, while he simultaneously pushed other tribes to ostracize them. President Mirabeau Lamar, in manipulative language of us versus them, wrote to Linnee, the leader of the Shawnee, "[t]he Cherokees can no longer remain among us…I hope they go in peace and return no more; for we have no wish to shed the

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[129] Wallace, L. McKeehan, ed., "Memoirs and Sketches by Old Texians (and Some of their Enemies)," Sons of DeWitt Colony, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/ccbn/dewitt/miscmemoirs.htm.

[130] Stanley Siegel, *The Poet President of Texas: The Life and Times of Mirabeau B. Lamar President of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977), 9-13; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, Ch. 6 called the moves by Lamar the beginning of a policy of ethnic cleansing.

[131] See Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, Chapter 6.

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blood of the red men…"[132] This simple statement was written right before the Texian's final assault on Chief Bowles people on July 16, 1839. It expressed not only Lamar's racist desire to clear Cherokees from lands that were granted them by treaty, the wording was also a passive threat that hinted at what could be done to Shawnee "red men" if they chose to support the wrong side.

As mentioned earlier, hostilities between Texians and Tejanos exploded in the Nacogdoches region on August 4, 1838. Télesforo Córdova, Vicente's older brother, was accused of horse theft and fired upon by Texians that claimed rights to the horses Vicente was herding. Although the historical record is not clear as to specifics, the event worked to ignite the fuse on the cauldron of antagonistic tensions that had simmered for a couple of years. Two days later, Córdova's group was accused of kidnapping and killing two Anglos. By late August Texas Army commander Thomas J. Rusk was in the field chasing Córdova and his group of two hundred Indians of unknown tribal affiliation, and from forty to fifty Tejanos. Despite Rusk's attempts to capture his forces, Córdova's men split into small groups and stealthily crossed Rusk's patrol lines.[133] The traditional methods of the *compañias volantes* were apparently not lost on Córdova's forces, and although muster rolls for his units were not found, his supporters were also probably connected to him and each other through kinship ties.[134]

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[132] Letter Lamar to Linnee and Other Chiefs and Head-Men of the Shawnee, June 3, 1839, Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, Harriett Snithers, Charles Adams Gulick, Katherine Elliott, Winnie Alan, The Papers of Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, (Ulan Press) III, 11-12.

[133] Lack, "Córdova's Rebellion," 101; Anderson, Chapter 10 discusses this in terms of the genocidal plans, actions and justifications that allowed Texans to commit kill, steal and enslave members of various tribes.

[134] Brown, *The History of Texas*, 62-63; John Milton Nance, *The Texas-Mexican Frontier, 1836-1841*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 156. Names signed on his Proclamation included Nat Norris,

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The fight these Rangers picked with Córdova and his Indian allies proved to be a difficult affair, and a frustration for General Thomas J. Rusk who was insistent on pushing Chief Bowels out of Texas. A reported gathering of Indian allies and Córdova's forces triggered a move towards Chief Bowles' lands following rumors of Córdova's presence at the Cherokee settlement. On October 15, two hundred rangers led by Thomas J. Rusk, only part of his 500-man troop, were attacked at 10:00 at night by Córdova's troops while they camped at Fort Kickapoo north of Nacogdoches. Córdova set the woods on fire around Rusk and shot eleven Rangers, forcing Rusk to retreat to Nacogdoches.[135] Despite the stealth ambush, many of Córdova's Indian and Tejano allies were reported wounded or killed.[136] The use of guerilla style surprise hit and run and ambush tactics were based in Indian and *compañia volantes* methods, and the use of those methods were a logical outcome of Córdova's years as the captain of the Nacogdoches militia.[137]

President Houston assured Tejanos of their safety and claimed they would be protected as long as they stayed clear of the rebellion. However, between August and October 1838, almost every Tejano in the region, with the exception of the Tejano

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Joshua Robertson, Juan Jóse Rodriguez, Carlos Morales, Juan Santos Coy, Jose Vicenti Micheli, Jose Arriola, and Antonio Corda.

[135] Letter J.W Burton to Houston, October 20,1838, AJH; Lack, "Córdova Rebellion," 102; Anderson, The Conquest of Texas, 160-170.

[136] Report John Durst to Colonel J.R. Lewis, October 24, 1838, C.C. Hill Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History; Letter from McLeod to Lamar, Lamar Papers II: 265-267.

[137] Robert Bruce Blake, "CÓRDOVA, VICENTE," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fco71), accessed January 17, 2013, published by the Texas State Historical Association; Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience*, 94-95; Tijerína, *Tejanos and Texas*, 138.

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Rangers, suffered unjustified imprisonment.[138] Córdova's actions justified the arrest of Tejano males in Nacogdoches, thirty-three of them charged with treason. Others joined the rebels to escape persecution and prosecution and at the hands of local authorities.[139]

The Cherokee were in a state of confusion as government representatives from both Mexico and the U.S. came to Chief Bowles' village with offers and threats. A journal found by the Texians, written by a Mexican officer who was killed by a local Tejano on the Trinity River, referred to Indian collusion in the rebellion. Written in faded pencil, and barely legible, the journal entries were deciphered and rewritten by an officer. [140] Before accepting the hostile intentions of the indigenous people accused by this journal, we have to consider the agenda of the officer that rewrote the information. Was the faded text truly legible at all or did the officer simply write what he believed to be in the journal? Additionally and perhaps even more cynically, was the journal a plant, or was there ever truly a journal at all? Pressures from higher powers that were already embroiled in promoting hostilities and armed conflict, or his desire to create hostilities, could easily have influenced the rewriting of the text. The journal supported hostile intentions of Indians along the Trinity, Angelina, Sabine, and Red Rivers. Despite the lack of clear evidence that Indian people were involved in supporting a centralist rebellion, the alarms were sounded and the Indians were identified as enemies. Chief

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[138] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11; Muster Rolls James W. Cleveland, Mounted Rangers 3rd Brigade, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-718 Folder 22; Muster Roll for Lewis Sánchez, Nacogdoches, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD Box 401-718 Folder 21; Muster Rolls James Durst, Mounted Rangers, Indians, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD Box 401-718 Folder 14.

[139] Lack, "Córdova's Rebellion," 101, 104.

[140] Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas,* 167.

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Bowles's people were not even allowed to harvest their last crops, but were ordered to leave without regard to food, clothing, season or even a solid destination. Córdova's Tejano allies were simultaneously identified as enemies.

Córdova's troops evaded capture for nine months, despite the government organization of a large force of Ranger companies that included white settlers, Tejanos and allied Indians. Tejano founding families were represented within their ranks. A force of up to 500 Rangers was mustered, and Tejanos joined three combined companies under the leadership of Captain Stephen Collins, Captain James Durst and Captain Luis Sánchez. Two companies of Shawnee and Apache, led by (Captain) Panther and Captain Castro were not mixed companies, but are included in this presentation since they deserve to be identified in their capacity as Texas Rangers. The Cherokee "War" and Córdova Rebellion punctuated the last Tejano and Indian Ranger Company organization in the Nacogdoches region to date.

In the woods of northeast Texas, shared ideologies and economic interests as well as self-preservation may have played a significant role in this particular period. The Mounted Volunteers of the Texas Militia led by Captain Stephen Collins was a Tejano/Texian mixed company in the field from October 12-November 26, 1838.[141] It was mustered in answer to an October 5 attack by Córdova's party, which left fifteen Anglos dead near the Neches River. Ten Tejanos and forty-two Texians enlisted with Collins' company to fight Córdova.[142] A few of Collins' men were leaders within their

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[141] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11.

[142] Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, Chapter 10; see Hämäläinen, 216, 224, 306, 310 for a more general history of Ranger activities against Comanche.

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communities and stand as examples of the social, political and economic variables that connected influential Tejanos and Texians in these companies. Adolphus Sterne was a German immigrant and arrived in Texas in the 1820s, and was involved in the cause for Texas independence. He became a prosperous merchant and was politically active in the Nacogdoches community. After his time in Collins' company, he continued his service under the command of J. Snivley and led a troop of volunteers at the Battle of Neches on July 16, 1839 where Chief Bowles was killed while the Comanches attempted to escape the region.[143] Sometime between 1832 and 1835 Adolphus Sterne became a slave owner, and in the years following the killing of the Comanches on the Neches, Sterne became a land commissioner, justice of the county court and landowner, accumulating 16,000 acres of land through his lifetime.[144] Apparently the extermination of the Comanche opened up lands and gave Sterne a job.

Based on his land allotments and his occupation after the Battle of Neches, David Rusk was in a position to situate himself on prime lands through his political alliances and his job. David Rusk was the brother of Captain Thomas J. Rusk, who was in charge of the military operations against Córdova and Chief Bowles. David Rusk fought with Hayden Arnold's company at San Jacinto and in December 1837 he received a 320 acre Bounty Certificate. In February 1838, right before the troubles with Córdova and Bowles

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[143] Letter from Thomas J. Rusk to Chief Bowl, October 20, 1838. Mirabeau B. Lamar Papers #839, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission. Rusk warned Chief Bowles to stay away from the Mexicans and Indians who he claimed were not following the treaty. He wrote, "[t]hese Indians have made treaties with us and claim to be our friends." See Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 178.

[144] Adolphus Sterne, *Hurrah for Texas: The Diary of Adolphus Sterne, 1838-1851*, (Austin: Texian Press, 1969); W.P. Zuber, "Captain Adolphus Sterne," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, vol. 2:3, 1899.

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began, the Nacogdoches County Board also issued him a Headright worth one third of a league. He became the Sheriff of Nacogdoches for many years following the Battle of Neches, although he was a fairly young man.[145] In 1832 David lived with his older brother Thomas J. Rusk, and perhaps learned to the politics of leadership from his brother, who aside from being a military man, was a slave owner.

These families had intermarried for generations, thus, continued the frontier military tradition of kinship groups fighting together; however, in this situation, loyalty to their own ethnic group was apparently trumped by class interests. Several of the Tejano men in Collins' company had lineages that went back to the founders of Nacogdoches discussed in previous chapters. Three direct descendants of Gil Flores, military man and second in command to Gil Ybarbo, the founder of Nacogdoches, included his grandson, 49 year-old Vital Flores, Vital's 19 year-old son Policarpio, and 21 year-old son Jesus.[146] Vital was property owner,[147] had five additional children besides his ranger sons, and owned one 40 year-old slave in 1832. He was listed in the 1832 census as a laborer, although it appears that occupations outside of merchant, blacksmith and carpenter were listed as laborers, [148] and was sufficiently affluent to own a slave. Juan

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[145] "David Rusk," http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/r/u/s/Billy-Rusk/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0068.html; Thomas W. Cutrer, "RUSK, DAVID," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fru15), accessed April 16, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[146] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11; Census 1832 Nacogdoches, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/census/1832/1832nac.txt.

[147] 1837 Tax List, Nacogdoches County, accessed April 5, 2013, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/nacogdoches/taxlists/1837tax.txt.

[148] Census 1832 Nacogdoches, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/census/1832/1832nac.txt.

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Ybarbo, a direct descendent of Gil Ybarbo also served in this troop with the Flores clan.[149]

The mounted militaristic style of the Ranger unit must have been familiar to Juan Antonio Padilla, and his ideological beliefs likely made him acceptable to local Anglos with whom he served not only in Collins' company, but also in James Durst Indian Company. Juan Antonio Padilla served with Ybarbo and the Flores family in this mounted company, but had experience in warfare that could be traced at least 25 years by the time that he served in this company. He was an officer of the Alamo de Parras *compañia volantes* in 1810, served as secretary to the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, secretary of state of Coahuila and Texas, and general land commissioner of Tejas in 1832.[150] He was a friend of Stephen F. Austin's, encouraged Anglo immigration, and supported slavery. Padilla served in the revolution in Victoria under Collingsworth, and then followed Placido Benavides to San Antonio.[151] After the revolution he somehow found his way to Nacogdoches where he was a property owner likely assigned a bounty grant for his service.[152]

Dolores Cortinas involvement with Collins' troops suggests alliances were built based on familiarity and patterns of social cross-cultural involvement. The Durst men, a slave owning clan of French heritage, included older brother Joseph, John, and John's son

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[149] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11.

[150] Jesús F. de la Teja, "PADILLA, JUAN ANTONIO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpa06), accessed April 1, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[151] AP III: 144, 171, 179, 185.

[152] 1837 Tax List, Nacogdoches County, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/nacogdoches/taxlists/1837tax.txt.

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James. In 1832, James was 18 years old, and the closest member of the household to his own age was Dolores Cortinas, a seventeen year-old Tejano laborer.[153] Joseph Durst's household was situated on a plot west of Nacogdoches towards the Angelina River.[154] By 1835 Dolores Cortinas, who was twenty year-old and had established himself in the same region as the Durst clan. He was a farmer in his own separate household. Although there are no records to indicate much about Cortinas life, we do know that in 1832 James' uncle John Durst had nine slaves. He likely lived in the area within reach of his brother's family at this point, but certainly did by 1835, and he had increased his chattel to 22 slaves.[155] Cortina was a member of household steeped in southern planter culture. He was a witness to and part of the everyday workings of the Durst household economy for a period of time. He established a household of his own in the same region by 1835. The impact of the Durst family is difficult to gauge, however, Cortina worked and likely played with young Durst simply based on the fact that they were the same age, lived, and likely worked and played on the same landscape. Although there is no evidence to prove the friendship between these two, it is likely they were familiar. They lived in the same household in 1832, and from October 12, to November 26, 1838, both twenty-three year-old Cortinas and twenty-four year-old Durst were enlisted in Collins' company.

Shortly after the mixed company was dissolved, James Durst was placed in command of an "American Indian" company, including many Cherokees. Cortinas

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[153] 1832 Census Report of Nacogdoches, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/census/1832/1832nac.txt

[154] 1835 Census Report of Nacogdoches-to West of the Angelina, Nacogdoches Archives, 1835, vol.84, 42-45. Also available http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/census/1835/1835nac.txt.

[155] 1835 Census Report of Nacogdoches-to West of the Angelina, Nacogdoches Archives, 1835, vol. 84, 42-45. Also available http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/census/1835/1835nac.txt.

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joined Durst from December 1838-January 1839 and was the only Spanish surnamed member of this company of fifty-eight troops.[156] In January 1839, Cortina joined James W. Cleveland's Mounted Rangers, 3rd Brigade of the Texas Militia.[157] At some point, Cortinas married and had children. His daughter claimed that Cortina was an interpreter[158] although she did not identify the languages he spoke. Based on his home and occupation, he probably spoke French and regional Indian languages that likely included Cherokee, Creek and Shawnee. Since Chief Bowles' lands were west of the Angelina, and Cherokee were traders, it is likely that both Cortinas and Durst were familiar with Cherokee people and that Cortinas' exposure to the Cherokees and other tribes along the Neches and Angelina gave him the cultural context and language skills by which to communicate.

Property ownership and pro-slavery ideology and practice connected at least a few Tejano and white members of Collins' company. Vital Flores was a slaveholder, and an original settler, which gave him and his family a First Headright under the Republic land allotment system. Each head of household had rights to 4,605 acres if over the age of 17, and in a farming economy access to labor was central to success. Flores' support of the slave system, like Padilla's, showed that these men and the slave owning whites,

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[156] Muster Rolls James Durst, Mounted Rangers, Indians, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD Box 401-718 Folder 14; Moore, 106.

[157] Muster Rolls James W. Cleveland, Mounted Rangers 3rd Brigade, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-718 Folder 22.

[158] No author, *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas,* vol. 1, (Nolan Press, 1923, rpt: 2012), 105.

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like the Rusks, Sterne, and the Dursts,[159] had common interest in protecting rights to property and slavery.

Dolores Cortinas also had similar socioeconomic interests to protect that may have been easier dealt with by allying with his "employer." He claimed land by First Headright[160] by the time he was 23 years-old, and had friends within white Texan society which means he was probably not a "laborer" in the modern sense of the word. Realistically, Cortina lived within the structure of the Durst slave owning family for at least a period of time, and although defined as a "laborer" in the 1832 census, he was probably related to one of the Tejano founding families. The fact that his daughter married Sixto Navarro, the son of José Antonio Navarro, an elite Tejano[161] discussed in the previous chapter, supports this idea. The Navarros would have negotiated an equal match for one of their own based on sociocultural rules regarding class intermarriage. In addition to his mercantile, political and ranching interests, Navarro was a slave owner. He owned at least six slaves that lived on his Atascosa ranch near Seguín, Texas. Sixto had been raised on the ranch,[162] so his position on the slavery issue was likely similar to his father. Cortinas apparently was a victim of a cholera outbreak and died before his children were grown, however, the tradition of military action continued in the generation

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[159] Christina Stopka, "Partial List of Ranger Commanders and Their Units," http://www.texasranger.org/ReCenter/captains.pdf; Rusk, Sterne and Durst all continued to work as rangers in to the 1840s. Thomas J. Rusk committed suicide or accidentally fell off a boat and he drowned in Matagorda Bay after the death of his wife.

