



The Shifting Shapes of Early Texas

*Some Highlights from
UTA Libraries Special Collections*

An Exhibit in Conjunction with the

*Thirteenth Biennial Virginia Garrett
Lectures on the History of Cartography*

October 5, 2022 through January 13, 2023

**Special Collections
The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries**

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Sixth Floor • Special Collections
The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries

Gallery Guide by Ben W. Huseman

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Introduction and Acknowledgments

Since its founding in 1967, UTA Libraries' Special Collections has had an interest in state and local history. In 1970 the archive expanded to include state political collections. Over the years, the expertise and experience of many staff members guided and enhanced the acquisition of such materials including cartographic items. In 1974 this reached grand proportions when Fort Worth attorney Jenkins Garrett, Sr. donated a magnificent personal collection that included over 10,000 rare books, printed broadsides and newspapers, paper money, sheet music, letters and correspondence, and other documents relating primarily to Texas, Mexican political history to 1900, and the U.S. War with Mexico. Later, in 1997, his wife Virginia donated her personal collection of rare maps and atlases, many of which she had acquired because of their Texas subject matter. Others, including Murray Hudson, Ted W. Mayborn, Lewis and Virginia Buttery, Walter Wilson, and Dr. Jack Franke, to mention only a few, have also donated Texana. The Garretts and others also left endowments whereby UTA Special Collections continues to purchase materials relating to Texas. After almost fifty-five years the collection has great depth and maturity, - even though rising prices and rarity make it difficult to fill gaps for much-desired Texana.

In conjunction with the Thirteenth Biennial Virginia Garrett Lectures, the annual meeting of the International Map Collectors' Society, and the Fall Meeting of the Texas Map Society, this exhibit attempts to highlight not only cartographic materials pertaining to Texas from UTA's great map collections, - but also highlights other kinds of materials from other collections of Texana here

at UTA. It is a daunting task to limit these items since there is such a great quantity from which to choose. The focus here on this occasion is upon the early history of Texas, but more recent events could also be told through the wealth of materials here at Special Collections.

Many people at UTA have been instrumental in the creation of this exhibit. Retired Head of Special Collections and former Manuscripts Archivist Brenda McClurkin encouraged, promoted, and offered many ideas - all while voluntarily working on arrangements for the lectures. UTA history student worker Alexander Jones provided invaluable assistance by doing all matting and framing. The staffs of Libraries Administration and Special Collections - and particularly Gretchen Trkay and Evan Spencer - have covered many duties that freed me to work on this project. If there are sections of this gallery guide that have no glaring errors, I must acknowledge those as the parts read by UTA Professors Sam W. Haynes and Gerald Saxon who, with little notice, generously offered their sage counsel. I must also thank Cathy Spitzenberger for her help in proofreading but add that she should not receive any blame for factual errors (those are mine). UTA student Justin Cole assisted with useful research. Sophia Motyka and Rodrigo Lizaola helped with book displays. Mark Cook, Ryan Nash, Nicholas Williams, and Paul Carlisle provided scans and photographs. Gerardo Gibbs and Carrie Bialach of Texas Solutions put the exhibit up. Once again gallery guide designer Carol Lehman worked wonders in a short amount of time, as did Ed and Cherrie Ferguson of Premiere Printing of Arlington.

-Ben Huseman

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The Shifting Shapes of Early Texas

Like the types of primary source materials and the interpretations of Texas' history, the physical shapes of Texas' boundaries have shifted over time. Texas' current boundaries are among the most recognizable geographical symbols in the world. Today, visitors to Texas are not necessarily surprised any more to see Texas-shaped waffle irons, Texas-shaped swimming pools, Texas-shaped trailer hitch covers, and similar examples of modern Texana. However, these boundaries were not always there, and, with the exceptions of the Gulf shore and the highly permeable courses of the Rio Grande, Sabine, and Red rivers, even today, for the most part, the boundaries only exist in peoples' minds.¹ Early maps show different shapes for the area that became Texas. They range from maps showing the area at the beginning of the European age of exploration to the 1850s when the current shape of Texas was first adopted.² These six original printed maps convey some of the shapes of the rest of the original maps in the exhibit. However, also important are some of the ideas and ideals that shaped early Texas history over the years as reflected not only in the maps but also in the original rare prints, books, and documents to follow.

¹ Former UTA professor, Dr. Richard Francaviglia, in his book *The Shape of Texas: Maps as Metaphors* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), offers a thoughtful and modern take on the iconic shape of Texas.

² One minor exception is the former Greer County, once claimed by Texas, but today in the southwest corner of the state of Oklahoma. This boundary was not fully resolved until a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1896. See Webb L. Moore, "Greer County," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/greer-county>.



1 _____ [illustrated on front cover, top]

Girolamo Ruscelli after Giacomo Gastaldi

Nueva Hispania Tabula Nova

Engraving with applied color on paper, 19 x 26 cm., first published in 1561, from *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, trans. by Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice, 1574). *The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections*. 2018-353 128/12

This colorful sixteenth-century map of southern North America (or "New Spain" as the Spanish named it) already exhibits the general shape of southern North America. Texas would eventually comprise the far northeastern portion of New Spain. The map was originally one of the "new" maps produced to augment a Venetian edition of the second-century Greek scholar Claudius Ptolemy's famous *Geography* which by the time of the European age of discovery had been found inadequate for coverage of many parts of the world (see also cat. nos. 12 and 14).¹

¹ Robert W. Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius* (Chicago: Published for the Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis Press, 1993), p. 222. Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America: A List of Printed Maps, 1511-1670* (Rickmansworth, Herts, United Kingdom: Raleigh Publications, 1996), pp. 35-36, no. 31.



2 _____ [illustrated on front cover, second from top]

Edward Wells

A New Map of North America Shewing Its Principal Divisions, Chief Cities, Townes, Rivers, Mountains &c.: Dedicated to His Highness William, of Gloucester

Engraving with applied color on paper, 36 x 49 cm., by Michael Burghers, from Edward Wells, *A New Sett of Maps Both of Antient and Present Geography* (Oxford: Wells, 1701; first published in 1700). 210032 Bin 5

Cartographic knowledge in Europe did not always progress smoothly. This map shows two misconceptions that developed in the seventeenth century: the ideas that California was an island and that the Mississippi River flowed farther west and entered the Gulf of Mexico by way of the area that became Texas. Information for the map came from English and French sources, including similarly distorted maps published in an account of Father Louis Hennepin's discoveries along the Mississippi (nos. 38 and 39) with French explorer and fur trader René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle.¹

¹ Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America II: A List of Printed Maps, 1671-1700* (Rickmansworth, Herts, United Kingdom: Raleigh Publications, 2007), pp. 477-479, no. 758, describes this map and gives information on the English geographer Wells (1667-1727) and the sickly young prince William, Duke of Gloucester, to whom the map is dedicated, who died on July 29, 1700. On Michael Burghers (1647-1727), see Laurence Worms and Ashley Baynton Williams, *British Map Engravers: A Dictionary of Engravers, Lithographers, and Their Principal Employers to 1850* (London: Rare Book Society, 2011), pp. 118-119.

3 _____ [illustrated on front cover, third from top]

John Senex after Guillaume Delisle

A map of Louisiana and of the River Mississippi

Engraving with etching (hand colored) on paper, 49 x 58 cm., from Senex, *A New General Atlas* (London, D. Browne, 1721). 96-29 63/8

After the French correctly charted the general course of the Mississippi River and claimed and renamed the areas it drained as “Louisiana” in the honor of King Louis XIV of France, they still maintained that the area that became Texas was theirs, as seen in this English map of 1721. It is based upon and includes inscriptions carefully translated from a French map of 1718 (no. 44). Particularly significant was a border drawn along the Rio Grande and the annotation along the Gulf Coast of “Wandering Indians and Man-eaters.”¹

¹ UTA also owns an impression of this map in the original atlas. (G1015.S57 1721 SpCo Oversize). On Senex see Worms and Baynton Williams, *British Map Engravers* (2011), pp. 599-601. For further information on this map and its dedication to William Law, see Ben W. Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (UT Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 2016), p. 33, no. 27 and Ben W. Huseman, *Charting Chartered Companies: Concessions to Companies as Mirrored in Maps* (UT Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 2010), p. 24, no.27.

4 _____ [illustrated on back cover]

J.H. Young & S. Augustus Mitchell

A New Map of Texas: with the Contiguous American & Mexican States

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 30 x 37 cm. With cover (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1836). *Gift of Kitene Kading* 91-389

Following Mexican independence in 1821, Texas was the northeastern portion of the state of Coahuila y Texas. In the early days of Texas’ struggle for independence from Mexico, it first attempted to separate from Coahuila and claimed boundaries that made it roughly heart shaped as seen in this map, first published in 1835. This famous pocket map of Texas by one of the leading U.S. mapmakers of the time, Samuel Augustus Mitchell, Sr. (1792-1868), has color differentiations for Mexican Texas *empresario* land grants and text that clearly promotes the area for Anglo immigration from the U.S.¹

¹ Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845 2nd edition Revised and Enlarged by Archibald Hanna with a Guide to the Microfilm Collection* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, Inc., 1983; first published by Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 389-390, nos. 1178A-G. See Barry Lawrence Ruderman, Antique Maps, Inc., Stock# 52358mp2, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/52358mp2/a-new-map-of-texas-with-the-contiguous-american-mexican-s-mitchell-young>; and Ben W. Huseman, *Revisualizing Westward Expansion: A Century of Conflict in Maps, 1800-1900* (UT Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 2008), p. 16, no. 12. UTA Special Collections has a later 1839 edition of this map.

5 _____ [illustrated on front cover, fifth from top]

Samuel Augustus Mitchell

Map of Mexico, including Yucatan and Upper California

Map: col.; 43 x 64 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1846). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00481 Drawer 90

After Anglo-Texans established a republic in April 1836, they made grandiose boundary claims that included the Rio Grande on the south and west and continued north in a panhandle that ran as far as present-day Wyoming. While Mexico did not recognize Texas’ independence or these boundaries, these claimed boundaries persisted even after Texas first became part of the U.S. following annexation in 1845. S. A. Mitchell’s 1847 map emphasizes these boundaries in red. The map appeared during the U.S. War with Mexico sometime after the February 22, 1847 Battle of Buena Vista (denoted by a small flag just south of Saltillo in the pink-colored Mexican state of Coahuila). An inset at top right gives a plan of the city of Monter[re]y, location of an earlier U.S. siege and victory on September 21-23, 1846.¹

¹ For a further discussion of the map see Ben W. Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny: Maps Relating to Wars in the Southwest Borderlands, 1800-1866* (UT Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 2014), p. 22, no. 38; *Dorothy Sloan: 24th Auction Item* 236; Henry G. Taliaferro, Jane A. Kenamore and Uli Haller, *Cartographic Sources in the Rosenberg Library* (College Station: Texas A&M Press for the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, 1988), p. 284; Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (6 vols.; San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957-1963), vol. 2, no. 548; *Maps of the California Gold Region* 35; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983. 1995), no. 3868. See also cat. No. 148.

6 _____ [illustrated on front cover, bottom]

J. H. Colton & Co.

Texas

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 32.5 x 40 cm. (New York: J. H. Colton & Co., 1855). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00035 125/8

As part of the U.S. Compromise of 1850 over the future of slave versus free state development, Texas had assumed the general shape of its current boundaries. This 1855 map by Joseph H. Colton & Co. shows this in its entirety at one scale on one sheet of paper.¹ The reason Texas had to give up claim to the odd stovepipe panhandle territory seen on the previous map was due to a provision of the United States’ Missouri Compromise of 1820 that had declared that no slave territory could exist north of the 36° 30’ line of latitude. This naturally did not matter to the Republic of Texas until it was annexed by the United States in 1846. At that time the problem surfaced of the possibility of dividing Texas into multiple slave states with slavery developing north of this line. To maintain a balance, Congress had to come up with the 1850 Compromise solution. Therefore, it was decided that If Texas was to remain a slave state, it had to drop its claim to any territory north of that line. In return, Texas received ten million dollars, part of which went to settle the former republic’s debts.²

¹ See discussion of the Greer County exception, cited above. Note that including all of Texas on one sheet at the same scale had been somewhat of a rarity because up until then many mapmakers had depicted only the more settled areas (the southern, eastern, and central portion of the state) and simply added an insert to show the less settled western Texas and panhandle at a smaller scale. On Colton & Co. See Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), pp.106, 255, 257, 276, 313-326, 452, 456-459.

² Mark Stein, *How the States Got Their Shapes* (New York: Harper Collins for Smithsonian Books, 2008), pp. 266-268; Roger A. Griffin, “Compromise of 1850,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/compromise-of-1850>; Seymour V. Connor, “Missouri Compromise,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/missouri-compromise>.



Early Shapes Without Texas

“In the Beginning...” – at least in the minds of early modern Europeans – Texas “...was without form and void.” To stress a biblical analogy further, one might say that “In the Beginning, there was [*not even*] the Word” *Texas* – again at least in European minds.¹ For example, the Nuremberg merchant-traveller Martin Behaim’s Globe of 1492-1494 does not include the Americas because Columbus’ discoveries there were not yet understood in Europe. The earliest map to show a new continent with the name “America” – believed to be Martin Waldseemüller’s 1507 *Mappa Mundi* or world map – hints at the possibility of a small passage west between large land masses that can be interpreted as South and North America. Not until 1519 – the year Hernán Cortés landed on the coast of Mexico – did a Spanish expedition consisting of four ships under Alonso Álvarez de Pineda follow and chart the northern gulf coast (the coast of the area that became Texas) to determine that there was no sea outlet west through the two continents (at least in what would soon be known as the Gulf of Mexico). Pineda’s ships apparently never stopped in what became Texas, but temporarily halted farther south at the mouth of the Panuco River by what is today the city of Tampico in southeastern Tamaulipas, Mexico.²

¹ The word “Texas” derives from the Spanish “Tejas” which derives from the Caddo word “Techas” meaning friend or ally. The name came into use by the Spanish only as early as 1689. Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 15. Compare Genesis 1:1-2, and John 1:1, *The Bible*, King James Version, 1611.

² Pineda’s map, housed in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, is among the earliest documented European cartographic evidence of Texas, but other European sailors and Hernan Cortes’ indigenous allies may have furnished earlier information. Cortes’ second letter to Emperor Charles V (Carlos I of Spain) published in Nuremberg in 1524 as *Praeclara Ferdinandi. Cortesii de Nova Maris Oceani Hispania Narratio* contains not only a plan of Mexico City but also the first printed map focusing upon the shape of the Gulf of Mexico.

7



7

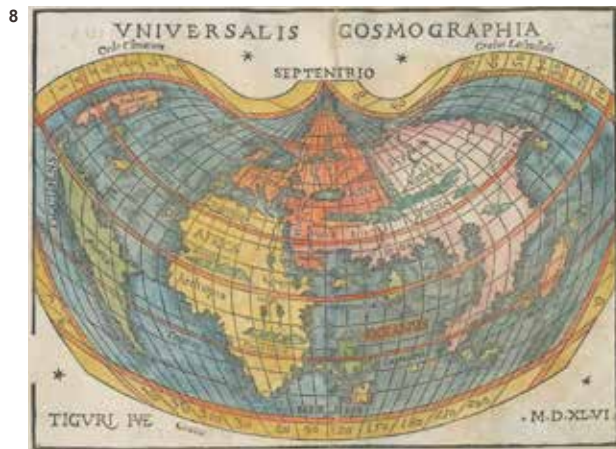
Martin Behaim, with the assistance of Georg Glockendon the Elder [*The Behaim Globe, or “das Erdapfel”*]

Ca. 1491-1494, paper with applied color, papier-maché, wood, and metal, 52.5 in. with stand (Full-size facsimile by Greaves & Thomas, London, of the original in the German National Museum, Nuremberg). *Purchase in Memory of Nancy-Jane Tucker David (1995-2017)*

Martin Behaim’s late fifteenth-century globe is famous as the world’s oldest surviving globe and is also recognized for what it does not show: the Americas (including, of course, the area that became Texas), Australia, and other lands. The globe shows only water with a few tiny islands between the coasts of western Europe and western Africa and the large island of Cipangu (Japan). Behaim (1459-1507), a Nuremberg merchant, had travelled to Lisbon and accompanied a Portuguese trade expedition along the west coast of Africa before returning to his hometown where friends and scholars encouraged him to produce the globe, partly based upon his own experience, but also upon then current Western knowledge about the world.¹ Along with the globe’s limited estimate of the earth’s size and circumference commonly accepted at the time of its construction, it is an outstanding example of the geographic concepts that inspired Christopher Columbus to sail west to reach the Indies. Columbus’ knowledgeable contemporaries never believed that the earth was flat – that was a nineteenth-century invention to dramatize his achievement and make Catholic authorities look ignorant.²

¹ Ernst G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim, His Life and His Globe* (London: George Philip & Son, Ltd., 1908).

² Matthew Edney, “Creating ‘Discovery’ The Myth of Columbus, 1777-1828,” *Terrae Incognitae* 52:2 (2020): 195-213.



8
Johannes Honter
Universalis Cosmographia

Woodcut engraving with applied color on paper, 12 x 16 cm, engraved by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, from *Rudimenta Cosmographica...* (Zürich: Christoffel Froschauer, 1546). 2007 358 GA 50/3

During most of the first two decades of the sixteenth century – years after the earliest New World discoveries, Europeans still knew little of the area that became Texas. This tiny world map dating from 1546, which closely conforms to the much larger 1507 cordiform (heart-shaped) wall map of Martin Waldseemüller, offers a visual idea of this ignorance.¹ As in Waldseemüller’s map, the two large land masses, soon understood as North and South America, do not connect, suggesting the original hope of some that there might be a western outlet through the Caribbean or perhaps the Gulf of Mexico. The latter may be indicated as an indentation in the landmass just above the two larger islands (Cuba and Hispaniola) in the Atlantic.

¹ Toby Lester’s *The Fourth Part of the World* (New York: Free Press (Simon & Schuster), 2009) provides an excellent introduction to Waldseemüller’s map. For Honter, see Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472- 1700* (London: The Holland Press, Ltd., 1984), pp. 97-98, no. 86; Robert W. Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius* (Chicago: Published for the Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis Press, 1993), pp. 49-63, 302-315.

9
Lorenz Fries after Martin Waldseemüller
Tabula Terra Nova

Woodcut engraving on paper, 28.7 x 41.5 cm. (including outside text), from Claudius Ptolemy, *Opus Geographiae* (Vienne near Lyons: Michael Servetus, 1541; originally published in Strasbourg by Johannes Grüninger in 1522). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 240045@13

The earliest version of this, a “Map of the New Land” or “Map of the New World,” by the geographer, scholar, and cartographer Martin Waldseemüller, appeared in his 1513 edition of Ptolemy’s *Geography*. Waldseemüller, it should be noted, was the man who first named America on a 1507 map in honor of the Italian explorer and writer Amerigo Vespucci who had first realized the landmass he encountered on a Portuguese expedition was part of a whole continent. Waldseemüller’s 1513 map was one of the earliest printed maps of America, which by the time of its publication Waldseemüller had realized was not first “discovered” by Amerigo Vespucci but instead credited to Columbus. Waldseemüller’s map already showed part of the landmass that would become New Spain including a tiny rendering of the coast around the Gulf of Mexico, which includes

portions of Mexico and present-day Texas. By 1513, before the expeditions of Cortés and Pineda, Europeans already understood the general shape, if not the vast size, of the Gulf, suggesting previous, unrecorded explorations by Spanish and perhaps Portuguese mariners in the last years of the fifteenth century. In 1522 Alsatian physician, astrologer, and cartographic editor Lorenz Fries created his own edition of Ptolemy, the woodcuts of which were reduced somewhat in size from those of Waldseemüller. Unlike Waldseemüller’s version, Fries’s included cannibals and an opossum-like creature, both reported by Vespucci.¹

¹ On Waldseemüller’s map see James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1999; originally published by the University of New Mexico Press, 1984), pp. 64-65, plate 1 and Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), p. 5-7, nos. 3 and 4 which also includes information on Lorenz Fries. For the latter also see Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (1993), pp. 191-199.



10
Sebastian Münster (1488-1552)
Tabula Novarum Insularum

Woodcut engraving with applied color on paper, 27 x 34.1 cm., from Claudius Ptolemy (second century A.D.), *Geographia Universalis* (Basel: Sebastian Münster, 1552; first published by Münster in 1540). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00566@128/12

In this famous map, the Spanish flag flies prominently in the West Indies, while the Portuguese flag dominates the south Atlantic – reflecting pronouncements by the Catholic Pope Alexander VI in 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal of 1494. These declarations divided the non-Christian world between the two countries and charged the Portuguese and Spanish rulers with the responsibility of bringing the non-Christian inhabitants into the Catholic faith. This is reputedly the first printed map to name the Pacific Ocean, and it is also among the earliest printed maps of the Western Hemisphere to show North and South America as separate but connected landmasses. It also gives a more accurate idea of the shape and size of the Gulf of Mexico than some of its predecessors. The map’s creator, Münster, was a German Catholic Franciscan theologian and priest (ordained in 1512) as well as cartographer, cosmographer, humanist, and scholar.

Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1993), pp. 15-17, no. 12; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1999;1984), p. 67, plate 2.

New Spain

The area that became Texas gradually took shape in the minds of Europeans as reflected on their maps during the sixteenth century. As a result of the pattern of early European exploration, the whole area initially fell under the presumptuous and nominal jurisdiction of the Catholic rulers of Spain. The origins and status of the indigenous peoples of those regions were intensely debated back in Europe. The Spanish rulers, who after Cortes' conquest of Aztec Mexico in 1519-1521, soon realized the need for a viceroy located in Mexico City and ordered a series of expeditions or *entradas* to enter and explore the area. The famous (and some now infamous or not so famous) Spanish explorers who led these included Pánfilo de Narváez, Fray Marcos de Niza, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Hernando de Soto, Luís de Moscoso Alvarado, and others.¹ Not all these set foot on the soil that became Texas, but each directly impacted Texas history. In 1546 the Spanish discovered a mountain of silver ore at Zacatecas and soon began spreading north from central Mexico with their indigenous allies, waging war for the rest of the century upon a diverse group of nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples – the Chichimecas – whom both the Aztecs and Spanish described as barbarians.²

¹ Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald Saxon, eds., *The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

² Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 24-35.



250 built rafts and attempted to sail these westward to Mexico along the northern Gulf shore. Lack of supplies, storms, and cold weather divided the group, with survivors of two of the rafts washing up on the Texas coast in November 1528. They likely first encountered indigenous coastal Atakapans or Karankawas.¹ These Indians, seeing the pitiable condition of the Spaniards, attempted to help and at one point even sat down with them to cry and commiserate, according to the author. After six years of living among them and other indigenous groups (sometimes as captives) and wandering thousands of miles (much of it in southern and western Texas), eventually only four men survived (including Cabeza de Vaca, two other Spaniards, and a Moor or “black” African slave named Esteban, Estevan, or Estevanico, a native of Azemmour in present Morocco) after they were eventually picked up by a Spanish patrol in northern Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain after this adventure and related his experiences which were collected as *la Relacion* and first published in 1542. He next served as a Spanish explorer and governor in South America and returned to Spain a second and final time.² This second edition from 1555 included Cabeza de Vaca's *Commentarios* (commentaries) on his South American experiences and appeared shortly before his death. Incidentally, following Cabeza de Vaca's Texas' adventures, his fellow survivor Esteban served as guide to Fray Marcos de Niza's *Entrada* into northern Mexico and New Mexico in search of rumored “seven cities of gold.” According to Fray Marcos, who was not an eyewitness, the Zuni killed Esteban in 1539 – but it is possible to believe Esteban merely escaped from the Spanish.³

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 1- 23 gives a good summary of “the First Texans.” According to him, the Atakapans resided in southwestern Louisiana and in southeast Texas from the Sabine to the San Jacinto Rivers. They hunted and fished, used alligator grease to protect themselves from mosquitoes, lived in nomadic bands, and, according to Choctaws and others, practiced ritualistic cannibalism. The Karankawa were a tall muscular people who lived in groups of thirty or forty, practiced hunting, fishing, and gathering, traveled in dugout canoes, lived in seasonal wigwams, and used bows and arrows.

² Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 27- 31 also summarizes the wanderings of the four survivors of the Narvaez expedition, but there are numerous books on Cabeza de Vaca. One of the more recent and scholarly is Rolena Adorno & Patrick Charles Pautz, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez* (3 vols.; Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

³ Dennis Herrick's *Esteban: The African Slave Who Explored America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018) is one of a growing number of studies and interpretations on the life of Esteban.

11

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca

La Relación y Comentarios...

(Second edition, Valladolid, 1555; first published in 1542 without the Commentaries). lvj numb. leaves, [4] p., lvij-clxiii numb. leaves. 19 cm., trimmed, with 17 missing leaves replaced by facsimile, in eighteenth-century leather and gold-leaf binding. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* E 123.N9

Widely considered the first printed account and description of the area that became Texas, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *La Relación* is an incredible survival saga. The author was a loyal subject of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (a.k.a. Spanish King Carlos I) whose Hapsburg family coat of arms appears on the woodcut title page. Cabeza de Vaca served as the treasurer on a Spanish expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez, a rival to Cortés, to explore the northern area of the Gulf of Mexico. Desertions, a hurricane, and other mishaps in Florida separated Narváez and his men from their ships, so about



12

Giacomo Gastaldi

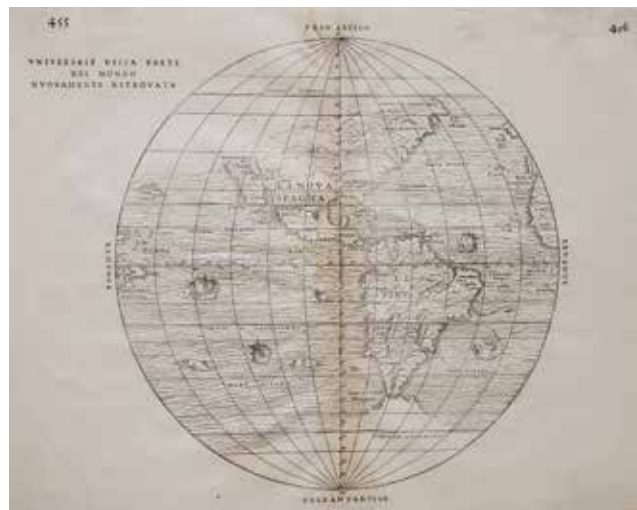
Nueva Hispania Tabula Nova

Copperplate engraving on paper, 13.5 x 17.5 cm., from *La Geografia di Claudio Ptolomeo Alessandrino* (Venice: Gioa Baptista Pedrezano, 1548). Gift of Dr. Jack Franke.