[160] First Headright, Abstract 160, File #78, Rusk County, http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/rusk/land/abstracts.txt.

[161] N.A, *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas,* 105.

[162] David R. McDonald, *José Antonio Navarro: In Search of the American Dream,* (U.S.A.: Texas State Historical Association, 2000), 1774, 1827, 1864.

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after Cortina's Ranger service. Sixto was a soldier, and Cortina's two sons both joined the Confederate Army.[163]

Cortina, the Floreses, and Padilla served in this Ranger unit with Euroamerican settlers not only because ranging was a tradition Tejanos knew well, but because they likely understood the shifting nature of political power in the region. As more Anglos arrived, they understood that through sheer power of numbers, Anglos would likely take over the political and socioeconomic framework of the region. In order to prosper and assure the continued privileges and prosperity of their own families, Tejanos recognized the need to connect their interests to those of Anglos that would soon control the entire region. Land rights, taxes and social structures could easily be defined by whoever controlled the political mechanisms in a community. To assure the prosperity of their own families Tejanos had to assure themselves access to those in control of power structures. Shared interests in survival while fighting a common enemy surely promoted bonding and emphasized a spirit of "us" versus "them" that assured prominent families continued to share in the prominence of the community and their positions by cooperating with the new sociopolitical and economic order. Turmoil was detrimental for those that fell outside the realm of the conquerors, and in an area where Tejanos and Indians were simultaneously the savior and the enemy, various companies of both jockeyed for socioeconomic and political validity.

Luis Sánchez' group of Mounted Troops appeared to be a mixed group of Tejano and non-Spanish surnamed Rangers, like Collins' troop; however Sánchez's majority was Tejano. Sixty-one men were under Sánchez's command between Novembers of 1838-

[163] N.A, *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas,* 105.

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July of 1839, but only fourteen were non-Spanish surnamed. Members of Los Adaes' founding families represented in the Nacogdoches Rangers included two men from the Chavanno, López, Hernández, and Santos families, three members of the Ybarbos, and Mondolas, and four members of the Sánchez clan, including Captain Sánchez. Only twenty-nine of Sánchez' men were active in June and July of 1839 when the Texas Cherokees were defeated at the Battle of Neches, and only two of them were not Spanish-surnamed.[164]

The Córdova Rebellion and the Cherokee War exemplified the nature of ethnic and racial conflict in the eastern Texas border region. Tejanos and Cherokees that refused to accept Anglo usurpation of their lands, and infringement on their civil, property and political rights rebelled against Anglo control. The Comanche went to war with the Army of the Republic at the Battle of the Neches in July 1839 after two major catalysts promoted armed conflict: First, having believed the treaty Houston promised him was official and legal, Chief Bowles refused to allow soldiers to build a fort within the boundaries of Cherokee territory. Lamar was able to push for war based on Chief Bowles' refusal to concede to this obvious infringement on Cherokee sovereignty; secondly, in May 1839, Córdova's group of 50 men, was ambushed by Texas Rangers near the San Gabriel River. Mexican agent Manuel Flores and twenty others were killed, and although Córdova escaped, Flores supposedly carried letters between Flores,

[164] Muster Roll for Lewis Sánchez, Nacogdoches, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD Box 401-718 Folder 21; Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11; Frederick Wilkins, *The Legend Begins, The Texas Rangers, 1823-1845* (Austin: Texas State House, 1995), 46.

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Córdova and Mexican General Valentin Canalizo implicating Chief Bowles in the Córdova Rebellion.[165]

Chief Bowles' refusal to admit to a forced Texas military presence on his lands, President Mirabeau B. Lamar's beliefs in Manifest Destiny, and accusations collusion with the enemy, Chief Bowles was targeted by Mirabeau B. Lamar's aggressive anti-Indian policies. A presidential commission was sent to negotiation the terms of evacuation. The Cherokee, Delaware and Shawnee were to leave Texas under an armed Army of the Republic escort, and the Texas government was to pay for crops left in the fields, improvements to the lands, and property. Indians were to surrender the locks off their rifles until the group reached U.S. territory. Chief Bowles refused the terms, stating that his men would not be inclined to surrender their weapons to Texas soldiers. Negotiations feel apart, however, Chief Bowles prepared his people to flee the state. In mid-July while Chief Bowles led his people towards the north, his groups was chased and attacked on the Neches River. Chief Bowles was eighty-three years old when he led his troops onto the field of battle against the pursuing Texas force.[166] His horse was shot out from under him and Bowles was wounded. One of the Texian soldiers at the Battle of Neches wrote, "[Bowles] exhorted the Indians to fight bravely. During the last battle he could be heard repeatedly encouraging them…" but after both he and his horse were wounded, Captain Robert Smith walked up to him while he sat on the ground and shot him in the temple. At the Battle of the Neches 800 Texas Rangers fought 500 Cherokee

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[165] Dianna Everett, *The Texas Cherokees: A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 102.

[166] Everett, *The Texas Cherokees*, 102-104.

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people.[167] Ranger companies made $840 worth of pay for the month[168] and Tejanos in Luís Sánchez' company participated in an allied effort with Anglos under Edward Burleson's command to receive their portion of pay.

During the same time period, forty Tejanos from the Nacogdoches community were taken and tried for treason in Houston. After accusations, months of incarceration, and abuse, none were convicted, despite a close call for Antonio Menchaca, a descendant of the famous clan who had been sent to negotiate peace. It is unclear how his loyalties became clouded or misinterpreted, but he was also arrested with most of the Tejano population. Because of false incarceration, persecution and oppression several Tejano families lost their property and livelihood despite their acquittal. Many of them were forced to flee the region, and the increasingly hostile Texian population, so they moved to Louisiana.[169] Several families in Louisiana prove to be the descendants of Tejanos that were residents of Nacogdoches and even Los Adaes. The Ybarbo, Mora, Martínez, López, and Sepulvedo clans in present day Louisiana form a network of old families in the Ebarb-Zwolle, Louisiana community. These families are believed to have been refugees from the original forced move of the Los Adaesaños to San Antonio in the 1770s,[170] but may have been forced to flee to relatives after the situation in Texas disintegrated.

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[167] Dorman Winfrey, "Chief Bowles of The Texas Cherokee," http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v032/v032p029.pdf, 40.

[168] Wilkins, *The Legend Begins*, 46.

[169] Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 167.

[170] "Los Adaes," http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/adaes/legacy.

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Groups of Tejanos stayed in Nacogdoches and attempted to keep their property and lives, however, as Anglos took control of the political infrastructure, Tejanos ultimately suffered the consequences of their power loss. Captain Luís Sánchez, discussed in the following pages, serves as an example of the ultimate betrayal and downfall of even those Tejanos that were allied with Anglos. While fighting against the Cherokee, and Córdova's rebels, Sánchez sought to protect those he recognized as innocents. In homes where Tejano men were absent, either because they joined Córdova, or were arrested by Nacogdoches authorities that believed they were followers of Córdova, Luís Sánchez took on the responsibility of caring for Tejano women and children left behind. Despite his claims submitted to government officials, his expenses were not reimbursed. Analysis of his landholdings proves the impact of this maneuver that was knowingly perpetrated by Anglo politicians. They understood Sánchez would have to sell property to satisfy his debts, and their foot dragging paid off. Although he owned over 4,400 acres in 1834, by 1840 Sánchez's holdings were down to 800 acres. In 1848 the legislature was still considering his claim, a fact that obviously considered in to his loss of property, yet he continued to serve the Rangers and was defined as "an interpreter" for the military through 1850.[171]

Two of the twenty-nine Rangers in Captain Sánchez' company during the Battle of Neches add to the complexity of Nacogdoches Rangers' ethnic and racial identities, and the possible socioeconomic ties and ideological similarities between members of this east Texas community. Sánchez's company of Texas Mounted Militia, was part of the

[171] Mary M. Standifer, "SÁNCHEZ, LUIS," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsa21), accessed April 19, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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2nd Regiment 3rd Brigade under the command of Major B.C. Walters. His troop was composed of both Spanish and non-Spanish surnamed men. Sixty-one men fought with Sánchez between August 1838 and July 1839, and of those only fourteen were not Tejanos. The ranging district was defined as the "Cherokee Line" with headquarters at Fort Kickapoo, and the groups were enlisted specifically to participate in the Cherokee War.[172] Sánchez was in Nacogdoches in 1821 and it is likely his ancestors were part of the Los Adeas troop. He was said to be of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry himself and served both the Texas and later U.S. government, as a diplomat, and interpreter.[173] His ties to the Indian community made the participation of people within those communities more likely. The identities of Sánchez's troops hint at the likelihood that they were partially connected to a unified goal based on socioeconomic interests.

A small cluster of the non-Spanish surnamed men in the Ranger companies of Nacogdoches were slave owning Creek Indians, probably Choctaw, who had been assigned to Indian Territory after Indian removal in the South in the 1820s, but chose to move to Nacogdoches.[174] Thomas Berryhill was a Creek[175] who likely arrived with other members of his clan from Georgia during this period. The Creeks were a sedentary people that survived both farming and hunting,[176] and were sufficiently integrated with the Tejano population to serve in Sánchez's and Durst's companies before and during the

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172 Muster Roll for Lewis Sánchez, Nacogdoches, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD Box 401-718 Folder 21.

173 Wilkins, *The Legend Begins*, 46, 56; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 201, 209-210.

174 "Indian Relations in Texas," https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/exhibits/indian/toc.html.

175 "The Descendants of Thomas Berryhill," http://files.usgwarchives.net/tx/nacogdoches/history/berryhill/beryh2.txt.

176 "Indian Relations in Texas," https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/exhibits/indian/intro/page2.html.

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Cherokee campaign. Charolette Berryhill was likely related to Thomas, and in 1840 she married Creek Nation member Early Cordery, born in Suwanee, Old Town, Gwinnett, Georgia. He was a member of the Wild Potato clan of the Oklahoma Indian Territory,[177] and was a Ranger in James Durst's American Indian Company stationed at Shawnee Town.[178] Early was likely not a great husband; he abandoned Charolette and their daughter, Sarah, a few years after their marriage. Subsequently, he did join his daughter in Indian Territory, where he lived with Sarah and her family in his later years.[179]

Samuel Hawkins was another Creek in Sánchez' company, and exemplified the shared philosophical leanings of certain Anglos, Tejanos and Indians in support of slavery, and the manifestation of those beliefs in action. Hawkins and his family, along with many other Indian tribes, including the Cherokees, were large slaveholders.[180] Although the situation documented here occurred several years after the Battle of the Neches, it is likely that Creek belief systems were similar a decade earlier. During the turbulent years of the U.S. Mexican War, the Hawkins clan, who according to family history, were "friendly" with their large slave population, temporarily sent them to Mexico to join a "Seminole-Negro" community to prevent them from being kidnapped.

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[177] "Descendants of Thomas Corderey, Child Early Corderey," http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/e/a/s/Duvette-Easter-West-Monroe/GENE3-0001.html.

[178] Muster Rolls, Stephen Collins Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, TM, RTMR, MR, TAGD, TSA, Box 401-717 Folder 11.

[179] "Early Cordery and Charolette Berryhill," http://boards.ancestry.com/surnames.cordery/112.3/mb.ashx; "Early Cordery," http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=9870835.

[180] For examples of Indian support of slavery see, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," *The Journal of Southern History*, 57:4 (Nov. 1991), 601-636; Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2005).

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The "Negro community of Brackettville, Texas" was supposedly descended from the "Hawkins Negroes."[181] Interestingly, family history showed an idealized version of slavery as a structure controlled and run by a benevolent leader as a protector. However, the fact is the Hawkins clan participated in a slave economy and they were owners of human chattel. Although the philosophical similarities involving the slavery issue proved important for alliances between Creeks, Anglos and Tejano, this was not solely the reason for friendly relations between the groups. Cherokees were also slave owners, but they were considered enemies. Perhaps the fact that Cherokee lived on large, improved, and productive lands, provoked hostile reactions from Texians, Tejanos, and other less prosperous Indians.

Examples from Collins and Sánchez' companies showed the importance of group participation in ranging to assure the suppression of groups considered obstacles to the continued "development" of Nacogdoches. The clearing of populations from prime occupied lands, in this case the Cherokees, and the squashing of anti-slavery groups, assured prosperity for those on the inside. As the problems with the Cherokee increased, Durst's group, which included Cherokees, was disbanded, while Sánchez' Tejano and Creek group was kept in service. The participation of local minority groups, in this case, Tejanos and non-Comanche Indians, in ranging to support the continuation of the status quo, theoretically, ensured the acceptance of these smaller groups in the circle of prosperity controlled by Euroamerican slave owners. Perhaps the Indian companies that joined the Rangers during this time were ranging for precisely those reasons. In showing their loyalty to white supremacy, couched in terms of protection of frontier people from

[181] Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "The Hawkins Negroes Go To Mexico," http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v024/v024p055.pdf.

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the unproven threats embodied in Cherokee people and Mexican loyalists, these groups hoped cooperation and accommodation would assure them a place in the coming society.

Indian Texas Ranger groups were eventually stripped of their civil rights and sociopolitical power because of increasingly large numbers of Anglo immigrants and their desire for lands. Just as the Cherokee had, most of the tribes in Texas, including Indians who were loyal and served the state, were stripped of their titles and forced onto reservation lands when they too became identified as enemies. Chief Castro of the Lipan Apache helped the Texans on a variety of occasions, even during the tumultuous events from January-February 1839. He had a personal grudge against the Comanches,[182] and "swore he would not make peace" with the Comanches until they made peace with Texans. He assisted in the Somervell Expedition in 1842, and died that same year, having lost one of his sons to Anglo settlers. His people were "rewarded" for their loyalty by being ordered to the Brazos Indian Reservation. They fled to Mexico in the 1860 to avoid being sent to Indian Territory.[183] Chief Panther of the Shawnee led a company of Rangers for a month, from November to December of 1838, then a smaller group of interpreters from December to January 1839. Captain Placido led a group of Tonkawa Rangers that served from January to February of 1839, and then fought with Hays at Plum Creek in 1840. Anglo settlers ultimately pushed them off their Texas lands, and his people were placed on a reservation in Indian Territory in Oklahoma. Placido's people supported the Confederacy during the Civil War, suggesting their support of

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[182] Letter Robert A. Irion to Sam Houston, March 14, 1838. Texas Indian Papers Volume 1, #19, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

[183] Thomas F. Schilz, "CASTRO, CUELGAS DE," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fca92), accessed April 10, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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slavery, but he and half of his people were killed by Union supporting Indians that attacked their homes.[184]

Conclusion

Tejanos held large land grants, coveted by speculators and squatters, and as increasingly large numbers of white immigrants poured into the state after independence, Tejanos were defined simply as Mexicans. Indians suffered similar disempowerment. They were either considered hostile and removed, were pacified, or simply mixed with other groups. The obvious repercussion of years of racist policies, including disenfranchisement and government supported land theft was the decline of the status and power of many Tejano families and Indian allies. This Tejano and Indian loss of power occurred in regions where people largely identified as Anglo-Texans, regardless of ethnic background. They allied and acted as political blocks that voted their agendas or simply acted violently in vigilante groups and strong-armed those who stood counter to their desires.

In certain instances intermarriage afforded Tejanos a place in the new Texas order.[185] However, the vast majority of Indians like Chief Bowles, Captain Castro, Shawnee Chief Panther and even Tonkawa Chief Plácido, (who was killed on a reservation after being kicked off of his own lands while fighting for slavery), were attacked, lost their lands and were stripped of power to rule their own tribes by Texan

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[184] "Indian Relations: Placido, A Tonkawa Chief," https://www.tsl.state.tx.us/exhibits/indian/intro/placido-tonkawa.html.

[185] See Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, Chapter 1; Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy*, Chapter 4.

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politicians that controlled their demise through political maneuvers supported by military action.

Anglos learned offensive mounted methods of warfare against enemies on their own turf, hit and run tactics, stealth and bravery from Tejanos well versed in frontier fighting. As an increasingly large number of Anglos arrived following Texas independence, a new hero emerged from the ashes of revolution. During the early years of the Republic, the whitening of the population supported a shift in the power dynamic, and Tejanos quickly lost political, social and economic status to the ever-growing Anglo immigrant population.

The coming of the U.S. Mexican War in 1846 justified the racist and oppressive actions taken by white newcomers against even Tejanos who were veterans of the Army of the Republic from 1835-1836 and Republic Rangers from 1836 to the early 1840s. Tejanos spilled blood for the Independence of Texas, and continued to serve the state even afterwards, however, regardless of their loyalty or service, they were blindly, or perhaps conveniently identified simply as “Mexicans,” and therefore labeled enemies. An immigrant population drunk with desire for land conveniently defined Tejano and Indian lands as uninhabited, wild and free for the taking. Although certain Tejano families were protected from destitution through political and economic connections, large portions of the Tejano population lost their lands, property, and even lives to the northern hordes that formed alliances based on race. Apache, Shawnee, Cherokee and Creek, allies and Rangers at different times, also fell victim to the increasingly racist populations that justified expansion in terms of the need for white people to control, cultivate and teach non-whites how to be civilized.

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Tejano troops throughout the 1830s shared experiences and assignments with Euroamericans that were ultimately defined as *the* Texas Rangers by scholars, and the general public alike. The contributions of these talented Tejanos are obvious in the methods and style of warfare and ranging employed by Anglos. However, as time passed the myth of the White Texas Ranger silenced the history and contributions made by Tejanos, and the participation of both Tejanos and Indians in the earliest Texas Ranger companies. Native people were also almost completely erased from the discussion, and although historians are beginning to address their presence, they are still referred to as "Indian scouts" and credited for helping "the Rangers." Othering of non-white Rangers continues in the language used by Texas Ranger scholars and although this work does the subject very little justice, one point is clear: If Indians were with Texas Ranger companies in official capacities, they were Texas Rangers, and not simply scouts.

In the years after the U.S. Mexican War, and especially by the 1850s, Tejanos and Indian people left central and northeast Texas or simply melted into the sociopolitical background in communities where Anglo Texans controlled politics and social order. Racist sentiment grew with the increased arrival of southerners with agendas related to the continuation of slavery, state's rights, land acquisition and the position of people of color within Texas. Along certain portions of the Nueces Strip, and San Antonio Tejano founding families were able to secure sufficient power to remain viable within the new order, and in the tradition of their ancestors, continued to range.

Frank and I rode back towards the house and he told me about his daughter Gabby's most recent win at the San Antonio rodeo barrel racing competition. He is

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proud and I am too. We watch our way for loose limestone rock and snakes. We have hunted, fished and played in the hill country of central Texas and the coastal plains for years. This big ole Texas cowboy, who I consider a brother, is afraid of snakes, and that fact makes me giggle, but I watch the path to make sure his way is clear, just like he watches every move I make for anything that might spook me or my horse…We take care of each other. We became friends while employed in a dangerous environment, just like the Rangers of old, and we sought peace in the wild. I can only imagine that we would have been friends in another place and time. As we get back to the house, his Tejana wife Priscilla, a descendant of the famous ranching Saenz clan of South Texas, greets us. Dinner is ready. The routine had been the same for years: food, relaxation on the back patio, and maybe even a shooting competition just for kicks. When the sun sets, we light a fire, and we sit and talk of our day, our lives, and our futures. Sometimes Priscilla asks me about her history, and I tell her tales of the ranching history we come from, Tejano and Indian Rangers, and the world that tried to strip us of our history and legacies.

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CHAPTER 6

TEJANO RANGERS, 1845-1880

I moved north to the Midwest to continue my education. In Iowa City I rented a duplex from an older German man. He was successful and owned property throughout town and seemed to be comfortable with me, and I with him, so we agreed on terms. Before I signed the lease he asked me a question that has remained with me for 20 years. In broken English he asked me if I was a citizen. For some reason the effect of that question stayed with me. I answered with contempt and said, “About ten generations, how about you?” I wonder what Tejanos felt in the post-Texas Revolution period. When they were questioned about their citizenship status by newly arrived Anglos who stripped them of sociopolitical and economic power, did they answer with contempt?

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo moved the Texas border from the Nueces to the Rio Grande in 1848. Mexicans who remained on the north side of the Rio Grande became U.S citizens by default if they stayed in the country for over a year. Ethnocentric and racist newcomers continued to flock into Texas, and people of Mexican descent were pushed to the margins of the new sociopolitical and economic order. This chapter has two focal points; first, I wish to show participation patterns of Tejanos in Ranger companies from the 1850s to 1870s. From the time of the U.S.-Mexican War in 1846 to the Civil War in 1861, Tejano participation in frontier security was either minimal or remained largely undocumented. Anglos that gained sociopolitical and economic dominance after independence proved hostile to Tejanos and largely stripped Tejanos of socioeconomic and political power, including their enlistment in Ranger companies. The absence of Spanish surnamed men in the Texas Ranger rolls during the 1840s and 1850s

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is testament to the empowerment of Anglos that perpetuated the racialized definition of "Ranger "that started during this period. Despite their minimal participation in Ranger companies, a small number of Tejano Rangers continued to serve the state of Texas and her citizens during this time period. Secondly, I argue that despite the decrease in their overall numbers during the thirty-years after Texas independence, the Civil War provided Tejanos the opportunity to prove themselves as soldiers again. Tejanos chose sides, fought valiantly, and gained status based on their actions. After the war, Texas became a battleground over contested space, property and rights, and Congressional Reconstruction allowed the involvement of Tejanos in frontier defense once more. The legislative answer to the violence perpetrated by marauding ex-soldiers, gangs of robbers, cattle thieves, outlaws, and hostile Indians was the establishment of an organization manned by local troops to protect localities. From 1870-1874, the impact of Congressional Reconstruction was measureable in the number of Tejano Rangers enlisted in formally recognized Texas Ranger companies. Despite a formidable resurgence in the number of Tejanos involved in the Texas Ranger organization, the end of Reconstruction and the return of the old guard to the dominant position in Texas politics brought about the almost complete removal of Tejano Rangers from the service of the state after 1874. A few Tejanos remained in the Texas Ranger force in to the later 1870s, but after that point, were not counted as Texas Rangers again until the 1930s.

The 1850s and 1860s: Texas Ranger and Civil War Soldier

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s Tejanos fought as Rangers, but were limited in their activities. The U.S.-Mexican War left Anglos nervous and angry about Tejano presence on lands they conveniently believed should belong to them by right of conquest.

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Anglos failed to recognize the differences between Tejanos and their Mexican relatives, and perhaps for convenience, they lumped all "Mexicans" together.

Despite this unease, and brewing racial tensions, Tejanos fought in Ranger units, albeit in limited overall numbers. Between 1852 and 1853 Captain Owen Shaw's Texas Mounted Volunteers ranged between Brownsville and Laredo.[1] The twenty-five men in this unit were likely experienced Indian fighters before this date. When they engaged a group of Apache at the Battle of San Roque on September 17, 1852, nine Apaches were killed, eleven were wounded, and only one escaped. This episode supposedly brought an end to the Indian problems in Texas;[2] however, in Laredo in 1861 troops attacked and killed several Comanches in a brutal assault.[3] This incident will be discussed later in the work, but the point is that racial tensions were not solely between Tejanos and Anglos. Indian people had a place at the proverbial table of racial discontent as well.

In 1859 a situation in South Texas mirrored the grievances presented by Vicente Córdova in northeastern Texas twenty years earlier during the Córdova Rebellion. Legitimacy of land rights, and citizenship were questions central to Juan Nepomuceno Cortina's proclamations. Cortina was a ranchero descendant of José María de la Garza Falcón, Blas' brother. José's clan, from the Camargo settlement, was a military and ranching family. Cortina's mother, Estéfana Goceascochea de Cavazos y de Cortina was

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[1] Muster Roll Captain Owen Shaw, Adjutant General Records, Texas Ranger Records, Muster and Pay Rolls of the Texas Rangers, 1870-1901 Texas State Library and Archive Commission, (TSLA) Austin, Texas, (from here on cited as AGR, TRR, TSLA), B. 401-794, F. 11.

[2] David E. Screws, "Hispanic Texas Rangers Contribute to the Peace on the Texas Frontier, 1838-1880," in *Tracking the Texas Rangers: The Nineteenth Century* ed. Bruce A. Glasrud, Harold J. Weiss, Jr., (Denton, University of North Texas Press, 2012).

[3] Letter Cristóbal Benavides to John Leyendecker, 1861, Leyendecker Papers, CAH.

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heir to the Espíritu Santo Grant, one of the largest land grants in South Texas. Following annexation, questions about the validity of her land grant forced her to pay an attorney to defend her rights in court. In an unscrupulous maneuver repeated throughout Texas, the attorney was paid in land from her grant, then turned around and sold the land to those that initially questioned the validity of her land grant. Tejanos were unfamiliar with the American legal system, and unscrupulous officials had no qualms about acting unethically to secure lands. Cortina believed power broker judges and attorneys in Brownsville were unfairly stealing Tejano property by using the legal system, and he chose to fight the system through armed rebellion.[4] A visit to town ignited the entire affair in summer of 1859.

While having breakfast in a Brownsville restaurant, Cortina witnessed the local sheriff pistol-whipping an old vaquero once employed at his mother's ranch. Cortina shot him in the shoulder, took the prisoner and rode north along the river to his mother's Rancho El Carmen. In September 1859, he led between 40 and 80 Tejanos in to Brownsville and captured the town for a period, then established himself between Mexico and the ranches of South Texas. He published an extremely articulate proclamation outlining grievances against Anglos that included land theft, and abuse of Tejanos in their persons and their rights. This incident set off years of battles between Rangers, U.S. forces, and people of Mexican heritage on both sides of the south Texas border.[5] Cortina, like Córdova in east Texas 20 years before him, would have made the perfect Texas Ranger based on his leadership skills, bravery, mounted proficiency, and desire to stand

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[4] Jerry D. Thompson, ed., *Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier, 1859-1877* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1994), 9-10.

[5] Thompson. *Juan Cortina*, 10-15.

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against injustice and lawlessness. On November 26, 1859, in answer to repeated requests for troops, the state legislature authorized the organization of companies to protect citizens from Juan Cortina.[6]

Some of the men that participated on both sides of the Cortina hostilities prove that certain groups of elite Tejanos continued to participate from within the framework of the newly established Anglo dominated structure. The capture and subsequent hanging of Tómas Cabrera,[7] one of Cortina's men, led two state-appointed commissioners, Robert H. Taylor and Angel Navarro, of the San Antonio Navarro family, to replace Ranger Major W.G. Tobin. John S. Ford was sent to the Rio Grande. Apparently the Navarros were still active within the Anglo dominated structure. Ford, like John Coffee Hays before him, respected Tejanos, at least in relation to their fighting skills. In addition to taking Tobin's job, Ford also fought in a unified effort alongside Tejanos, like Hays had done before him. Bicente Olmos joined Ford's company and participated in the Battle of La Bolsa against Cortina's forces in 1859 after Ford recruited and asked for volunteers in a *Corpus Christi Ranchero* ad. In the coming years he would not be the only Tejano Ford fought with or against.[8]

Ford was not the only Ranger who recruited and fought with Tejanos against Cortina. Sgt. A. C. Hill was a 35 year-old teacher from Georgia,[9] and led a company of

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[6] *Corpus Christi Ranchero,* November 26, 1859, 2:5.

[7] *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, December 3, 1859, 2:2.

[8] Screws, "Hispanic Texas Rangers," 193: see *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, December 3, 1859, 2:3 for Ford letter calling for volunteers for his troop.

[9] Abstract, Voucher 123, A.C. Hill, August-December 1871, AGR, TRR, TSL, Box 401-135.

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Texas Rangers out of Brownsville from December 1859 to February 1860.[10] Nine of his twenty men were Tejanos from the Brownsville area. Hill's company broke international law, and invaded Mexico in their efforts to chase and capture Cortina. The Tejanos in his group likely thought the idea of the Rio Grande as a boundary they could not cross was ridiculous. The Rio Grande had been nothing more than a river and Tejanos had chased enemies across that river for generations. Hill justified his decision in a letter to Sam Houston, and claimed both the American and Mexican federal forces in Matamoros supported his actions.[11]

The Cortina War was a significant even in South Texas and Ranger history, however, conflict with indigenous people continued to garner the attentions and efforts of Texians and Tejanos alike. Three Tejanos were in service with Captain Dalyrample's company of Texas Rangers headquartered at Liberty Hill, near present day Georgetown, a few miles north of Austin. From January 14 to October 13, 1860 Dalyrample's Rangers served in Cook County, north of Dallas. They were mustered into service specifically to deal with what these men considered Indian problems.[12]

Despite attempted controls by Europeans through different time periods, Indians proved unwilling to accept European control. In turn, European leaders implemented a variety of methods to assure the active and enthusiastic participation of soldiers and

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[10] Muster roll A.C. Hill, Texas Rangers, AGR, TRR, TSLA, Box 401-724:1.

[11] Screws, "Hispanic Texas Rangers," 192; Joseph Blanton, Asa Collingsworth Hill, Vertical Files, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

[12] Muster Rolls, Captain Dalyrample, Texas Rangers, AGR, TRR, MR, TSLA, Box 401-723:10.

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Indians to quell Indian rebellion against controls and occupation of coveted lands.[13] A report by Captain L.S. Ross sheds light on the brutality promoted by Ranger captains themselves. His company attacked a completely unprepared Comanche camp in 1860, and he proudly asserted premeditation in his barbarity when he wrote, "I had made a proposition to present the first man who should kill and scalp an Indian with a Colt's revolver…"[14] The informal and callous manner in which Ross presented his offer showed the cultural acceptability of scalping on the frontier, and the dehumanization of indigenous people by Rangers. Although this was the case in the 1860s, a documented report by Captain Tovar of La Bahía, in the 1760s, one hundred years before Ross, showed that Tejano soldiers also normalized the act of scalping. Captain Tovar of the Presidio La Bahía wrote, "At the place named 'El Breviario', they were attacked by some Indians of whom they could only kill two and whose scalps the referred Losoya brought to my presence…."[15] Scalps were utilized as proof for bounty payments from the Mexican and U.S. governments well into the later 1800s.

About five years after Captain Ross offered his Rangers a Colt as a reward for the first scalp taken, the Civil War pitted citizens of the northern and southern U.S. against each other, and Tejanos fought in both the Union and Confederate Army. Tejanos who were leaders in both Rangers and the military forces included Refugio Benavides of

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[13] See James Axtel and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut or Who Invented Scalping," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 37:3 (July, 1980), 451-472 for an historical overview of scalping within both European and Indian cultures.

[14] Quoted in "Tale of Indian Fight In Old Ranger Report," Texas Ranger Scrapbook, Texas Ranger Papers, CAH, 3L431: 2.

[15] BAT, Tovar to Oconór, reporting that some of La Bahía soldiers fought with Indians at a place called el Brevario, August 10, 1768, http://www.cah.utexas.edu/projects/bexar/gallery_doc.php?doc=e_bx_002224.

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Laredo, a direct descendant of founder Tomas Sánchez, and Cesario Falcón from the Brownsville area, a descendant of Blas María de la Garza Falcón. Colonel Santos Benavides was the highest-ranking Mexican American in the Confederate Army. The Benavides family was highly influential in Laredo, and they managed not only to survive, but prospered in the post U.S.-Mexican War. They became involved with German-born John Zirvas Leyendecker who settled a plot eight miles from Laredo in 1847.[16] Ten years later he was married into the Benavides clan and entered the mercantile part of the business. Leyendecker became part of a kinship network that proved beneficial to his and to the Benavides's local and business connections.

Scholars have discussed Anglo and Tejano intermarriage simply in terms of a footing for Tejanos to protect their interests and a way for Anglos to access lands;[17] however, the letters between these family members show affection, loyalty and love.[18] Scholars have only minimally considered the possibility that intermarriage was based in positive emotional connections, rather than simply a means by which Anglos appropriated Tejano lands. The point is Tejanos were not simply gullible victims without agency or emotional or physical desires in their dealings with Anglos. The Leyendecker and Benavides family letters were communications between people who considered each

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[16] Leyendecker, Texas, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/htl11.

[17] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, Part 1; Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy*, Chapter 4; Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 171-173, 173, 192, 193-196, 203, 208.

[18] See Leyendecker Papers, Folder 10 letters from Isabel Benavides (his wife) to Leyendecker, letters from the matriarch of the Benavides clan, Tomasa Cameros to Leyendecker throughout the series, 1850s-1860s. Although there are few letters from Leyendecker, the sentiment and references to his behavior show he was attentive and cared for members of his kinship group. They are affectionate and informative pieces related to social issues of the time. They also provide insight as to how Tejanos and Anglos negotiated the family they shared.

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other family and who's documented lives depicted support and love for each other. The letters also prove Leyendecker had significant connections to businessmen in San Antonio and Corpus Christi and it is likely that his connections with other businessmen opened the way for his family to actively engage with Anglos. The Benavides brothers could not have more heavily engaged with Anglos than was necessary with their enlistment in the Confederate Army in 1863.[19] The Benavides brothers led and were members of a regiment of hundreds of Tejano and Anglo men that chose rebellion against the U.S. government.[20]

Refugio Benavides was the second oldest of the three Benavides brothers, and he became the leader of a Texas Ranger company in the 1870s. Prior to this action, Refugio Benavides along with his older brother Santos and younger brother Cristóbal, and their brother-in-law John Z. Leyendecker joined the Confederate Army with many Laredo Tejanos and men from throughout Texas. Frontier conditions trained border Tejanos for mounted, armed conflict and the Benavides brothers were active Indian fighters along with ranchers and businessmen prior to and after the Civil War.