2019-403 GA50/47

Venetian Giacomo Gastaldi's map *Nueva Hispania Tabula Nova* for his 1548 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* was one of the most important early printed maps to show the area that became Texas. It was the first printed map to focus on New Spain and the first map of the area to be printed by the new copperplate engraving method which would dominate the map trade for more than two and a half centuries. The place names on the highly influential map reflected the latest discoveries in the region, including the explorations of Pineda, Cabeza de Vaca, DeSoto and Moscoso. The "*R[io]. Spiritu Santu*" (Mississippi River) appears. California is shown as a peninsula –one of the earliest depictions of California on a printed map (preceded on a printed world map by Sebastian Cabot in 1544). The "*R[io]. Tontonteanç*" is either the Gila or the Colorado River. Florida and Cuba are named. The Yucatan peninsula appears as an island, but this was soon corrected in his fellow Venetian Girolamo Ruscelli's map of 1561, which was otherwise quite derivative. Gastaldi's map was arguably the best printed map of the southwest dating from the mid-sixteenth century, and his maps for Ptolemy's *Geography* made him one of the most influential mapmakers of this period – a time when Italians still dominated European map printing. Not until 1570 with the publication of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in Antwerp did this begin to change, and not until 1597 with Cornelis Wytfliet's map of New Spain would there be a better regional representation on a printed map.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), pp. 21-22, no.17. On Gastaldi (1500-1566), see Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (1993), pp. 216-249 and David Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade, 1480-1650" in David Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography Volume Three Cartography in the European Renaissance*, part I (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 781-787.



13

Matteo Pagano after Giacomo Gastaldi

Universale della Parte del Mondo Novamente Ritrovata
[General Map of the Newly Discovered Part of the World]

Engraving on paper, 31 x 38 cm. (sheet), from Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* (3 vols.; Venice: Printed by Giunti, 1556), vol. 3, pp. 455-456.

2020-994 128/13

This Italian hemispherical view of the New World was the first printed map to include place names from Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's expedition of 1540-1542, the first major Spanish exploration or *Entrada* into what became New Spain's northwestern territories (and including what became the Texas panhandle). The map lists the names of some rumored "seven cities of gold" that Cabeza de Vaca and his three survivor companions believed indigenous peoples had mentioned – the pueblos of present-day Arizona and New Mexico. Coronado's "*Cibola*" appears to be Hawikuh, a Zuni ruin in what is today far western New Mexico. On this map "*Quivira*" appears to its northwest rather than to the northeast, in present Kansas, where Coronado's account located it. Also mentioned is "*Tiguas*" – the site of the Tiguex War of 1540-1541 between Coronado's men and the Puebloan Tiwas. Although Coronado source descriptions placed these people on both sides of the Rio Grande in present-day New Mexico, the map places them in what is now far western Arizona along a river like the mighty Colorado ascending north from the "*Mer del Vermiglio*" or Gulf of California. A pattern develops suggesting that the mapmakers positioned all the remaining pueblos "*Cucho*," "*Axa*," and "*Cicuich*" in the opposite direction (west) from what most scholars would have the Coronado narratives suggest. The "*Sierra Nevadas*" appear along the California coast in reference to Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo's voyage of 1542 (the first recorded European exploration of the coastline of the present state of California).¹ Venetian historian, geographer, translator, and editor Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557) commissioned the Italian astronomer, cartographer, and engineer Giacomo Gastaldi (ca.1500-1566) to produce the map for a collection of travels that included an account of Coronado's expedition, Fray Marcos de Niza's report (describing one of the Seven Cities of Cibola and the part played by Esteban), as well as information on Columbus, Balboa, Cabeza de Vaca, Cortés, Cabrillo, and others.²

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1994), p. 29, no. 24

² See Tooley's *Dictionary of Mapmakers* (2004), vol. 4, p. 11, on Ramusio; For Gastaldi see Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and their Maps* (1993), pp. 216-249.

14 _____

Girolamo Ruscelli after Giacomo Gastaldi

Nueva Hispania Tabula Nova

Engraving on paper, 19 x 25 cm., from *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, trans. by Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice, 1561).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

00384 128/12

Ruscelli's 1561 map of New Spain was an enlarged copy of fellow Venetian Giacomo Gastaldi's 1548 map of New Spain, but with a major difference: Ruscelli's map showed Yucatan correctly as a peninsula, not an island. Both were New World addendum maps for "modern" editions of the 2nd century Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemy's book on geography.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), p. 36, no. 31; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1999; 1984), pp. 68-69, plate 3; Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*: (1993), p. 222.

15 _____

Theodore de Bry after Joos van Winghe

[Atrocities Committed by the Spanish]

Engraving on paper, in Theodore De Bry after Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Narratio Regionum Indicarum per Hispanos...* (Frankfurt am Main: Theodore De Bry & Joannes Saur, 1598).

F1411.C462

Early encounters between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas, including the inhabitants of the area that became Texas, could be compared to what people today envision as encounters between inhabitants of two separate planets. Such groups must determine what shape relations should take and how their own ethics, laws, and customs apply to "the other" – often a painful process. As early as 1515, Spanish priest Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566) dared to condemn the mistreatment of the indigenous peoples by the Spanish conquistadors and colonists.¹ This is the first Latin edition and the first illustrated edition of Las Casas' most famous work, *Brevissima relacion...*, that first appeared in Spanish in 1552.² The illustrator, Flemish artist Joos van Winghe (1544-1603), fled Antwerp due to religious persecution and settled in Frankfurt am Main.³ Together, Las Casas' critique and Van Winghe's illustrations supported the Protestant anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic interpretations of history that became known as "the Black Legend," which alleged that Spanish Catholics were more bloodthirsty and crueler than their Protestant European and indigenous counterparts.⁴

¹ See Henry Raup Wagner and Helen Rand Parish, *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas* (University of New Mexico Press, 1967).

² Sabin, *Americana*, no. 11283.

³ "Joos van Winghe," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joos_van_Winghe, accessed 8/7/2022.

⁴ "Black Legend," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Legend, accessed 8/7/2022.

16 _____

Abraham Ortelius

America Sive Novi Orbis

Engraving with applied color on paper, 36 x 49.5 cm., second plate 1579, first engraved by Frans Hogenberg in 1570, from *Theatrum oder Schaubuch des Erdkreijs* (Antwerp: 1580 German edition; first published as *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570). *Gift of Virginia Garrett*

220022@24/4

Ortelius' first map of the Americas from the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (or "Theatre of the World" – what many consider to be "the first modern atlas") has been called the "great Renaissance summation of

the discovery and exploration of the New World." The importance lies not only in the information on the map itself but also the fact that Ortelius' atlases received wide distribution throughout Europe in numerous editions in multiple languages. Much of the information on the map came from Spanish charts, Diego Gutiérrez the elder's map of 1562 published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp (the first wall map of the Americas), and Ortelius' friend Gerard Mercator's world map of 1569 (also a large wall map). An accurate depiction of the Gulf of Mexico shows the "R. de S. Spirito" (Mississippi River) correctly flowing into it. Just northwest of this river appears the word "Capaschi" which perhaps refers to the Caddos or their allies encountered by Luis de Moscoso. Along what became the Texas coast may be seen a "R[io]. de Gigantes" (River of Giants), the latter referring to Pineda's description of eight-foot-tall Indians, perhaps the Karankawas, and a *C[abo]. Bravo* (Cape Bravo), possibly referring to a feature near the mouth of what became the Rio Grande. Just to the south is the mouth of the Panuco River where Pineda's ships sheltered. In the interior of what became Texas appear the "Terlichichi Mechi," a name probably related to the derisive Nahuatl term for the nomadic and semi-nomadic Chichimecas, roughly meaning "barbarians." The rivers of the area appear to flow generally southeast; however, a river in what soon became known as New Mexico – the "Tiguas rio" (possibly a confusion of the Rio Grande of New Mexico with the Colorado River of the west) – flows toward the Gulf of California, here called "Mar Vermejo" (Vermillion Sea). One of the most distinctive features of this early Ortelius map of the Americas is the bulge on the southwestern coast of South America (derived from Mercator's 1569 wall map). Ortelius would soon remove this misconception in a later edition (no. 17).¹

¹ See Dennis Reinhartz, "The Americas Revealed in the Theatrum," in Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer, eds. *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas* (Houten, Netherlands: Hes, 1998), pp. 209-220; Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps, An Illustrated Guide* (second revised edition; Houten, Netherlands: Hes & DeGraaf, 2011; first published 1996), pp. 62, 94; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 70-73, plate 4.

17 _____

After Diego Mendez or Didaco Mendezio,

Peruviae Auriferae Regionis Typus

After Jerónimo de Chaves

La Florida.

Unknown

Guastecan [three maps on one sheet]

Engraving with applied coloring on paper, 34.2 x 46.5 cm. (irreg.), from Abraham Ortelius, comp., *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1603; appearing for the first time with this map in 1584).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

00052 132/2

Ortelius' *Theatrum* included not only a world map and maps for the continents but also some of the first printed regional maps of the New World. The only one to include a part of the area that became Texas was the map *La Florida*. It appeared on the same sheet that also included a map titled *Peruviae Auriferae Regionis Typus* (northwestern South America and Panama) and a map titled *Guastecan* (northeastern Mexico, south of Texas). Ortelius credited the *Florida* map to Jerónimo de Chaves (1523-ca.1574), an important Spanish cartographer and cosmographer at the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) in Seville that kept the *padron real* (master map of the world) and controlled Spanish chart making and cartographic knowledge for the New World.¹ *La Florida* contains much information



from Hernando de Soto's *entrada* into what became the U.S. Southeast by way of earlier maps by Chaves and the so-called 'Soto Map,' by royal cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz.² It includes, of course, the Mississippi (*Rio del Spiritu Santo*) but perhaps along the coast of the area that became Texas, the *Rio del Oro* (River of Gold), the *Rio de Pescadores* (River of Fishermen), a *Costa Bara*, and the *Rio Escondido* (possibly the Rio Grande). West of the Mississippi are several villages "Xualatino," "Ayx," "Lacane", and "Nisoona" -- perhaps Hasinai Caddo or their allies mentioned by Luis Moscoso who continued to explore that area after de Soto died and was secretly buried in the Mississippi.³

¹ Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (1993), pp. 116-118.

² Reinhartz, "The Americas Revealed in the Theatrum," in Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, and Peter Meurer, eds. *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas* (1998), pp. 215-218.

³ See "Caddo Ancestors," *Texas Beyond History*, <https://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/tejas/ancestors/historic.html>, accessed 8/1/2022.

18

After Abraham Ortelius and Philip Galle

America sive Novi Orbis

Engraving on paper, 8 x 11 cm., in Ortelius, *Il Theatro del Mondo* [a plagiarized "Epitome Atlas"] (Brescia: Pietro Marchetti, 1598). 18 cm. Gift of Donald Sheff

G1006.T76 1598

The commercial success of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* invited further innovation and imitation. To make geographic information available to less affluent customers, Antwerp engraver Philip Galle, for the first time in 1577 (and probably with Ortelius' knowledge and permission), reduced and simplified the seventy maps of Ortelius' *Theatrum* to create a miniature version. Galle's miniature appeared under the title *Spiegel der Werelt* (Mirror of the World). It became quite popular and appeared in numerous editions in different languages and was copied and plagiarized throughout Europe. By 1588 the smaller editions were known as the *Epitome* (excerpt). This miniature atlas, printed in Brescia in northern Italy, was probably based upon Galle's 1593 Italian edition. Although Ortelius had already produced a newer version of his map of the Americas, this miniature edition still has the older version with the bulge in South America.

19

Abraham Ortelius

America Sive Novi Orbis

Engraving with applied color on paper, 35.2 x 48.5 cm., from *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: A. Ortelius, 1591; first published in 1587 with this version of the map).

900036 Bin 12

Ortelius and his engravers did not alter the area that became Texas in this later edition of his map of the Americas. The most significant change from the earlier map was the removal of the bulge along the southwest coast of South America.¹

¹ Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and Southwest, 1513-1900* (1999, 1984), pp. 72-73, plate 5; Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), pp. 79-81.



20

Michael Mercator

America Sive India Nova

Engraving with applied color on paper, 36.8 x 46.3 cm. (irreg.), from Gerard Mercator, *L'Atlas ou Meditations Cosmographiques de la Fabrique du Monde...* (Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius, 1609; first published in Latin in Duisburg by the Mercator family in 1595).

220022@24/4

This large hemispherical map of the Americas does not include much information about the area that became Texas, but it is surrounded by four roundels of which the one in the upper left depicts the Gulf of Mexico. The details in the vicinity of the Texas coast are similar to the ones on the Ortelius-Chaves map of the Americas. Michael Mercator (ca.1567-1600), a grandson of the great geographer, cartographer, and scholar Gerard Mercator, Sr. (1512-1594), engraved the map of the Americas for the Mercator family's *Atlas*. Unlike Ortelius' atlas, the Mercator work was composed entirely from maps originally compiled by Gerard Mercator, Sr. When the latter suffered a stroke in 1589 and died in 1594, his son Rumold Mercator completed the last part of the atlas known as *Pars Altera* with the help of other members of the family. In 1604 the Flemish engraver and publisher Jodocus Hondius the elder purchased the copper plates from the Mercator family, and the Hondius family continued to publish the atlas with this map for years afterwards.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), pp. 111-112, no. 87. The bibliography on the Mercator and Hondius families and their atlases is extensive, but see Cornelis Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici* (5 vols.; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., 1969), vol. II, pp. 136-146, 281ff and Josephine French, et al., *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers Revised Edition* (4 vols.; Putnam, Connecticut: Early World Press, 1999-2004), vol. 2, pp. 364-366; vol. 3, pp. 238-240.



21 _____

Jodocus Hondius the elder

America

Engraving with applied color on paper, 37.5 x 50 cm. from Gerard Mercator, *L'Atlas ou Meditations Cosmographiques de la Fabrique du Monde...* (Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius, 1609; first published in Latin in 1606). *Gift of Virginia Garrett*

00854 (1630 Latin edition illustrated here). 240055 Bin 5 (in the exhibit)

Although Jodocus Hondius the elder erroneously widened the shape of North America on this map of the Americas, he correctly reduced the width of the northern portion of New Spain. A large river much like the Rio Grande called the “R. Escondido,” beginning north near a village labeled “Nicona,” nearly encircles the northwestern, western, and southern portion of what became Texas, emptying into the Gulf below the “R Bravo,” the “R de madalen,” and the “C de Seuta.” The map often appeared side by side with Michael Mercator’s map of the Americas in the Mercator-Hondius atlases.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), pp. 182-184, no.150.

22 _____

Cornelis Wytfliet

Florida et Apalche

Engraving on paper, 23 x 29 cm., from Wytfliet, Antoine Magin et al., *Histoire Universelle des Indes Occidentales et Orientales et de la Conversion des Indiens* (Douai: chez Francois Fabri, 1611; first published in 1597). *Gift of Virginia Garrett*

00652 128/13

Flemish geographer, cartographer, engraver, and public servant Cornelis Wytfliet’s map *Florida et Apalche* combined elements from Chaves’ *La Florida* and the America maps in Ortelius’ atlases. Wytfliet’s map first appeared in his 1597 book *Descriptiones Ptolemaicae Augmentium*, considered the first atlas devoted to the Americas. Several reprints followed, including a French translation titled *Histoire Universelle des Indes...*, also reprinted until 1615. The directional flows of some rivers (“Loro,” “Gigantes,” and “Piscatores”) on the map increasingly run south and even south-southwest(!), but otherwise Wytfliet’s version adds no new features in the area that became Texas. The map is, however, like the Ortelius *La Florida*, one of the first printed maps to show inland features derived from first-hand European sources.

Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), p. 129, no. 104; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (1984 (1999)), pp.74-75, plate 6.

23 _____

Cornelis Wytfliet

Hispania Nova

Engraving on paper, in Wytfliet, Antoine Magin et al., *Histoire Universelle des Indes Occidentales et Orientales et de la Conversion des Indiens* (Douai: chez Francois Fabri, 1611; first published in 1597).

G 1100 .W914 1611 SpCo also 00652 128/13

The area that became Texas, here labeled “*Floridae Pars*,” does not conform to Wytfliet’s depiction of the same area in the previous map. The “*R[io] Escondido*” in the previous map (presumably the Rio Grande) is here the “*R. de Palmas*” or possibly unnamed and a “*R. Brabo*” appears farther northeast along with the “*R. del Oro*.” In 1598 – just a year after the map’s first publication in 1597 – the Spanish explorer, conquistador, and colonizer Juan de Oñate entered New Mexico from the south by way of the Rio Grande, which he named. Nevertheless, confusion about Texas’ rivers continued throughout most of the seventeenth century.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America I* (1996), p. 130, no. 105; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (1984 (1999)), pp.74-75, plate 6.

Seventeenth-Century Shapes of the Area that Became Texas

The diverse and conflicting European conceptions about the area that became Texas continued throughout the 1600s. The Spanish contributed to this speculation and ignorance in several ways: 1) through a lack of interest in this remote region during most of this period; 2) by keeping what knowledge they had to themselves; and 3) perhaps even by leaking misinformation. Their motives for this were clear: they wanted to keep the area free from other European intruders until, as they hoped, they could properly manage the area themselves. Spanish presence in neighboring areas was nevertheless already producing great changes among the indigenous peoples in Texas through the introduction of horses, cattle, manufactured trade goods and metals, and through the spread of largely invisible factors such as ideas and disease.¹

In Europe cartographers continued to question the general shape of the American continent. From 1625 until ca.1725, a cartographic error persisted on European maps that California was an island – this despite earlier maps that had shown Baja California correctly as a peninsula.² Also, despite maps beginning to show greater details along the *Rio del Norte* (northern Rio Grande) where Spanish settlement and colonization spread northward into New Mexico beginning with Juan de Oñate’s expedition in 1598, Europeans continued to believe this river flowed southwestward into the Vermillion Sea or Gulf of California. After the Spanish settlement of New Mexico, the trans-Pecos region of what became west Texas received northwest- and southeast-bound visitors and later – after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 – east-bound settlers from the west. These patterns of European settlement did not follow the westward “frontier” movement normally associated with European colonization and settlement of North America. Meanwhile, a thriving map trade, particularly in the European Low Countries, drove mapmakers to produce more and more maps that showed the area with increasingly elaborate and decorative schemes in order to satisfy a growing demand for maps among wealthy and middle-class consumers.³

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 35-54; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1999; 1984), p.77.

² See Neil Safier, “California as an Island,” in Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley, eds., *Cartography in the European Enlightenment Part 1, The History of Cartography Volume Four* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 237-238.

³ See Günter Schilder, “The development of decorative borders on Dutch folio maps,” in Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica VI* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Uitgeverij Canaletto/Repro-Holland, 2000), pp. 55-81.

24

Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas

Descripcion de las Yndias del Norte

Engraving on paper, 21 x 28.7 cm., in Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* (4 vols.; Madrid: Emprinta Real, 1601), vol. 2. E1411.H6 1601 v.2

Except for the general outline of the Gulf Coast, the area that abecame Texas is totally blank on this map from Spain’s official history of the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the Indies from 1601. Although the Spanish had considerable cartographic knowledge of many areas= in the Indies, Philip II’s historian Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas oversaw the production of simple, schematic printed maps such as this to give only general ideas of Spain’s extensive claims without divulging “secret” information to her enemies worldwide.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), p. 170, no. 141; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1999; 1984), pp. 76-77, plate 7.

25

Willem Jansz. Blaeu, Joan Blaeu, et al.

Americae Nova Tabula

Engraving with applied color on paper, 36 x 46 cm., first published in 1617, from Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1640-1655) or *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam, 1662). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00776 132/7

Famous as an example of a decorative *carte-a-figures* (map with figures) from the golden age of Dutch cartography, the Blaeu family’s single-sheet general map of the Americas did not add much to the cartographic knowledge of the area that became Texas. However, the map did place an arbitrary dotted-line boundary along the Rio Escondido and mountains in the interior which their colorists used to separate Florida from Hispania Nova (New Spain) in the southwest

and Nova Granada (New Granada) in the west and the continent’s interior to the north. First published in 1617 and part of the set of single-sheet general maps of the continent, it regularly appeared in Blaeu’s popular atlases from that time onward with few corrections. The figures and city views incorporated around the map derived from costume and travel books and such city views as published in Braun & Hogenberg’s mult-volume *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. These scenes do not include any indigenous peoples or cities, towns, or villages relating specifically to Texas (the closest being inhabitants of and a view of Mexico City). The Blaeus owed much of their success to their close connections with the Dutch East India Company.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 230-233; Van der Krogt and de Groot, in Schilder, ed., *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem* (2005), vol. 5, p. 499, no. 44:02.



26

John Speed

America with those known parts in that unknowne worlde...

Engraving on paper with applied color, 49.6 x 51.7 cm., by Abraham Goos, 1626, 4th state 1676, from John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London: Thomas Bassett and Richard Chiswell, 1676; first published by Speed in 1626). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00569 132/2

English historian, cartographer, surveyor, and print-seller John Speed (ca.1552-1629) originally had this map produced for his atlas – the first atlas of maps compiled by an Englishman. Originally engraved by Amsterdam engraver, map-seller, and cartographer Abraham Goos (ca.1590-1643), the plate changed hands several times.¹ No added information may be found in the area that became Texas, but Speed's map, unlike Blaeu's, now shows California as an island.

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 268-269; Worms and Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers* (2011), pp.268-269, 623; see also R.A. Skelton, "Bibliographical Note," in *John Speed A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World London 1626* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum: Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1966), pp. v-xiii.

running from east to west in an arc tending to the southwest. The few details along the Gulf Coast show a "Baya de la Sp. Santo" into which empties a confused network of rivers, including the "Rio de Spirito Santo" (Mississippi River). Further to the southwest, presumably along the Texas coast, are the *Rios de Montanhas, de Lazo, Buelo, Madalena, Soto,* and *Bravo*, as well as *C[abos](Capes) Deserto* and *Blanco*, and *Costas Baixa, Arboleda,* and *Pescadores*. It is quite difficult to determine to which actual rivers and features these names possibly refer.

Interestingly, there are two settlements labeled "S. Juan" and "S. Barbara" in the mountains of northern Mexico just south of what is probably Texas. The latter may refer to Santa Barbara, one of two villages founded by miners and ranchers in the 1560s and 1570s on tributaries of the Rio Conchos which flowed north to the Rio Grande. The first Spanish visitors to the pueblos of New Mexico since Coronado left from Santa Barbara in 1581.² To their northwest is a province labeled "Nueva Biscaya" and north of that another province called "Nueva Granada." Especially quaint are the decorative vignettes throughout the map: a buffalo or longhorn steer in what is now Texas, a buffalo in New Mexico, an elk just to the east of the presumed Rocky Mountains, a boar or razorback in what is now Arkansas, and a couple of horses in Kentucky, as well as representations of other animals and ships.

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 309-310, no. 245; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 78-79, plate 8; Peter van der Krogt and Erend de Groot, in Günter Schilder, *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem* ('t Goy-Houten, The Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2005), vol. 5, p. 501; Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici* ('t Goy-Houten, The Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 31-39;

² Campbell, *Gone To Texas* (2003), p. 37.

27



27

Johannes Janssonius and Henricus Hondius

America Septentrionalis

Engraving with applied color on paper, 46.8 x 55.2 cm., from Hondius and Janssonius, *Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam, first published in 1636).

Bin 14 82-337

This decorative and influential Dutch map exhibits the general state of European knowledge (and ignorance) about North America at the time of its first publication simultaneously in the 1636 Latin edition of the Hondius-Janssonius *Atlas Novus* and the 1636 Latin edition of the Mercator *Atlas*. Included repeatedly in the widely disseminated multiple editions of the *Atlas Novus* in Latin, French, German, Dutch, and Spanish as late as about 1665, the map had a considerable impact in spreading the myth that California was an island. It also continued to spread the misconception that the "Rio del Norte" originated in a large lake in a basin west of a semi-circular mountain range (the Rockies?) and an area labeled "Real de Nueva Mexico" (Kingdom of New Mexico) before it emptied into the "Mare Vermijo" (Vermillion Sea) which completely separates California from the mainland.¹ The area of present-day Texas is particularly sketchy and includes another intersecting mountain range



28

28

Nicolas Visscher after Pieter van den Keere and Abraham Goos

Americae Nova Descriptio

Engraving with applied color on paper, 44 x 56.8 cm. (including borders) (Amsterdam: Nicolas Visscher, 1650; first published by Pieter van den Keere in 1614).

2020-1062 132/5

Despite its later date, this beautiful single-sheet *carte-à-figures* of America first appeared in 1614 and, therefore, *did not* show California as an island. The cartography is based entirely upon Jodocus Hondius the elder's map of America from 1606 (see no. 21). In addition, the richly decorated border figures and vignettes are entirely based upon a 1608 wall map of America by Blaeu and contain nothing remotely pertaining to Texas other than the view of Mexico City.¹

¹ Günter Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica VI* (Alphen an den Rijn, The Netherlands: Uitgevermaatschappij Canaletto, 1986-1996, 2000), pp. 128-130.



29

Nicholas Sanson d'Abbeville
Amerique Septentrionale

Engraving with applied color on paper, 39 x 55.4 cm., third state, 1659, issued separately but possibly from Sanson, *Les Cartes Generales de toute les parties du Monde* (Paris: Pierre Mariette the younger, 1659; first published in 1650). 00062@132/2

Employing a sinusoidal projection, the influential French cartographer Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville (1600-1667) first created this landmark map of North America in 1650. His map added little or no significant information in the area that became Texas (other than now including the name “Quivira” further east than earlier maps had). Nevertheless, it first featured many details in the Great Lakes and New Mexico where, unlike in Texas, there had been considerable European exploration and mission work in the early 1600s. For example, many Pueblo villages in present New Mexico and Arizona now appear in recognizable form: *Taosy* (Taos), *Tigues* (Tewa), *Acoma*, *Zury* (Zuni), *Moqui* (Hopi), and for the first time there is Santa Fe (established in 1609). The map distinguishes four separate groups of “Apaches”: “Apaches de Peryllo”; “Apaches de Xila”; “Apaches de Navajo”; and “Apaches Vaqueros” east of the *Rio del Norte* of New Mexico.¹ The term “Vaqueros” literally meant “cow people” and suggests these indigenous Plains peoples hunted buffalo. Farther south but not along the *Rio del Norte* (that still erroneously flows into the “*Mar Vermelho*” (Vermillion Sea) separating the huge “isle” of California) may be found the *Iumanes* (Jumanos). The Jumanos were and still are a difficult to define indigenous group living along the Rio Grande between *Paso del Norte* and the Big Bend in the Trans-Pecos area of present-day Texas to which the Spanish referred from the time of Cabeza de Vaca well into the eighteenth century. Buffalo hunters, traders, farmers, and gatherers, they lived communally not in multi-storied houses like the Pueblos, but in individual adobe houses grouped together.²

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 375-377, no. 294; Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1980), pp. 111-112, plate 61; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest*, pp. 82-83; Peter L. Eidenbach, *The Atlas of Historic New Mexico Maps, 1550-1941* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), pp. 18-19; Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Francais* (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, 1984), p. 345.

² Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 20, 31.



30

Nicolas Sanson

Le Nouveau Mexique, et la Floride...

Engraving with applied color on paper, 31.3 x 54.6 cm., state 4, engraved by Jean Somer, from Sanson, *Les Cartes Generales de Toutes les Parties du Monde* (Paris: Sanson, 1679; first published in 1656). 2020-492 132/2

Sanson's map of New Mexico and Florida focuses upon what became the entire Southeastern, South Central, Southwestern United States (including Texas) as well as northern Mexico. With more space to note details than in the North America map (no.29), Sanson or his engraver moved some of the labels to different areas for greater accuracy. Not surprisingly, the creators of the map here moved the French claim to “*Canada ou Nouvelle France*” (Canada or New France) farther west and south, encroachment upon Spanish Florida. The name “*Terlichichi chime chi*” from Chaves and Ortelius appears once again. Overall, the map is quite similar to the depiction of the area in the North America map.

Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest*, pp. 82-83, plate 10; Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 412-413; Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Francais* (1984), pp. 387-389, 400-402, 406, no.87.

31

Mother Maria Jesus de Agreda, Juan de Sendin y Calderon and Jose Jimenez Samaniego

Mystica ciudad de Dios: Milagro de su Omnipotencia...

(Madrid: Printed by Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1701). 31 cm. BT604.M28 1701

The seventeenth-century Spanish settlement of New Mexico placed the Spanish in contact with the Jumano people living along the Rio Grande in the Texas Trans-Pecos region. This book, published in Madrid, chronicles a strange incident that occurred in 1629 when a group of Jumanos visited a Franciscan convent near present-day Albuquerque purportedly claiming that they had travelled there for religious instruction at the urging of a mysterious “Lady in Blue.” Amazingly, the Franciscans had just received a letter from a nun in Spain named Maria Jesus de Agreda, who often wore a blue cloak and who had fallen into hundreds of trances in the 1620s in which she dreamed she visited Indians on the northern frontier of New Spain. Some Catholic authorities took seriously her claim of miraculous bilocation, and priests visited the Texas Jumanos, but no mission was established. The incident is a fascinating story long associated with the indigenous west Texans.¹

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 38-39.

32

Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville

Audience de Mexico

Engraving with applied color on paper, 17.5 x 28.2 cm., in Sanson d'Abbeville, *L'Amerique, en plusieurs cartes nouvelles, et exactes, &c...* (Paris: chez Pierre Mariette, ca.1667-1683; first published in 1657). 25 cm. G1100.S3 1683

Sanson's quarto atlas of America contains maps of *Amerique Septentrionale* (or North America) very much like the map of 1650 (no. 29), *La Floride* (similar to no. 33) and this map of Mexico which has a small southern portion of what became Texas in the north labeled as *Floride*. The atlas contains other maps of French Canada, western portions of New Spain and California, Guatemala, South America, and the Caribbean.¹

¹ For information on the quarto atlas see Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Francais* (1984), pp. 392-394, Iic and Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 421-426.

33

Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville

La Floride

Engraving with applied color on paper, 18 x 25.5 cm., from Sanson d'Abbeville, *Curieuse Anmerkingen der bysonderste Oost en West-Indische...* (Utrecht: Joannes Ribbius, 1683). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00379 126/11

In Sanson's reduced map, seen here in an example from Joannes Ribbius' Utrecht edition of 1683, the presumed villages of the Hasinai Caddo and their allies west of the Mississippi mentioned by Moscoso include the old names from Chaves' map for Ortelius' *La Florida*: "Xualatino, Aix, Chillino, Lacane, Chagas, Nisoona."¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America II* (2007), pp. 198-200, no. 546; Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 422-424. See also "Caddo Ancestors," *Texas Beyond History*, <https://www.texasbeyonhistory.net/tejas/ancestors/historic.html>, accessed 8/1/2022.

and Dutch company cartographer Hessel Gerritsz (1580-1632), departs from the more decorated styles of maps common in the seventeenth century to concentrate upon as much accurate, verifiable information as possible. Due to a lack of reliable information, the cartographer did not show a northwest passage or even a northwest coast, and, despite recent and contemporary maps that showed California as an island, the cartographer did not succumb to this delusion either.¹

¹ Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 267, 284-285; Keuning (1949), pp. 61-2; Davis et al., *Going to Texas: Five Centuries of Texas Maps* (2007), p. 10, plate 3; Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998), pp. 167-168, 176-180. On Gerritsz. see also Johannes Keuning, "Hessel Gerritsz." in *Imago Mundi VI* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, Reprint edition, 1965), pp. 48-65.



35

35

Henry Briggs

The North Part of America

Engraving on paper, 29 x 35.5 cm., engraved by Reynold Elstracke, from Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), vol. 3, pp. 852-853. 2021-116 125/15

English mathematician Henry Briggs' map as engraved by Reynold Elstracke was the second printed map of a long line of maps to show California as an island, a misconception that, as they explain in text at the lower left, was based upon "a Spanish Chart taken by ye Hollanders." This was presumably a lost Spanish manuscript map by the Carmelite friar and amateur cosmographer Antonio de la Ascension who had in 1602 accompanied the California coastal reconnaissance of Spanish merchant Sebastian Vizcaino. Ascension was possibly unaware of earlier Spanish sources and maps that conclusively had shown Baja California to be a peninsula. The map labels the "Real de (Kingdom of) Nueva Mexico" and..., like other maps of its time, shows the *Rio del Norte* flowing south and southwestward.¹

¹ Neil Safier, "California as an Island," in Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley, eds., *Cartography in the European Enlightenment Part 1, The History of Cartography Volume Four* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp. 237-238. See also Glen McLaughlin, *The Mapping of California as an Island: An Illustrated Checklist* (Saratoga: California Map Society, 1995); Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 265; On Elstrack(e) see Worms and Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers* (2011), p. 215.

34



34

Johannes de Laet (1593-1649), Hessel Gerritsz (1580-1632), et al.

Americae sive Indiae Occidentalis Tabula Generali

Engraving on paper, 28 x 35.5 cm., from Johannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (2nd edition; Leiden, 1630; first published 1625). 88-154 25/8

This general map of the American continent, produced by geographer and Dutch West India Company director Johannes de Laet (1593-1649)

Cartographic Claims and Corrections, 1682–1718

Events of the late 1600s shaped Texas in numerous ways, and inaccurate maps helped shape some of the events. In neighboring New Mexico, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 temporarily forced the Spanish to retreat south to “*el Paso*” (the Pass) where the Spanish had already begun a settlement in the 1650s at present-day Ciudad Juarez. Farther downriver on the northeast side, the refugees and their indigenous allies in 1682 established the mission and pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta – the first permanent European settlement in Texas.¹ That year also, French explorer Rene-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, travelled down the Mississippi from *Nouvelle France* (New France or Canada) and reached the Gulf of Mexico, before he returned through the continent to France by way of Montreal. Naming his discoveries “*La Louisiane*” after the French King Louis XIV, La Salle was soon heading back to the New World with a four-ship expedition to establish a fort at the mouth of the great river whose location he had never properly determined. In February 1685, La Salle and his colonists overshot the Mississippi by hundreds of miles and instead landed near present-day Matagorda Bay Texas to establish their fort. After desperate attempts to locate the mighty river, one of La Salle’s men murdered him in March 1687, and the colony dispersed, many of the French being killed by, captured by, or having deserted to live among the indigenous people in the area. Meanwhile, rumors of the French colony spurred the Spanish to action; they sent several expeditions by land and sea to search for the French “intruders” in what has been termed Spain’s “Wilderness Manhunt.” Ultimately, La Salle’s misguided colony had an enormous impact upon Texas’ history because it rekindled Spanish interest in the area and led to disputed boundary claims that lasted for over a century and a half.²

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 39-41. ² Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 41-52

² Independent scholar Robert S. Weddle authored numerous books on these events and their repercussions that have generally stood the test of time: *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle* (1973); *Spanish Sea: the Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685* (1985); *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762* (1991); *The Wreck of La Belle and the Ruin of La Salle* (2001).

36



globemaker Father Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650-1718) and his French collaborator Tillemont (1620-1698), resulted from the centralization of information at the rising French court of King Louis XIV. A very important source for this printed map was a manuscript map drawn by Abbé Claude Bernou based upon information from a former governor of New Mexico (1661-1664), the self-proclaimed Comte, don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo (1621-1687). Peñalosa had been banished by the Inquisition for alleged misdeeds and had traveled to London and, by 1678, was in France where he offered his services to the French. Tillemont’s and Coronelli’s maps as published by engraver Jean-Baptiste Nolin and his son not only spread knowledge of many place names for the first time, such as “*el Passo*,” they also showed that the “*Rio del Norte*” and “*Rio Bravo*” were one and the same. The map lists numerous indigenous groups of people living along the southwest side of this quite permeable river, strongly supporting the idea that many of these peoples could also be considered early “Texans.” One particularly interesting toponym near the “*Moqui Peoples*” (Hopi people) out west is the town or village of “*Santa Fé de Peñalossa*” – apparently a fabrication.¹

¹ A second state of this map, dated 1742, has led some to underestimate its importance. See Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (1996), pp. 306-307; Peter L. Eidenbach, *The Atlas of Historic New Mexico Maps, 1550-1941* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), pp. 20-34-35; Shirley, *The Mapping of the World*, p. 547; Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West* (2 vols.; San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 43-66; Kessel, pp. 137; Paul E. Cohen, *Mapping the West: America’s Westward Movement 1524-1890* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), pp. 43-45; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 131, 148-149. For Peñalosa see Jack Jackson, *Flags Along the Coast: Charting the Gulf of Mexico, 1519-1759: A Reappraisal* (The Book Club of Texas, 1995), pp. 12, 42, 104, 126; Jack Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (2 vols.; Austin: Book Club of Texas, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 16-17.

36

Jean-Nicolas du Tralage (a.k.a. Sieur du Tillemont) and Vincenzo Coronelli

Le Nouveau Mexique appelé aussi Nouvelle Grenade et Marata, avec Partie de Californie: selon les Memoires les plus Nouveaux par le Pere Coronelli, cosmographe de la ssm. République de Venise; corrigée et augmentée par le Sr. Tillemont
Engraving and etching on paper with applied color, 44.6 x 59.4 cm., by Jean-Baptiste Nolin (Paris: Chez J. B. Nolin, 168[7]), first state. 83-151 Bin 14

Valuable geographic information about New Spain’s interior provinces was difficult to obtain, not only within the Spanish empire but particularly outside. This landmark map, credited to the renowned Venetian map and

Father Vincenzo Maria Coronelli

***America Settentrionale Colle Nuove Scoperti
fin all' Anno 1688...***

Engraving (hand colored) on 2 sheets of paper, 59 x 85 cm.; engraving on paper (left sheet only) 60.6 x 45.3 cm., from Coronelli, *Atlante Veneto* (Venice: Accademia Cosmografia degli Argonauti, 1690-1701).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

240059 24/6 (in exhibit) 142/7 00568 (in guide)

This is the left sheet of Venetian map and globemaker Father Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's two-sheet map of North America from his "Venetian Atlas." The map typifies the southwestern topography found on virtually all of Coronelli's famous globes based largely upon information compiled on his first trip to Paris in 1683-1685. Thanks to his visit to the French court of King Louis XIV, Coronelli was able to incorporate the latest information from La Salle's first expedition down the Mississippi in 1682 into a Gulf coastline harking back to Dutch cartographer Gessel Gerritsz. as published by Blaeu in the 1630s. Unfortunately, LaSalle had been unable to take accurate longitudinal readings with his astrolabe, his measurements for latitude were incorrect, and his compass had broken by the time he had reached the mouth of the great river. LaSalle and his assistants had confused the Mississippi with the Escondido (which scholars equate with the Nueces). Thus, Coronelli carefully weighed the sources available and concluded that the Mississippi flowed through what is now Texas! Thanks to information from the Spanish renegade and ex-New Mexico Governor Diego Peñalosa conveyed through the Abbé Claude Bernou, Coronelli correctly depicted the Rio Bravo/Rio del Norte (Rio Grande) flowing from New Mexico (see no. 36), but, like the respected French cartographer Nicolas Sanson, Coronelli accepted the widely-held notion that California was an island.¹ The map's engraver included marvelous vignettes of an indigenous village west of the Mississippi and dugout canoes in the Gulf of Mexico.

¹ Gene Rhea Tucker, "Coronelli's Texan Mississippi: A Reinterpretation of the America Settentrionale of 1688," *Terrae Incognitae* 40 (2008): 82-101; Jackson, *Flags Along the Coast* (1995), pp. 11, 12, 36, 104, 105, 118, 120.; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 16-17; Helen Wallis, intro., in *Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, Libro dei Globi*, Venice 1693, 1701 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), pp. V-XXI; Tooley's Rev. Ed., vol. 1, pp. 301-303. Massimo Donattini, *Vincenzo Coronelli e l'immagine del Mondo fra Isolari e Atlanti* (Ravenna: Longon, 1999); Ben W. Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands: Treasures from the Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library* (Arlington, Texas: UTA Libraries Special Collections, 2016), pp. 7-8, cat. no.2.



After Father Louis Hennepin

***Carte d'un tres grand Pais Nouvellement decouvert dans
l'Amerique Septentrionale entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la
Mer Glaciale avec le Cours du Grand Fleuve Meschasiipi...***

Engraving on paper, 18 x 34.5 cm., in Louis Hennepin, *Nouvelle
Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays situe dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht:

Guillaume Broedelet, 1697). 15.5 cm.

F352 .H74 1697 SpCo

After Father Louis Hennepin

***A Map of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the Northern
America situated between New Mexico and the Frozen Sea:
Together with the Course of the Great River Meschasiipi [sic.]***

Engraving on paper, 37 x 43 cm., from Hennepin, *A New Discovery of a
Vast Country in America Extending Above Four Thousand Miles Between
New France and New Mexico...* (London, 1698).

800525 Bin 12

These two maps represent French knowledge of the interior of North America after their initial explorations of the Great Lakes and the great river systems of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri. The maps attempted to combine the field knowledge of the French explorers with existing European maps showing the general shapes and positions of the continent's shorelines. Unfortunately, the results were highly distorted representations that did not reconcile proper latitude and longitude readings which were unavailable. The "Meschasiipi" (Mississippi) river enters the Gulf of Mexico in the area that became Texas, and the "Hohio" (Ohio) river joins the former in the area of present-day Waxahachie or Corsicana, below which appear vignettes representing wigwams labeled "Akansas" and "Cenis" (possibly Hasinai Caddo, a name subsequently appearing on a lot of French maps in the area of east Texas).

Father Louis Hennepin (1640-1701) was a Catholic Franciscan Recollect friar who accompanied French explorer La Salle to New France (Canada) in 1675. Hennepin worked as a missionary and became the first European to describe Niagara Falls and the St. Anthony Falls on the Mississippi near what is now Minneapolis, Minnesota.¹ After returning to France, Father Hennepin wrote what has been called "one of the most popular travel accounts of the latter part of the seventeenth century." The book, first published in 1683 as *Description de la Louisiane...*, gave the first account of La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi, the naming of "Louisiane," and Father Hennepin's own travels in the interior. The first map is in an update of Hennepin's book that includes a totally fictitious account of Hennepin's journey back upriver. Appearing along with the map is: a second general map of North America; an engraved frontispiece with a nude, looking more European than indigenous, holding a peace pipe in front of a river scene with canoes; the first engraved view of Niagara Falls; and an engraving of a bison and a pelican. The second map here came from the first English translation of Hennepin's 1683 account.²

¹ "Hennepin, Louis" in Raymond John Howgego, ed. *Encyclopedia of World Exploration to 1800* (Potts Point, New South Wales, Australia: Hordern House, 2003), pp. 499-500

² Burden, *The Mapping of North America II* (2007), pp. 211-213, 447-451, nos. 738, 739; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (1980), pp. 128-130, plate 73.

40

Artist Unknown

Cavalier de la Salle

Photoengraving on paper, 11 x 8 cm., engraved by Charles Albert Waltner, printed by Lemerrier, Paris, in Eugène Guénin, *Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1898), opposite p. 1. 18.5 cm. F1030.5 G84 Garrett

The origin or accuracy of this image of La Salle that circulates widely today on the internet is difficult to determine. This 1898 photoengraving from a French series titled “*Les Hommes d’action*” (Men of Action) is apparently the earliest in UTA’s collection.

41



41

Nicolas de Fer

Les costes aux environs de la riviere de Misisipi: decouvertes par Mr. de la Salle en 1683 et reconnues par Mr. le Chevallier d’Iberville en 1698 et 1699

Engraving and etching with applied color on paper, 22.5 x 34 cm., engraved by Vincent de Ginville, 1701, from Nicolas de Fer, *L’Atlas Curieux* (Paris: Nicolas de Fer, 1700-1705). 20/1 900017

French *geographe du Roi* Nicolas De Fer’s deceptively simple map of 1701 was a major improvement over earlier printed maps of the Gulf coast area. It incorporated much new information from the recent 1698 and 1699 French Louisiana expeditions of Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d’Iberville, and his brother Jean Baptiste, and it emphasized the earlier explorations of La Salle in the area that became Texas. Importantly, it drew upon a new and more accurate placement of the Mississippi farther east credited to his gifted young French *geographe* rival Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726), considered the most important European cartographer of the early eighteenth century. De Fer’s engraver Vincent de Ginville included interesting vignettes of La Salle’s tragic murder and that of his assassin in the cartouche, which tends to draw the viewer’s attention away from the map itself. Like his competitors the Delisles, De Fer studied manuscript maps from the French expeditions as well as copies of earlier Spanish maps. He

includes new details such as La Salle’s fort off Matagorda Bay, a Hasinai Caddo village visited by La Salle to the north, and the Spaniard Alonso de León’s route from the southwest to find La Salle. He based the latter route upon the Abbé Bernou’s copy of Carlos de Sigüen y Gongora’s map of 1689. De Fer also used Juan Bisente del Campo’s copy of Spanish mapping efforts along the coast by Juan Enríquez Barroto. The French had found Bisente’s chart along with two French survivors of La Salle’s expedition in 1697 when they captured a Spanish ship.¹

¹ More discussion of the De Fer family and this map may be found in Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 11-12, which utilized information from: Jackson, *Flags Along the Coast* (1995), pp. 13, 36, 37, 39, 44, 46, 48, 53, 54, 59, 119, 120, 121, 122; Seymour I. Schwartz and Henry Taliaferro, “A Newly Discovered First State of a Foundation Map L’Amerique Septentrionale,” *Map Collector* 26 (March 1984): 2-6; and Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 90-91.

42

Guillaume Delisle, with cartouches by Charles Simmoneau the Elder

Carte du Mexique et de la Floride des Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles: du Cours et des Environs de la Riviere de Mississipi Dressée sur un grand nombre de mémoires principalemt. sur ceux de Mrs. D’Iberville et le Seur

Engraving and etching with applied color on paper, 49 x 66 cm. (Paris: Ph. Buache, 1745; first published 1703). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00468 141/3

In 1700, the young French cartographer Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726) produced the first printed map of North America that more accurately pushed the Mississippi River farther east of the area that became Texas and helped dispel the myth that California was an island (UTA 2017-530).¹ Delisle soon produced this 1703 map, seen in this virtually identical 1745 reissue by his son-in-law and successor Philippe Buache. It shows many Caddo, Wichita, and Atakapan groups (which he and his sources attempted to spell phonetically in French) along rivers in Louisiana and what became Texas labeled “Rouge” (Red), “Swora” (Sabine), “Cenis” (Neches?), and “Maligne” (Trinity?). Farther south, more Texas rivers empty into the Gulf, with a “*village des Ebaham nation errante*” – apparently a village belonging to a nomadic people. Delisle’s maps were among the first printed maps to give a good general idea of the course of the Mississippi River and some of its major tributaries.¹ Delisle included information from d’Iberville’s and La Salle’s explorations, Spanish texts, Coronelli’s (Penalosa’s) New Mexico, Bisente’s chart, and Sigüenza’s map. Delisle’s maps were widely copied and distributed throughout Europe for much of the eighteenth century.

¹ For a more thorough overview of French mapping, the Delisles, their rivals, and their maps see Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers of the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 9-16. Also see Jean Delanglez, “The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703,” *Mid-America* 25:4 (October 1943): 275-298; Jackson, *Flags Along the Coast* (1995); Jackson, *Shooting the Sun*, pp. 39-41; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 92-93, plate 14; William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Third Ed., Rev. & enlarged by Louis De Vorse, Jr. (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 193-195, 270-272. On Buache see *Tooley’s Dictionary of Mapmakers* Rev. Ed., vol. 1, pp. 203-204; Mary Sponberg Pedley, *Imago Mundi* 36 (1984): 48-63.



43

Henri Joutel

Carte Nouvelle de la Louisiane et de la Riviere de Missisipi, decouverte par feu Mr. de la Salle, annees 1681 et 1686, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale...

Engraving on paper, 36 x 39 cm., in Joutel, *Journal Historique du Dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe du Mexique...* (Paris: chez Estienne Robilot, 1713), following p. xxxiv. F1030.5 J68 1713 SpCo

Henri Joutel (ca.1643-ca.1725) was La Salle's most trusted lieutenant and left the best account of the latter's failed third expedition.¹ This beautiful map from the 1713 edition of Joutel's *Journal* includes information from Father Hennepin's account of the second expedition (including an interpretation of the image of Niagara Falls that appeared in Hennepin's work), vignettes of bison, ships, and a wonderful cartouche consisting of two indigenous warriors holding up a bison robe. More importantly, it has a fine, although out-of-scale, enlarged rendering of Matagorda Bay, and a detailed key describing rivers in Texas and beyond. Thanks to hard-earned information from Joutel and other sources, the map places the Mississippi more correctly to the east.

¹ Weddle, *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762* (1991). *The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henry Joutel 1684-1687*, edited and with an introduction by William C. Foster, translated by Johanna S. Warren (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998).

44

Guillaume Delisle

Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Missisipi Dressée sur un grand nombre de Memoires entr'autres sur ceux de Mr. Le Maire par Guillaume Del'isle de l'Académie Rle. des Sciences.

Engraving with applied color on paper, 49.5 x 66 cm. (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1718). Bin 13/3 220001

Delisle's highly controversial and influential "Map of Louisiana and the Course of the Mississippi" first appeared in 1718 – the same year the French established New Orleans and the rival Spanish established San Antonio. It announced to the world the French claim to much of the North American continent: the word "*Louisiane*" now covers a lot of territory whereas the word "*Floride*" – a name with too much similarity to Spanish "*Florida*" found on Delisle's 1703 map has now disappeared, and the British colonies are confined and restricted to the east coast.

The map provides a lot of contemporary and historical detail related to Texas: eleven rivers; trails; locations for various indigenous groups; and important sites such as *Natchitoches* (the most western French post, established in 1714), *Adaie* (Los Adaes, which became Spain's most eastern outpost), *Les Cenis* (Hasinai Caddo village or villages), and *Naouadiches* (Nacogdoches). It was, in fact, the first printed map to mention a form of the word *Texas*: the Spanish "*Mission de los Tejas*" (reestablished in present-day east Texas in 1716 after an earlier attempt there in 1690).¹ Especially ominous for future Native-American and European relations (since repeated many times by other European cartographers) is a label that would soon come to haunt the coastal-dwelling Atakapas and Karankawas: "*Indiens errans et Antropophages*" or "Wandering Indians and Man-eaters."

The map benefitted from a series of manuscript maps compiled, drawn, and sent to France by François Le Maire, a French missionary in Louisiana, who had interviewed the French trader Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis sometime around 1716. Saint-Denis (1674-1744) had traveled through Texas deep into Spanish territory and down to Mexico City between 1713 and 1716, and he returned to the Rio Grande in 1716-1717. Delisle's map shows both routes, roughly the upper and lower *Camino Real* or Old San Antonio Road. Delisle also depicted La Salle's ill-fated fort along the Texas coast, the site of his assassination, and Spaniard Alonso de Leon's route through south Texas in search of La Salle in 1689. Farther east, Delisle also attempted to show the routes of Hernando de Soto in 1539-1541 and his successor Luis de Moscoso Alvarado in 1542-1543. These historical reconstructions strongly suggest the influence of Delisle's father Claude Delisle, who was a historian and geographer.²

¹ Taliaferro, Kenamore, and Haller, *Cartographic Sources in the Rosenberg Library* (1988), p. 68.

² Jackson, *Flags Along the Coast* (1995), pp. 12-133, sic passim; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 39-474n, sic passim. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Third Ed., Rev. & enlarged by Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 212-214; Huseman, *Paths to Highways: Routes of Exploration, Commerce and Settlement* (Arlington, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, 2016), pp. 9-10, no. 8. For a longer discussion and further references on Delisle, his father, and their working methods see Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands: Treasures from the Virginia Garrett Cartographic Library* (Arlington, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, 2016), pp. 14-16, no. 12.

Deceptive Shapes on Eighteenth-Century Maps

Lines drawn on maps of the eighteenth century represent French and Spanish claims to the area that became Texas. They were simply that and usually did not reflect actual ownership, settlement, jurisdiction, religious, military, or civil power, although they often imply otherwise. Throughout the century, Spain attempted to establish or maintain colonial control of the area through military or secular and religious means. However, Spanish officials could never find enough colonists willing to emigrate, and, with the exceptions of a few isolated pockets of Spanish missions (which often met with only limited successes) and *presidios* (forts) along the Rio Grande, around San Antonio, Goliad, and in east Texas, the real powerbrokers in the area that became Texas during the century were its indigenous peoples. Their understanding of land ownership and power and their concepts of mapping were quite different from the Europeans. Maps and documents often do not well represent this actual indigenous power and presence – factors that were little understood even by Europeans living and traveling along the frontier at that time.¹

Many of the best maps of the eighteenth century of the area that became Texas were produced by the rival French and Spanish. The latter had good mapmakers as well as access to the area that became Texas, and their maps reflect the dual role of the Catholic Church and the Spanish state. However, the Spanish rarely published maps, and, therefore, both Spanish manuscript (hand drawn) and printed maps were and are much rarer and more difficult to obtain than printed maps by other European mapmakers. Although the French had less access to the area that became Texas, French *geographes* (scholarly cartographers) gained some of their information through captured Spanish manuscript maps and French forays into Texas led by La Salle, St. Denis, and others. The French dominated European mapmaking for most of the eighteenth century. British, Dutch, and German mapmakers, map-publishers, and map-sellers – who started their careers as tradesmen – merely copied published maps by several of the more prominent French cartographers who often received Jesuit training and government sponsorship and subsidies.²

¹ A continuously growing literature incorporating indigenous peoples into and completely revising the older narrative of Texas history includes Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in Association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2007) and Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in Association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2008).

² Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016) references many excellent sources on this subject.

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Johann Baptist Homann

Amplissima Regio Mississippi seu Provinciae Ludovicianae a R. P. Ludovico Hennepin Francisc Miss in America Septentrionali Anno 1687. detectæ, nunc Gallorum Colonia et Actionum Negotiis toto Orbe celeberrimæ Nova Tabula

Engraving with etching (hand colored) on paper, 47 x 57 cm. (Nuremberg: J. B. Homann, ca.1720) Gift of Virginia Garrett

134/8 00675

Like the Englishman John Senex, the Nuremberg mapmaker Johann Baptist Homann copied French cartographer Delisle's 1718 *Carte de la Louisiane* without citing it (see nos. 3, 44). Two important events that year (1718) soon impacted the area that became Texas and its maps: the French establishment of New Orleans and the Spanish movement of an earlier mission along the Rio Grande to the area of present-day San Antonio, which became known as San Antonio de Valero. Just as in Delisle's map, Homann's shows the French claim to much of the North American continent and lots of contemporary and historical detail on the area that became Texas and elsewhere: rivers, routes and trails, and locations for various indigenous groups. Once again there

The People of Texas

Virtually Invisible before the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did a few prints after Euro-American eyewitnesses begin to record the diverse peoples of Texas – indigenous or otherwise – with any kind of empathetic understanding or realism. True, there are scattered paintings and sketches of a small number of individuals, but these one-of-a-kind images were not published or reproduced until the twentieth century. Nonetheless, nineteenth-century prints, based upon sketches or paintings by eyewitnesses of the 1800s together with maps and documents of the eighteenth century or 1700s, can help some in our understanding of the era particularly when combined with techniques employed by disciplines such as archaeology and anthropology.

are the same references to La Salle, De Leon, St. Denis, Moscoso, De Soto, various Caddo, Wichita, Atakapan, Karankawa, and other indigenous people. Homann employed a distinctive baroque cartouche and insets, but even these were creatively derivative. In the upper left, the cartouche designer added an image of a French soldier and the French Catholic Franciscan Recollect missionary and explorer Father Louis Hennepin, whom Homann credits for having “discovered” the area in the full Latin title. This translates roughly: “The Grand Region of Mississippi or the Province of Louisiana discovered by R. P. Louis Hennepin, French Missionary in North America in 1687, now famous throughout the World for the Colonies and Trading Activities of the French.” The nude “Indian” with peace pipe from the Utrecht edition frontispiece of Father Hennepin’s Journal may be seen at left and the bison head from the 1713 Joutel map’s cartouche. Below all this is a portion of Niagara Falls which Father Hennepin was the first to sketch (see nos. 38, 39, 43). For years the Homann firm was virtually the only publishing house exclusively dedicated to maps in the German-speaking world; it flourished throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries.¹

¹ See Christian Sandler, *Johannes Baptista Homann, die Homännischen Erben, Matthäus Seutter und ihre Landkarten : Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kartographie* (Amsterdam : Meridian Pub. Co., 1979), especially pp. 42-48, which cites the Nürnberger Rathsverlass for the years 1687-1696; also see Markus Heinz’s thorough and excellent, “Die Geschichte des Homannischen Verlages,” in “*auserselene und allerneueste Landkarten*” *Der Verlag Homann in Nürnberg 1702-1848* (Nürnberg: Stadtmuseums Fembohaus and W. Tümmels Buchdruckerei and Verlag GmbH & Co., 2002).