Many Tejanos, including the Benavides family, were organized into the 33rd Texas Cavalry Regiment CSA, a group led by Major then Colonel Santos Benavides who served under the Commander of the Rio Grande district, Colonel John S. Ford. The positions these soldiers shared forced their interaction and Ford became acquainted with the Benavides family. Ford had significant experience in armed conflict, and was a

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[19] Webb County 33rd Regiment Company H Roster, led by Major Santos Benavides and Captain Cristóbal Benavides, Company I was led by Captain Refugio Benavides, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~txwebb/csa/company_h.html.

[20] Janet B. Hewett, ed., Texas *Confederate Soldiers, 1861-1865, Unit Roster, Vol. II*, (Wilmington, North Carolina: Broadfoot Publishing Co, 1997), 254-259.

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highly revered Texas Ranger who served in the Army of the Republic from 1836-1838 under Captain John Coffee Hays. Ford was exposed to Tejanos and their frontier fighting methods within this mixed Anglo-Tejano company. Ford continued his service with Hays during the U.S.-Mexican War. Along with his regular service with Hays, he led a company of spies. Between 1850 and 1860 Ford fought Indian people throughout the Nueces Strip and up to the Canadian River. Aside from Indian fighting, Ford was both an admirer and determined foe against Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, and the Tejanos who fought with him during 1859 into the 1860s.[21] Ford's various tours of duty prove that he, along with Hays before him, were exposed to the Tejano spying methods and flying company traditions prior to the creation of their mythical Texas Ranger personas. These men were well established in the regions from San Antonio, to the Nueces Strip down to the Rio Grande river communities, including the Laredo region. Ford respected Benavides and when Benavides's Confederate forces kept Union troops from invading Laredo, Ford wrote them a commendation that was not only a note of appreciation, but also a critique aimed at certain Confederates that questioned both Tejano bravery and loyalty. Ford specifically acknowledged the bravery and resolve of Benavides and the Tejanos of Laredo. Ford's need to address negative chatter within the body of his commendation proved the degree to which Tejano social status, and political and economic rights were being challenged by Anglos. Ford pontificated on his desire to quell the offensive accusations made against Tejano's characters and fighting spirit, likely a method utilized to promote the idea of Tejanos as unpatriotic and unimportant

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[21] Seymour V. Connor, "FORD, JOHN SALMON [RIP]," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffo11), accessed June 27, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffo11.

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cowards. His public and official commendation included a letter in which Ford presented Benavides and his men with a formal "[t]hanks for their gallantry…and conduct merit[ing] the highest praise."[22] In other words, Ford claimed Confederate Tejano soldiers were both brave and conducted themselves in a praise worthy manner, and he was willing to scold Anglo aggression against Tejano character.

Tejanos did not unanimously support the Confederacy, and in fact, many Tejanos joined the Union Army albeit in much smaller numbers. The independent nature of Tejanos was exemplified in the unwillingness of certain families to abandon their resolve not to join the Confederacy despite majority opinion and action. According to historian Jerry Thompson, there were a variety of reasons Tejanos joined the Union Army, and included opposition to slavery, resentment against Anglo politicians that used the legal system to strip them of their lands, and something as simple as accepting a job with pay. The 1st and 2nd Cavalry fought in the Rio Grande Valley and Louisiana.[23] As was the case with Confederates, many of the soldiers in the Union Army also became Texas Rangers following the Civil War.

Captain Cesario Falcón was a Tejano from the Corpus Christi region who was an officer in both the Union Army and later in the Texas Rangers. He was related to the de la Garza Falcóns, a Texas frontier families that founded settlements along the river and in to the Corpus Christi area. Cesario Falcón also became a Texas Ranger captain in the 1870s, as did the above-mentioned Refugio Benavides, who was a Confederate soldier

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[22] John Salmon Ford Papers, Benavides File, Order No. 21, May 27, 1861.

[23] Jerry Thompson, "MEXICAN TEXANS IN THE CIVIL WAR," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pom02), accessed June 28, 2013; see Jerry Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, (Austin: Texas Western Press, 1986).

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and member of the Sánchez clan, also a founding family of Laredo. Interestingly, these two members of the original settlers in the region of the Nueces Strip chose to support opposite sides of a fight despite the similarities in terms of their backgrounds.

Elite Tejanos' skills, experience and participation in military actions for generations proved important in terms of political influence and continued leadership roles of men like the Benavides and Falcón families. They were active in organized armed conflict, exemplified by their participation in the Civil War, and law enforcement and militia groups that were in conflict with Indian people and dealt with criminal elements alike. Refugio Benavides and Cesario Falcón were chosen as captains of their companies based on a combination of skill, experience, and their positions as leaders within the communities their ancestors founded. Compared to other Tejano families, Falcón possessed more assets than many of the Tejanos in the area of the Santa Gertrudis.[24]

Cesario Falcón's elite position among his peers, like his Tejano forefathers, impacted his selection to the leadership positions in both the Confederate Army and Frontier Forces. Cesario Falcón fought in the 1st Cavalry Regiment of the Union Army. His relatives, José and Ramón Falcón, and many other Tejanos recruited along the Rio Grande riverfront, fought in the 1st and 2nd Regiment of Cavalry.[25] The census records provide readers with insight to the conditions and lives of Tejanos with Falcón's familial background and connections. In the 1860 census Cesario was a single farmer and

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[24] Census 1860, Schedule 1, 3rd Ward Brownsville City, 5 Precinct Santa Gertrudis.

[25] Jerry Thompson, "MEXICAN TEXANS IN THE CIVIL WAR," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pom02), accessed June 28, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association Texas Civil War Soldier Index, http://www.researchonline.net/txcw/index/index77.htm.

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Antonio and Ricardo Falcón lived in his household in Brownsville. Falcón's real estate value was $500.00 and his personal wealth was $100.00 while other people in the area had extremely limited or no personal wealth and limited real estate. Falcón's situation only became better as the years progressed and by 1880 he was more established and owned a plot of land south of Corpus Christi, on the Santa Patronila. These lands were first granted to his ancestor Blás María de la Garza Falcón, who had developed a thriving community in the south of present day Corpus Christi.[26] It seemed only fitting that Cesario Falcón would end up ranching on the lands settled by his ancestor.

The 1870s: Frontier Forces, Minute Men, Frontier Men

After the Civil War, Texas became a chaotic and tumultuous place plagued by a variety of problems that included a violent class of armed men roaming Texas, Indian conflict, and theft of livestock along the border regions. Groups of marauding ex-soldiers were a violent and dangerous lot who had been armed during the war and rode throughout Texas. Although some of the men who participated in unlawful and sometimes brutal activities were veterans with a special contempt for Reconstruction policies, others were simply opportunists who had no regard for life or property.

Another problem was evident in the Cattle Wars in the Nueces Strip region. As larger numbers of Anglos took over ranch lands in South Texas the rate of violence and theft of livestock along the Mexican border exploded. Anglos accused Mexican nationals and Tejanos, undistinguishable to Anglos based on their own words, of stealing livestock

[26] Census 1880, Schedule 1, Patronila Creek and El Muerto, Page No. 1, Supervisor's District 6, Enumeration District No. 117, 41: Clotilde P. García, "SANTA PETRONILA RANCH," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/aps08), accessed June 28, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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from Anglos. Both the U.S. and Mexican governments sent investigative committees to the border. The U.S. investigation found Mexicans to blame for the cattle theft in Texas while the Mexican investigative committee found that Tejanos and Anglos were guilty of stealing Mexican ranchers' property and colluding with local officials to profit from this theft.[27] Violence and theft continued to plague the region through the Reconstruction period. In addition, through the 1870s Comanche and Apache troubles in the western part of the state continued. In an attempt to deal with these problems, the Reconstruction government imposed a State Police force that was not sufficiently trained to handle the turmoil and violence that was even actively perpetrated against them.[28] The state government chose to handle continuing lawlessness by legislating the organization of several locally based groups. The plan was to organize companies of between 25 to 75 men who were given official power to range the localities to protect themselves.[29]

Several groups were organized during the Reconstruction era, and their membership was reflective of a power shift that became evident by the inclusion of a significant number of Tejanos in the ranks of the Ranger organizations. Following the

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[27] Omar Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity in the Rio Grande Borderlands*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 263-266.

[28] State Police Correspondence, TSLA, 401-391:1-6. This file deals with an incident in Groesbeck, Limestone County, on September 30, 1871. Black State Police force officers were confronted by a mob that wanted them "lynched" after they shot a man named Applewhite after he tried to shoot them. There was talk of the entire situation being an attempt to cause problems with the State Police and Republicans in the area. References to Klan activity and interviews provide an interesting look at attitudes regarding Reconstruction policies from the local level.

[29] "An Act to Provide for the Protection of the Frontier," http://www.texasranger.org/ReCenter/org1874.htm.

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Civil War, Congressional Reconstruction[30] ushered federal controls to force treatment of African Americans in accordance with the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments; now the law of the land. Although Congressional Reconstruction was not necessarily a tool for Tejano power recovery, abuses and unfair treatment of Tejanos was obviously monitored by federal troops simply based on their orders and presence. Elite Tejanos who were tuned in to the shifting political situation likely realized Texas politics was going through a forced reformation in which they had a chance to reestablish their own status and privileged positions. As has been discussed throughout this work, Tejanos lost sociopolitical and economic power, including prestige, land, status, and in some cases, even their lives during the three decades between Texas Independence and the Civil War. After the U.S. Mexican War there was an obvious decline in the number of Tejanos that appeared in the muster rolls of groups identified as Texas Rangers. However, there was a direct correlation between the increased number of Tejanos that led and joined Ranger groups and the arrival of federal troops that imposed Congressional Reconstruction. Tejanos who had almost disappeared completely from documented Texas Ranger companies, reappeared and were actively involved in companies in the early to mid-1870s. Although Tejanos served in fairly large numbers for several years, when Reconstruction in Texas ended in 1874, (although not in other Southern states until 1877) Tejano participation also dropped. This decline in Tejano representation in the Rangers foreshadowed the post-Reconstruction decline in the status, landholdings, political power and rights of many Tejanos.

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30 See Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, (Canada: Random House, 1967); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 1863-1867, (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

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Texas Ranger units that were mustered during the 1870s included Frontier Forces, (1870-72), Minute Men, (1872-74), Frontier Battalion, (1874-1901), Washington County Volunteer Militia, (1874-76), Special State Forces, and Special State Troops, (1874-1881), Texas Rangers, and Frontier Men. Within these organizations there were hundreds of companies and each ranged a defined area through a specific period of time. They were usually sent out in detachment, or small flying companies of eight to ten troops.[31]

Frontier Forces

General Order No. 22 dated August 2, 1870 called for the local organization of fifteen companies of between 25 to 75 men "To Provide for the Protection of the Frontier" against Indians, and a variety of criminals. Six of the fifteen companies that were organized included Spanish surnamed individuals. Company A, led by Franklin Jones, Company D, led by John Kelso, Company G led by Cesario Falcón, Company H reorganized as O, commanded by Bland Chamberlain, Company N under Gregorio Garcia, and Company O led by Peter Kleid. All of these troops were integrated, however, Captain Falcón from Brownsville and Captain García from El Paso led two companies that were predominantly Spanish surnamed while Captain Kelso, Jones, Kleid and Chamberlain's commands had several Spanish surnamed troops but were predominantly non-Spanish surnamed.[32]

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[31] For example, see Reports of Scouts, TRR, Frontier Forces, Correspondence, 1870, Box 401-1156:17.

[32] Adjutant General Records, Texas Ranger Records, Muster and Pay Rolls of the Texas Rangers, 1870-1901 Texas State Library, (TSL) Austin, Texas TAGD, TRR, TSLC,

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Cesario Falcón provides another example of the continued participation of Tejano founder families' in military and law enforcement responsibilities to the community. Falcón's company G (then A) was mustered into service on October 8, 1870. Sixty-one men initially signed up for service; however by December their number dropped to forty-one then increased again averaging between forty-five and fifty men between January and April of 1871. Only eleven of the men in his company were not *Tejanos*. Although the company was mustered in to service in San Antonio in November 1870, they ranged in Nueces, Hidalgo and Starr Counties along the Nueces Strip.[33] The types of crimes in Cameron County, just south of Falcón's ranging area during this period were largely theft of livestock, dueling, burglary and assault.[34] Although none of Falcón's company's muster rolls depict his ranging in to the Brownsville region, it is likely that his men ranged all the way to the Rio Grande. In the first month of service Falcón's company immediately began to "search for persons engaged in illegally driving horses or cattle…"[35] Each of the men was furnished a Winchester carbine paid for through their earnings.[36]

The Rangers in Falcón's company varied in age, place of birth, and they followed an array of career paths. They were from 19 to 45 years of age with the largest cluster in

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[33] Muster rolls, Captain Cesario Falcón, TAGD TRR, Frontier Forces (from this point referred to as FF) TSLAC, 401-742:1.

[34] Reports of Persons Indicted before the District Court of Cameron County, Reports of Crimes, Arrests and Fugitives, 1869-1870, State Police Records, Reconstruction Records, TAGD.

[35] Report of Scouts made through Starr, Zapata and Hidalgo Counties, TAGD TRR, TSLAC Box 401-1156: 17.

[36] Muster rolls, Captain Cesario Falcón, TAGD TRR, Frontier Forces (from this point referred to as FF) TSLAC, 401-742:1.

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their mid-20s. Only three of his troop were 19 years old, twenty-seven were in their 20s, thirteen men were in their 30s, and 4 men were in their early 40s. They came from Mexico, France, Italy, Spain, Canada and the U.S. Twenty-two of Falcón's men were defined as laborers, but more precisely, they were likely vaqueros based on the location of the company. Falcón was a ranchero by trade, and aside from the vaqueros, he served alongside a candy maker (confectioner), a baker, a bricklayer, farmers, carpenters, wagoneers, a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a peddler.[37] They must have shared some interesting lessons and discussions while ranging since there were so many different occupations represented in the troops.

The 1880 Census showed significant changes that depicted the way privileged status in Falcón's case, perpetuated continued improvement in his socioeconomic position. Cesario Falcón was a famer in Brownsville, Texas in the 1860 census and lived with male relatives. By1880 he was a stock raiser and had moved to the Petronila Creek region of the Nueces Strip. He was 46 years of age, had a wife, Rita, three sons, one shepherd and two servants in his household.[38] Based on his ability to keep servants and his identity as a stock raiser, Falcón's position had improved in twenty years. It is unclear exactly when Falcón's position changed between the 1860 to 1880 period depicted in the census records, however, what we do know is that he was economically better off than many of his peers. This was true of other Tejano captains as well and will be discussed as each of the companies is analyzed in the following pages.

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[37] Final Statements of Discharge, AGR, RR, TSLA, 401-134, 401-132, 401-133, 401-136, 401-137, 401-138, 401-139, 401-140.

[38] Census 1880, Schedule 1, Patronila Creek and El Muerto, Page No. 1, Supervisor's District 6, Enumeration District No. 117, 41.

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In 1880 Cesario Falcón's brother Antonio's position had also improved. Antonio lived with Cesario Falcón in 1860, and served under him as a Ranger in the Frontier Forces along with forty other Tejanos in the 1870s. Although he lived in the Brownsville area in 1860, by 1880 he lived in Starr County, was 44 years old, and was the father of seven children aged 1-16 years old.[39] He was listed as a farmer on the census, but there was no reference to the size of his plot.

One incident in the historical record leads us to question race relations within the Ranger force of the 1870s. Despite the forced ideological frameworks regarding race established by Congressional Reconstruction, it is likely that many Anglos refused to consider Tejanos as equals or much less take orders from them. On February 21, 1871 Falcón's company reorganized as Company A per Special Order No. 9 of the Adjutant General James Davidson. This order called for Co. H, under Captain Bland Chamberlain to incorporate with Co. G to form a new Co. A with Falcón assigned to the captaincy and Chamberlain taking a lieutenant position, thus reducing his rank and placing him under the command of a Tejano. In red ink on the bottom portion of the Order an inscription reads only, "Co H refused to consolidate with Co G. Co A therefore mustered out as Co H."[40] Although there was no reason explicitly stated regarding Chamberlain refusal to consolidate with Falcón, given the location and the time period, it is likely that that Chamberlain refused to be demoted and placed under a Tejano commander. Despite the

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[39] Census 1880, Schedule 1, 3rd and 4th Precinct, Starr County, Page No. 9 Supervisor's District 6, Enumeration District No. 157, 455.

[40] Special Order Ledger, 1870-1897, 21-22, TAGD, RR, TSLA. The order was dated January 26, 1871 but was probably not received for implementation until February 21 as that is the date the muster rolls show the transfers and discharges ordered in Special Order #9.