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Artist Unknown

Witchitaw[sic.] Village on Rush Creek

Toned lithograph on paper, 12 x 18.5 cm., by H. Lawrence, in Randolph B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River in Louisiana in the Year 1852... assisted by George B. McClellan...with Reports on the Natural History of the Country*. 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Ex.Doc.No.54 (Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, public printer, 1853). 33.3 cm. F377 .R3 U5 1853 Map Rm

This lithograph from 1853 is one of the earliest printed images of an indigenous village typical of the kind found in east Texas from the time the Europeans first arrived well into the nineteenth century. The Wichita and other Caddoan speaking peoples of east and north central Texas resided in large villages with such structures and practiced agriculture. The east Texas Caddos were hospitable to the first Spanish and French visitors to their territories, and they took in some of the survivors of La Salle’s colony. The Spanish word “*Tejas*” from which *Texas* was derived came from the Caddo word for “ally” or “friend.” Interestingly, the unnamed artist who made the original 1852 sketch on Rush Creek for this image (in what is now south-central Oklahoma) was possibly one of the officers of this expedition including the commander Captain Randolph B. Marcy or a young Lieutenant George B. McClellan.

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Francisco Alvarez Barreiro (attrib.)

Plan del Presidio de N.S. del Pilar de los Adays, en la Frontera de los Texas...

Etching on paper, 29.5 x 41 cm., by Francisco Sylverio de Sotomayor, in Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la expedicion en la provincia de los Texas...* (Mexico City, 1722). F389 .P46 1722

This plan of a Spanish fort or *presidio* is one of four that appeared in the printed account of the Marqués de Aguayo’s expedition into Texas of 1721, written by the expedition’s Chaplain Major, Juan Antonio de la Peña, and printed and published in Mexico City in 1722. This 1721 Spanish expedition answered an earlier French incursion into Spanish territory in what is now western Louisiana in 1719 during the War of the Quadruple Alliance (Britain, France, Austria, and the Dutch vs. Spain in 1718-1720).¹ In the plan, with a scale in “*baras*” (*varas*), the hexagonal fort has three bastions named for Saints – Joseph, Michael (*Miguel*), and James (*Santiago*) – which were intended to mount two cannons each. The plan also shows ditches (outside the wooden palisades) and ramparts (within) with doorways and other openings. An “*arroyo permanente todo el ano*” (creek with year-round water) appears at right along with a few whimsical representations of trees, a bear, and a deer. The Marqués de Aguayo, a wealthy Spanish landowner and governor of Coahuila, headed a combined force of Spanish soldiers, missionaries, civilians, and Indians. They re-established the mission and built a fort or *presidio* out of wood and earth, but not necessarily according to the original plans included here. Located near the eastern end of the *Camino Real* (royal road) and today in what is now Louisiana, the isolated mission and fort at Los Adaes faced the French Fort St. Jean Baptiste near Natchitoches on the Red River. The mission and fort served as the easternmost outpost of the Spanish province of Texas until 1772 after France had ceded western Louisiana (*Luisiane*) to her Spanish ally following their defeat by Britain in the Seven Years War (1756-1763).

The four plans in de la Peña’s booklet were apparently based on original sketches in the Archives of Seville. These are possibly the work of the Spanish military engineer Francisco Álvarez Barreiro (active 1716-1729) who accompanied the 1717-1718 expedition into Texas, led by Martin de Alarcon, that established the *presidio* and

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settlement of San Antonio de Valero and resupplied the six missions of east Texas. Barreiro later accompanied Brigadier Pedro de Rivera's 1724-1728 inspection tour that traversed much of the northern frontier including, again, Texas. Eventually, he produced at least six manuscript maps of the Spanish provinces.

¹ Richard G. Santos, *Aguayo Expedition into Texas / 1721: An Annotated Translation of the Five Versions of the Diary Kept by Br. Juan Antonio de la Peña* (Austin, Texas: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1981); James L. McCorkle, Jr., "Los Adaes," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/nfl01>; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 54-82.

² For a more thorough discussion of this plate and its creators see Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 25-26, citing *Handbook of Texas Online*, Donald E. Chipman, "Alvarez Barreiro, Francisco," accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/falaa>; Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands* (1977), pp. 49, 53-57; Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794* (2 vols.; Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937), vol. 2, pp. 326-329; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 54-82, 237-242; Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Printmakers in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City: Francisco Sylverio, Jose Mariano Navarro, Jose Benito Ortuno, and Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas* 78(2001): 221-234; Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Gabados y grabadores en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Ediciones Arte Mexicano, 1949), p. 531.

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Artist Unknown

Father Antonio Margil de Jesus

Engraving on paper, 18.5 x 13.5 cm., from Esidro Felix de Espinosa, *El peregrino septentrional Atlante: delineado en la exemplarissima vida del venerable padre F. Antonio Margil de Jesus ...* (Mexico City: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1737). 20.5 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett BX 4705 M3252 Garrett*

While forts or presidios and state officials represented Spanish military power, missions and missionaries represented the spread of Catholic religious ideas and influence. Franciscan Father Antonio

Margil de Jesús (1657-1726), the founder of Mission San José in San Antonio (established in 1720), could be considered 'Texas' most famous early Christian missionary. Before coming to Texas to establish two east Texas missions in 1716, he had worked in Yucatán, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Mexico, where in 1707 he had founded the missionary College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. He returned to Mexico in 1722.¹ Although its title emphasizes the Zacatecas College, this Mexico City engraving purporting to depict the reverend father with four indigenous converts *might* qualify as one of the earliest printed images of a European in Texas as well as the earliest printed image representing indigenous people in Texas.

¹ Donald E. Chipman, "Margil de Jesus, Antonio," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed 8/5/2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/margil-de-jesus-antonio>; Donald E. Chipman and Harriett Denise Joseph, *Notable Men and Women of Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), pp. 62-82.

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Emanuel Bowen

A New & Accurate Map of Mexico or New Spain

together with California, New Mexico &c. Drawn from the best Modern Maps & Charts & Regulated by Astronl. Observns.

Engraving with etching and applied color on paper, 36 x 43 cm. (London, 1752). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 127/10 00564

Engraver, cartographer, publisher, and print seller Emanuel Bowen was one of the most prolific British mapmakers of the middle eighteenth century, and his 1752 map of Mexico contains some interesting details relating to Texas.¹ His map shows Santa Fe along the 101st meridian instead of its actual location along the 105th, with the result that New Mexico lies four degrees of longitude east of its true location, and the area of present west Texas is considerably condensed. Nevertheless, he shows three Spanish sites in the trans-Pecos area – "F. t. George," "St. Christoval," and "S. Pablo" – as well as "el Paso," "La Conception," "Assumption," "Corpus Christi," and "Presidio del Norte or S. John Baptist" on the other side of the "Rio Bravo or del Norte." The cartouche was apparently based upon an older Dutch image originally intended to show a Spaniard enslaving a couple of dark-skinned people. Such images, when repeated on maps and images of New Spain, contributed to the Spanish "Black Legend" – the idea that the Spanish treated people with greater cruelty than their Anglo-Protestant peers.²

¹ Iolo Roberts and Menai Roberts, "Bowen, Emanuel," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3035>, accessed 6 July 2016]; Worms and Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers*, pp. 96-100; Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, pp. 78-79.

² This image dates at least back to 1729 when Peter Van der Aa included an identical image on his cartouche of a map of Mexico or New Spain appearing in Abraham du Bois' *La Geographie Moderne*, published in Leiden at that date. Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), p. 37, no. 47.

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Thomas Kitchin

Chart of the Western Coast of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to eleven Degrees of North Latitude: including the Canary & Cape Verd Islands

Engraving on paper, 25 x 20 cm. (trimmed) (London 1750s?), Chart I, Vol: I, no. XI. *Gift of Dr. Jack Franke* 2019-454 117/1

What does this small map of west Africa have to do with an exhibit on Texas? The answer should be, "Actually, more than one might think."¹ From the early 1500s the Spanish brought Moorish slaves to the New World (Esteban, a Moor, whose family probably originated from northwest Africa, arrived in Texas in 1528 with Cabeza de Vaca and the survivors of the Narvaez expedition, see cat no. 11). Soon Europeans transported millions of enslaved people, primarily from West Africa

to the Americas, so that by the nineteenth century a portion of these were in Texas. But these are not the only connections to West Africa. On March 9, 1731, fifteen families totaling fifty-six people from the Spanish-owned Canary Islands off the coast of West Africa arrived in San Antonio as new Texas colonists. Their tremendous journey, like many other African- and European-Texans, had entailed travel over land and sea by way of the Atlantic, Havana in Cuba, Veracruz, Mexico City, and Monclova, just to name a few stops.²

¹ UT Arlington Libraries Special Collections acquires maps of Africa, particularly West Africa, because of its connection with Texas. Thanks to Dr. Jack Franke (UTA alum, class of 1987) we have one of the finest collections of early maps of this area in the United States.

² See "Canary Islanders," Handbook of Texas Online, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/canary-islanders>, accessed 8/5/2022, and Jesus F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

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After Arthur Schott
Lipan Warrior

Chromolithograph on paper, 24 x 14.5 cm., by Sarony, Major & Knapp, New York, from William H. Emory, *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey* 34th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Ex. Doc. 108 (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer, 1857-1859), vol. 1, opp. p. 78.

As Spanish colonists moved north into southern, central, and western Texas, one of the more important indigenous groups they encountered were the Apache, among the most southern of the Athabaskan speakers whose territory stretched as far as Alaska. The Apache had migrated south in prehistoric times, mostly on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, and then had spread out south into Texas and west into New Mexico and what is now Arizona. The nomadic Apache lived in small familial bands, practiced some agriculture, and had

been among the first to adopt horses and European weapons which they acquired by trade or by raiding the towns and ranchos of the Pueblo Indians and others. During the eighteenth century, however, the Apache soon found themselves under pressure from even more powerful enemies to the north – the Comanche – who did not practice agriculture at all and had perfected the use of horses and the strategy of raiding others for what supplies they needed.

This chromolithograph of a Lipan Apache warrior is based upon a sketch made in southwest Texas, perhaps in the fall of 1851, by Arthur Schott (1814-1875), a recent German emigrant, artist, and trained botanist attached to the U.S. government's U.S.-Mexican Boundary Survey which was completed under the direction of Major William H. Emory.



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Christian Schuessele after Seth Eastman
Mission Chapel of San Jose, near San Antonio, Texas

Chromolithograph on paper, 14 x 20.5 cm., in John Hart, ed., *The Iris, An Illuminated Souvenir for 1852* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), opp. p. 151. 24 cm. AY11 .I6 1852

The Spanish missions in and near San Antonio are among Texas' oldest surviving structures. Founded in 1720, Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo's restored building dates from 1768 when the first stone was laid for a new church. Much of the labor in the construction was indigenous. Three more missions, originally established in east Texas, moved nearby in 1731: Missions Purisima Concepcion, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de Espada. Mission San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo) dates from 1718 with the founding the town of San Antonio.¹ Although restored and administered today by the U.S. National Park Service and listed among U.N.E.S.C.O. World Heritage Sites, their ruins did not become major tourist attractions until the mid-nineteenth century. This 1852 chromolithograph was based upon sketches and/or an oil painting by U.S. Army Captain Seth Eastman (1808-1875) who served on the Texas frontier west of San Antonio in 1848-1849.² By this time the missions had long been secularized and in decline for some time. Later, in 1874, San José's dome collapsed.³

¹ Marion A. Habig, *San Antonio's Mission San José: State and National Historic Site 1720-1968* (Chicago, Illinois: Franciscan Herald Press and San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1968).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222. See also Lois Burkhalter (intro.), *A Seth Eastman Sketchbook, 1848-1849* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961).

³ Habig, *San Antonio's Mission San José* (1968), p. 149.

Challenges for the Spanish

Challenges from without and from within the Spanish Empire increasingly shaped the borderlands of southern North America throughout the mid- to late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The nomadic Comanche expanded their power and influence deeper into Texas through raids, threats, and diplomacy, and the Spanish and other indigenous peoples including the Apache never found successful solutions to counter them. In 1749, the Spanish and some Apache chiefs concluded an alliance and in 1756 established Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá in central Texas; however, this angered the Comanche and their allies, which included Wichita, Kichai, Tonkawa, Bidais, and Caddo, who attacked and destroyed the mission in 1758.¹ Farther east, the French lost nearly all their claims in the Americas at the end of the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763, first ceding in 1762 the Louisiana territory and New Orleans to their Spanish allies in compensation for the Spanish loss of Florida to Great Britain. However, as a result of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, all parts of the Louisiana territory east of the Mississippi as well as Florida went to Great Britain while Spain retained *Luisiana* west of the Mississippi. Texas was temporarily no longer on an international *European*-negotiated border, but Spain still had to determine how best to treat among the shifting indigenous alliances and administer and defend a very large area with very few people and resources.²

¹ Jeffrey D. Carlisle, "Apache Indians," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 05, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/apache-indians>; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (2008), pp. 1-106. ² Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 62-67, 73-75, 78, 81-83; David J. Weber, *Barbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

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Tomás López y Vargas Machuca

La Luisiana Cedida al Rei N. S. por S. M. Christianisima, con la Nueva Orleans...

Engraving and etching with stipple and applied color on paper, 40.5 x 40 cm. (Madrid, 1762).

82/2 2016-155

Toward the end of the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763 (a.k.a. "The French and Indian War"), the French attempted to compensate their Spanish allies for their losses at the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762 by ceding to Spain all land known under the name Louisiana as well as the town of New Orleans. This undercut the importance of east Texas as it was no longer on a border between Spain and another power. This Spanish map, copied from the French cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, represented the best information concerning their newly acquired possessions available to the Spanish at the time. Separately published, the map translated references from D'Anville's French maps into Spanish and included a map of Louisiana, a plan of New Orleans (for streets, showing "calles" instead of "ruas"), and a small inset intended to show the sources of the Mississippi.¹ Some of the clear Texas details on the main map include: "Tejas," "Canoatinos," "Atacapa," referring to the Atakapan people along the coast; "Cenis," "Quiches," "Nadoco," and "Ayches," referring to several Caddo villages; "Naouediches" (Nacogdoches), "Adayes," and "Natchitoches." Farther up the "Rouge" or Red River may be found the Caddo group known as the "Cadodaquos" or "Kadohadacho," meaning "real Caddo" or "real chief" in the Kadohadacho dialect.² Interestingly, farther east along the Louisiana coast are "los Allemanes," referring to the Germans that first settled there in 1721.

¹ On Tomás López y Vargas Machuca see Gabriel Marcel, *Le Geographe Thomas Lopez et son Oeuvre: Essai Biographie et de Cartographie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Hachette Livre reprint of 2e Edition Corrigée et Augmentée; Madrid, 1908); A. Lopez Gomez, "El Metodo Cartográfico de Tomás López: el Interrogatorio y los Mapas de España," *Estudios Geográficos* 57 (1996); Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 26-28.

² Timothy K. Perttula, "Caddo Indians," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 09, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/caddoindians>; F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995).

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Jacques Nicolas Bellin the elder and/or Jacques Nicolas Bellin the younger

Suite du Cours du Fleuve St. Louis depuis la Rivière d'Iberville jusqu'à celle des Yasous, et les Parties connues de la Rivière Rouge et la Rivière Noire

Engraving (with hand-colored outlines) on paper, 23 x 36 cm., from Bellin, *Petit Atlas Maritime* (5 vols.; Paris: printed for the Duc de Choiseul, 1764), vol. 1, no. 46. *Gift of Virginia Garrett*

129/4 00773

This French map shows the lower Red River and the border area between a portion of the Spanish "Province de Texas" (Texas) at left and part of French "Louisiane" at right. However, by the time in 1764 when this map appeared in Bellin's five-volume *Petit Atlas Maritime*, the French had lost the entire area in the Seven Years War, recently turning over lands west of the Mississippi to the Spanish and the area east of the Mississippi to the British. The map shows Fort Rosalie and Natchez on the Mississippi at right and the lower Red River as far as Natchitoches in the upper left where a road leads to the Spanish presidio at Los Adayes. An inset of the Natchitoches area at lower left shows *Fort S. Jean* and other structures. To construct the map, the Bellins – Jacques Nicolas Bellin, the elder (1703-1772) and/or his son Jacques Nicolas Bellin the younger (1745-1785) – utilized manuscript maps by French engineers.¹ Los Adayes, up until then an important Spanish outpost for Texas, lost relevance as the Spanish border had now shifted farther east.

¹ Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 18-20, no. 20. On the Bellins see Raymonde Litalien, Jean-François Palomino, and Denis Vaugeois, *Mapping a Continent: Historical Atlas of North America, 1492-1814*, trans. by Kathe Röth (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), pp. 232-237; Mireille Pastoureau, "Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, French Hydrographer, and the Royal Society in the Eighteenth Century," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 68:1/2 (1993): 65-69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40859705>; Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Christine Marie Petto, *When France Was King of Cartography: The Patronage and Production of Maps in Early Modern France* (Lanham, Maryland and Plymouth, U.K.: Lexington Books, 2007).

Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez

Plano de la Nueva España: en que se señalan los viages que hizo el Capitan Hernan Cortes....

Engraving on paper, 32.5 x 42.5 cm., by Juan Antonio Navarro, from Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, *Historia de Nueva-España* (México City: printed by Joseph Antonio de Hogal, 1770). 18/7 89-678

Texas' rivers flow due southward instead of southeastward in this simple map, constructed for Mexico City Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1722-1804) by scientist and scholar Antonio Alzate y Ramirez (1739-1799) and engraver Juan Antonio Navarro (1742-ca.1809). The inaccuracy is remarkable because Alzate, admired as a man of science, had shown Texas' rivers running more correctly to the southeast in an earlier manuscript map from 1767. Nevertheless, by the next year Alzate apparently began using inaccurate information from an earlier manuscript map produced by the Spanish engineer Francisco Álvarez Barreiro that caused him to redo his earlier effort.¹

Working with Alzate's 1768 map of New Spain (the most important printed Spanish map of the area from the eighteenth century) and texts of Cortés' second, third, and fourth letters, along with Lorenzana's commentaries and research, Alzate, Lorenzana and Navarro traced Cortés' route of conquest past the island of Cozumel, around the Yucatan peninsula, to the Rio Grijalva, to Veracruz, and on to the City of Mexico. The road from Veracruz to Mexico City, long used by the Indians before Cortés, apparently became the foundation for Mexico's National Road. Many subsequent English and French writers used Lorenzana's presentation of Cortés' letters as primary sources for their own histories.²

¹ See Wesley Brown, "Nuevo Mapo Geografico de la America Septentrional: Jose Antonio Alzate y Ramirez' remarkable map of New Spain," *Journal of the International Map Collectors Society* 156 (March 2019): 11-26.

² See Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), pp. 28-29 for a more thorough citation of sources on this map.

Joseph de Haro (?)

Este Mapa comprende todas las villas y lugares de Espanoles haci como las Misiones de Indios y Presidios existentes en la Provincia Santander...

Watercolor and tempera on vellum, 28.5 x 39 cm. [Mexico or New Spain, after 1770] 50/1 86-255

Created by viceregal order in 1746, the province of "Nuevo Santander," initially called "Colonia de la Costa del Seno Mexicano" (Gulf Coast Colony), included the area of the present Mexican state of Tamaulipas north through the trans-Nueces area of present south Texas. Colonization began in 1748 under its first Spanish governor José de Escandón.¹ This decorative manuscript map of the province might have been a personal souvenir or commemorative for the Franciscan friar Joseph de Haro, who may have been the map's original owner and possibly its creator. The map's inscription has been translated: "This map comprises all the villages and places of the Spaniards as well as the missions for the Indians and the presidios existing in the province of Nuevo Santander from the best knowledge about the same. It was surveyed and drawn under the superior orders of Fray José de Haro of the order of Saint Francis." Important Texas sites appear at the top of the map, from left to right: Laredo, San Antonio, and "Presidio del Espiritu Santo"/ "Bahia del Espiritu Santo," which was constructed in 1749 to guard the missions near Goliad. A "Francisco Joseph de Haro" served as a scribe on a 1757 inspection of the new colony of Santander commanded by Spanish Army dragoon Captain José Tienda de Cuervo. Although engineer Lieutenant Agustín López de la Cámara Alta also served with Tienda's expedition, scholars agree he did not



execute the Haro map based upon a comparison with a copy of López's map for Tienda's expedition in the British Library. Haro's map, on the other hand, is as full of inaccuracies and distortions as it is decorative. For example, the map shows the Nueces an impossibly short distance from the Rio Grande suggesting that, as far as the map's creator was concerned, aesthetics mattered far more than accuracy. Curious also, as scholars have noted, the Haro map must date after 1770 since it includes the "new" villages of Cruillas and San Carlos (both established in 1760) as well as Villa Croix (established in 1770).²

¹ Robert S. Weddle, "Nuevo Santander," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/nuevo-santander>, accessed 8/7/2022.

² Dennis Reinhartz, "Spanish Military Mapping of the Northern Borderlands after 1750," in Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon, eds., *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp. 57-79; Dennis Reinhartz, "Maps from Inspection of the Northern Frontier of New Spain in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Cartographica* 3-4 (Autumn/Winter 1998): 89-97; Dennis Reinhartz, "Two Manuscript Maps of Nuevo Santander in Northern New Spain from the Eighteenth Century" in Karen S. Cook, ed., *Images and Icons of the New World: Essays in American Cartography* (London: The British Library, 1996), pp. 55-65; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998) vol. 1, pp. 188, 269.

Rigobert Bonne

Carte du Mexique ou de la Nlle. Espagne contenant aussi le Nouveau Mexique, la Californie, avec une partie des pays adjacents projetée et assujettie au ciel par Mr. Bonne

Engraving with applied color on paper, 28 x 40 cm., by Arrivet (Paris: Chez Lattré, 1771). 87-591 55/5

French hydrographic engineer, mathematician, and cartographer Rigobert Bonne's 1771 map of Mexico or New Spain, published by Jean Lattré or his son, featured an elegant rococo-style cartouche engraved and designed by a little-known artisan named "Arrivet." Bonne's original printed map, seen here in an original Russian copy from 1793, showed but did not name all seventeen rivers in Texas. Missions along the left bank of the Rio Grande or "Riviere du Nord" above its junction with the Pecos (here labeled the "Riv. Salado ou Riviere des Apaches") include *St. Christophe* (San Cristobal, founded in 1715), *St. Paul, la Conception*, and *St. George*.

¹ For a reproduction of the original French version see Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), p. 20, no. 21. On Bonne and Lattré see Tooley's *Biographical Dictionary of Mapmakers Revised Edition* (1999-2004), vol. 1, p. 163; vol. 2, p. 94; Christine Marie Petto, *When France was King of Cartography: The Production of Maps in Early Modern France* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 80.

57A



57A

After Rigobert Bonne

[Map of Mexico or New Spain (in Russian Cyrillic Font)]

Engraving with applied color on paper, 30 x 41 cm., from *Novi Atlas ilie sobranie kart...* (St. Petersburg: Mining School for Youths, 1793).

Gift of Dr. Jack Franke

Evidence of the importance of eighteenth-century French cartography may be found in this Russian copy of Bonne's map of New Spain in Cyrillic from one of the first atlases published in Russian.¹

¹ See *Digital Archives*, accessed September 4, 2022, <https://archive.org/details/novy-atlas-ili-sobranie-kart-vsekh-chastey-zemnogo-shara-1793-pdf-rus/page/n55/mode/2up>

58

After George Catlin

[A Comanche Family Outside Their Lodge]

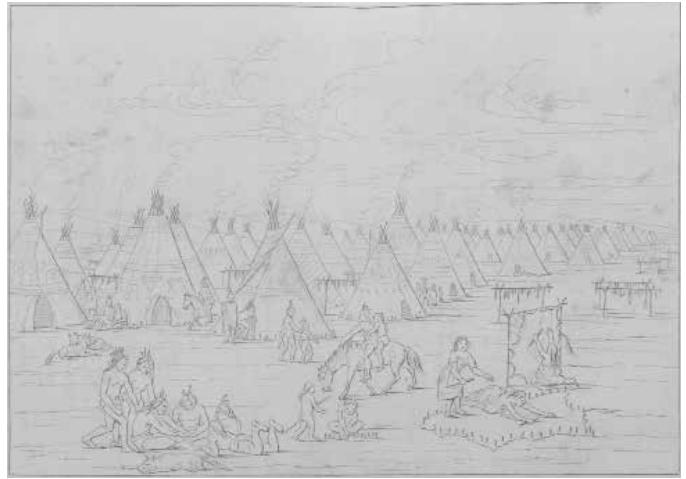
Chromolithograph on paper, 14 x 18 cm., in George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs & Condition of the North American Indians, with Letters and Notes...* (2 vols.; London: Chatto & Windus, Picadilly, 1876; first published in 1841), vol. 2, plate 172, opp. p. 68. 25.7 cm.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett

58



59



59

After George Catlin

Great Comanche Village

Chromolithograph on paper, 13 x 17.5 cm., in George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs & Condition of the North American Indians, with Letters and Notes...* (2 vols.; London: the author, 1841), vol. 2, plate 164, opp. p. 68. 25 cm. Gift of Jenkins Garrett

Early printed images of Texas' indigenous peoples virtually do not exist before the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ These prints were based upon paintings and sketches made by the civilian portrait artist turned traveler-adventurer George Catlin (1796-1872) who accompanied a U.S. government expedition into Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in the 1830s. Among the groups Catlin observed there were the Comanche, who by the late eighteenth century were the most powerful force in all of Texas. The Comanche were originally from the mountains around the Great Basin of what became the western United States. During the late seventeenth century, they had acquired horses and rapidly adopted a nomadic culture that brought them into the Southern Plains and Texas in search of buffalo, wild horses, wild game, trade, and raiding opportunities.² Catlin sketched and painted portraits and other genre scenes of Indian life in the field. He made it his life's goal to visually record America's Indians before what he feared would be their total extinction. These small prints are from what was originally intended as a gallery guide to accompany large exhibits of his paintings for a "North American Indian Gallery" that he took on tour back east and in Europe.³

¹ Eighteenth-century printed images of Europeans in Texas virtually do not exist either. Lino Sanchez y Tapia's original watercolor sketches after Jean-Luis Berlandier's sketches of Texas tribes represent the earliest and most comprehensive attempt to portray Texas' indigenous peoples before the twentieth century. Sanchez y Tapia and Berlandier were participants in Mexican General Manuel Mier y Teran's expedition to Texas in the late 1820s. The watercolors are in the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

² See Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (2008).