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fact that Chamberlain had 15 Tejanos in his company of 50 men[41] his ideas regarding people of Mexican heritage were documented in The Remarks section of one of his December 1871 muster roll. In this section, he explained cattle thieves stole livestock from Starr and Hidalgo Counties and drove them to Mexico somewhere between Brownsville and Carrizo, but his tone is one of fear and his remarks define the "Mexican desperado" or more commonly known stereotypical image of the Mexican *bandido*. He wrote, "these parties are invariably so well armed, and in such numerical strength that they traverse these counties with impunity…they are the Mexican desperado of the worst type, regardless of human life." He continued, " [They are] [w]ell armed and mounted and always prepared to give battle, therefore rendering it impossible to ascertain their names." [42] His expressions prove another possibility about the hiring of Tejano Rangers. Based on the fact that the Rio Grande was utilized to take livestock across the national boundary, perhaps Tejanos were recruited to chase cattle thieves over the river.

Co. A Frontier Forces was led by Franklin Jones and was a central Texas outfit. They were stationed between Ft. Mason and Austin, and served from August to at least the end of November 1870. The troop of about fifty men included four Tejanos in their numbers; Sgt. Martin Moran, W. M. Cortez, Marcelino Flores, José Rucio, Marcelino Flores served under this command.[43] A list of "medicines" purchased on credit from Lindmiller and Co. for Co. A included 1 bottle of Chathartic pills, 4 oz. of quinine in solution, 2 ounces of opium in solution, 1 bottle of castor oil, 1 bar castile soap, 1 pot

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[41] Muster Rolls, Bland Chamberlain, Frontier Forces, TAGD TRR, FF, TSLAC, 401-742:8.

[42] Monthly Return, Bland Chamberlain, December 31, 1870, TAGD TRR, FF, TSLAC, 401-742:8.

[43] Muster Rolls, Franklin Jones, Frontier Forces, TAGD TRR, FF, TSLAC, 401-798:1.

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blister plaster, 1 pot bazilicon ointment, 1 simple cerate, 2 lbs. Epsom salt, 2 oz. epicac.[44] They were prepared for painful injuries, blisters, constipation, and nausea.

Merchant and rancher John Kelso led Co. D of the Frontier Forces. He was another example of the privileged backgrounds of leaders within the Ranger corps. Of the families discussed within this section so far, the Benavides brothers were both ranchers and merchants, and Cesario Falcón was also a rancher.[45]

Kelso's company provides us a glimpse into the ethnic and labor composition of his mixed company, and the economic benefits of participating in the Ranger corps. Of a total of sixty-one men, Kelso's company included ten Tejanos. Perhaps that was a reason his second in command was a Tejano. Co. D ranged out of Kinney County, located three counties west of Bexar County. The southwestern boundary of Kinney County was the Rio Grande River. The troops of Co. D were headquartered at Camp Wood, Texas. Kelso's muster rolls show monthly pay scales for the Frontier Forces were the following: Captain's pay $100.00, Seargent $100.00, Lieutenant pay was $80.00, Corporals and Buglers made $52.00 while Privates made $50.00. Tejano Rangers in this company were also trained in a variety of occupations. Other Tejanos in the group included three teamsters, three laborers, and two vaqueros. The second in command within this troop was Sargent Winceslaus Garza, and his pay was the same as Captain Kelso.[46] The Benavides clan was also involved with livestock and commerce.

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[44] Abstract A Voucher 13, TAGD, TRR, FF, Quartermaster Records, 1870, 401-1156.

[45] Abstracts of Final Statements, TAGD, TRR, FF, TSLAC, 401-132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139.

[46] Abstracts of Final Statements, TAGD, TRR, FF, TSLAC, 401-132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139.

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Co. H led by German immigrant Peter Kleid was stationed at Camp Rio Frio. In May 1871 he had ten Tejanos in his company of thirty-seven. Tejano Rangers included several laborers, again likely vaqueros, but also a painter, a butcher, teamster, and blacksmith. There was utility in the recruitment of men who were familiar with livestock, butchering, and who owned and knew how to handle horses.[47] While on scouting and ranging expeditions, Rangers that happened upon stolen livestock, both cattle and horses, were forced to reclaim and handle the animals. Vaqueros and blacksmiths would have been extremely important in terms of safely and effectively herding and moving stock. Butchering was necessary if rangers wanted to nourish themselves with fresh meat while scouting, sometimes for days at a time.

Co. N led by Gregorio García was in service from August 1870 till June 1871 in El Paso County. The García family was a well-established frontier family involved in community development and law enforcement in and around San Elizario, Texas, a community located south of El Paso, Texas.[48] García headed sixty-one local men from El Paso County in Co. N renamed A. Only two of his men were non-Spanish surnamed,[49] and the group was headquartered in a local building in San Elizario called "El Molino."[50] Most of the men in García's troop were from San Elizario, and were well acquainted with frontier conditions. After the Mexican military was reassigned to

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[47] Final Statements, Co. A, TAGR, TRR, FF, TSLA, File 401-132, 401- 134, 401-135, 401-137, 401-138, 401-140.

[48] Paul Cool, *Salt Warriors Insurgency on the Rio Grande*, (College Station: A&M Press, 2005), 28.

[49] Muster rolls Captain Gregorio García, TAGD, TRR, Frontier Forces, TSLA, 401-798:6

[50] "Tour of San Elizario, Genealogy and Historical Society, El Molino," http://www.epcounty.com/sanelizariomuseum/tour.htm.

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Santa Fe in the 1840s the people of San Elizario became citizen soldiers within a militarized community. Apaches often raided local horse and cattle herds and García headed the volunteer militia. When Army Regulars at Fort Bliss set out in pursuit of Apache raiders in 1859, García and a few other citizen soldiers accompanied the group to Dog Cañon. Violence ensued when a parley between the Apaches and the Army representative failed. Caught within the walls of the cañon the army troops suffered casualties. Garcia's men reacted and were commended on their bravery and skill in keeping the army men from being slaughtered.[51]

Scouting reports state the severity of conditions for scouts in a desert region. Despite suffering from a lack of water, extreme temperatures, and despite repeated requests for weapons and supplies that went unanswered, the men of Garcia's troop continued to protect their region. According to the History and Genealogy Society of San Elizario, now housed in the home García built, Chief Victorio of the Apaches shot García in the arm with an arrow during a campaign. The arm was paralyzed and he was unable to continue his service as a Ranger.[52]

The elite families represented by García and his second in command Telesforo Montes, and their offspring, provide another example of the participation of privileged Tejanos in Ranger leadership positions. Both men were descendants of founding families and they shaped the development of the region in the nineteenth century. García was elected to the 11th Texas Legislature where he was involved in three committees including Public Land, Indian and Internal Improvements. Upon the end of his term he

[51] Paul Cool, *Salt Warriors Insurgency on the Rio Grande*, 28.

[52] "The History of San Elizario," http://www.montes-family.com/CountyJudges.shtml; I have gone through the Ranger Records and have not seen anything in reference to this injury.

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returned to San Elizario and became a county judge and commissioner until the 1880s. García's sons Carlos and Tomas García served with Telesforo Montes and his sons Severo and Jesus Montes in Co. D Frontier Men organized in 1874, and will be discussed in detail in the following section. During the 1870s and 1880s, Montes himself was also a justice of the peace and county judge in El Paso, president of the Board of Education of San Elizario and served his community as mayor of San Elizario from 1884 to 1885. He died in 1888 while his friend and *compadre* Gregorio García lived a decade longer. The two men whose lives were so intertwined provide yet another example of significant kinship ties among privileged Tejano families. Interestingly, one hundred and twenty years after Gregorio García and Telesforo Montes rode through the dry regions around El Paso, their descendants continue to communicate with each other and serve in the U.S. military and law enforcement.[53]

Minute Men

The Minute Men organized from 1872-74 included 5 companies into which Spanish surnamed troops were recruited; Company K from Bandera (Bandera County), Company X from El Paso (Maverick County), Company V from Castroville (Medina County), Company W out of Laredo (Webb County), and the Kinney County Volunteers from Brackettville. Although Muster Rolls existed for Companies K, X, and V, none existed for Co. W or the Kinney County Volunteers. The information for these two companies was found only in one obscure, tattered ledger in the Texas State Archives,

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53 "Montes Family," http://www.montes-family.com/country.shtml; "Life Story of Gregorio Nacianceno García and His Family," http://www.montes-family.com/garcia.shtml.

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called The Roster of Minute Companies, 1872-74,[54] Spanish surnamed commanders were also present in at least two of the five companies in which Spanish surnamed troops were found. Within the Minute Companies, Company W was led by Jesus D. Martinez, and Company X, was under the command of Manuel Barr.

Despite the position of Tejano elite within Ranger leadership positions, there were certain Tejano Rangers that were descendants of landed families, but were not privileged themselves. Co. K was led by Robert Ballantyne and included two Tejanos.[55] José Policarpio (Poli) Rodríguez became a prominent rancher and Methodist minister in Kerr County in the 1850s and proved a hard-working and intelligent rancher. Despite not having inherited wealth and property he worked and bought a place of his own. He was descended from a fairly prominent family from Zaragoza, Coahuila, and his family moved to San Antonio in 1829 during the tumultuous years between Mexican Independence and the Texas Revolution. In 1849 at the age of twenty, he worked as a scout for the government funded Whiting and Smith Expedition. The group successfully routed a road from San Antonio to El Paso, and Rodríguez worked as a scout for the government for the next ten years.[56] He purchased land on Privilege Creek in Kerr County and established himself on a 320-acre ranch where he built a schoolhouse and a chapel. Rodríguez negotiated his position within the Anglo world and succeeded in

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[54] The Roster of Minute Companies, 1872-1874, AGR, TRR, Minute Men, TSLA, Although Muster Rolls existed for Companies K, X, and V, none existed for Co. W or the Kinney County Volunteers. The information for these two companies was found only in one obscure, tattered ledger.

[55] Muster rolls, Robert Ballantyne, TAGD, TRR, Minute Men (from here on referred to as MM), TSLA, 401-744:18.

[56] “Jose Policarpio Rodríguez,” http://www.texastejano.com/history/jose-policarpio-polly-Rodríguez .

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creating a niche for his family.[57] His position was not that of the large landed Tejano families, rather he purchased a small plot of land in 1858; however, his connections to the elite founding families of the northern frontier were established through his mother's side. He participated in a company of 18 Anglos in the border region where the majority population was Tejano. He was sufficiently respected by Anglos to be accepted if not recruited in to a fairly small Ranger company.

Despite this notion of the self-made scout, Rodríguez grew up in the San Antonio community during the days when Seguín, the Flores brothers, Manuel Leal, Antonio Menchaca, Antonio Pérez' and John Coffee Hays' Spy Companies were actively involved in scouting, Indian fighting, and ranging during the Revolutionary War, and in the Republic Rangers. He may very well have been acquainted with these men and they may have influenced his occupational decision. In another ironic twist to this notion of the self-made man that had no ties to the large ranching families, Rodríguez was related to the Sánchez, and de la Garza clans of Laredo through his mother's side of the family.[58] Her name was Encarnacíon Sánchez Rodríguez. The other Tejano in this company was Roman Sánchez so he was probably related on his mother's side.

Two more companies of Rangers included Tejanos in their numbers. Co. V was stationed in Castroville in Medina County and was under the command of George Habey in 1872-1873. Three Spanish surnamed troops served in this company and included Jesus

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[57] Charles G. Downing, "RODRÍGUEZ , JOSE POLICARPO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro52), accessed April 1, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[58] "Encarnacion Sanchez," http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/p/o/r/James-Porterfield/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0302.html.

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Zapata, Francisco Rivas and Cesario Menchaca.[59] Co. X hailed form Maverick County and was led by Lieutenant Manuel Barr. The company was mustered in to service from 1872-1873, and was stationed at Eagle Pass on the Mexican border. Sixteen Rangers of the twenty-man unit were Tejanos.[60]

Frontier Men

Reconstruction in Texas ended in 1874 and the whitening of Texas Ranger companies became evident. Only two companies of Frontier Men that ranged in 1874 included Tejanos, and they were in the border regions. The Frontier Men under Captain Telesforo Montes (El Paso County), and Captain Refugio Benavides (Webb County) were each composed of twenty-five men. The pay scale dropped from previous companies to $75 for captains, $50 for sergeants, and $40 a month for privates.[61]

Marriage patterns followed that of old frontier families in the case of the El Paso Rangers. Captain Telesforo Montes' Frontier Men were organized to fight "Indians, Mexicans or other marauding criminal elements" and they were mustered into service from June to October of 1874.[62] Montes and Captain Gregorio García were descendants of founding families, friends and next-door neighbors. The Montes and García families strengthened their kinship bonds through the marriages of six of their members. Two of Montes' daughters married two of Garcia's sons and one of Montes' sons married

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[59] Muster rolls George Habey, TAGD, TRR, MM, TSLA, 401-746:33.

[60] Muster rolls Manuel Barr, TAGD, TRR, Minute Men Correspondence, TSLA, 401-746:34.

[61] Muster rolls, Telesforo Montes, TAGD, TRR, Frontier Men (from here on referred to as FM), TSLA, 401-798:6; Muster rolls, Refugio Benavides, TAGD, FF, TSLA, 401-798:2.

[62] Muster rolls Lieutenant Telesforo Montes, TAGD, TRR, Frontier Men, TSLA, 401-798:6.

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García's daughter. Sergeant Tomas García was Montes' second in command, and son-in law. He was married to Montes' daughter María Angela Montes. Carlos García was a private in Montes' company and married Marina Jenara García. Telesforo Montes' son Jesús Montes was married to María Maxima García, and was also enlisted in Montes' company.[63]

Refugio Benavides' company of Webb County Frontier Men was composed entirely of Tejanos and ranged in 1874.[64] At least three of the men in Refugio's company had served a decade earlier under Santos Benavides' 33rd Cavalry Regiment in the Civil War. They included J.M. Rodríguez, Paz Corona, and Estanislaus Garza.[65] Refugio' Frontier Men were mustered into service for the intent purpose of dealing with Kickapoo Indians and Mexican incursions into the area.[66] When Refugio mustered his company in 1874 to deal with Kickapoo incursions, he already had experience fighting Comanche Indians.[67] In addition to being a Civil War veteran, he was the mayor of Laredo for several terms, and a lawyer.

Horses have been an important part of the story of the frontiers of New Spain, Mexico and Texas. Horses were central to ranging, scouting and fighting in Texas and to

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[63] Conrado Montes, "Presentation of San Elizario's County Judges," http://www.montes-family.com/CountyJudges.shtml.

[64] Muster rolls Captain Refugio Benavides, TAGD, TRR, Frontier Men, TSLA, 401-798:2.

[65] Janet B Hewitt, et al., ed., *Texas Confederate Soldiers Name Roster, 1861-1865*, Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing, 1997 lists Cristóbal, Santos and Refugio Benavides in Santos Benavides 33rd Cavalry. Their cousins the Navarros and Menchacas (Manchaca) from San Antonio were also in the 33rd.

[66] Thompson, Jerry. "BENAVIDES, REFUGIO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbe76), accessed May 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[67] Letter from Cristóbal Benavides to John Leyendecker, March 25, 1861, Leyendecker Papers, CAH.

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the to the economies of families that were stock raisers like the Benavides brothers. The Benavides brothers were simply continuing a line of production that had been in place since Tomas Sánchez started grazing his herds in the 1740s, and their understanding of horse culture and economy came through in a couple of ways. The value of horses brought in to service by Rangers were recorded on muster rolls to assure the reimbursement amounts matched the stated value of an animal lost in service to the state. Interestingly, the values recorded on the Benavides muster rolls were significantly different from Telesforo Montes' company in El Paso. One quarter of Benavides' troop owned horses worth $125.00 per horse, while only one of Garcia's troops followed that pattern. The average value of the horses in Benavides' troop was about $80.00-85.00 without considering the top dollar values. Montes' horses were worth about $50.00. A letter from Refugio's mother to his brother-in-law John Leyendecker in 1860 explains the reasons for the high value on Laredo horses. Both Cristóbal and Santos, Refugio's brothers, dealt in horses so it is reasonable they wanted their men ready for a fight on fast, agile horses. In her reference, Doña Tomasa Cameros, the Benavides brothers' mother, stated that the brothers had left Laredo 14 days prior with the plan to drive the "caballada" to San Antonio where they would split up. Santos was to take a part of the herd to Austin while Cristóbal took the other to San Saba. She was concerned and asked Leyendecker if he heard from them to inform her.[68]

A year later Cristóbal Benavides wrote to Leyendecker to explain that he and Refugio and a company of men from San Ignacio, Guerrero and Laredo had gathered to follow Confederate Captain Santos Benavides' company to Port Isabel. While in route

[68] Letter from Tomasa Cameros to John Leyendecker, October 21, 1860, Leyendecker Papers, CAH.