³ On Catlin see William H. Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1979).

Shaping the Borderlands in the Age of Revolutions

During the American Revolution of 1776-1783, France and later Spain allied themselves with the American Continentals against the British in 1778 and 1779, respectively. In Texas, the Spanish attempted a reorganization with other provinces into a separately administered district called the *Provincias Internas* and sent out inspection tours. They also drove cattle from Texas to *Luisiana* to supply Spanish troops in one of the first recorded Texas cattle drives. At the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Spain received East and West Florida back while the newly recognized United States acquired the other lands east of the Mississippi, making it a new and expanding neighbor to the east. The American victory over Britain together with the French Revolution of 1789, the execution of French King Louis XVI in 1793, and the successful French conscript armies created anxiety for European royalists while giving confidence to republican liberals in Europe and the Americas. Spain had to deal with these new situations and the new ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. In addition, Spain faced the expansion of the Comanche and their indigenous allies as well as the westward and southward migration of indigenous peoples to Texas who had been driven from their traditional homes in the United States. New policies and treaties offered only temporary, if any, solutions.¹ Moreover, despite years of Spanish activity in Texas, their available resources and cartographic knowledge of the area were surprisingly limited.²

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 76-87.

² Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984,1999), p. 101.

60



60

Bernard(?) and Pierre Marie Francois, Vicomte de Pagès
Carte d'une partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale: qui contient partie de la Nle. Espagne, et de la Louisiane, pour servir aux voyages au tour du monde et vers les deux pôles faits par M. de Pagès; Benard direxit.

Engraving (hand colored) on paper, 31 x 41 cm., from Pierre de Pagès, *Voyages autour du monde* (2 vols.; Paris: Moutard, 1782).
 Gift of Virginia Garrett 00563 127/10 UTA has the English edition of Pagès, *Travels Around the World* (1791). G420.P15 Garrett

This map illustrated the travels of Pierre Marie Francois, Vicomte de Pagès (1748-1793), a French naval officer who crossed what is now Texas and Mexico on the first part of a trip around the world. Pagès slipped into New Spain despite Spanish government restrictions on foreigners travelling in their colonies, and although he claimed his motives were scientific, he may have been acting as a spy. The map shows the route of Pagès' travels between 1767 and 1768: Leaving Santo Domingo (prior to which he had sailed from Rochefort, France), he

went to New Orleans and to Natchitoches in Spanish L[ouisiana] by way of the Mississippi and Red Rivers. From there he crossed what is Texas along the Camino Real (Old San Antonio Road) and crossed the Rio Grande at Laredo. The map places three missions – Concepción, San José, and La Espada – along the San Antonio River and the fort or presidio of La Bahia and missions around it along the Guadalupe. From Laredo Pagès continued through Mexico before heading westward across the Pacific from Acapulco. After his return to France, he recorded his memories of the trip in the book *Voyages autour du monde* (Paris, 1782) that included several maps compiled by “Bernard” who was presumably an engraver or publishing agent. The map here was based upon the author's recollections and available maps of Mexico. These probably included maps by Bellin and Bonne and, undoubtedly, Spanish scholar Alzate y Ramirez's 1768 map of New Spain, which had recently been published in Paris by the Académie des Sciences. Pagès' book soon appeared in an English translation *Travels Round the World: in the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771* (2 vols.; London: J. Murray, 1791) – one of the first books on Texas in English.¹

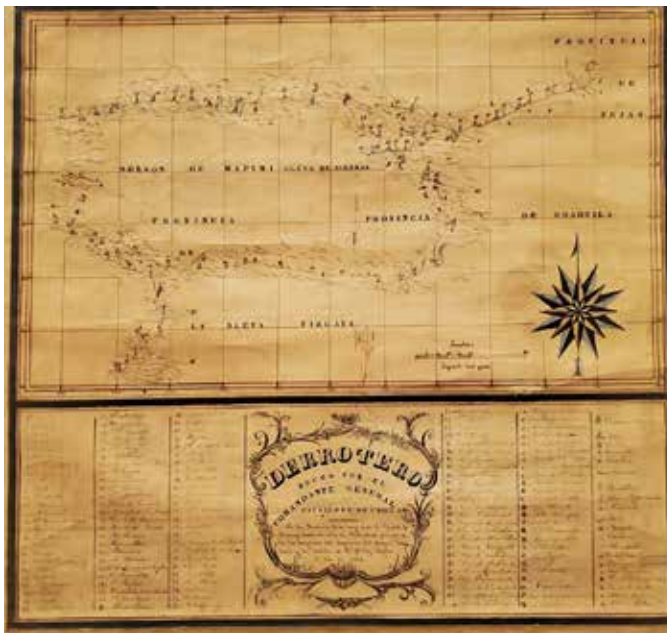
¹ Marilyn M. Sibley, “Pagès, Pierre Marie François de,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpa09>; Marilyn McAdams Sibley, ed., “Across Texas in 1767: The Travels of Captain Pagès,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 70 (April 1967): 593- 622; Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands* (2016), p. 21, no. 24.

61

Juan Agustin Morfi (attributed) after Luis Bertucat
Derrotero: hecho por el Comandante General Cavallero de Croix por las provincias de su cargo desde la ciudad de Durango hasta la villa de Chihuahua, formado sobre las longitudes del Ingeniero Dn. Miguel Costanso y las latitudes de Dn. Nicolas Lafora el año 1778.

Ink, watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper, 54 x 56 cm. [Mexico], after 1778. 119 85-26

This manuscript map has been attributed to Franciscan Father Juan Agustin Morfi (active ca.1755-1783), an early Texas historian and chaplain and diarist for French-born Spanish Army Brigadier and Commandant General Teodoro de Croix's 1777-1778 inspection tour of the new *Provincias Internas*.¹ Under the reform-minded administration



of King Carlos III, the Spanish had created a huge administrative district the year before and made its *Commandant General* independent of the distant viceroy in Mexico City. The *Provincias Internas* comprised New Spain's northern provinces including Texas – a vaster and quite different shape than present Texas. The idea was to better protect their frontier from the constant incursions of the “*Indios Barbaros*” (literally “Barbaric Indians” who did not accept or recognize Spanish authority) as well as threats from European rivals like the British, Russians, and the break-away American colonies who were in the middle of their war for independence.²

The map is best described as an old hand-drawn copy of a manuscript map that is today in the *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI) in Seville. The latter was drawn and signed by the expedition's French-born Spanish Army engineer Luis Bertucat (1739-1793).³ Both maps outline the route that Brigadier de Croix's inspection tour took from the city of Durango through present northern Mexico to the province of Texas and back. The route took them on a loop around the “*Bolson de Mapimi*” – an internal drainage basin shared by the present Mexican states of Durango, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Zacatecas. Numbering identifies the sequence of the tour, and a key at the bottom names the sites inspected, including important sites such as Mission Espada and San Antonio de Bexar (nos. 44 and 45, at top right). Another key at bottom right denotes symbols for cities with bishoprics, villages, pueblos, haciendas, ranchos, missions, rivers, watering holes, camps, mines, and other features noted on the map. Morfi's notes and descriptions compliment the maps, but the engineer was the man with the skill to construct it.

The UTA map is less sophisticated than Bertucat's and may have once

belonged to Father Morfi, who perhaps copied the map himself or had someone else copy it for him. Morfi and the engineer must have worked closely together to document their tour. In his capacity as chaplain and diarist Morfi collected geographical, social, economic, and historical information as well as copies of maps and plans from local archives before he separated from the group at Las Cruces on the border between Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya, where his diary ends on February 24, 1778. After the tour, Morfi returned to Mexico City where he compiled his notes and materials on Texas into a manuscript titled “*Memorias para la Historia de Texas*” and set about writing his “*Historia de Texas*,” which was still incomplete at his death in 1783. Given the eighteenth-century Spanish aversion to map publication, a hand-drawn copy was perhaps the best solution for a member of the expedition who wanted a reference map of his own.⁴

¹ Dennis Reinhartz, “Spanish Military Mapping after 1750,” in Reinhartz and Saxon, eds., *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier* (2005), pp. 57-79; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 1, pp. 30, 126, 167-68, 178, 181-82, 265-67, 294, 297.

² Donald E. Chipman, “Provincias Internas,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 04, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/provincias-internas>. See also Weber, *Barbaros* (2005).

³ Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), p. 167, plate 46, reproduces Bertucat's original map in the *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville.

⁴ On Bertucat see Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764-1815* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), pp. 141-145. The *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI) has a number of maps and plans drawn by Bertucat. “Adversaries in 1791,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49:1 (July 1970): 49-62, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30145820>, accessed 31-03-2016; Luis Navarro Garcia, Jose de Galvez, pp. 404-405; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun*, vol. 1, pp.163-168,182,266-267.

⁵ Fray Juan Agustin Morfi, *History of Texas 1673-1779*, translated, with biographical introduction and annotations by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1935), pp. 15-23; *Handbook of Texas Online*, “Morfi, Juan Agustin,” accessed September 24, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmo45>.

62

Spain. Deposito Hidrografico de Marina *Bahia de S. Bernardo*

Engraving on paper, in *Atlas Portulano de la America Setentrional...* (Madrid, 1809)

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Spanish Navy's hydrographic office was actively surveying the coastlines of the Spanish empire. This reduced chart of Matagorda Bay was included in this small maritime atlas of sea charts published in Madrid in 1809.¹ Note: While the shapes of the Gulf coastlines are big factors in determining the shapes of Texas, due to space, this exhibit does not include the many coastal charts in Special Collections, ranging from Sir Robert Dudley's charts in his sea atlas *Dell'Arcano del Mare*, published in Florence from 1646-1648, to the U.S. Coast Survey maps of the 1850s.

¹ Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), no. 1044.

Tumultuous Times, 1800-1821

The turmoil caused by the Napoleonic Wars shaped world history, including that of Texas and the North American Borderlands where Spain's decline created a power vacuum. In 1800 at the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso between Spain and France (since 1799 under Napoleon Bonaparte), Spain quietly agreed to the *retrocession* of their portion of the Louisiana territory back to France. In 1803, Napoleon, needing cash for his wars, sold it to the United States. Distant "Spanish" Texas was once again on a major international border while much of it remained under the power of its indigenous inhabitants. Soon traders from the United States sought to establish ties with the powerful Comanche and other indigenous groups in the borderlands, upsetting trading patterns and alliances that Spain had earlier crafted. In 1808, Napoleon invaded Spain. The resulting Peninsular War devastated the country and further weakened its hold on its overseas empire.

Wars of Independence flared in Spain's Latin American colonies including Mexico where Father Miguel Hidalgo issued his famous "*grito*" or call for death to bad government in 1810. Violence and war quickly spread to New Spain's northern borderlands area including Texas. There, unauthorized military expeditions or "*filibustering*" became common, along with an already existing illicit traffic in wild horses and cattle, as a broad array of opportunists in addition to the indigenous nations took advantage of Spanish weakness. Nevertheless, in 1813 royalist Spanish forces under Joaquín de Arredondo slaughtered over a thousand Mexican republican and *filibuster* volunteers from the United States at a site just south of San Antonio. This "Battle of the Medina" was the bloodiest battle to ever occur on Texas soil. Retaliation against local collaborators was extensive and impacted the Hispanic community in Texas for years.

Meanwhile, the U.S. engaged Great Britain in the "War of 1812." Afterwards, the British decision at the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 to abandon forts in the Ohio River Valley and a final British defeat at New Orleans in 1815 emboldened U.S. "expansionists" dreams along their western border (or Texas' eastern border). As Spanish attention continued to focus on Mexico's War of Independence, groups of Anglos and indigenous people from the United States quietly entered eastern Texas. A few pirates like Jean Lafitte came to the Texas coast where in 1819 even a few French veterans and refugees from Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo attempted to set up a French colony of exiles: the highly publicized "*Champ d'Asile*" or "Field of Asylum." Partly as a result, that year Spanish Minister Don Luis de Onís and the U.S. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams signed a treaty that ceded to the U.S. all Spanish claims to their former territories east of the Mississippi and created a new but controversial and little understood border stretching all the way to the Pacific.¹

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 83-99.

63 After Alfred R. Waud *Creasing Mustangs*

Engraving on paper, 16 x 24 cm., from *Harper's Weekly*, 1868.
2021-122 GA56/29

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, Texas became a supplier of horses for not only the Spanish and Indians but also for the growing population of the American South. Beginning in the 1790s, Irish-born Philip Nolan (1771-1801), a horse merchant and freebooter based in New Orleans and Natchez on the Mississippi, made several expeditions (for-profit horse-catching operations) into Spanish Texas without official Spanish approval and returned home with thousands of horses. On his fourth and last expedition Spanish troops intercepted him and his men at a site believed to be somewhere near present Blum in Hill County, just south of Dallas-Fort Worth. A battle ensued in which Nolan was shot and killed.¹

The Spanish had first brought horses to Texas with the Moscoso expedition of the 1540s, indigenous peoples had begun to breed horses and cattle from stock acquired from the Spanish missions beginning in the 1600s, and large wild horse and cattle herds could

be found on the plains of Texas by the late 1700s. The word "*mustang*," believed to come from the Spanish words *mesta* and *mesteño*, came to refer to these wild horses originally of Iberian origin.²

Many people are familiar with the use of the "*lariat*" of rope to snare wild horses. A second method was "walking them down" (waiting until they tired, but this could be difficult for the person trying to do this). However, perhaps as early as 1807 Native-American and/or white horse hunters began to "*crease*" them, by using rifles to temporarily stun mustangs with a well-placed shot through the neck above the vertebrae.³ This method is the subject of this 1868 engraving by *Harper's Weekly* illustrator Alfred R. Waud (1828-1891).

¹ Jack Jackson, Nolan Expeditions [1791-1801], *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed 08/10/2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/nolan-expeditions-1791-1801>

² Thomas Earl Spier, "Mustangs," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed 08/10/2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mustangs>

³ George Sibley, *Indian Notes and Monographs* (New York: Heye Foundation, 1922), p. 48, as cited by J. Frank Dobie, *The Mustangs* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1952), pp. 219-220, 357. Also see article "Wild Horses in Texas," on verso of this image.

Alexander von Humboldt

Carte generale du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne [sheet 2]

Engraving and etching on two sheets of paper, each 54 x 82.5 cm., drawn in Mexico by Humboldt in 1804; improved by Humboldt, Friesen, Oltmanns and Thuilier in Paris in 1809; engraved by Barriere; calligraphy by L. Aubert, Sr., in Humboldt, *Atlas Geographique et Physique du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* (Paris: F. Schoell, 1811). 54.5 cm. Purchased with Funds from the Summerlee Foundation

G1545.H8 1811 SpCo Oversize

Alexander von Humboldt

A Map of New Spain from 16° to 38° North Latitude

Engraving, 40 x 28 cm., 1810, drawn by Alex. Macpherson, engraved by Cooper, from Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, Brown, and Crombie, 1811).

Ironically, Spanish knowledge of the interior of its northern territories in the New World at the beginning of the nineteenth century is perhaps best represented cartographically in the maps of the wealthy German scientist-traveler and pioneer geographer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). In the years 1799-1804 and with his own money, he visited the Spanish-administered portions of the Americas with the official sanction of the Spanish king. In 1803, Humboldt compiled geographical information from unpublished manuscript maps by Spanish explorers in the archives in Mexico City to produce his own map of New Spain. For the areas in central Mexico, including Acapulco, Mexico City, and Veracruz – which Humboldt personally traversed and for which he took notes and calculations using the latest scientific instruments – his information was extremely accurate for its time. Unlike most Spanish cartographers, Humboldt readily shared his map with the world, including with U.S. President Thomas Jefferson to whom Humboldt showed a copy in manuscript form on an 1804 visit to the U.S. as he was returning to Europe. This sparked a few conflicts and controversies.¹

Although Humboldt never personally traveled in northern New Spain north of Guanajuato, in central Mexico, his printed map, first published in 1809, became one of the foundation maps of the American Southwest for the next thirty-five years. In the area that became Texas, the “Big Bend” of the Rio del Norte or Rio Grande is better delineated, as is the “Rio Puerco” (Pecos River). Living in the area, according to Humboldt’s Spanish sources, are the “*Apaches Mescaleros*,” “*Apaches Faraones*” (two of several Apache groups), and the “*Indiens Cumanches*” (an early cartographic reference to the Comanches). To the northeast may be seen “San Saba” referring to a former mission site located on the “Rio de S. Saba” in a hilly area. This mission was destroyed by approximately 2000 Wichita, Comanche, and Caddo warriors in March 1758.² Humboldt also shows several other Texas missions to the southeast. With dotted lines, Humboldt and his engraver also attempted to delineate some rather complicated boundaries for various Spanish provinces which overlapped parts of present Texas: the “*Provincia de Cohahuila*” (Coahuila), the “*Intendencia de San Luis Potosi*,” which apparently included the “*Provincia de Texas*” and the “*Provincia de Nuevo Santander*.” Later cartographers copied these lines repeatedly.

For all the information Humboldt’s map provided, it also indicated how little the Spanish in Mexico City really knew about the distant areas they claimed and attempted to administer, for he had synthesized information from dozens of Spanish sources. For example, using Alzate’s 1768 *Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional*, Humboldt still showed Texas rivers generally flowing south instead of their true southeast direction. He had to speculate

to construct the northern portions of his maps, employing Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera Villalon’s journals relating to a tour of northern New Spain in 1724-1728 in which the cartographer and military engineer Francisco Alvarez Barreiro participated. Barreiro’s measurements for Presidio del Paso del Norte (today’s Juarez, Mexico) were too far east and too far north. Humboldt’s other sources included Bernardo Miera y Pacheco’s manuscript map for the 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition into present Colorado and Utah. Humboldt modified the northeastern portion of the area depicted (including Texas) on his own map based in part upon a map that he received while in Washington from General James Wilkinson. Humboldt’s map was first printed and published in Paris in 1809 after some modifications by himself and others for his *Atlas Geographique et Physique du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* to accompany his *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de Nouvelle Espagne*. The reduced printed version in English did not appear until 1810 (separately) and 1811 (as part of the Political Essay) – seven to eight years after he had constructed his first personal manuscript draft of the map in Mexico City.³

¹ See Douglas Botting, *Humboldt and the Cosmos* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

² See “Mission San Saba,” Texas Beyond History, accessed 09 August 2022, <https://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/sansaba/>

³ Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 1, pp. 134, 137, 252-253, nos. 272-275; vol. 2, pp. 24-26, 212-214, nos. 302-305; Richard Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2005) pp. 48-57; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), no. 1042; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), p. 109; and Robert Sherwood, “Alexander von Humboldt in the Context of His Time: An Enlightened View of The Natural World: Vignettes from Early Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic History,” The University of Texas at Arlington, Ph.D. diss., Spring 2007; Ralph E. Ehrenberg, “Part Two, Since 1800” in Seymour I. Schwarz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1980), pp. 225-226; William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (Texas State Historical Association, 1991), pp. 32-33; Huseman, *Revisualizing Westward Expansion* (2008), pp. 6-8.

J. B. Poirson and Alexander von Humboldt

Carte du Mexique et pays limitrophes situés au nord à l'est

Engraving with applied color on paper, 41 x 72 cm., from Humboldt, *Atlas Geographique et Physique du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, engraved by Barriere; calligraphy by L. Aubert, Sr. (Paris : F. Schoell, 1811).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

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For Humboldt’s 1811 atlas of New Spain, his colleague, the French geographer J. B. Poirson (1760-1831), placed Humboldt’s map of New Spain within the context of a map of southern North America stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Poirson used several sources including the voyages of the Spanish corvettes *Sutil* and *Mexicana* and a *memoir* or report with astronomical observations for the Pacific coast, an Arrowsmith map for the United States, and a map of Louisiana by Lafond. Poirson did not show the explorations of the Pike expedition just published the previous year.¹

¹ Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 1, pp. 137-138, 252-253, no. 275.

François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois et al.

Carte Générale des États-Unis Pour servir à l'Histoire de la Louisiane, 1829

Engraving with applied color on paper, 23.7 x 33.6 cm., in Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris: Imprimerie de Firmin Didot, 1829).

F369.B23 1829 SpCo

Neatness and simplicity of design characterize this map of the Louisiana Purchase Territory. The map served as an illustration for a contemporary history of Louisiana and the purchase negotiations.



The author, François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, a friend of U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, served Napoleon I as minister of the French treasury and represented France during the final stages of the negotiations with the United States. Although Napoleon thought the territory worth only fifty million *francs*, Barbé-Marbois asked the U.S. for one hundred million and got eighty million (\$15 million).¹

¹ Ben W. Huseman, "Territories so Extensive and Fertile": *The Louisiana Purchase* (Dallas, Texas: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, 2004), pp. 31-32, no.39.

68

David Edwin after Charles Willson Peale

Lieut. Z. M. Pike

Stipple engraving on paper, 22 x 13 cm., in Zebulon M. Pike, *An Account of the Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansas, Kans, La Platte, and Pierre Jaun Rivers; Performed by Order of the Government of the United States during the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807, and a Tour through the Kingdom of New Spain...* (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad, & Co., 1810), frontispiece. 22.8 cm.

After the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson sent out a series of expeditions to explore the newly acquired lands. The first, most famous and successful of these expeditions was that of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1804-1806. Less known are the ill-fated U.S. expeditions sent to explore the southwestern borderlands adjoining Spanish territory. In 1804-1805, William Dunbar and Dr. George Hunter, originally ordered to explore the Red and Arkansas Rivers, bowed to Spanish pressure and instead explored in present-day Arkansas. In July 1806, an expedition led by Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis got up the Red River only as far as present Bowie County in far northeast Texas before another Spanish patrol made them turn back. In 1806-1807, Captain Zebulon Pike (1779-1813) led still another expedition through present-day Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. On February 26, 1807, Spanish forces captured Pike and his men and escorted them south to Santa Fe and then as far south as Chihuahua, then by a circuitous route through Texas, before releasing them near Natchitoches, Louisiana, in late June.¹

This engraved portrait of Pike was based upon a painting done in 1808 by the famous, multi-talented Philadelphia portraitist and natural history museum owner-director-curator Charles Willson Peale. Much about Pike's southwestern expedition and its related maps remains controversial. Pike's commander, United States Governor of the Louisiana Territory General James Wilkinson, leaked word about the expedition to the Spanish and was later tried for treason. Both Pike and Wilkinson left rather poorly written and poorly edited accounts of their exploits. Moreover, Pike died in the Battle of York (Toronto), Canada, during the War of 1812, and thus did not have a

later opportunity to clarify questions about his earlier expedition or its related maps.²

¹ Ben W. Huseman, *Revisualizing Westward Expansion: A Century of Conflict in Maps* (2008), p. 8. See Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West* (1959), pp. 36-39.

² William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, *The Atlas of North American Exploration* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1992), pp. 144-145; Dennis Reinhartz, "Pike, Zebulon, and Stephen Long," in David Buisseret, ed., *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration* (2 vols.; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), vol. 2, p. 155; Schwarz and Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (1980), p. 231. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), no. 1047.

69

Zebulon Montgomery Pike

A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain

Engraving on paper, 45.6 x 47 cm., probably engraved by Anthony Nau, from Pike, *An Account of the Expeditions...* (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co., 1810).

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Zebulon Pike's *Account*, published in 1810, included several maps. The two maps that show the portion of Pike's route before he was captured by the Spanish are more often reproduced.¹ The third map here, *A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain*, attempts to show areas of Pike's route as a prisoner south from Santa Fe into Mexico by way of *Passo del Norte* to Chihuahua where he was a guest of Governor Salcedo and made the acquaintance of mapmaker Juan Pedro Walker. From there the Spanish conducted Pike northwest through Texas along the Camino Real to his release in Natchitoches, Louisiana. Most of this map derived from Alexander von Humboldt's 1804 manuscript map, a copy of which Humboldt left with President Thomas Jefferson in Washington, D.C., on the Prussian scientist's way back to Europe. Humboldt later complained that Pike had largely copied him without credit, but it was apparently Pike's engraver and publisher who deserved this censure rather than Pike, who was away when his book went to press and died before ever seeing Humboldt's printed map. A closer examination reveals that Pike at least corrected the lower course of several Texas rivers to flow southeast toward the Gulf rather than the southward course Humboldt's Spanish information had given him. Pike tried to further explain the various Spanish provinces found on Humboldt's map. There are interesting spellings: for instance, "*Montelovez*" for Monclova, "*Montelrey*" for Monterrey, "*Cogquilla*" for Coahuila, "*Senora*" for Sonora, and others. Pike's inaccuracies are minor when one considers that he had no scientific instruments with him in Texas; the Spanish had earlier seized a trunk of his papers; and, that despite being refused ink and paper while in Spanish custody, he managed to take notes which he hid in his personal escort's gun barrels.²

¹ Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 16-27, 212, no. 298.

² Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), no.1047.

70

John Melish

United States of America Compiled from the Latest and Best Authorities

Engraving with applied color on paper, 41.5 x 50.2 cm. (Philadelphia: Murray Draper Fairman & Co., 1818). *Gift of Virginia Garrett.*
83-550 46/11

One of America's great commercial mapmakers, geographer John Melish (1771-1822) first produced in 1816 the first great printed map to show what would eventually become the entire continental United States, including the Louisiana Purchase, all the way to California. Retired former President Thomas Jefferson praised it when he wrote to Melish, saying that it gave "a luminous view of the comparative possessions of different powers in our America." This 1818 map is a reduced version of that map that excludes the far West, but it shares the

same type of original coloring along the boundaries, and this includes Texas with the former Louisiana (now Missouri) Territory within the same borders – the idea that Jefferson had pushed that France’s claim to Louisiana (now part of the U.S.) included the Rio Grande as its southern boundary. This concept – reflecting what would later be called America’s “Manifest Destiny” -- would be a major issue in the near and distant future – particularly with the signing of the Adams-Onís Treaty the next year and later Texas and U.S. boundary claims.¹ The larger Melish map was used in the Adams-Onís Treaty negotiations and its errors in the delineation of Texas geography (stemming from Humboldt and the Spanish) would contribute to much later litigation over Texas’ eastern panhandle borders.²

¹ Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 63-64, quoting Jefferson, and pp. 68, 219-220, no. 327.

² Cohen, ed., *Mapping the West* (2002), pp. 102-104.

71 _____

John H. Robinson

A Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Missouri Territory: Including Also the State of Mississippi, Alabama Territory, East and West Florida, Georgia, South Carolina & Part of the Island of Cuba

Engraving and etching with hand-colored outlines on paper mounted on linen, 171 x 171 cm., printed and colored by J. L. Narstin (Philadelphia, 1819).

Secret agent, filibuster, Mexican Revolutionary, and pathfinder Dr. John Hamilton Robinson (1782-1819) saw no contradiction in his simultaneous support for both the United States’ extensive territorial claims on the western portion of the continent and the Mexican Republican struggle for independence against Spain. His rare wall map politically embraces both these ideals, and, while not particularly accurate or innovative geographically, at the same time it serves as a testament to his personal revolutionary zeal and as a record of his extensive personal travels. It also includes some interesting and historical military content.

Robinson was determined to create and print copies of his large wall map as early as 1818 after he had virtually ruined his health in the service of Mexican Independence and U.S. expansion. While Robinson was working on the map, the boundary negotiations between the United States and Spain known as the Adams-Onís Treaty were finalized in February 1819. Robinson’s map shows two boundaries between the countries: the maximum territory claimed by the United States (the green border following the Rio Grande west and north and then heading

straight west to the Pacific) and the boundary according to the treaty (the pink boundary following the Red River to the 100th Meridian “west of London,” thence north and along the Arkansas River, and, finally, due west along the 42nd parallel of Latitude to the Pacific). Robinson no doubt intended to call attention to and protest the large amount of land conceded to Spain. In addition to these boundaries, Robinson also shows the borders of the Internal Provinces on his map; this district included several northern provinces which at various times were not under the immediate control of the Viceroy of New Spain in Mexico City due to inefficiencies of administration caused by distance.

Thirteen years earlier, Robinson had served as the medical officer on the expedition led by Zebulon Pike to explore the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase for the United States government in 1806. Like Pike, Robinson was arrested by the Spanish and taken for questioning to Chihuahua where he was allowed to associate with Juan Pedro Walker, a U.S.-born surveyor working for the Spanish government. Robinson, like Pike, was then escorted to the Louisiana border where he was released in July 1807. Robinson’s map (like Pike’s maps) shows the route of Pike’s expedition. Robinson, for example, notes where they “first saw the Rocky Mountains” and “Pikes Stokade [sic.]” and where they were “met by the Spaniards” (same inscription on Pike’s map). Instead of the “Highest Mountain” noted by Pike, Robinson calls it “Pikes Mountain” for the first time. Near Paso del Norte, Robinson notes: “Excellent wines made here.”

First-hand information for Robinson’s map does not end with his Pike expedition experience. In 1812, U.S. Secretary of State James Monroe sent Robinson back to Chihuahua as envoy to the Spanish commandant-general of the Internal Provinces of New Spain. On his way to and from this assignment, Robinson again passed through Texas where he observed the “Republican Army of the North” made up of Mexican rebels and U.S. adventurers led by Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara and Augustus Magee shortly before Magee’s death and before the republicans’ crushing defeat by Spanish royalists at the Battle of Medina on August 18, 1813. Robinson notes on his map this site – one of the only contemporary maps to do so – as well as “Fort La Bahia or Laberde” (present Goliad) where earlier the republicans had fought Spanish forces for months before the Spanish withdrew back to San Antonio.

Robinson increasingly developed a strong dislike for Spanish rule and gained sympathy for the Mexican Republican (or insurgent) cause. Back in the U.S., he actively recruited soldiers for the Mexican independence struggle, and soon Monroe took measures to distance the U.S. government from this adventurer who was violating official U.S. neutrality. Although fully aware of the dangers of filibustering (like Pike’s, Robinson’s map also shows where the U.S. citizen Philip Nolan met his end), Robinson in 1815 returned to Mexico by way of New Orleans, landing at Veracruz. He petitioned for and received a commission in the Mexican Republican Army and served their cause well during a time of serious military reversals. His map echoes this cause, noting near Baján south of Monclova: “Republican Officers taken in 1811” – a reference to the capture of Mexican revolutionaries, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Cosilla, General Ignacio Allende y Unzaga, and others, before their execution in Chihuahua later that year.¹

¹ David E. Narrett, “Liberation and Conquest: John Hamilton Robinson and U.S. Adventurism toward Mexico, 1806-1819.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 40 (2009): 23-50. (full-text through JSTOR); Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 69-73, 222, no. 334; Jackson, *Shooting the Sun* (1998), vol. 2, pp. 380-384; Robert Sidney Martin, “The Notorious Doctor Robinson,” in Donna P. Koepp, ed. *Exploration and Mapping of the American West: Selected Essays* (Chicago: Map and Geography Round Table of the American Library Association, Speculum Orbis Press, 1986), pp. 25-50; Dorothy Sloan Rare Books, Mostly Americana, Auction 22 (Austin, Texas: Dorothy Sloan Rare Books, December 11-12, 2009), no. 356; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), no. 1073.

71



72

James House

John H. Robinson

Oil on canvas mounted on panel 25 x20 cm., July 1809 or 1808. According to restoration artist and appraiser Robert Kensingner who restored the original painting in 1977, an inscription on the back of the canvas, lower center, purportedly read "Drawn July 1809 (or 1808) by / Captain James House / Bellefontaine." *Gift of Paul Huerta* 2022-44 OS1078

A young Dr. Robinson sat for this portrait possibly in July 1807, 1808, or 1809, based upon an inscription found by the painting's restorer, Robert Kensingner. This would not have been long after Robinson's return to the U.S. after his release from Spanish custody following the Pike expedition. Artist James House (ca.1775-1834) was a career U.S. Army officer who at the time of the portrait served at Cantonment Belle Fontaine, located 20 miles north of St. Louis. Established in 1805, Belle Fontaine was the first U.S. military installation west of the Mississippi, and it was the place where Pike and his men had begun their expedition west. House was active as a portrait painter from 1798-1812, working part of that time in Philadelphia. He retired from the military in November 1834 at the rank of Brevet Brigadier General.¹

¹ George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957; sixth printing, 1979), p. 329.

73

Artist Unknown

Champ d'Asile

Etching and engraving on paper, 16.5 x 23.5 cm., in L. Hartmann and Millard, *Le Texas, ou Notice Historique sur le Champ d'Asile...* (A Paris: Chez Beguin; Bechet aine; Delaunay, Houdon, Juin 1819). 20.5 cm. 135 p. F395.F8 1819

74

Lambert

Le Champ d'Asile

Engraving with applied color on paper, 18.5 x 22.5 cm. (cropped) [Paris: chez Lambert, ca.1819].

75

Artist Unknown

Le Champ d'Asile

Engraving with etching on paper, 12 x 17 cm., in C... D..., *Le Champ d'Asile au Texas, ou Notice curieuse et interessante sur la formation de cette Colonie....* (A Paris: Chez Tiger, Imprimeur-Libraire..., ca.1820). 107 p. 15 cm. F395.F8 D14

A colony of French Bonapartist refugees existed for barely six months in 1818 near the mouth of the Trinity River in Spanish Texas. The few colonists, led by officers who had served under Napoleon at Waterloo and assembled from parts of the U.S. including New Orleans, abandoned the site shortly after they learned that Spanish troops from San Antonio were on their way to remove them. Despite its short span of existence, the colony shaped Texas history in several ways, and it became the subject of a vast quantity of French propaganda including books, pamphlets, prints, poems, and sheet music. The book *Le Texas*, published in June 1819, gives a brief account of the colony and includes a frontispiece showing plans for the fortified settlement (cat. no. 73). The keys purport to show



(1) the dwellings of General Lallemand, (2) Fort Charles, (3) Fort Henri, (4) a stockade, (5) Rigau's dwelling, (6) a storehouse, and (7) soldier's

dwellings. The separated and trimmed hand-colored print *Le Champ d'Asile* by Lambert (cat. no. 74) and the engraved view of the colony also titled *Le Champ d'Asile*, which serves as the frontispiece to a small book also by that name attributed to "C. D.," are among the many purely fictitious "Texas" images that praise it. The inscription at the bottom of the latter reads in typical Bonapartist rhetoric: "*On reconnoissait, dans ce Camp, ces braves qui, pendant 25 ans, etonneront l'univers par leurs brillans exploits.*"¹

Concern about this French incursion helped motivate the United States to pressure the pirate Jean Lafitte to leave Galveston (based there, he had assisted the colonists). This concern also helped spur U.S. and Spanish officials to negotiate the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1819 whereby they removed the so-called "Neutral Ground" – a kind of strip of "Norman's land" between Spanish Texas and U.S. Louisiana that had existed since shortly after the Louisiana Purchase. Political conditions in France help explain the continued interest in the colony even after its demise. After Napoleon's defeat, Bourbon Kings once again ruled in both Spain and France, and liberal, former Bonapartists used Spain's threats against these "poor agrarian colonists" to drum up sympathy for their cause at home.²

¹ Translated *very roughly*: "One will recognize, in this Camp, these brave people who, in 25 years, will astonish the universe by their brilliant exploits." Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983, 1995), 1077.

² Kent Gardien and Betje Black Klier, "Champ D'asile," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 10, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/champ-dasile>, and Betje Black Klier, "Champ d'Asile, Texas," Francois Lagarde, ed., *The French in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), chapter 6.

76

A H. Brué

Carte Generale des Etats-Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale

Engraving with applied color on paper, 38 x 50.5 cm. (A Paris: chez l'auteur, Decembre 1820).

This 1820 map of the United States by the French geographer Adrien Hubert Brué (1786-1832) does not identify Texas but continues to show the area as part of the Spanish province of "San Luis Potosi." Importantly, he locates "*Champ d'Axile abandonne en 1818*" along the "*R. de la Trinidad*" (Trinity River). He also exhibited greater interest in the indigenous peoples of the area than most mapmakers of his time, identifying the "*Bedies*" (Bidai) and Caddos in far east Texas, the "*Carancovays*" (Karankawas) along the lower Brazos, the "*Yutas*" and "*Tancards*" along the upper Brazos and Colorado Rivers, "*Lipanis*" northwest of San Antonio, Rivers, "Cumanches" and "Apaches" in the far west along the "*R. Salado ou Puerco*" (Pecos).

77

D. Joaquin de Arredondo...

[Issues report from the Ministry of Overseas] (Madrid, July 7 and 10, 1820)

Typeset broadside on paper, 43 x 31.5 cm. (sheet), printed by Samuel Bangs at Monterrey, November [6], 1820. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* GO 31/7

This Spanish order bears the rubric of Joaquin de Arredondo (1768-1837). As the last Spanish military commandant of the eastern *Provincias Internas*, he earlier commanded loyalist forces at the bloody Battle of Medina in 1813 and presided over the final days of the Spanish government in Texas. Among his last acts before leaving for Cuba was to approve Moses Austin's *empresario* contract to settle three hundred Anglo families in Texas. This document explains to the literate that officers of the Spanish Cortes have been chosen in Madrid and an oath taken by the king.¹

¹ Lota M. Spell, *Pioneer Printer: Samuel Bangs in Mexico and Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), pp. 169-170, no. 29. Z232 B195.S6 1963; Bradley Folsom, *Arredondo: Last Spanish Ruler of Texas and Northeastern New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017). F389.F66 2017

New Emigrants to Shape an Independent Mexico, 1821-1828

The long Mexican War for Independence finally ended with the Plan of Iguala, an agreement whereby Mexico would become an independent constitutional monarchy under the leading royalist military commander, Agustín de Iturbide. Support for this and its defense of “the Three Guarantees” of religion (namely Catholic), independence, and unity, was widespread across Mexico, and the Spanish Viceroy signed the Treaty of Córdoba on August 24, 1821. Spanish Texas was now Mexican Texas – in name (the indigenous Comanches and others notwithstanding). Unfortunately, in Mexico City disagreements quickly erupted between those who wanted a completely centralized system and those who wanted a federal system with greater autonomy for separate states – believing in something like “states’ rights.” Distant Texas’ borders had remained quite permeable during this time as people primarily from the southern United States and of surprisingly diverse backgrounds increasingly emigrated to the area, both legally and illegally, both before and after Mexican independence. These new emigrants included displaced indigenous groups, such as the Western Cherokees, some free Blacks and former slaves, as well as Anglos, some of whom brought enslaved people with them. The best known among the Anglos was Stephen F. Austin, a young entrepreneur from Missouri who came to Texas in July 1821 to fulfill an *empresario* (land agent) contract originally granted to his father by the Spanish a few months earlier to settle in Texas three hundred Anglo families from the United States within a certain time period. With the help of many of his father’s contacts, Austin successfully renegotiated his contract with the Mexican government, which passed generous colonization laws hoping to populate their territory with industrious and loyal citizens who were good Catholics. Austin succeeded in fulfilling his contract by late 1824 and soon received four additional contracts. Meanwhile, the Mexican government granted Texas lands to other would-be *empresarios*, some successful, others not, while in the U.S. and elsewhere there was a sort of “land rush” for Mexican Texas.¹

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 100-110; Sam W. Haynes, *Unsettled Land: From Revolution to Republic, the Struggle for Texas* (New York: Basic Books, 2022), pp. 9-37; Gregg Cantrell, *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 1999).

78

Artist Unknown

Sr. D. Augustin Iturbide, Ex-Emperor of Mexico

Lithograph on paper, 14 x 9.5 cm., by Sinclair’s Lith., Philadelphia, in Albert M. Gilliam, *Travels over the Table Lands and Cordilleras of Mexico, during the Years 1843 and 44...* (Philadelphia: John W. Moore; London: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), opp. p. 393. 23 cm. F1213.G48

Agustín de Iturbide (1783-1824) served briefly as Emperor of Mexico from May 1822 to March 1823. As a conservative *criollo* (Spaniard, born in the Americas), he initially served as an army officer for the Royalist cause against the Republican revolutionaries, but by 1820 he had joined the revolutionaries and on February 24, 1821, issued, along with popular leader Vicente Guerrero, the Plan of Iguala for an independent Mexican nation. Iturbide’s supporters elected him Emperor, but his rule was soon opposed by the more liberal republicans and other factions within Mexico who forced him to abdicate. After a short period of exile in Europe, Iturbide, convinced by supporters in Mexico that he would be welcomed back, returned to Mexico on July 14, 1824. Instead, he was arrested and executed at Soto la Marina five days later.¹ This portrait, published posthumously in Philadelphia in 1846, accompanied other lithographs of Mexican scenes and a *Map of Gilliam’s Travels in Mexico including Texas and Part of the United States* as well as a map of Oregon and the Californias.

¹ “Agustín de Iturbide,” *Wikipedia*, accessed 11 August 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agust%C3%ADn_de_Iturbide



79

79

Artist Unknown

Entrada de los Restos de D. Agustín de Iturbide en México

Chromolithograph on paper, 12 x 16 cm., (Mexico City, ca.1880s). Gift of Jenkins Garrett

92-750 GA65/6

For well over three centuries, events in Mexico impacted Texas as much or more than events on the east coast of North America. This chromolithographed view of Mexico City’s Plaza Mayor or Zocalo shows the ceremonious reinterment of the remains of Emperor Iturbide there in 1839 in front of the Cathedral and the National Palace – the scene of many other influential events in Texas history. Royalist anger over Iturbide’s 1824 execution and political divisions among early Mexicans festered for years. There was even a conflict among the

early Mexican nationalists over which of Mexico's independence days to celebrate with conservatives preferring September 27 (the date of Iturbide's triumphal entrance into Mexico City at the end of the War of Independence) and liberals preferring September 16 (when Father Hidalgo issued his *grito* at the beginning of that war).¹

¹ "Agustin de Iturbide," *Wikipedia*, accessed 11 August 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agust%C3%ADn_de_Iturbide

80
Artist Unknown

S. F. Austin

Engraved transfer lithograph on paper, 12 x 7 cm., lithographed by Konrad Huber, in Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas From Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (New York: Redfield, 1856), opp. p. 202. 23 cm. Gift of Jenkins Garrett

F386.Y56 v.1



The famous Anglo-Texan colonizer Stephen F. Austin (1793-1836) grew up in Missouri (which, it should be remembered, was under Spanish control until 1800). He studied law and Spanish before coming to Mexican Texas. In many ways, he became the most successful model for *empresarios* who resided in Texas. Austin was a tireless businessman and

remained a lifelong bachelor. Ever a diplomat, he attempted to work within the Mexican legal system to ensure the peaceful growth of his own colony, and he eventually saw himself as the protector of the interests of all Anglo-Texans, later earning the nickname "the father of Texas."¹

¹ Gregg Cantrell, *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

81
By Stephen F. Austin

Civil Commandant of the Colony forming on the Colorado and Brassos Rivers in the Province of Texas: -Permission to emigrate and settle in the Colony forming by me, under the authority and protection of the government of New Spain, at the points above stated.

Printed form on laid paper with "Almasso" watermark, 24.4 x 21.3 cm. New Orleans, 1821. Gift of Jenkins Garrett

GA38

This blank early emigration form (in English) for Austin's Texas Colony does not yet recognize Mexican Independence and is "considered the first piece of printing associated with Austin's colonization effort in Texas." Printed in New Orleans, it shows some of the necessary qualifications and rules for emigration to New Spain.¹ A person needed evidence of good moral character, had to take an oath of allegiance to the government, pay Austin twelve and a half cents per acre for receipt of title and pay surveying fees, and they would receive 640 acres to the head of each family, 320 to the man's wife (if married), 160 for each child, 80 for each slave, within the year from January 1, 1822. "Mechanics and men of capital" would "receive additional privileges."

¹ W. Thomas Taylor, with an introduction by Larry McMurtry, *Texfake: An Account of the Theft and Forgery of Early Texas Printed Documents* (Austin: W.T. Taylor, 1991), pp. 111-113, plates 31 and 32 compare an original copy and a forgery.

82
F. Costa

Lorenzo de Zavala



Lithograph on paper, 12 x 16 cm., by R.S. Econ?, in Lorenzo de Zavala, *Viaje a los Estados-Unidos de Norte America... con una noticia sobre su vida, por D. Justo Sierra* (Merida e Yucatan: Imprenta de Castillo y Compania, 1846), [p. 1].

E165.Z39 1846. SpCo

A prominent figure in the early histories of both independent Mexico and the later Texas struggle for independence from Mexico, Lorenzo de Zavala (1788-1836) was a federalist politician, diplomat, physician, and author closely associated with the adoption of Mexico's liberal Constitution of 1824. Born and educated in Yucatán, De Zavala wrote for local newspapers, entered local government, endured three years imprisonment by the Spanish (during which time he studied English and medicine), then later served as Yucatán's representative to the Spanish *Cortes* (legislature) in Madrid. In 1821 he returned to Mexico where he was again elected as Yucatán's representative to the newly formed national congress over which he presided when it approved the Constitution in 1824. He then served as senator from 1824-1826 and six months as Minister of Finance under Vicente Guerrero in 1829 before Guerrero was overthrown. After a short period under house arrest, De Zavala spent the next years in exile in the U.S. and Europe, travelling, writing, and developing a strong admiration for the U.S. political system while acknowledging its hypocrisy on slavery. In 1830, he applied for and received an *empresario* land grant in east Texas, and in 1832 he returned to Mexico, served as governor of the State of Mexico and was appointed Minister to France under President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. Increasingly concerned over Santa Anna's growing dictatorship, de Zavala resigned his post and moved his family to Texas in 1835. During the Texas War of Independence, he served as representative of Harrisburg, signed the Texas Declaration of Independence, barely escaped Santa Anna's pursuit, helped draft the constitution, and served briefly as *ad interim* vice president of Texas before he died of pneumonia in November 1836.¹

¹ Raymond Estep, "Zavala, Lorenzo de," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 17, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/zavala-lorenzo-de>. See also Margaret Swett Henson, *Lorenzo de Zavala* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1996).

83
Constitucion Federal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Sancionada por el Congreso General Constituyente, el 4. de Octubre de 1824

[Presentation Copy of the Mexican Constitution of 1824 signed by Miguel Ramos Arizpe] (Mexico City: Imprenta del Supremo Gobierno de los Estados-Unidos Mexicanos, en Palacio, 1824). 29 cm. Gift of Jenkins Garrett L1215 1824.A5 Garrett



This is an original presentation copy of Mexico's Constitution of 1824, printed in Mexico City and personally signed on the second page by Miguel Ramos Arizpe (1775-1843), a northern Mexican priest and politician who chaired the committee that drafted it.¹ This federalist document drew its primary inspiration from the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not the U.S. Constitution. From 1824 until 1835, it provided the fundamental law to govern Mexican Texas (which at this time was joined with Arizpe's province of Coahuila

in the state of *Coahuila y Tejas*). An analogous example of such a document in the U.S. might be an original presentation copy of the U.S. Constitution signed by Alexander Hamilton or James Madison.

¹ "Miguel Ramos Arizpe," *Wikipedia*, accessed August 17, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miguel_Ramos_Arizpe

² S. S. McKay, "Constitution of 1824," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 17, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/constitution-of-1824>.

84
Geographical Institute, Weimar

Geographisch-statische und historische Charte von Mexico (Mexico nebst den Inneren Provinzen)

Engraved transfer lithograph with applied color on paper, 47.5 x 55.5 cm. (Weimar: Geographical Institute, 1823[1824]).

2018-357 8/3

After 1821, geographers, mapmakers, and commercial map sellers produced new maps to show and describe the territories and boundaries of the newly independent Mexican nation. This early German example



includes a hand-colored Mexican tri-color flag first adopted during the Mexican War of Independence that symbolized the “Three Guarantees” of Independence (Green), Religion (White), and Red (Unity). Most, if not all, the information on the map itself derived from Humboldt’s New Spain map, atlas, and writings. Interestingly, the “Comanches Ind.” label in the trans-Pecos area of west Texas seems a bit more prominent than on Humboldt’s original map. The German text gives a lengthy geographical description and statistics mostly from Humboldt but updates the historical information to include Mexican independence since 1821, noting that “*das Kaiserth. Iturbides war von kurzer Dauer*” (Iturbide’s Imperial reign was of short duration). The text mentions the new “*Wappen des Staats*” (national symbol) of an eagle with cactus but only adds that the tri-color flag should have an imperial eagle in the center.

85

White, Gallaher and White

Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Méjico....

Engraving (with hand-colored outlines), 75 x 105 cm. (sheet), by Balch & Stiles (New York: White, Gallaher and White, May 21, 1828).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

00640 141/7

Mexican independence required the United States government to negotiate and sign new treaties with the new neighboring republic. On April 28, 1828, the U.S. Senate ratified an agreement with the Mexican government, basically recognizing the boundary that had existed between the United States and New Spain. On May 21, 1828, less than a month after the new agreement between the U.S. and Mexico, the New York publishing firm of White, Gallaher and White issued this Spanish-language map of Mexico printed by the engraving firm of Vistus Balch and Samuel Stiles. The map basically copied and translated into Spanish Henry S. Tanner’s Map of the United States of Mexico which in turn was based on the southwest portion of Tanner’s Map of North America of 1822. New York publisher John Disturnell acquired the copper plates for White, Gallaher, and White’s map in 1845 and began producing his own version without crediting them.¹

White, Gallaher, and White’s cartouche, however, was new for a map in 1828 and includes a beautifully engraved representation of the Mexican eagle perching on a prickly pear cactus (Latin *Opuntia* and Nahuatl *Nopal*) and grasping a snake. This national symbol, based upon a legend about the Aztec entrance into the Valley of Mexico and the founding of their capital *Tenochtitlan*, here includes a scroll with the words “*Republica Federal Mejicana*.” Each leaf (also called a *nopal*) of the cactus represents a Mexican state (“*E*” for *Estado*),” including one directly below the eagle labeled “*E Coahuila y Tejas*.” Above is the revolutionary Phrygian cap of liberty and below are weapons of war: a Spanish crossbow and an Aztec club or *macuahuitl*.

Details in the area of Texas abound. In addition to Nacogdoches, La Bahia, the destroyed Mission at San Saba, and several mission sites in



and around San Antonio (deceivingly separated by too much distance on the map), there is Pecan Point in the far northeast on the Red River. “*Tarancoues*” (Karankawas), “*Tanacanos*” (Tehuacanos, Tehuacanas or Tawakonis), and “*Ind. Hueques*” (Wacos) appear along the course of the “*Rio Brasos de Dios*” (Brazos River). The Mexican state shares a border along the Nueces River with the state of Tamaulipas (formerly referred to as “*Nuevo Santander*”), and the map shows the southern border of the territory of Nuevo Mexico and Santa Fe stretching far to the east of the Paso del Norte.

¹ Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny* (2014), pp. 6-7, nos. 2, 3; Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 95, 234, no. 384; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 137-139, plates 37, 38; Jack Jackson, “General Taylor’s ‘Astonishing’ Map of Northeastern Mexico,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* CI:2 (October 1997): 143-173.

86

Artist Unknown

Manuel Mier y Teran

Lithograph on paper, 14 x 11 cm., in Luis [Jean-Louis] Berlandier, Rafael Chovel, and General Manuel Mier y Terán, *Diario de viaje de la Comision de limites que puso el gobierno de la Republica, bajo la direccion del exmo. sr. general de division d. Manuel de Mier y Teran* (Mexico City: printed by J. R. Navarro, 1850), frontispiece. 21.5 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F1213.M59

One of the ablest of Mexican leaders, General Manuel Mier y Terán (1789-1832), early recognized problems with U.S.-Anglo emigration to Texas and took steps to curb it. A *criollo* educated in mathematics and engineering at the College of Mines in Mexico City, Terán joined the revolutionary cause against the Spanish in 1811 and, after independence, served in Mexico’s congress as a member of the committee on colonization of unoccupied lands. Promoted to brigadier general in 1824, he soon served as minister of war. He first visited Texas in 1827-1828 as the head of the *Comision de limites*, an extensive scientific and boundary survey of Texas. He and his team observed Texas’ natural resources, indigenous peoples, the newer immigrants and their attitudes and customs, and attempted to determine the boundary between Texas and the United States. What he found disturbed him. He recommended stronger measures to prevent U.S. encroachment on Texas, an increase in defense, greater trade with Mexico, and the encouragement of Mexican and European immigration. After further service to both Texas and Mexico, Terán sadly took his own life in 1832.¹

¹ Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 72, 83-84, 89-90, 97-100, 107; Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 116-117; *Texas by Teran: The Diary Kept by General Manuel de Mier y Teran on his 1828 Inspection of Texas*, edited by Jack Jackson and translated by John Wheat, with Botanical Notes by Scooter Cheatham and Lynn Marshall (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). See especially intro.; also see Jean Louis Berlandier, *Journey to Mexico during the years 1826 to 1834*, translated by Sheila M. Ohlendorf, Josette M. Bigelow, and Mary M. Standifer, introduction by C. H. Muller, and Botanical Notes by C. H. Muller and Katherine K. Muller (2 vols.; Austin: Texas State Historical Association in cooperation with the Center for Studies in Texas History, The University of Texas at Austin, 1980).

The Shape of Texas begins to Shift ... Again, 1829-1835

Mexican Texas experienced a shift in cultures as a large population of Anglo Protestants and enslaved people emigrated from the American South. Indigenous refugees from the United States also added to the population. The number of Mexicans migrating north never matched this. Centralist politicians began to worry that Mexico would lose all control in Texas, particularly after they read General Terán's report that the growing Anglo population was not assimilating well and that they were not following Mexican laws, particularly Mexico's ban on slavery. Attempts to enforce Mexican laws and to stop Anglo emigration from the U.S. altogether only added to dissatisfaction and growing discontent with the Mexican government among the Texan colonists. The Anglo-Americans found allies among the Mexican federalists who helped them smooth over differences, but the Anglos, convinced of their "inalienable rights" and familiar with self-government, wanted more autonomy in their own affairs.¹

For years before and after Texas independence, maps show Texas divided into land grants or colonies by the name of the *empresario* or land agent. Stephen F. Austin's map of Texas, as printed and published by Henry S. Tanner of Philadelphia and issued in multiple editions between 1830 and 1840, is the prime example of these (cat. no. 97) but there are many others, some of which appeared separately or in books. Boundaries between grants were not always well-defined by surveys, and disputes arose between those with prior claims and those that arrived later, an example being the trouble resulting in the short-lived Fredonian Revolt of 1826-1827 after *empresario* Haden Edwards and his brother Benjamin attempted to remove prior residents within their east Texas grant around Nacogdoches. Commercial mapmakers also continued to produce regional maps for atlases that included Texas, but many other new maps were clearly promotional in purpose.