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they confronted a party of 40 Comanches and proceeded to a fight. Apparently Refugio had a "captive" named Juan that killed four Comanches. Cristóbal was admiring Juan's bravery, while claiming he was almost free. Juan still used a bow and arrows along with his gun, and Cristóbal's story telling proved his admiration for Refugio's servant. According to the narrative, upon confronting a group of Comanches, the Tejanos who were mounted took up the chase against the mounted members of the band that fled. During the chase, Juan realized the Comanches' horses were too fast so he shot arrows into the horse's leg to slow one of the warriors down. When he was close enough to touch the warrior, Juan shot him in the head. Another Comanche warrior was shot in the back and was on the ground. The men in the company "finished him." These men were experienced Indian fighters, and were comfortable with killing. Cristóbal sounded almost giddy while he explained that Juan had blown the Comanche's head to pieces, and all the other Comanches ran away in fear.[69] Cristóbal's letter provides a glimpse in to offensive methods of mounted fighting employed by Tejanos. Although these methods are brutal to modern observers, life on the frontier taught frontier people that violence was a necessary means for survival in a region where they were their own protection. These men were forged in the fires of border unrest that made violent confrontation an acceptable tradition, and fighting methods were passed down through generations, and ultimately employed by Texas Rangers.

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[69] Letter from Cristóbal Benavides to John Leyendecker, Marc 25, 1861, Leyendecker Papers, CAH.

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The 1870s and 1880s: Frontier Battalion and the Washington Co. Volunteers

Reconstruction in Texas ended in 1874 and the withdrawal of federal forces basically allowed the old guard to take back control of Texas politics. Institutionalized racism supported the disenfranchisement of not only Blacks, but also Mexican American citizens.[70] The Frontier Battalion and Washington County Volunteer Militia were part of a reorganization project to bring better protection to the frontier regions. What was obvious was the absolute decline in Tejano participation numbers in 1874.

One unit that demonstrated this decline was Neal Coldwell's, Co. F Frontier Battalion, which ranged from 1874 to 1876. His group was stationed in Gillespie County and was a predominantly white company organized to deal with livestock raids and border trouble. Luis Sánchez was the only Tejano in the unit in 1874, and S. Guajardo ranged with Coldwell's company in 1876.[71]

Leander McNelly's Ranger like Jack Hays and John S. Ford, are revered in the annals of Ranger history. There were only four Tejanos out of fifty-eight men mustered into McNelly's Co. Jesús Sandoval is one Tejano Ranger scholars do address. He was quiet and serious and McNelly's assassin. Sandoval has been the center of stories that examine his psychopathic methods and detached affect when dealing with anyone he construed as a bandit. He supposedly lost his wife, daughter and ranch to bandits during a raid. In some versions of stories told in hallways at archives, they were both raped, not killed, which was almost worse. In another version they were cloistered in a convent

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[70] Evan Anders, *Boss Rule in South Texas: The Progressive Era,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

[71] Muster rolls, Neal Coldwell, TAGD, TRR, Frontier Battalion, 401-801:11.

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somewhere in Mexico. The point is that his grief caused him to become mad, and his madness caused him to become vengeful and cruel.[72] Within this cruelty was his willingness to hurt others in some tortuous ways.

An array of gruesome methods credited to Sandoval included tying people to trees with a chord around their necks and putting the loop of his lariat around their feet. The other end of the rope was tied off to the saddle, so when the horse ran the person was yanked from the feet until decapitated. Another method for acquiring information from the unwilling was to put a rope around their necks and dangle them until right before they passed out or died.[73] This method was not a new form of torture to the frontier. In 1835 Plácido Benavides showed Jim Bowie this technique when they were out scouting for Mexican horses and ran into a herder believed to have information on the location of the Goliad presidial horse herd. There was apparently no reason given as to how he would know about the horse herd, but the point was Placido chose to make him an example of Tejano frontier interrogation. One of the volunteers in Bowie's company left an account of events: He stated, "Benevidas [sic] prevailed upon Colonel Bowie to hang the Mexican till he was not quite dead and he would tell us. We tied the Mexican[']s hands behind him and put a rope around his neck until he nearly quit kickin. We then let him down…"[74]

Tejano techniques were shared with Anglo Rangers. Aside from Placido's frontier traditional methods documented above, Sandoval also shared his techniques with

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[72] Muster rolls, Leander McNelly, TAGD, TRR, TSLA, Washington County Mounted Volunteers, 401-801:13.

[73] Mike Cox, *The Texas Rangers, Wearing the Cinco Peso Star, 1821-1900*, (New York: Forge Book, 2000), 247.

[74] Hardin, "Efficient in the Cause," 47.

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an entire company on a regular basis. Although Sandoval was a Tejano, he was in a company of Anglos. In years to come Rangers would be accused of doing exactly what Benavides, and Sandoval after him, showed them how to do. For over one hundred years before Anglos settled in Texas, Tejanos had colonized, gone to war against and conquered American Indian groups. Like ranging and fighting on horseback, frontier torture tactics were also common methods utilized against enemies on the frontier.

The last identifiable Tejano group that served the Lone Star as Rangers enlisted with Lieutenant Joseph Shelly from 1882 to 1884. He led Co. F of the Frontier Battalion throughout central and south Texas, but his station was in Cotulla. Shelly's company only included three Tejanos in 1882 and 1883, and despite the small number of men, his company was extremely important to my own understanding of how easily identities can shift through a series of unrelated happenings.

When I first researched Captain Shelly's company, I noticed that one of the Tejanos in his company became "whitened" through a series of muster rolls. From September 1883 to September 1884 Victor Sebra became Victor Sebree. It happened slowly and seemingly without intent, but in December 1883 the composer of Co. F's muster rolls let the "a" hang open on top on Sebra. The next time his name was written down the "a" hung open again. In a series of 5 muster rolls the change was complete and established.[75] Victor Sebra was dead, and I witnessed the birth of Victor Sebree on paper.[76] It is difficult to assess how this change manifested in real everyday life.

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[75] Muster roll, Joseph Shelly, September-December 1883 and December1884 changed 401-753:80.

[76] For information on Victor Sebree identity Gilbert M. Cuthbertson, "GARZA, CATARINO ERASMO," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fga38), accessed April 26, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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Perhaps Sebra fought the new whiteness. However, his blue eyes would have assured a much easier transition into whiteness, and would have provided legitimacy to his identity shift. Perhaps the identity had simply been a mistake on paper. I left the subject and for many months thought nothing more of Victor.

While in Brownsville I regularly visit the bones of my ancestors in the old city cemetery. Last year, as I walked towards our family plot, I noticed Victor Sebree's grave situated next to Brownsville Sheriff Santiago Brito, who was shot in the head in 1892 while on his way home from a dance with his sons.[77] Victor Sebree, was whitewashed and laid to rest, delivered into eternity with a name that was not his. I dusted off his beautiful granite headstone and wondered if whoever bought it for him knew the truth.

Conclusion

In the years after the U.S.-Mexican War Tejanos continued to participate in Texas Ranger organizations**.** Although their numbers were limited, Tejanos served to protect their communities from the 1850s through the 1870s. Reconstruction policies supported the increased participation of Tejanos in the groups that ranged from the 1870 to 1874. Throughout Texas, Tejano Rangers worked to quell unrest that included Indian conflict, marauding bands of ex-soldiers, gangs of outlaws, and raiders of the herds. The end of Reconstruction in Texas defined the end of Tejano Rangers. A few families managed to protect their interests and prosper despite prejudices and conflict caused by the U.S.-Mexican War and then the Civil War. In Laredo the Benavides brothers worked to assure

[77] Teresa Palomo Acosta, "BRITO, SANTIAGO A.," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbrbe), accessed April 26, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

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their familial success in two ways; first, through aggressive economic activities, including both mercantile and ranching interests; secondly, through ranging and military enlistment in the Confederacy as well as the Rangers. In the Nueces Strip, Cesario Falcón managed to increase his landholdings enough to raise stock; in El Paso, Judges García and Montes, cooperated, intermarried, and through ranging and education taught each other and their children to prosper. These were just a few of the Rangers that served the state, and they tried to protect their socioeconomic interests in a changing and tumultuous world.

A 2009 article in the *San Antonio Business Journal* entitled "Eight South Texans Among the Wealthiest Hispanics" made me smile. The seventh family listed worth $358 million was that of Laredo-based Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tony Sánchez; the Laredo ranching and oil Benavides family was worth $90 million; and in San Antonio, Max Navarro and his military technology business were worth $45 million.[78] What would Tomas Sánchez, Refugio and Santos Benavides, and José Antonio Navarro think of it all?

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[78] Eight South Texans Among the Wealthiest Hispanics, http://www.bizjournals.com/sanantonio/stories/2002/09/09/daily8.html?page=a.

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CONCLUSION

Twenty years ago I decided to research the muster rolls of the Texas Rangers. My intention was to track the activities of the Rangers who my Grandmother introduced me to as saviors of our people, but who scholars introduced me to as killers. I think my Grandmother knew a little more than she let on in her stories. Periodically, after the recitation of how the *sedicioso* killed her *abuelo,* she would look out the window and contemplate, almost as if watching the scene unfold outside. Sometimes, she would defiantly state that although they told her Pizaña's *sedicioso* killed her Grandfather; they were his *compadres* so it did not make sense. She would then silence her own question and doubt with a simple, "No se. No se. Díos dira."[1] She would refocus on me and talk about ranchero things. My favorite stories were about ranch life, witches that flew in the bodies of owls, and kaleidoscope colored bulls that appeared in the chaparral at night to guide a lucky vaquero to lost or hidden money. South Texas Rio Grande Valley lore at its finest was mixed with history in the Pérez household.

College introduced another view of Rangers. Ameríco Paredes' work, *With A Pistol in His Hand* and Julio Samora's *Gunpowder Justice*, introduced the history of our people to the rest of the world, and they took out the Rangers' dirty laundry during the early twentieth century. My Great-Great Grandfather was one of them, and I decided to find the men in those companies and investigate their identities.

The Index to the Muster Rolls of Texas Rangers demonstrated that Tejanos were Ranger captains. Tejano Ranger captains opened up the possibility that there were other Tejano Rangers in their companies. Thousands of muster rolls later, I found them in

[1] "I don't know. I don't know. God will say." My translation.

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almost every organization considered Texas Rangers by the Texas State Archives. They served and led all Tejano and mixed companies.

The history of the Texas Rangers is complex. The organization started in 1824 when Stephen F. Austin announced he was going to pay for the mustering of ten Rangers to protect the settlements. His statement and the conclusions drawn by historians about Austin's magnanimity and the birth of the Rangers leave space for observation. First, as previously mentioned, the statement Austin made about funding these ten men was written on the back of a "political pamphlet" from the Baron de Bastrop. The pamphlet was an official statement that named Austin as the Military Commander of his region. In other words, he was responsible for the enlistment of militia and Austin's settlers were not exactly enthusiastic about serving. The Austin Papers show repeated instances throughout the first years of the settlement proving settlers were insufficiently armed, mounted or trained to deal with Indians or outlaws. These men and others that came to fight Mexico for Texas Independence were from the woodlands and eastern states and were not experienced horsemen. Tejanos were experienced in those things and more. Fighting on horseback required a particular skill set that Tejanos earned through years of ranching and mounted scouting and warfare on coastal plains, grasslands and the Texas hill country.

Tejano Rangers' ancestors were Nuevo León and Coahuila frontier soldiers. Their movement to the northern frontiers started in the 1530s when temptation led them to search for golden cities, land, or to capture slaves. They were brutal interlopers in the Gran Chichimeca and managed to antagonize most of the tribes on the frontier into the northern Navajo lands. They imposed labor systems that included *encomienda*,

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repartimiento, *congrega, rescate* and slavery. They kidnapped, killed, and pillaged in the name of God and King, and forced Indian people to react in defense and in retaliation. Indians soon shared a military culture like that of the Spanish. Although Spanish law prohibited Indians from riding horses, tribes that refused to abide by imposed laws stole or traded horses and guns and learned to conduct mounted warfare and raids. Spaniards were forced to adapt their fighting methods to answer the Indian military prowess.

The *compañia volante* was the answer to Indigenous resistance and rebellion against imposed colonial authority and exploitation. Viceroy Linares presented rules for the establishment of the first flying squadrons, or compañias volantes in 1713. Propertied settlers were to form mounted companies composed of seventy locals to resist Indians. In 1772 the Regulations of Presidio reorganized the companies and placed them under the control of professional soldiers for training and duty. Tlascalan soldiers of the *Segunda Compañia Volante* in Parras added the concept of the *caballada* or horse herd to assure the swiftness of the troop. Each member had ten horses to alleviate fatigue. In 1803 the Segunda moved to the Alamo Mission in San Antonio[2] and many of the men in San Antonio served within this troop. The *Tercera Compañia Volante* ranged Nuevo Santander, although only briefly mentioned in this work.[3]

Many of the presidio soldiers who formed the compañias volantes came from ranching families and their training and experience continued in the presidial system. One of the most important assignments for troops included care of the presidio/mission horse herds and cattle. Official complaints of corruption during the eighteenth century

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[2] Tijerina, "Military Reorganization in Texas," 79.

[3] Copies of diaries of expeditions undertaken by this group are held at the University of Arizona.

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included the use of presidio soldiers as vaqueros for the captains' herds. Regardless of the herd, soldiers gained ranching experience by performing labor that protected the herds as well as the community.

The three major Presidios in Tejas, Los Adaes, San Antonio, and La Bahía were established to protect New Spain's northern borders from foreign incursion and to act as buffers between Indians and the more central communities in Mexico. Citizens were expected to participate in frontier protection in militias or whenever called by presidio authorities. Because soldiers settled in the towns with their families after retirement, citizens had military experience and participated actively in the fight.

As a result of soldiers receiving land grants for their services their ancestry and their experience with presidio stock, ranching became a natural occupation for retired soldiers. Soldiers became ranchers and their children were raised on ranches. Those children then became soldiers or married soldiers and the cycle continued through generations. The product was a community of soldiers and retired soldiers experienced in animal husbandry, ranching, and fighting. Historian Andres Tijerina explained that vaqueros were incredible fighters and fought enemies without hesitation. He wrote, "[i]n the hands of experienced rancheros, the lasso and the lance constituted a lethal double threat."[4] In Tejas these vaqueros were often retired soldiers. Examination beyond a couple of generations of early Tejano families leads to a dizzying labyrinth that winds its way to frontier Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander.

In San Antonio this process was evident in the few families addressed in this work including the Urrutia, Menchaca, Seguín, Navarro, Ruíz, Flores, and Pérez clans. Tejano

[4] Tijerina, *Tejano Journey*, 71.

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families in San Antonio developed friendships with Anglo and Irish newcomers that arrived after the 1820s and passed on knowledge regarding both ranching and ranging. During the Texas Revolution in 1835-1836, Tejanos served in mounted units that fought in every documented battle except Goliad.[5] They interacted with white recruits that did not share the same type of mounted fighting culture. It is likely that exposure to Seguin's mounted vaquero companies made an impression on the newly arrived Anglos troops.

Shortly after the Texas Revolution members of Tejano clans joined Republic Ranger units and served with Texians who became the vanguard of Texas Ranger lore. John Coffee Hays was the most glaring example, but Deaf Smith, Edward Burleson, and others joined Tejanos in the fight either during the Revolution or in Republic Ranger units after independence.[6]

In Los Adaes, then Nacogdoches, the Ybarbos, Flores, and Berban families were founding-families who shared military and ranching experience and family ties with each other and French Louisiana. Members of these clans were presidio soldiers and participated in militia units for generations before Anglo settlement. They were tenacious and strong people that, despite being removed from their homes to San Antonio by governmental order in the late 1700s, managed to return to their east Texas herds and recreate their community.

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[5] "Tejano Patriots," http://www.houstonculture.org/hispanic/alamo.html for the martyrs of the Alamo; Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience*, 183-189. Alwyn Barr*, Texans in Revolt: The Battle for San Antonio, 1835, (Texas State Historical Association, 1990),* 67-68.

[6] Index to Muster rolls of various revolutionary companies, http://www.tshaonline.org/supsites/military/rep_rev1.htm; De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered*, Appendix 66; Appendix 67; Muster roll, Jose Maria Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, TAGD, TRR, MR, TSLA; John Coffee Hays, Spy Company Bexar, Mounted Volunteers, TAGD, TR, MR, TSLA.

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Members of the Ybarbo, Flores, Sánchez clans and others joined the Republic Rangers and were active during the Cordova Rebellion and the Chief Bowles War between 1838-1841. The Cherokees, led by Chief Bowles, were rumored to have allied with Tejano centralists, led by Vicente Cordova, whose purpose was supposedly the reclamation of Texas for the Mexican nation. Control of land was the catalyst for most conflicts and the situation in east Texas was no different. In an aggressive move to rid the country of Indians and to take over lands, government officials accused Cordova and Chief Bowles of being allies with intentions of returning Texas to Mexico.

The impact of alliances based on socioeconomic interests versus simple ethnic solidarity was proven by the cooperation between Tejano Rangers, Anglos, and Indians against Cordova and Bowles. Tejanos in Ranger units shared alliances with Southern pro-slavery Anglos and Creek, Shawnee, and Tonkawa people in the Nacogdoches region. Anglos who gained political superiority through numbers limited Tejano sociopolitical and economic power by controlling local political offices, including the land office. A group of Tejanos, led by Vicente Cordova, resisted suppression of their sociopolitical rights and loss of their lands. In answer, Tejano, Anglo, and Indian Rangers hunted, fought against and ultimately killed Tejanos accused of being traitors.

Cherokees under the leadership of Chief Bowles tried to protect lands granted to them by both the Mexican and Texas governments. After a change in state elected officials, Texas officials led by President Mirabeau B. Lamar refused to acknowledge their treaty land rights. Cherokees refused to acquiesce when ordered to allow the Texas military to build forts on their lands. When they refused to accept this type of invasion and occupation, the Cherokee people under Chief Bowles, like Cordova, were labeled as

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traitors and enemies, were ordered to move out of Texas under military guard, and were ordered to give up their weapons while they were moved. The Cherokee refused to be disarmed, but began a march out of Texas, only to be chased and attacked by the military. Chief Bowles and his people were vilified to justify their removal so lands could be opened for Anglo settlement regardless of the treaty agreement, and Texas, Tejano, and Indian Ranger units participated in this atrocity.

Tensions led to the eventual flight of Vicente Cordova and his followers in to Mexico, where he ultimately joined the Mexican Army reconquista of Texas in 1842 and was killed at the Battle of Salado. The armed confrontation that killed Chief Bowles hurried the process that ultimately removed Cherokee people and a large percentage of the remaining indigenous folk in Texas into Indian Territory. The end result was that in the period of the Republic, Nacogdoches Tejanos and local Indigenous folk had split allegiances. Their larger philosophical beliefs and perhaps their economic realities surpassed ethnic loyalties. One faction was invested in protecting their community against complete Anglo sociopolitical and economic usurpation while others were invested in protecting their shared socioeconomic interests, primarily represented by slavery and connection to elite social status framed by lineage. The Ybarbo and Flores families were connected to merchant interests in Louisiana for generations and their self-identities may have been connected to notions of southern whiteness; thus, their pro-slavery positions were perfectly consistent with their economic interests and their views of society. The Navarro and Seguín families in San Antonio were also slave owners during this period.

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Unlike the settlement pattern in Tejas, citizen-soldiers founded Nuevo Santander. Escandón recruited his settlers from retired soldiers and frontier families that were experienced in Indian fighting and frontier living, but his plans did not include presidio soldiers as the foundation of settlement. His colonists established twenty-two settlements and militias were responsible for protecting their communities. Settlements worked together to protect the region from Indians, smugglers, criminals, and foreign threats. Tomas Sánchez established the Laredo settlement and ranching community on the north side of the Rio Grande. Blas María de la Garza Falcón settled Camargo and Santa Petronila ranching outpost in present day Nueces County. Both were from established military ranching families, and their descendants were Texas Ranger Refugio Benavides and Captain Cesario Falcón.

In the early 1800s, Martín de León, a veteran of the Spanish military, started ranching in the boundary regions of northern Nuevo Santander and southern Tejas. He established the town of Victoria in the 1820s and his family provided assistance and befriended Anglo and Irish immigrants when they arrived in the region. The family did not support Texas independence, but they were active in the fight against Santa Anna's centralist government. Local Tejano rancheros joined De León's sons-in-laws in a flying company that fought in the Revolution. During this period Texians witnessed Tejano fighting techniques from the Victoria companies and joined them in various engagements, where they must have noticed the skill and processes employed by these Tejanos trained in frontier fighting for generations.[7]

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[7] See Castro-Crimm, *De León*.

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Although Tejanos may have desired different outcomes in terms of independence versus constitutional reforms, they willingly joined and sacrificed their bodies, property, and lives for Texas. Tejanos fought in the Texas Revolution at a rate of 1 in 3 versus 1 in 7 for Anglos.[8] In addition to their numerical participation, Tejano methods of fighting also impacted the ability of Texas to continue the fight against centralized government control. Cavalry units were significant in the fight against a Mexican Army that utilized horses, to range and reconnoiter, and simply to move quickly and efficiently through the vast landscape of Texas. Texians were not prepared to work as cavalry units; however, as noted throughout this piece, Tejanos were trained in mounted warfare through generations of flying company Indian fighting. Groups of Tejanos led by Placido Benavides, Juan Seguín, Antonio Menchaca, the Flores brothers, and Manuel Leal were seasoned fighters and joined the Army of the People willingly. Despite these sacrifices, Tejanos were mistreated at the hands of both Mexican military forces and Anglo newcomers both during and after the Revolution. Both sides recognized Tejanos as disloyal, traitors, or simply unequal. Anglo newcomers also largely rejected Tejano rights in terms of sociopolitical and economic equality, and they imposed these beliefs through both legal and extralegal means that ultimately stripped many Tejanos of both power and land. Certain groups of elite Tejanos managed to hold on to their privilege by intermarrying with Anglos and forming kinship networks; however, average Tejanos lost status, and in many cases, were violently confronted by Anglo newcomers with no respect for folks they simply considered Mexicans. As mentioned in the introduction to this work, the creation myth of Texas and the Texas Rangers remained a largely Anglo

[8] See Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience*, Chapter 6.

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dominated story since the time of the Texas Revolution. Despite the marginalization of Tejanos during this period, they continued to serve the state and people of Texas even after independence. They shared relationships and knowledge with Anglos regarding methods of survival and frontier fighting in the newly independent Texas as well.

In the years following the Texas Revolution, Tejanos were active in the Republic Rangers and served with Anglos that became prominent Rangers. From 1836-1842 Tejanos ranged with white troops in both mixed companies and in all Tejano units that worked with white troops. As an example, John Coffee Hays served with Antonio Pérez and other Tejanos in a mixed company led by José María Gonzales. He and Pérez later led their own spy companies that ranged the Nueces Strip. Hays, who became one of the most prominent Rangers in history, was exposed to Tejano fighting methods since his arrival in Texas either before the Revolution or shortly thereafter. Ranger scholars repeatedly claim the Indians Hays fought against influenced his fighting methods.[9] They fail to notice that Hays served with Tejanos that were already trained in those methods. It is likely that his Tejano brothers-in-arms taught him how to fight Indians, rather than the Indians themselves. If he had learned through experience alone his lesson may have led to his death.

The U.S.-Mexican War brought a change in the status of Tejanos in Ranger companies. Throughout the period between 1845-1848, localities in Texas took care of their own regions. Racist ideas of Manifest Destiny, this time loudly adhered to by large waves of Anglo newcomers, placed Tejanos in danger not only of losing rights, but also

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[9] For a number of views on this situation see Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers; A Century of Frontier Defense*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1935); Frederick Wilkins, *The Highly Irregular Regulars: Texas Rangers in the Mexican War*. (Austin: Eakin Press, 1990); Robert Utley. *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers.* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2002).

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of losing their lives. Many Tejanos fled to Mexico to save themselves and their families from aggressive anti-Mexican rhetoric and actions by unruly Anglos.[10]

Between the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Civil War, the federal government was largely in control of defending Texas; however, Tejanos performed in local volunteer militia units defined as Texas Rangers. They fought against Comanches, Apaches, and even Juan Nepomuceno Cortina in South Texas. Cortina's fight against Anglo abuses was reminiscent of the fight Córdova took on in Nacogdoches twenty years earlier. Again, elite families of Tejanos fought against Tejano rebels who stood against Anglo usurpation of land and power. These rebellions exposed ideological and class divisions within Tejano society.

Companies of Tejano Rangers were active in the border regions through the 1850s and into the 1860s. Tejanos who became Rangers joined both sides during the Civil War and again showed their continued relationship with horses, ranging, and fighting. Mounted companies of Tejanos fought for both the North and South. Hundreds of Tejanos joined the Benavides family in the cause of the Confederacy. The 33rd Regiment led by Santos Benavides and his brothers Refugio, Cristobal, and brother-in-law John Leyendecker participated with him. In contrast, Captain Cesario Falcón and family member Alvino Falcón fought in the Union Forces.

After the Civil War, Reconstruction brought a new surge in Tejano participation in Ranger forces. Roving bands of ex-soldiers, gangs of cattle thieves, Mexican raiders, and Comanche and Apache fighters led to the formation of companies to protect the frontier by order of several acts of the legislature. In 1870 the state government ordered

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[10] See Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*; De la Teja, *A Revolution Remembered;* Acuña, *Occupied America*. These are only a few of the works that deal with this issue.

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the mustering of companies to protect the frontier in the localities, and Tejanos answered the call to arms once again. Members of founding families joined these organizations over one hundred years after their ancestors first settled the communities of Tejas and Nuevo Santander.

Between 1870 and 1876 Tejanos served in the Frontier Forces, Minute Men, Frontier Men, Special State Troop, and Washington County Volunteers. Tejanos captains, in at least a few cases, were founders of communities in their respective regions. Captain Cesario Falcón, Captain Refugio Benavides, Captain Gregorio García, and Lieutenant Telesforo Montes, are only a few of the Tejano Rangers who were descended from military ranching families.

In 1874 the federal government abandoned Congressional Reconstruction in Texas and Tejano Rangers were almost completely mustered out of the Texas Ranger companies. The Democratic Party took over the legislature and governorship and implemented a state apparatus that condoned racist agendas that stripped many Tejanos of their land and rights. For the next forty years Tejanos suffered the devastating effects of social, political, and economic marginalization. Tejano Rangers disappeared from the rolls of the Texas Rangers completely by 1876.

The Rangers became exclusively white in a world where status and respect were assigned to white men, and Mexicans became characterized as lazy, docile, or criminal in the minds of the Anglo majority. Anglos embraced their position as the protectors of righteousness and good, while they assigned Tejanos identities as thieves, bandits, or simply losers in a cultural conflict in which Manifest Destiny won the day. As Tejanos themselves learned to feel contempt for the *rinches*, a sort of cultural amnesia erased the

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memory of Tejano Rangers, even from Tejano history. Texas folklorists and historians continued the trend until recently.

After years of unchecked excesses against people of color and labor organizations in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. the Texas Rangers were reorganized in the 1930s. Change was not spontaneous, nor was it self-motivated; reforms occurred following years of accusations. Amazingly, all Mexicans looked like bandits and all bandits looked like Mexicans to those holding badges and rifles. The Rangers were also used as a strong arm against labor organizations from the Pan Handle cowboys that attempted to control the abuse of corporate ranches to the workers in the oil fields. Although evident for years, abuses that resulted in the bloodbath that consumed my own Great-Grandfather were addressed only when a native south Texan, State Representative J.T. Canales, demanded an official state investigation of the Rangers in 1916.[11] Change in the *frontera* was slow in coming, but after nineteen years reforms initiated by Canales were enacted and Rangers were no longer allowed free rein.

In 1935 the Texas Rangers became part of the Texas Department of Public Safety and were no longer independent of state hierarchical authority.[12] Previously, under the power of the Adjutant General and Governor, the Texas Rangers were reigned in and placed under institutional controls that mandated procedures and defined the limitations and expectations of a modern law enforcement organization.

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[11] *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House in the Investigation of the Texas Ranger Force, 1919*. A more detailed discussion of the accusations leading to this investigation can be found in Julian Samora, Joe Bernal, and Albert Peña, *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 12.

[12] "Texas Rangers," http://www.txdps.state.tx.us/texasrangers.

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The Texas Ranger organization of the 21st century is one of the most highly respected, professional, and multiethnic law enforcement organizations in the United States. As "the investigative arm of the DPS" (Department of Public Safety), they work six districts throughout the state of Texas. Although some things change, others stay the same: Two female Texas Rangers serve in Co. A, ranging out of Houston, and Co. B from the Dallas region. Black males are represented in several companies. As for continuity, Tejanos again make up a large portion of the Ranger force, and the De la Garza family is still represented in Co. A out of Houston. Additionally, Co. D ranges the Nueces Strip and two-thirds of the force is Spanish-surnamed. The company has a special assignment and is responsible for border security, [13] just like they were over 100 years ago.

I hope that if my Grandma Panchita is watching over me, that I answered the question that haunted her during those fleeting moments when she looked out that window at 4 "D" Street. Sleep well my dear Grandmother.

[13] "Texas Ranger Rosters," http://www.texasranger.org/today/rangerstoday.htm.

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APPENDIX A

TEJANO REPUBLIC RANGERS 1836-1845

Antonio Menchaca

Mounted Gunmen Municipality of Bexar

October 1836-March 1837

1. Pacheco, Francisco
2. Casanova, Remigio
3. Chacon, Carlos
4. De Leon, Benino
5. Dias, Julian
6. Flores, Roque
7. Gonzales, Diego
8. Hernandez, Francisco
9. Hernandez, Ricardo
10. Herrera, Pedro
11. Aroch, Jose Maria
12. Marin, Francisco
13. Villa Nueva, Candlario (Candelario?)
14. Pacheco, Luciano
15. Reyna, Ramon
16. Rimirez, Paulin (Ramirez?)

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17. Rivas, Cayetano

18. Rivas, Felipe

19. Rodriguez, Antonio

20. Rodriguez, Jesus

21. Silvera, Manuel

22. Travieso, Justo

23. Lopez, Manuel

Muster Roll for Antonio Menchaca, Mounted Gunmen Municipality of Bexar, Republic of Texas Militia military rolls, Military rolls, Texas Adjutant General's Department. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Box 401-710 Folder 30.

For the sake of clarity in the text I will identify the specific muster roll then abbreviate this collection as RTMR, (Republic of Texas Militia military rolls), TAGD (Texas Adjutant General's Department), TSAC (Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Archives Commission) and include the box and folder number.

<u>James Smith</u>

Nacogdoches Mounted Volunteers

April 11-July 11, 1836

1. G.W. Taliafora (Tafoya?)

Muster Roll Nacogdoches Mounted Volunteers, Commander James Smith, Nacogdoches, RTMR, TAGD, TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 40.

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Colonel Thomas J. Rusk

Field and Staff [3rd Regiment, Texas Volunteers]

Jun 9-August 5, 1838

1. James Cantu

Muster Roll Colonel Thomas Rusk, Field and Staff, 3rd Regiment, Texas Volunteers, RTMR, TAGD, TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 36.

Lewis Sanchez

Regiment 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia [mounted]

August 5-27, 1838

September 7, 1838-March 27, 1839

Mounted Gunmen

Jun 15-July 22, 1839

1. Garcia, Manuel	Jun-July,'39
2. Mata, Juan	Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July'39
3. Martinez, Dolores	Aug.'38; Jun-July'39
4. Magana, Jacinto	Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39
5. Luna, Sylvester	Jun-July'39
6. Lopez, Feliciano	Jun-July'39
7. Lopez, Cornelio	Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July'39
8. Lacerine, Francisco	Jun-July'39
9. Juares, Encarnation	Jan.'39; Jun-July'39
10. Hernandez, Watchie	Jun-July'39
11. Hernandez, Sussano	Jan.39; Jun-July'39

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12. Acosta, Francisco Dec.’38-Jan.‘39

13. Guouteres, Manuel Jun-July‘39

14. Mendez, Antonio Dec.’38-Jan.’39; Jun-July‘39

15. Falcon, Jose Aug.‘38

16. Cuellar, Francisco Nov.’38-Jan.’39

17. Cruz, Rafael de la Aug.‘38

18. Chavanno, Santiago Aug.’38; Nov.’38-Jan.‘39

19. Chavanno, Jose Ma. Aug.‘38

20. Chappa, Ygnacio Jun-July‘39

21. Candelario Jun-July‘39

22. Sanchez, Pedro Jun-July ‘39

23. Ybaro, Jose Ma. Nov.’38-Jan.‘39

24. Ybaro, Antonio Nov.’38-Jan.‘39

25. Toscano, Santiago Dec.’38-Jan.’39; Jun-July‘39

26. Torino, Antonio Jan.‘39

27. Solar, James Jun-July‘39

28. Sepulvedo, Secusmondi Jun-July‘39

29. Santos, Ygnacio Aug.‘38

30. Santos, Benigno Aug.‘38

31. Peres, Lorenzo Jan.‘39

32. Mendosa, Jose Ma. Jun-July‘39

33. Monsola, Jose Ma. Jun-July‘39

34. Monsola, Poplar Jun-July‘39

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35. Sanchez, Ygnacio Jun-July'39

36. Mora, Anastasio Jun-July'39

37. Sanchez, Simon Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39

38. Ravia, Santiago Aug.'38-Nov.'38-Jan.'39; Jun

39. Salazar, Maximo Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July'39

40. Saucedo, Desiderio n.d.

41. Sanchez, David Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39; Jun

42. Montes, Jose Ma. Jun-July'39

Muster Roll Lewis Sanchez, Regiment 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia [mounted], and Mounted Gunmen, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 37.