¹ Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 25-118; Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 104-122; T. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York and New Jersey: Wings Books, 1968), pp. 152-189.

87



87

Auguste-Henri Dufour (1798-1865)

République Fédérative des États-Unis Méxicains

Engraving with applied color on paper, 76 x 53 cm. (Paris: Chez Basset, 1835).

2005-80 80/9

Like the failed 1817 French Colony of *Champ d'Asile*, the short-lived Fredonian Rebellion of 1826-1827 – a precursor to the Texas War of Independence – also had a much longer life in popular culture than in reality. This 1835 map by Parisian cartographer and publisher Aguste-

Henri Dufour (1798-1865) references both.¹ Years after the so-called Fredonian Revolt was crushed the map continues to read in large letters in French "Republic of Fredonia formed from the Province of Texas and established December 16, 1826." The rebellion grew out of a land dispute between the Mexican government and the Anglo-Texan empresario Haden Edwards and his brother Benjamin. Their 1825 land grant included areas that had already been settled, creating chaos between older colonists, the Edwards brothers, and their "new" colonists. As Mexican government officials attempted to clear up the problem, the Edwards brothers and their supporters holed up in an old stone fort at Nacogdoches and, on December 16, 1826, declared an independent state they called "Fredonia." At the invitation of the Edwards brothers, Cherokee leader Richard Fields, who had made earlier unsuccessful attempts to get Mexican approval of a Cherokee colony in east Texas, now attempted to get his people to join the revolt. Mexican authorities aided by other Anglo colonists quickly crushed the rebellion and forced the Edwards brothers and their supporters to flee across the border to Louisiana by February 1827. The Cherokees executed Fields for getting them involved.² The map lists numerous Indian groups in Texas, New Mexico, and beyond, all spelled phonetically in French. Most of these references had appeared on Brué's map of the United States in 1820 (cat. No. 76). Brué's Red River boundary is particularly distorted.

¹ Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny* (2014), p. 15, no. 21; Compare Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 160, 247, no. 425; Barry Lawrence Ruderman Rare Maps, no. 27176; Archie P. McDonald, "Fredonian Rebellion," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 01, 2014 (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jcf01>).

² On the Cherokees and their early activities in Mexican Texas, including the Fredonian Revolt, see Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 9-58; Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 106, 108-110.



88

William Hooker

Map of the State of Coahuila and Texas

Engraving on paper, 27 x 34 cm., from Mary Austin Holley, *Texas. Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive, in a Series of Letters Written during a Visit to Austin's Colony, with a view to a permanent settlement in that country, in the Autumn of 1831* (Baltimore: Armstrong & Plaskitt, 1833), frontisp. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* 310159 27/9 F359.H73

colonizer Stephen F. Austin. Holley and her publisher, Armstrong & Plaskitt of Baltimore, substituted Hooker's map when Henry S. Tanner, the publisher of Stephen F. Austin's large map of Texas, refused to allow the latter (cat. no. 97) to be used in the book. Hooker's small map shows the Austin Colony capital town of San Felipe de Austin at the center of roads leading to other settlements including Bexar (San Antonio de Bexar), Victoria and Goliad or Bahia, Matagorda, Brazaria (sic, Brazoria), Harrisburg, and Buffalo Bayou as well as a road connecting to the older Camino Real or old Spanish road between Bexar and Nacogdoches. Other sites include Pecan Point (in far northeast Texas), Cherokee Village (in east Texas), and Velasco and Anahuac (both on the coast). Lands granted to individuals under the Mexican empresario system are shown. In addition to Austin's grants awarded in 1821 (confirmed in 1823 and extended by further contracts in 1825, 1827, and 1828), these include the grants of Green DeWitt (contract awarded in 1825), Frost Thorn (1825), Benjamin R. Milam (1826), David G. Burnet (1826), Arthur G. Wavell (1826), Joseph Vehlein (1826 and 1828), Lorenzo de Zavala (1829), Juan Dominguez y Valdez (1829), Richard Exter (1826, 1828), John Charles Beale (1830). The lands in west Texas granted to Beale and José Manuel Royuela and to Austin and his partner Samuel May Williams in 1832 are the latest to appear on the map.¹

The second version of the map shown here dates from 1836 and, like the later edition of Mary Austin Holley's book, has some important updates. The later map contains all the details of the earlier 1833 version but adds even more details, making it harder to read. The newer map indirectly refers to *empresarios* John McMullen and James McGloin, James Power, and John Cameron, adding references to the grants of Juan Antonio Padilla and Thomas Jefferson Chambers in the panhandle (awarded in 1830), De Leon in the south, and those of John Charles Beale and Dr. James Grant in the west. Further, the map includes the towns of Bastrop, Gonzales, Cole's Settlement (Independence), Montezuma, Orizumba, Columbia, and Bell's Landing. Farther south on and below the Rio Grande are additional towns Laredo, Presidio, Santa Rosa, Monclova, Lapunta, Condela, and Saltillo. The words "now Filisola" are stamped in northeast Texas next to Thorn's Grant – referring to an empresario land grant awarded in 1831 to Italian-born Mexican Army General Vicente Filisola (1789-1850). Other handwritten additions in ink on the map are references to Benjamin Milam's grant in the far northeast and the towns of Washington (on the Brazos), Corpus Christi, and [San] Augustine. The second map features still other new details such as "Herds of Buffalo" and "Droves of Wild Cattle & Horses" (phrases copied directly from the Austin-Tanner map) and peaks in the west, the Cross Timbers, Fort Tenoxtitlan (constructed for the Mexican army in 1830), Comanche Indian lands in the west, Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw Indian lands north of the Red River.²

¹ Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny* (2014), p. 16; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983), pp. 376-377, 383, 397, nos. 1135, 1136, 1155, 1155A, 1207; Marty Davis, et al., *Going to Texas: Five Centuries of Texas Maps* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007), p. 35, plate 17; James M. Day, *Maps of Texas 1527-1900* (Austin, Texas: The Pemberton Press, 1964), pp. 18, 22, nos. 1474, 40; Dorothy Sloan Books Auction 22 catalog (Austin, Texas, 2009), no. 188. For dates of Texas land grant contract awards see *The Handbook of Texas Online* entries for each empresario, beginning with the article on Land Grants by Aldon S. Lang and Christopher Long, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mpl01>, accessed 7-19-2019.

² UTA also owns another hand-colored edition of this map that appears as a frontispiece to the anonymous book sometimes attributed to M. Fiske of Mobile Alabama titled *A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller Through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers* (New York: Goodrich & Wiley, 1834). (see cat. No. 98) This 1834 map, which could not be shown in order to exhibit the print of McNeil's estate, contains all the details of the earlier 1833 map plus many or all of the details found on the 1836 version here.

89



89

William Hooker

Map of the State of Coahuila and Texas

Engraving with applied color on paper, 27 x 34 cm., from Mary Austin Holley, *Texas*. (Lexington, Ky.: J. Clarke & Co., 1836), frontispiece. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* 310160 27/9
Note: map displayed as 89 in the Gallery Guide is in the book (cat. no. 98, see note 2 below) F359.H74

Maps showing the combined state of Coahuila and Texas are rare. These two maps by Philadelphia engraver, printer, map publisher, and instrument maker William Hooker (active 1804-1846) include both in the title but crop the southern portion of Coahuila. The first map (uncolored here) appeared in an 1833 promotional book on Texas by Mary Austin Holley (1784-1846), a first cousin of the famous Texas

John Arrowsmith

Mexico

Engraving with applied color on paper, 49 x 62 cm. London: Arrowsmith, dated 15 Feby. 1832. 1:6,650,000, probably from John Arrowsmith, London *Atlas of Universal Geography* (London: Arrowsmith, 1834 or 1838 editions), plate 44. *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00895 c.2 - 135/1

John Arrowsmith's 1832 map of Mexico was a compilation of the latest and best sources available in London and has been called "... arguably the best map of the country published prior to the 1850s."¹ In this example, probably from a later atlas, Arrowsmith depicts Texas in heart-shaped form with colored boundaries separating it from Coahuila although both were still part of the same Mexican state when the map was first issued. Arrowsmith improved coastal information, added greater detail on Texas' rivers, and included many new towns in the interior. Of greater significance than indicated by font size, Arrowsmith acknowledges the presence of the Comanches in several areas: along the "Puercos" (Pecos), along the hundredth meridian south of the Red River, and in the "Great Desert" of what became the present Texas panhandle, which he notes is "Frequented by roving bands of Indians who roam about in quest of game."² In fact, Comanche presence was already as far south as Gonzales. Incidentally, this was a factor in a dispute among early *empresarios* Martin de León, whose colony, mostly consisting of families from Mexico, was on the lower Guadalupe River around Victoria, and Green DeWitt, whose land grant, noted here by Arrowsmith, was supposed to be well above on the same river around Gonzales. Instead, in order to avoid Comanches, DeWitt's colonists, mostly Anglo families from the U.S., had to temporarily settle more southeast and closer toward de León's grant, creating friction.³ The Arrowsmith family were generally recognized as the leading English mapmakers of the late 18th and early 19th century. John Arrowsmith (1790-1873) was the nephew and eventual successor of the company founder Aaron Arrowsmith, Sr. (1750-1823). Not surprisingly, the base for John's map of Mexico was Aaron Sr.'s map of Mexico of 1810 which in turn had utilized Alexander von Humboldt's great map of Mexico of 1809 and Royal Navy coastal charts.⁴

¹ David Y. Allen, "Emerging from Humboldt's Shadow: British Travelers and John Arrowsmith's Maps of Mexico, 1822-1844," in *Terrae Incognitae* 50:1 (April 2018):

² The term "Great American Desert" originated with Stephen H. Long's expedition in 1819.

³ Campbell, *Going to Texas* (2003), p. 108.

⁴ Worms and Baynton Williams, *British Map Engravers* (2011), pp. 25-29. For more discussion of this map see Allen, op cit., and Ben W. Huseman, *Paths to Highways: Routes of Exploration, Commerce, and Settlement* (Arlington, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, 2018), p. 20, no. 27.

Thomas Gamaliel Bradford

Texas

Engraving with applied color on paper, 20 x 27 cm., from T. G. Bradford, *A Comprehensive Atlas, Geographical, Historical and Commercial* (Boston: William D. Ticknor; New York: Wiley & Long, 1835), p. 64. *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00003 125/1

Bradford's 1835 map shows Texas divided up according to several of the original Mexican land grants, and it includes topographical details such as rivers, prairies, hills, towns, and settlements. Locations described as having "Droves of Wild Cattle & Horses" and "Mustang & Wild Horse Desert" clearly indicate the overwhelming influence of Stephen F. Austin and Henry S. Tanner's maps of Texas published in Philadelphia. This map is believed to be the first map of Texas as an independent republic to appear in an atlas. It was produced by Thomas Gamaliel Bradford (1802-1887), a Boston editor and

publisher. *Bradford's Comprehensive Atlas* from 1835 first appeared without the map but later variants, all dated 1835, include the map.¹

¹ James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1984; reprinted 1999), pp. 34, 124-125, plates 9 and 31.

William Roark(?)

Old Surveys in Harrison Cty

Ink and watercolor on paper, Verso, reads "Surveys of old grants in Harrison County / Pollett, Sims, and Nixon are marked on them." Ink and watercolor on paper, 40 x 30 cm., ca.1838. *George Antonio Nixon Collection* 655 52/3

Manuscript survey maps played an important role in determining land claims. This manuscript is part of a collection of such maps from the George Antonio Nixon Collection. Nixon (1781-1843) served as a Mexican government land commissioner and Texas land speculator for the Colorado and Red River Land Company. Between 1834 and 1835, he issued over 1,000 land titles for more than four million acres of land in east Texas – likely much of it land that Cherokees had lived on and had tried to obtain title to from the Mexican government for years. The land on this map was located between the Little Cyprus and Sabine Rivers – at that time along the boundary between Harrison and Nacogdoches Counties. It shows Cherokee Crossing on the Sabine River. Nixon supported the Texas Revolution and may have left during the "Runaway Scrape." After San Jacinto he returned and resettled his family in San Augustine where he became an attorney and continued his land speculations. By 1838, he owned more than half a million acres in Nacogdoches County, making him the largest single landowner there.¹ William Roark (1803-1862) was a land surveyor, business owner, and farmer who resided near Nacogdoches. His name appears on other maps in the collection.

¹ On Nixon see Lissa Kay Jones, "Open to Speculation: The Life and Times of George Antonio Nixon 1781-1843." M.A. Thesis in History, The University of Texas at Arlington, December 1985. On Roark see "Roark (William) Papers, 1832-1862," Texas A&M University-San Antonio, accessed September 2, 2022, <https://digitalcommons.tamusa.edu/findingaids/24/>; George Antonio Nixon Collection, A Guide, The University of Texas at Arlington Library Special Collections, accessed September 2, 2022, https://txarchives.org/utar/finding_aids/00026.xml; Huseman, *Paths to Highways* (2018), pp. 22-23.

Henry Lewis

Cotton Plantation / Eine Baumwoll-Pflanzung

Chromolithograph on paper, 16 x 21 cm., from Lewis, *Das Illustrierte Mississippithal* (Düsseldorf: Heinrich Arnz & Co., ca.1854-1858). 2021-120 GA56/28

In the early 1800s cotton cloth manufactured in Britain revolutionized clothing around the world creating a huge demand for growing cotton in the expanding southern states of the U.S. The plantation system and slave labor, some people thought at the time, was the best way to meet this demand. Many Anglo emigrants to Texas came from the U.S. South where most whites regarded slavery as an economic necessity. Quite a few, including some of the most famous names in Texas history, brought slaves with them or owned slaves at some point.¹ This chromolithograph from German artist Henry Lewis' late 1840s sketch of what appears to be a well-ordered cotton plantation on the Mississippi River illustrates the "ideal" that some Anglo emigrants wanted to recreate in Mexican Texas. While Texas' largest cotton-growing slaveholder, Jared Groce (1782-1839), was a strict businessman and widower who preferred to live in a simple two-story log cabin amidst his plantation with approximately ninety enslaved people of African descent on the Brazos near present Hempstead, he made sure that his daughter Sarah, married to Texas colonist William



H. Wharton, lived in a grand two-story Greek revival mansion farther down the Brazos on another plantation ten miles from the coast.²

¹ See Andrew Torget, *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015) and Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014).

² See Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 71-81.

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Manifest of Slaves, on board the Steamship Portland of New Orleans burthen 468 tons whereof H.E. Boehner is at present Master, bound from the port of New Orleans for the Port of Galveston. District of New Orleans – Port of New-Orleans, the 13th day of July 1850

20.5 x 34.5 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

GA28

This printed “Manifest of Slaves” form for a steamboat bound from New Orleans to Galveston, Texas, in 1850, reflects some of the human reality of the slave trade, listing in handwritten ink the names, sex, ages, height, and skin tone or “type” of nine people.

95

Colorado & Red River Land Company, John Charles Beales, et al. *Map of Texas Shewing the Grants in Possession of the Colorado & Red River Land Compy.*

Lithograph with applied color on paper, 49.5 x 64 cm., lithographed by Konen, Brussels, Belgium (New York: Colorado & Red River Land Company, ca.1835). *Gift of Virginia Garrett*

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The Colorado and Red River Land Company

Lithographed stock certificate with applied color on paper, 19 x 26 cm., printed by C. C. Wright & Durand, N.Y. (New York: Colorado & Red River Land Company, 1835). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00692b 142/7

The Colorado and Red River Land Company of New York and Texas, established in New York in 1833, issued this beautifully lithographed promotional map and stock certificate relating to its vast but tenuous land claims in Texas. The company claimed these through the Mexican government’s grants to the English-born *empresario* Dr. John Charles Beales (1804-1878), whose signature appears on the stock certificate. Dr. Beales had come to Mexico in 1826 with a British-backed mining company and briefly practiced medicine in Mexico City where he married María Dolores Soto y Saldaña in 1830. She was the widow of Richard Exeter, an English merchant and empresario in Mexico who had been a joint contractor with *empresario* Julian Wilson for the Wilson & Exeter Land Grant – approximately 48 million acres in eastern New Mexico and the present Texas and Oklahoma panhandles. The company’s lands from Wilson & Exeter’s Grant appear in pink at the upper left of the larger map. Beales soon took over the contracts, transferring his wife and stepdaughter’s shares to the Arkansas and Texas Land Company in New York. The numerous notations about the quality of the land in the northwest derive from the 1827 survey by Santa Fe trader Alexander LeGrand who was employed by Wilson and Exeter. Not surprisingly, the only comment about the Native Americans already there is in fine print (“Bought 191 B[uffalo] skins of the Comanches”) and seems to imply they would also be friendly to settlers and land speculators(!).

In 1832, Beale next persuaded officials in the state of Coahuila y Texas to grant him and three sets of partners more empresario contracts – several of which had formerly belonged to Julian Wilson, Green DeWitt, and Benjamin Rush Milam – for a total of over 55 million acres of land north of the Rio Grande and an obligation to settle over 1,450 families. In the center of this map, also in pink, are the company’s lands from Milam’s Grant between the Colorado and Guadalupe Rivers. Just west are lands acquired by Beales from the former empresario land grant of Lucius Woodbury and sold to the Rio Grande & Texas Land Company. Just south of these lands, between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, is Beale’s [sic, Beales’] River Grant. This is outlined in pink along with the rest of the state of Coahuila. Along Las Moras Creek within Beales’ lower Rio Grande River grant is the settlement of Dolores, named for Beales’ wife, established in 1833 with help from Dr. James Grant and a group of colonists that Beales had personally led from New York. As a result of its remote location and the outbreak of the Texas Revolution, the colony was a miserable failure, and Beales returned to New York to practice medicine. Although Dr. Beales never fulfilled his empresario contracts and spent years in litigation over some of his lands, he apparently nevertheless profited handsomely from some of his land deals.

¹ *John Charles Beales’ Rio Grande Colony: By Edward Ludacus...*, ed. and trans. by Louis E. Brister (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2008); Mary Virginia Henderson, “Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825–1834,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 31, 32 (April, July 1928); Raymond Estep, “The First Panhandle Land Grant,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 36 (Winter 1958–59). Raymond Estep, “The Military and Diplomatic Services of Alexander Le Grand for the Republic of Texas, 1836–1837,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 54 (October 1950); Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. “Beales, John Charles,” <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/BB/fbe3.html> (accessed April 16, 2010); *Handbook of Texas Online*, s. v. “Beales’s Colony,” <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/BB/ueb1.html> (accessed April 16, 2010). Ben W. Huseman, *Charting Chartered Companies as Mirrored in Maps, 1600-1900* (University of Texas at Arlington, 2010), pp. 38-39, cat. nos. 47 and 48.

Centralism, Federalism, or Independence?

The various Mexican governments never found a solution for their growing Texas problem. All efforts to curb Anglo emigration and slavery from the United States and enforce Mexican laws just led to frustration, anger, and growing incidents of violence. Anglo-Texans, by simply forming provisional council and assemblies according to U.S. custom, aroused Mexican suspicions even when they, like Stephen F. Austin, kept trying to work through legal channels to get the ever-shifting Mexican governments to address their concerns. The Cherokees, too, remained loyal to Mexico, still hoping to get clear titles to their land. However, more recent arrivals, which included aggressive agitators like William B. Travis, became increasingly involved in “disturbances” involving customs collection, runaway slaves, or discriminatory actions against Mexicans and indigenous people that resulted in open rebellion or total disregard of Mexican laws. These radicals steadily gained influence within Texas, particularly after the moderate Austin, who had travelled to Mexico City in 1833 on behalf of the colonists, was arrested for treason on his return trip and held for a year without trial as a prisoner in Mexico City until released in December 1834. Meanwhile, Mexican President and General of the Army Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna – at first believed to be a champion of the federalist cause and defender the Constitution of 1824 – shifted course by centralizing the government and increasingly assuming dictatorial powers.

Anglo-Texans in provisional councils and assemblies in Texas attempted to understand Mexican policies and determine what course to take. Should Texas ally itself with northern Mexican states to defend and return to the Constitution of 1824? Or should Texas free itself from Mexican rule entirely? Anglo Texans and federalist Mexican politicians passed resolutions and made declarations. Meanwhile, Tejanos and the indigenous peoples also had to determine their own path forward through dangerous political currents in a place where they were increasingly minorities.

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important and influential map of Texas as a folding pocket map in 1830. Based upon manuscript maps Austin had originally prepared for the Mexican government, it improved upon earlier maps by its depiction of Texas’ rivers, Indian villages (Waco, Caddo, Cherokee, Alabama, Coushatta), settlements, the distinct woodland area of north central Texas known as the Cross Timbers, and prairies where a traveler or colonist was likely to encounter “immense herds of buffalo,” “droves of wild horses,” and the nomadic Comanche Indians. In all, Tanner published seven editions of the map. The first six, published from 1830 until 1839 – like this one from 1836 – had a title cartouche with the national symbol of Mexico (eagle with serpent perched upon a cactus, derived from the White, Gallaher, and White map of Mexico of 1828, see no. 85) and bore the title “Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States.” After the 1840 edition, Tanner changed the title to “Genl. Austin’s Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States.” All editions have a lengthy note crediting the geographic reference points of latitude and longitude established in 1827-1829 by the Boundary Commission led by Mexican General Manuel Mier y Terán for the towns of Saltillo, Monterrey, Laredo, [San Antonio de] Bexar, Nacogdoches, and “the point where the [United States-Mexico] boundary line leaves the Sabine [River].” Comparisons of the various printed editions with some of the earlier manuscript maps reveal some interesting differences. For the general public Austin and Tanner deliberately omitted some of the information that Austin, as a leader of frontier militia, had gathered on several of the indigenous peoples known to inhabit Texas. Obviously, potential settlers might be more reluctant to move to a place that was already inhabited. Later editions of Austin’s map include the boundaries not only of lands granted to *empresarios* (or colonizers) but also add additional subdivisions for new counties and locations for new towns. They also refer to more recent military sites such as “Fort Alamo” at S. Antonio de Bexar and “Battle 21 April 1836” located between Harrisburg and Lynchburg.¹ This 1836 edition does not yet have

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Stephen F. Austin and Henry S. Tanner

Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States

Engraving and etching with hand-colored outlines on paper, 72 x 58 cm., engraved by John & Wm. Warr (Philadelphia: Henry S. Tanner, 1836 edition (first published in 1830). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00693 90/1

Texas Anglo colonizer Stephen F. Austin and Philadelphia mapmaker and publisher Henry S. Tanner (1786-1858) first published this

these, but it does include some of the newer settlements, including Anahuac, Wallace, Miller, Liberty, Teran, Zavala, S. Augustine, New Washington, Lynchburg, Bolivar, Washington(-on-the-Brazos), S. Patrick, Copano, and Corpus Christi. Particularly interesting among the newer land grants included is the large “Austin Williams Grant” – a controversial takeover of empresario Sterling Robertson’s Grant.²

¹ Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1984, 1999), pp. 120-121, plate 29; Octavio Herrera, *El Noreste Cartografico* (Monterrey, Mexico: Fondo Editorial de Nuevo Leon, 2008), pp. 166-167, 170-171 reproduces manuscript maps by or relating to Austin’s map; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983), pp. 368-369; Day, *Maps of Texas*, pp. 13, 15-18, 20, 23, 25, 32; Taliaferro, Kenamore and Haller, *Cartographic Sources in the Rosenberg Library* (1988), p. 110, no. 236; Davis, et al., *Going to Texas* (2007), p. 34, plate 21. See also Cantrell, *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas* (1999); Allen G. Hatley, *The Indian Wars in Stephen F. Austin’s Texas Colony, 1822-1835* (Austin, Texas: Eakin Press, 2001); and Carlos E. Castaneda and Early Martin, Jr., *Three Manuscript Maps of Texas by Stephen F. Austin* (Austin, Texas: privately printed, 1930); Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny* (2014), pp. 16-17, no. 24.

² Malcolm D. Maclean, “Robertson’s Colony,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 15, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/robertsons-colony>.

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After M. Fiske?

McNeil’s Estate, near Brazoria

Engraving and etching on paper, 6.7 x 9.1 cm., by John T. Hammond, in *A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller Through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers* (New York: Goodrich & Wiley, 1834), frontisp. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

This engraving and etching likely reproduces an original sketch of a “dog-trot cabin” – a style of double log cabin with a breezeway typical of many erected in Texas by early Anglo settlers and their slaves. It appeared in an anonymous travel book on Texas sometime attributed to a certain “M. Fiske” of Mobile, Alabama. The author had sailed from New Orleans in March 1831 and had arrived in Brazoria to examine a large tract of land he had purchased from the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. While in Brazoria he visited the estate of farmer and stockraiser John Shelby McNeel (1770-1833), one of Austin’s “Old Three Hundred” settlers. The author was highly impressed and devoted a whole chapter to describing its idyllic location along the coast, including details right down to the Chinaberry trees surrounding the cabin. He visited various plantations and settlements elsewhere, too, including Harrisburg, Anahuac, and San Felipe.¹

¹ Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845 2nd edition Revised and Enlarged by Archibald Hanna with a Guide to the Microfilm Collection* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, Inc., 1983; first published by Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 328; Anonymous, “McNeel, John Shelby,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 15, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mcneel-john-shelby>. On Hammond, see Groce and Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society’s Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1880* (1957), p. 383.

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Artist Unknown

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of the Republic of Mexico

Lithograph on paper, 20 x 11.3 cm., by Day & Haghe, London, in Matilda Charlotte (Jesse) Fraser Houstoun, *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico; or Yachting in the New World* (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1844), vol. 1, opp. p. 244. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F390 .H87 Garrett

One of the central political and military figures in Mexican as well as Texas history, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna (1794-1876), served

eleven times as president of Mexico, facing enormous challenges often by opportunely switching sides during his amazing career. As a young *criollo* from Jalapa, he had served in the Spanish royalist army under Joaquin Arredondo during the Mexican War of Independence and participated in the slaughter at the Battle of Medina in Texas in 1813. He briefly supported Iturbide in 1821, then joined the federalists and emerged as a heroic defender of the Mexican nation against a French invasion in 1829 while also participating in or leading a couple of coups against Mexico’s leaders. Quite charismatic, Mexico’s Congress elected him President in 1833, but instead he retired to his estates in Veracruz and left governing to his subordinates. In 1834, with conservative encouragement, he led troops against his own Vice President and established a centralist dictatorship. Federalists in the northern Mexican states, including Anglo colonists and Tejanos in Texas, rose in open revolt to oppose him, ultimately leading to Texas’ War of Independence of 1835-1836.¹ This lithograph portrait appeared in a book written by a wealthy English woman who accompanied her husband on a sailing voyage to Texas in 1843.²

¹ “Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna,” *A Continent Divided: The U.S.-Mexico War*, accessed August 15, 2022, https://library.uta.edu/usmexicowar/item?bio_id=10&nation=Mexico. Will Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

² Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983; 1955), pp. 475-476, no. 1506.