W.W. Hanks

Infantry of Riflemen [1st Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia]

Note: August Campaign against hostile Mexicans and Indians

August 6-22, 1838

1. S. Tallada

Muster Roll W.W. Hanks, Infantry of Riflemen,1st Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 21.

David Muckelroy

Mounted Company (Nacogdoches), 3rd Regiment, 2nd Brigade, Texas Militia

August 9-22, 1838

1. David Barron

Muster Roll David Muckelroy, 3rd Regiment, 2rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 31.

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James Reily

Nacogdoches Guards, Mounted, 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia

August 9-24, 1838

1. A. Sanchez

Muster Roll James Reily, 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 35.

Lewis [Louis, Luis] Sanchez

[]Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia [Mounted]

August 5-27, 1838

Mounted Gunmen

September 7, 1838-January 27, 1839

1. Manuel Garcia Jun-July 1839
2. Juan Mata Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July'39
3. Dolores Martinez Aug.'38; Jun-July '39
4. Jacinto Magana Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July '39
5. Sylvester Luna Jun-July 1839
6. Feliciano Lopez Jun-July 1839
7. Cornelio Lopez Dec.'38-Jan.'39Jun-July 1839
8. Francisco Lacerine Jun-July 1839
9. Encarnation Juares Jan.'39Jun-July 1839
10. Watchie Hernandez Jun-July 1839
11. Susanno Hernandez Jan.'39;Jun-July 1839
12. Francisco Acosta Dec.'38-Jan.'39;Jun-July 1839

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13. Manuel Guouteras Jun-July 1839

14. Antonio Mendez Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July 1839

15. Jose Falcon Aug.'38

16. Francisco Cuellar Nov.'38-Jan.'39

17. Rafael de la Cruz Aug.'38

18. Santiago Chavanno Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39

19. Jose Maria Chavanno Aug.'38

20. Ygnacio Chappa Jun-July 1839

21. Candelario Jun-July 1839

22. Pedro Sanchez Jun-July 1839

23. Jose Maria Ybaro Nov.'38-Jan.'39

24. Antonio Ybaro Nov.'38-Jan.'39

25. Santiago Toscano Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July 1839

26. Antonio Torino Jan.'39

27. Secusmondi Sepulvedo Jun-July 1839

28. Ygnacio Santos Aug.'38

29. Benigno Santos Aug.'38

30. Lorenzo Peres Jan.'39

31. Juan Ybaro Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July 1839

32. Jose Ma. Mendosa Jun-July 1839

33. Jose Ma. Monsola Jun-July 1839

34. Juan Monsola Jun-July 1839

35. Poular Monsola Jun-July 1839

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36. Ygnacio Sanchez Jun-July 1839
37. Anastasio Mora Jun-July 1839
38. Simon Sanchez Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39
39. Santiago Ravia Aug.'38; Nov.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July 1839
40. Maximo Salazar Dec.'38-Jan.'39; Jun-July 1839
41. Desiderio Saucedo n.d.
42. David Sanchez Aug. '38; Nov. '38-Jan. '39; Jun-July 1839
43. Jose Maria Montes Jun-July 1839

Muster Roll Lewis Sanchez, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, Mounted, renamed the Mounted Gunmen Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 37.

<u>Daniel Weeks</u>

2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, Nacogdoches, Mounted

August 22-September 14, 1838

1. Enitia Sanchez

Muster Roll Daniel Weeks, 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, Mounted, and Mounted Gunmen Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 47.

<u>Lt. R. H. Shearer</u>

Platoon of Infantry [Volunteers]

August 30-November 30, 1838

1. L. Tallado

Muster Roll Lt. R. H. Shearer, Platoon of Infantry Volunteers, Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 38.

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Eli Russell

Company under command of Major B. C. Walters, Texas Militia, Mounted

September 2-November 15, 1838

1. Ven Morallis (Ben Morales?)

Muster Roll Company under command of Major B. C. Walters, Mounted Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 37.

William R. Scurlock/ Joseph R. Mix

Mounted Riflemen, 1st Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia

September 6, 1838-January 7, 1839

1. William Moran

Muster Roll William R. Scurlock/Joseph R. Mix Mounted Riflemen, 1st Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 37.

N.T. Journey

Mounted Rangers, 2ndRegiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia

September 14, 1838-March 13, 1839

1. Nicholas Canter (Probably Nicholas Cantu)
2. Santaianago (This is probably Osa St. Iago that moves on to Emberson's company March 16, 1839 to Sept 16, 1839 then the Santiago Essue (Jesus?) that becomes part o f the Fannin County Mounted Rangers, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia on Sept. 16, 1839 thru April 13, 1839.

Muster Roll N.T. Journey, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 21.

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James Fisher

Detachment of Mounted Men (on the Angelina) 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia

September 14-October 3, 1838

1. Fanacio Sanches

Muster Roll James Fisher, 2nd Regiment, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 17.

J. Snively

Mounted Rangers, Texas Militia

September 14-December 13, 1838

1. Juan Jose Villa Nov.-Dec. '38

Muster Roll for J. Snively, Mounted Rangers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 41.

Hayden Arnold

Nacogdoches Town Company, Texas Militia

October 3-November 16, 1838

1. Justine Castana

Muster Roll for Arnold Hayden, Nacogdoches Town Company, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 1.

Robert W. Smith

Texas Militia Nacogdoches [Mounted]

October 10-21, 1838

1. Deolores Martines (Dolores?)

2. Louis Sanchez

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Muster Roll for Robert W. Smith, Nacogdoches Mounted Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 41.

Brookfield, William C.

Mounted Rangers [Mustang Hoosiers?] [Texas Militia]

October 12-24, 1838

1. Refugio Bellensweller (Valenzuela?)
2. Joseph Lopez

Muster Roll for William C. Brookfield, Mounted Rangers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 7.

Collins, Stephen

Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia

October 12-November 26, 1838

1. Vital Flores
2. Policarpio Flores
3. Jesus Flores
4. Dolores Cortinas
5. Philip Sepulveda
6. Juan Ybaro (Ybarra?)
7. Juan A. Padilla
8. Jose Maria Medrano
9. Guadalupe Martinez
10. Maximo Salazar

Muster Roll for Stephen Collins, Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 11.

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Durst, John

Mounted Volunteers, 3rd Brigade, Mt. Sterling Settlement, Nacogdoches County

October 10-20, 1838

1. J. M. Barago (Borrego?)
2. Antonio Sanches

Mounted Gunmen, Texas Militia

November 17-December 11, 1838

1. J. M. Barago (Borrego?)

Muster Roll for John Durst, Mounted Volunteers, 3rd Brigade, Mt. Sterling Settlement Nacogdoches County, and Mounted Gunmen, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 14.

Jackson Todd

Mounted Volunteers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia

November 19-December 1, 1838

1. J.S. Patillo (Padilla?)

Muster Roll for Jackson Todd, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 21.

John Hart

Fanin County Mounted Gunmen, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia

November 19, 1838-January 7, 1839

1. Jose Morea (Jose Maria?)

Muster Roll for John Hart,2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 21.

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James W. Cleveland

Mounted Rangers [3rd Brigade, Texas Militia]

January 6-February 5, 1839

1. Dolores Cortinas

Muster Roll for James Cleveland, Mounted Rangers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 10.

Solomon Adams

Houston County Rangers, Texas Militia

February 8-May 8, 1839

May 9-August 9, 1839

1. Maria Jose de Martines

Muster Roll for Solomon Adams, Houston County Rangers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 1.

B.A. Vansickle

Mounted Volunteers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Milita

July 1-August 5, 1839

1. Micham Marin

Muster Roll for B.A. Vansickle, Mounted Volunteers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720, Folder 46.

Peter Tills

Mounted Volunteers, 2nd Regiment, Nacogdoches

July 13-August 5, 1839

1. H.P. Barron

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Muster Roll Peter Tills, Mounted Volunteers, 2nd Reg., Nacogdoches, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 45.

Joseph Sowell

Fannin County Militia, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia

August 1-31, 1839

1. Basten Alivo (Olivo?)

Muster Roll Joseph Sowell, Fannin Co. Militia, 2nd Reg., 4th Brig., Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 42.

Joseph Durst

Mounted Rangers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia

August 15-September 27, 1839

1. Jose Mancha
2. Juan A Padilla

Muster Roll Joseph Durst, Mounted Rangers, 3rd Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 14.

William F. Wilson/Ephraim McLane

Galveston Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia

September 8-December 7, 1839

1. Macineo Garcia

Muster Roll William F. Wilson/Ephraim McLane, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 49.

N.H. Carroll

Company C, 1st Regiment, Mounted Gunmen

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September 15-December 1, 1839

1. M. Cherano (Serrano?)

Muster Roll N.H. Carroll, 1st Regiment, Mounted Gunmen Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717 Folder 9.

Mark Roberts

Fannin County (Mounted) Rangers, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia

September 16, 1839-March 16, 1840

1. Santiago Essue (Jesus Santiago?)

Muster Roll for Mark Roberts, Fannin County Rangers, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brigade, Texas Militia, RTMR, AGD. TSAC, Box 401-719, Folder 35.

Samuel Davis

Company D, 1st Regiment, Mounted Gunmen, Texas Militia

September 10-November 27, 1839

1. Napoleon Lado
2. James Patillo (Padilla?)

Muster Roll for Samuel Davis, 1st Regiment, Mounted Gunmen Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 9.

G.K. Black

Mounted Rangers

October 22, 1839-January 29, 1840

1. Jose Silverio

Muster Roll for G.K. Black, Mounted Rangers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717, Folder 5.

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John Emberson

Volunteer Company of Rangers, Red River and Fannin Counties, 2nd Regiment, 4th Brig.

Texas Militia

March 16-September 16, 1839

1. Hose Morea (Jose Maria?)
2. Osa St. Iago (Santiago?)
3. Francisco Travene (Trevino?)

Muster Roll for John Embeson, Volunteer Co. of Rangers, Red River and Fannin Counties, 2nd Reg. 4th Brig., Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718, Folder 16.

Mark Lewis

Texas Militia

March 2-September 9, 1839

1. Carlos Belascos
2. Pedro Contrano
3. Jose Maria Durano
4. Emile Gerard (Emilio Gerardo?)
5. Francisco Gerard (Francisco Gerardo?)
6. Jose Maria Hermes
7. Thomas Hernandez
8. Ramon Piedas
9. Pablo Tuerte (Fuentes?)

Muster Roll Mark Lewis, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 28.

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<u>Jose Maria Gonzales</u>

Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia

September 8-November 21, 1839

1. Juan Berban
2. Jose Gonzales
3. Antonio Gonzales
4. Leandro Garza
5. Damacio Galban
6. Agapito Galban
7. Pedro Escamio (Escamilla?)
8. Anselmo Hernandez
9. Jose Maria Ebarra (Ybarra?)
10. Antonio Hernandez
11. Jacinto de la Garza
12. Fernando Curiel
13. Simon Contiares (Contreras?)
14. Mauricio Carrasco
15. Jose Maria Cam
16. Marino Bernan
17. Eugenio Trevino
18. Roberto Tiferina
19. Rafael Sepeda
20. Cristoria Rubio

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21. Juan Ramos

22. Antonio Perez

23. Vitor Pedeasa (Victor Pedraza?)

24. Manuel Montalvo

25. Marino Mindiola

26. Rodrigo Martinez

27. Blas Herrera

28. Juan Hernandez

Muster Roll Jose Maria Gonzales, Mounted Volunteers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 19.

Adolphus Sterne

Mounted Rangers, Nacogdoches County

July 8-October 16, 1840

1. William Francisco

2. Feliciano Lopez

3. Jose Silvanis

Muster Roll Adolphus Sterne, Mounted Rangers, Nacogdoches, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-720 Folder 43.

John C. Hays

Company of Spies [for protection of Bexar County]

January 10-October 1, 1841

June-August 1841

1. Francisco Granado

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2. Pedro Espinoso
3. Damacio Galvan
4. J.A. Flores
5. Flaco
6. Carlos Larso
7. Martin Delgado
8. Antonio Sanchez
9. Martin Sanchez
10. F. Vasques
11. Melchor Treviso
12. Pedro Penas (Pena?)

March-April, June-Sept. 1843

1. M. Eschalara

Muster Roll John C. Hays, Company of Spies (Bexar), Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 22.

<u>John T. Price</u>

Company of Spies, Texas Militia

January 3-May 2, 1841

1. N. Estrevan
2. A. Garcia

Muster Roll for , Company of Spies John T. Price, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719, Folder 34.

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Antonio Perez

Spy Company San Antonio

January 20-May 20, 1841

1. Melcho Travias
2. Antonio Sanchez
3. Marzil Salinas
4. Pablo Perez
5. Canota Perez
6. Leandro Garza
7. Raphael Garcia
8. Martines Garcia
9. Francisco Garcia
10. Francisco Ganado
11. Ensano Faris
12. Antonio Coy
13. Louis Castano
14. Crisante Casanova

Muster Roll Antonio Perez. Spy Company San Antonio, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33.

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James P.B. January

Company of Volunteers

August 3-27, 1841

1. Cannalles (?)

Muster Roll James P.B. January, Company of Volunteers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 26.

John C.Hays

Company of Rangers on Northwestern and Southwestern Frontiers

August-December 1844

1. G. Martines

May-August 1845

1. Rafel (Rafael?) Martinez

Muster Roll John C. Hays, Company of Rangers on Northwestern and Southwestern Frontier, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 23.

H. Clay Davis

Corps of Corpus Christi Rangers (hired by H.L. Kinney to protect citizens)

November 14, 1844-February 28, 1845

1. Rudocindo Riviero (Rosendo Rivera?)
2. Nepom(econ) Villareal (Nepomuceno Villareal)

Muster Roll H. Clay Davis, Corps of Corpus Christi Rangers, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD. TSAC, Box 401-717 Folder 11.

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APPENDIX B

INDIAN REPUBLIC RANGERS 1836-1845

James Durst

Mounted Rangers [3rd Brigade, Texas Militia] [Indians]

December 1, 1838-January 25, 1839

1. Alloverbigness
2. Back bone
3. John Bags
4. Big Bone
5. Big Rump
6. George A. Boss
7. Stanley Bowls
8. Calawntatatite
9. Cat floting
10. Coffee
11. Early Cordery
12. Dolores Cortines
13. Cashatta Killer
14. Cut Worm
15. Dry
16. Gizzard
17. Ground Hog

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18. He throws them

19. Hog Stones

20. Hot House

21. Jackson

22. James

23. Jesse

24. John

25. Justice

26. Hugh Kener

27. Krak Killer

28. Lightning Bug

29. Looking at us

30. Louis

31. Wash Loura

32. Alexander McKelpin

33. Moses

34. Night Killer

35. Olustuke

36. Otterlifter

37. Over the Branc

38. Parrikeet

39. Moses L. Patton

40. Pleasant

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41. John Rogers
42. Sequeah
43. Shit Ass
44. Tekiansta
45. them
46. They have shot
47. Turnpover
48. Twister
49. Ulalah
50. Uxtalli
51. Watch
52. White Man
53. William
54. Young bird
55. Zekiel

Muster Roll James Durst Mounted Rangers [3rd Brigade, Texas Militia] [Indians] Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD, TSAC, Box 401-718 Folder 14.

<u>Captain Castro</u>

Indians who volunteered against Comanches

January 25-February 25, 1839

1. John Castro

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2. Charcia
3. Conpah
4. Cooshatee
5. Deisaslishta
6. Ellorttes
7. Fernando
8. Flaco
9. Ganto
10. Gosly
11. Helliana
12. Hockersiss
13. Hoesky
14. Hosey
15. Jack
16. Joshua
17. Kawnesky
18. Lalonkill
19. Lentika
20. Manuel
21. Miscontlish
22. Moccison
23. Neahantis
24. Neckinna

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25. Nehelki

26. Nuchi

27. Pecar

28. Pehenia

29. Platta

30. Quansise

31. Satella

32. Sechi

33. Shilkoe

34. Shindial

35. Slarsha

36. Sochina

37. Tazazanto

38. Tohotoliny

Muster Roll Captain Castro, Indians who volunteered against Comanches, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD, TSAC, Box 401-717 Folder 9.

Panther

Company of Shawnee Indians [3rd Brigade] [Mounted]

November 25, 1838-January 25, 1839

1. Big Field

2. Big John

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3. Buzzard
4. Catawah
5. Chawackotah
6. Chewwah
7. Fox
8. Hood
9. How tis key
10. Jack
11. Kill an asha
12. Kish es caw
13. Lewis
14. Little Jack
15. Little John
16. Little Jim
17. Pacheweh
18. Pachilla
19. Panther
20. Petetah
21. Pocawah
22. Possatahah
23. Solgis
24. Spy Ruck
25. Thompson

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26. Whitestone

27. Yellow Jackett

28. Young Spy Ruck

Muster Roll Panther Company of Shawnee Indians, 3rd Brigade, Mounted, Texas Militia, RTMR, TAGD, TSAC, Box 401-719 Folder 33.

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