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!!!Libertad, Constitucion, y Federacion!!! [Declaration of Grievances]

Broadside on paper, 25 x 19.6 cm. (San Felipe de Austin; printed by Baker & Bordens, June 22, 1835). R. M. Williamson, president, and Mosely Baker, secretary. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

On June 22, 1835 – after Santa Anna ruthlessly crushed the federalist revolt in Zacatecas in April and before the first battle of the Texas Revolution at Gonzales on October 2nd – this Spanish-language document known as the “*Declaration of Grievances*” was issued in San Felipe by a council presided over by R. M. Williamson. It outlines eight specific grievances against the Mexican government and passionately argues that Texans of Mexican birth and its adopted citizens unite to preserve the rights of citizens under Mexico’s Constitution of 1824.¹ Possibly as a result of this intended audience, the council chose a small format. Later, this same council, led by J. B. Miller, authorized William B. Travis to capture Anahuac where centralist government forces were again trying to stop rebellious agitators. Interestingly, R. M. Williamson (ca.1806-1859) was known as “Three-Legged Willie” because, due to a childhood illness, he wore a wooden leg at the knee that left his right leg trailing behind. For some time, he founded or edited three Texas newspapers in San Felipe – the *Cotton Plant*, the *Texas Gazette*, and its successor *The Mexican Citizen* with its motto “*Mexico es mi patri*.” This was probably a nod to his friend Stephen F. Austin who earlier had wanted to demonstrate to the Mexican government proof of their fidelity.²

¹ Thanks to Brenda McClurkin for sharing her Fort Worth Star-Telegram “Time Frames” article on this document.

² Anonymous, “Williamson, Robert McAlpin [Three Legged Willie],” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 17, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/williamson-robert-mcalpin-three-legged-willie>.

The Texas Revolution, 1835–1836

The Texas Revolution, or Texas War for Independence, began on October 2, 1835, when rebellious colonists attacked a Mexican force that had been ordered to retrieve a cannon previously loaned by the government to the settlers of Gonzales for defense against Indians. “Come and Take It” was the Texan reply, precipitating the Battle of Gonzales. Electing Stephen F. Austin commander of the “Army of the People,” the Texans soon captured the Goliad presidio and laid siege to San Antonio de Bexar where the centralist Mexican military commander in Texas, General Cos, held out until December 11 before surrendering. Meanwhile, delegates from across Texas met at San Felipe de Austin in a “Consultation” to determine a course of action while Austin’s undisciplined volunteer army, consisting of residents from all over Texas as well as volunteers from the U.S., grew and shrank depending upon their business back home. Forces sent to assist Mexican federalists in Tampico (from New Orleans) and Matamoros (from Texas) failed miserably, neither winning the support of most Texans or earning the trust and support of the local population.

Santa Anna, incensed by this rebellion, energetically gathered a large army of over 6,000 men and rapidly marched them north to defeat the federalist, Texan, and North American rebels whom he considered to be traitors, foreigners, and pirates. His advance troops arrived in San Antonio on February 23, 1836, and for the next thirteen days besieged a small force of recent volunteers from the United States holed up in the fortified mission there known as the Alamo while Texan delegates met at Washington-on-the-Brazos and declared Texas’ independence on March 2nd. On the morning of March 6th Santa Anna’s forces took the Alamo by direct assault, killing or executing all defenders.

Meanwhile, Santa Anna had sent another force under the highly competent Mexican General José de Urréa to sweep through Tampico and Matamoros and continue north and northeast through the Texas coastal plains. Urréa’s forces scattered and destroyed a small force of Texans near San Patricio on March 2nd and then on March 19-20 defeated a larger force of Texans and volunteers recently arrived from the United States under Colonel James Fannin who surrendered near Goliad. Despite the protestations of Urréa and others, Santa Anna ordered the execution of Fannin and over four hundred of his men in the so-called “Goliad Massacre” on March 27.

The combined disasters at San Antonio and Goliad led to a mass exodus of refugees eastward known as the “Runaway Scrape” as a regular Texan Army, now under the command of General Sam Houston, retreated eastward toward the United States border with Santa Anna and his army in pursuit. Finally, on April 21st Houston turned his army to fight at San Jacinto near present Houston, and in eighteen minutes the Texans overran the Mexican camp, killing and capturing almost the entire force and capturing the Mexican President himself.¹

¹ A useful chronology of major events of the Texas Revolution appears in James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: David Crockett’s Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. xiii-xvi. For further reading see Stephen L. Hardin, *Texian Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994)

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Declaration of the People of Texas, in General Convention assembled. [Declaration of Causes]

Broadside on paper, 31.5 x 19.3 cm. (San Felipe de Austin: Printed by Baker & Bordens, November 7, 1835). *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* GA41

At an assembly in San Felipe known as the Consultation, Texas representatives met to discuss the future of their revolt. They took a vote on the issue of independence, and it was defeated: 15 for and 33 against. Many of the older colonists were in the majority, believing that the timing was not right. This strategic document, known as the “*Declaration of Causes*,” represented a compromise.¹ It castigated Santa Anna and other military chieftains for overthrowing the federal institutions of Mexico, but it stopped short of outright independence. It made eight declarations for why the colonists were at war with the current Mexican government. Among these, they declared they would not cease to carry on war while centralist troops were in Texas. The document lists 56 delegates including: Henry Smith of Brazoria (who served as the first American governor of Mexican Texas and was for

immediate independence); R. M. Williamson, representing Mina (Bastrop); Lorenzo de Zavala, representing Harrisburg; and Samuel Houston, representing Nacogdoches. Better known as Sam Houston, this recent immigrant was a former Tennessee governor, protégé of U.S. President Andrew Jackson, and an adopted member of the Cherokee nation. Six days later, on November 13, the Consultation created a regular army – separate from Austin’s volunteer army – and named Houston as its commander because of his prior military experience.² Through Houston’s influence, the Consultation also pledged to recognize Cherokee claims in East Texas.³

¹ Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845 2nd edition Revised and Enlarged by Archibald Hanna with a Guide to the Microfilm Collection* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, Inc., 1983; first published by Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. No. 89; Taylor, *Texfake* (1991), pp.77-83. In addition to an explanation and circumstances surrounding the creation of the document, Taylor notes that UTA’s copy of this document is the original from which forgeries were made.

² Paul D. Lack, “Consultation,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 20, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/consultation>. Thomas H. Kreneck, “Houston, Sam,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 20, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/houston-sam>.

[Signed affidavit of Tejanos participating in the 1835 Siege of Bexar]

Manuscript, ink on blue paper, 62 x 20 cm., signed on verso Edward Clark, Commissioner of Claims, State of Texas, 10th day of Feby 1858. Includes "Lista de los individuos de la Compania de Voluntarios de la municipalidad de Bexar que concurrireron a la Toma de la Ciudad de Bexar / Capn Juan N. Seguin / Tente. 1 Placido Benavides / Tente 2. Salvador Flores / Sargento Manuel Flores / Soldados...."

Gift of Jenkins Garrett GA65-15 GO4/9

Tejanos (or Mexican Texans) contributed invaluable service to the cause of Texas independence as evidenced by this affidavit, compiled and signed twenty-three years later after Texas had become a state, by Texas politician, soldier, and revolutionary Juan N. Seguin and notarized by Edward Clark, Commissioner of Claims. It includes a list of Tejanos who served under Captain Seguin during the siege of Bexar. There could have been no Battle of the Alamo in March 1836 had the Tejanos and Anglo-Texans working together not first captured the fort from centralist government forces under Mexican General Martín Perfécto de Cós who surrendered in December 1835 after about a two-month siege.

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After Edward Everett

Ruins of the Church of the Alamo, San Antonio de Bexar

Lithograph on paper, 10.3 x 17 cm., by C.B. Graham, in George Wurtz Hughes, *Memoir Descriptive of the March of a Division of the United States Army, Under the Command of Brigadier General John E. Wool, from San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas, to Saltillo, in Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Senate Ex. Doc. 32, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 1850), after p. 67.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett

From February 23 to March 6, 1836, a Mexican Army under General and President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna besieged and annihilated a small Texan garrison at this converted mission fort commanded by Colonels William Barrett Travis, David Crockett, and James Bowie. The easily recognized facade of the Alamo chapel today differs somewhat from what it must have looked like in 1836. One of the earliest surviving reliable images of the Alamo is this 1850 lithograph based upon original watercolor sketches drawn during the later War between the United States and Mexico, 1846-1848, by Sergeant Edward Everett of the Illinois Volunteer Infantry. In Everett's view there is as yet no trace of what Everett many years later characterized as the "ridiculous scroll"

which he thought gave the facade "the appearance of the headboard of a bedstead." This, he noted, was the product of a later restoration project by "tasteless hands."¹ Despite this, the revised shape of the Alamo may be found everywhere and not just in architecture. Part of the popularity of the shape is undoubtedly due to the mythic power of the story. As stated by the *Handbook of Texas*, "For many Americans and most Texans, the battle has become a symbol of patriotic sacrifice."²

¹ Everett's original watercolor sketches for these lithographs are among the treasures of the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth. See Richard Eighme Ahlborn, *The San Antonio Missions: Edward Everett and the American Occupation, 1847* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1985).

² Stephen L. Hardin, "Alamo, Battle of the," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 07, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/alamo-battle-of-the>. Stephen L. Hardin, *Texian Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). Walter Lord, *A Time to Stand* (New York: Harper, 1961; 2d ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).

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After Samuel S. Osgood

David Crockett

Engraving on paper, 17.8 x 10.5 cm., engraved by T. B. Welch, in David Crockett, *An Account of Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East...* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart; Baltimore: Carey, Hart and Co., 1835), frontispiece and title page. 18 cm. Gift of Jenkins Garrett

E165 .C92 Garrett

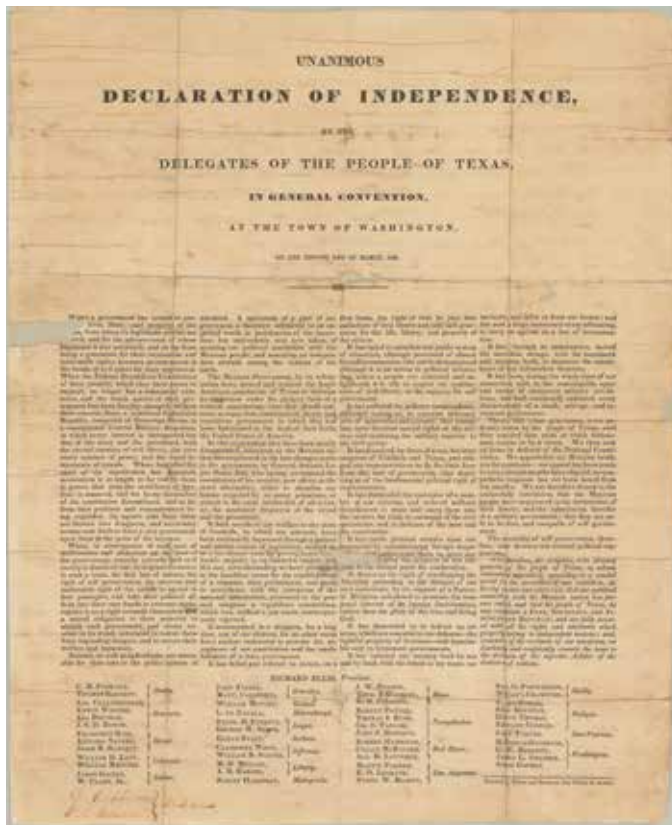
While David Crockett (1786-1836) spent a very short time in Texas, a large part of his fame today rests on his association with the Battle of the Alamo. A frontiersman, raconteur, and former two-term U.S. Congressman from Tennessee, Crockett was already a popular cultural icon before he arrived in Texas in January 1836 with an armed party of volunteers. Although originally elected as a Jacksonian Democrat, he opposed Indian Removal, defended squatters' rights, and split with this party on other issues, instead serving as a Whig in his second term and becoming the subject of a popular play and several books. Defeated for a third run, he famously told his constituents they could go to Hell, and he would go to Texas!¹ Unlike most of the defenders of the Alamo who died in the Mexican assault, Crockett was taken prisoner along with six others and brought before Santa Anna who ordered them executed, according to eyewitness Lieutenant Colonel José Enrique de la Peña of the Toluca Battalion.² This image was based on a portrait of Crockett taken from life in 1834 by Samuel Stillman Osgood, a portrait painter at the Boston Athenaeum.³



¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 142-143; Michael A. Lofaro Revised by William C. Davis, "Crockett, David," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 07, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/crockett-david>.

² José Enrique de la Peña, *With Santa Anna in Texas: A Personal Narrative of the Revolution*, translated and edited by Carmen Perry, Introduction by James E. Crisp (Expanded Edition; College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1997); James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³ Groce and Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1880* (1957), p. 480.



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[Texas]

Declaration of Independence

Washington-on-the-Brazos, March 2, 1836

Printed broadside, 41 x 33 cm., printed by Baker & Borden, San Felipe de Austin, 1836. With ink annotations by signer George W. Smyth.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett

On March 2, 1836 – while the Alamo was under siege – the convention of delegates representing the Texas colonies assembled at the little town of Washington-on-the-Brazos where they prepared and signed a Declaration of Independence based upon the U.S. model of 1776. It boldly stated that “We...do hereby resolve and DECLARE, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas, now constitute a FREE, SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC...” Five copies were prepared, and on March 3rd a messenger took one to San Felipe where pioneer Texas newspaper printer and publishers Joseph Baker and brothers Thomas and Gail Borden, Jr., printed copies to distribute throughout Texas and beyond.¹

This is one of a handful of these original printed broadsheets of the Texas Declaration of Independence to survive.² It once belonged to one of its signers: surveyor, land commissioner, and representative from Jasper in far east Texas, George W. Smyth (1803-1866). He

corrected his own name in handwritten ink on the copy and wrote an account of the convention for his descendants on the back side.¹ He also added the names of two signers whose names had been inadvertently omitted when the broadsheet was printed at San Felipe by the pioneer Texas newspaper printer and publishers Joseph Baker and brothers Thomas and Gail Borden, Jr. The two errors of omission were important: *empresario* and representative Sterling Clack Robertson and lawyer and statesman George C. Childress who had authored the document.² It is interesting to note that despite the preponderance of Anglo signers, two delegates were Tejano: Francisco Ruis and Antonio Navarro. Lorenzo de Zavala was from Yucatán.³

¹ Taylor, *Texasfake* (1991), chapter two “Printing under the Gun,” pp. 10-26.

² Smyth later served on the Texas-U.S. boundary commission, in the Texas House of Representatives, as the second commissioner of the Texas General Land Office, and as a Texas representative in the U.S. House. Smyth was a strong proponent of Texas annexation and opposed secession even though he, like Sam Houston, Stephen F. Austin, and other founding Anglo Texans, owned slaves. See Robert Wooster, “Smyth, George Washington,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 16, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/smyth-george-washington>.

³ Louis Wiltz Kemp, *The Signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence* (Salado, Texas: Anson Jones, 1944; rpt. 1959).

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Telegraph & Texas Register, March 24, 1836 [Newspaper Issue Listing Fallen Alamo Defenders and Travis' Letter]

Printed paper, 34 x 37 cm., printed by Baker & Borden, San Felipe de Austin, March 24, 1836. 4 pages. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

The March 24, 1836, issue of the *Telegraph & Texas Register*, published at San Felipe and printed on the same press, reports on the fall of the Alamo over two weeks earlier on March 6th and lists 112 of the fallen defenders by name and the place they came from, including Travis, Jim Bowie, and Davy Crockett. It refers to the Alamo as the “Thermopylae of Texas” -- a reference to the Battle of Thermopylae in the Greco-Persian Wars of the fifth century B.C. when 300 Spartans held off the entire Persian Army but were all killed. On the last page (not shown) is a copy of Travis' letter of March 3rd in which he wrote: “...With 140 men I have held this place 10 days against a force variously estimated from 1500 to 6000, and I shall continue to hold it till I get relief from my countrymen, or I will perish in its defence...” The former owner of the newspaper thoughtfully outlined the important parts in iron gall ink which, unfortunately being acidic, over time ate through the paper.

During the “Runaway Scrape,” the shop of the *Telegraph & Texas Register* was the first building put to the torch when the fleeing army and colonists burned the town of San Felipe as Mexican troops advanced. However, the colonists had removed the press earlier and transported it with considerable difficulty to Harrisburg. Unfortunately, on April 14th it had to be left behind. Santa Anna's forces soon seized it and sank it with all its equipment in Buffalo Bayou.¹

¹ Taylor, “Printing under the Gun,” *Texfake* (1991), pp. 10-26.

[Promissory Note for \$1,500, signed by Samuel McCulloch, Sr., and his son, Samuel McCulloch, Jr., to John Alley, March 15, 1836]

Ink on paper, 24.8 x 20 cm.

AR507-2-29

This truly extraordinary promissory note dates from March 15, 1836 – just nine days after the fall of the Alamo. It reflects the uncertainty of the times in Texas known as “the Runaway Scrape,” the multiracial character of early Texas, and even the heroism and sufferings of its people. Samuel McCulloch, Sr., was a recent Anglo immigrant from Montgomery County, Alabama, to what would become Jackson County near the Gulf coast of Texas. His son, Samuel McCulloch, Jr., was a free “mulatto” who, a few months earlier on November 9, fought for the Texians at Goliad where he was severely wounded in the shoulder – considered the first Texian casualty of the war. While McCulloch, Jr., was recuperating at home, the note was given as partial payment for a third of a league of land on the condition that it would be null and void “by the Mexicans driving all the Americans out of the country.” Despite the odds, McCulloch, Jr., survived the “Scrape” and the war and even served in later military campaigns, all while facing prejudice and complicated legal hurdles due to his bi-racial heritage. He attended the annual Texas Veterans Association reunion in Dallas in 1889 and died in Bexar County in 1893.¹

¹ Nolan Thompson, “McCulloch, Samuel, Jr.,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 17, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mcculloch-samuel-jr.>, gives a much more detailed account of his life and further references.

**Hermann Ehrenberg
Der Freiheitskampf in Texas im Jahre 1836 [The Freedom
Struggle in Texas in the Year 1836]**

(Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844)

Title page 13.4 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

F390.E34 SPCO

One of the few Texan survivors of the Goliad Massacre was Herman Ehrenberg (1816-1866), a young German emigrant volunteer with the New Orleans Grays, a unit that came to serve the Texan cause in October 1835. Ehrenberg left what many scholars agree is “the longest and most vivid memoir of any soldier from the Texas revolutionary armies of 1835-1836.”¹ Ehrenberg participated in the Siege of Bexar and the battle of Coleto where he was first captured. After escaping the executions when he received a saber cut across his forehead, he was later recaptured. He escaped again after the Battle of San Jacinto. In 1840, he became a citizen of the Republic of Texas and served as a ranger on the frontier before he returned to Europe for medical treatment. His story first appeared in 1843 as *Texas und seine Revolution [Texas and its Revolution]*. A popular German-language book intended to advocate for a democratic republic, it went through three editions, the second of which is on display here.² Ehrenberg returned to North America and travelled extensively in the West, working as a surveyor, cartographer, and mining engineer before his murder in Arizona in 1866.³

¹ Natalie Ornish Revised by James E. Crisp, “Ehrenberg, Herman,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 18, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ehrenberg-herman>.

² UTA Special Collections has the third edition, titled *Fahrten and Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas [Travels and Fate or Fortune of a German in Texas]* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845).

³ James E. Crisp, ed., and Louis E. Brister, trans., with James C. Kearney, trans., *Inside the Texas Revolution: The Enigmatic Memoir of Herman Ehrenberg* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2021).

Shaping the Republic of Texas, 1836–1845

The Texan Army's victory at San Jacinto and capture of Santa Anna in April 1836 created unexpected opportunities, challenges, and hardships for the many peoples of Texas. On May 14, under the public and private Treaties of Velasco, Santa Anna, in exchange for his own release, promised his armies would cease hostilities, restore confiscated property, exchange prisoners, and withdraw south of the Rio Grande. Further promises made by Santa Anna became moot on May 20 when the Mexican government refused to recognize any agreements Santa Anna made while a prisoner. As more volunteers kept arriving from the United States to help fight Mexico, the Anglo-Texans continued forming what they thought would be only a temporary government or republic, and the overwhelming majority of them on September 5 elected Sam Houston president hoping that would lead to early annexation with the United States. However, the United States already faced a growing divide over the issue of slavery, and Houston's friend President Andrew Jackson could not promote Texas annexation because many in the U.S. saw Texas more as a liability than an asset. The new Texas government had not only made sure their new constitution legalized slavery, but it also excluded citizenship to Africans, descendants of Africans, and Indians. Another slave state for the U.S. that could possibly be subdivided into more slave states that would tip the balance there in favor of slave states, Texas was heavily in debt and annexation would likely cause a war with Mexico which refused to recognize Texas' independence. In Houston's first term, the Texan President attempted to keep the peace and pursue a fair Indian policy by concluding treaties with tribes that were still not convinced of Texas' permanence, checked the influence of recent arrivals who wanted to invade Mexico by furloughing most of the Army, and sought international recognition for Texas. Limited by law to only two years, Houston stepped down, and his former Vice President Mirabeau B. Lamar easily won the October 1838 election – now for a three-year term – as the next President of the Republic.

Lamar differed with Houston on many issues. He completely reversed Houston's Indian policy by waging an exterminating war on many of Texas' indigenous peoples, driving out the Cherokees, the Caddos, and all others in east Texas. Only the Alabamas and Coushattas, who had aided Anglos during "the Runaway Scrape," would remain. Lamar's war against the more powerful Comanche was less successful, resulting in considerable bloodshed for both sides. Lamar was not interested in annexation but did pursue international recognition for what he considered would be a "future empire," spending large sums to relocate the capitol to Austin, to build up the Texas Navy, and to send a trade and diplomatic expedition to Santa Fe.¹

Maps, rare books, pamphlets, letters, broadsides, sheet music, money, and all kinds of papers and notes document the story of the Republic of Texas. The materials here are just a few examples selected from UTA's rich collections.

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 159-1

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Anthony Fleetwood (artist) and Edwin Meyrick (composer)

Texian Grand March for the Piano Forte

Respectfully Dedicated to Genl. Houston

Lithograph on paper, 32.5 x 25.5 cm. by Fleetwood's Lithography (New York: Firth & Hall, 1836). 970001@GO11

The Texans won their independence from Mexico by their overwhelming victory over Santa Anna's army at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836. Houston officially reported 630 Mexicans killed and 730 taken prisoner with the loss of only 9 Texans dead and 30 wounded, including Houston himself who was shot in the ankle. Santa Anna, at first reported missing, was captured the day after the battle, dressed as a private.¹

Soon Texas and Sam Houston's fame spread far and wide through popular press coverage in the United States and elsewhere. This sheet music march piece for piano with its lithographed cover illustration typifies the way much popular music spread at the time.² It appeared in three separate editions. This version bears the monogram of

lithographer Anthony Fleetwood and carries the copyright date of 1835 suggesting that the music may have been prepared for production before a dedication was ready and the image completed. Composers and publishers of commercial music at that time often added illustrations and associated their productions with important events in hopes of profiting from popular enthusiasm and sentiment. The New York artist must have imagined the scene from early press reports with only a few visually relevant details about this widely celebrated event. Composer Edwin Meyrick's march later served as music for Houston's various political campaigns.³

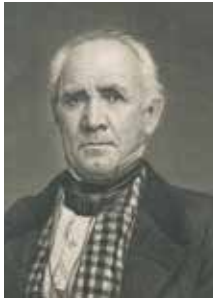
¹ Stephen L. Moore, *Eighteen Minutes: The Battle of San Jacinto* (Dallas: Republic of Texas Press, 2004).

² UTA Libraries' Special Collections' wonderful sheet music collection concentrates on the U.S. War with Mexico and pieces relating to early Texas. For more comprehensive collections of American popular sheet music, see the Library of Congress Music Division and the Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, <https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/>, accessed August 24, 2022.

³ *Dorothy Sloan Auction 22* (2009), no. 420; Streeter 1171. On Fleetwood, see Groce and Wallace, *New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (1957), pp. 230-231.

110

After a photograph by Mathew Brady

Sam Houston

Engraving on paper, 24 x 17.5 cm., ca. 1850
2021-127 GA56/34

A former governor of Tennessee, protégé of Andrew Jackson and citizen of the Cherokee nation, Sam Houston came to Texas in 1832 and quickly became involved in politics and military matters. Houston's victory at San Jacinto in 1836 propelled him into office as President of the Republic of Texas, serving his first term from December that year until 1838 and then a second term from 1841 until

1844.¹ This image was based upon a photograph taken of Houston at Mathew Brady's photographic studio in New York City sometime after annexation.

¹ Thomas H. Kreneck, "Houston, Sam," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 21, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/houston-sam>. See bibliography in references.

111

[Signed Parole at the Post of Liberty, Texas, on April 28th, 1837, for Mexican Prisoners of War taken during the Texas War of Independence]

Manuscript, ink on paper, 32 x 39.5 cm., folded in half. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett, San Jacinto Prisoners of War Collection* GA37

This manuscript is a parole release, issued by William Hardin, post commander at Liberty, Texas, on April 28, 1837, containing the signatures of thirty Mexican Army officers taken prisoner over a year earlier at the Battle of San Jacinto.¹ On the verso of the document is the signature of Mexican General Martín Perfecto de Cos (1800-1854), military commander of the centralist forces of Coahuila y Tejas at the beginning of the Texas War of Independence. After surrendering San Antonio de Bexar on December 9, 1835, following the Texan siege, Cos left for Mexico, but then returned to Texas with Santa Anna and was present at the fall of the Alamo before his capture at San Jacinto. Years later, during the U.S. War with Mexico, in April 1847, U.S. Naval and Marine forces under Commodore Matthew C. Perry engaged Mexican Army forces commanded by General Cos at the city of Tuxpan on the Gulf coast of Mexico.²

¹ William Hardin (1801-1839) of Liberty was the brother of Augustine B. Hardin, one of the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence. Robert L. Schaadt, "Hardin, William," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 19, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/hardin-william>.

² Claudia Hazlewood, "Cos, Martín Perfecto de," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 19, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/cos-martin-perfecto-de>.

112

Benjamin Lundy

The War in Texas; A Review of Facts and Circumstances, Showing that This Contest is the Result of a Long Premeditated Crusade Against the Government, set on Foot by Slaveholders, Land Speculators, &c. With the View of Re-Establishing, Extending, and Perpetuating the System of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Republic of Mexico (Philadelphia: the author, 1836). 23.5 cm.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett

F390.L95

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Artist Unknown

The Eagle of Liberty. The Free Eagle of Mexico Grappling the Cold Blooded Viper, Tyranny or Texas, lithograph with stereotype text on paper, in *The Anti-Texas Legion, Remonstrance of Some Free Men, States, and Presses to the Texas Rebellion, Against the Laws of Nature and of Nations / Ruthless Rapine, Righteous Hope Defies* "Ye serpents! Ye generation of vipers!! How can ye escape the damnation of hell!!!" (Albany, New York: sold at the Patriot Office, 1845). 17.5 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

The most vociferous opposition to Texas' annexation came from abolitionists in the United States. The Quaker anti-slavery advocate Benjamin Lundy (1789-1839) had made three visits to Texas between 1830 and 1835, talking with free people of color, planters, and Mexican officials in the areas of Nacogdoches, San Antonio, and along the Brazos and Rio Grande. Mexican officials had seemed

receptive to his plan to settle unenslaved African Americans in less-populated

areas, but his plans had been interrupted by the Texas Revolution and the legalization of slavery in the Texas Republic. Afterwards, Lundy argued persuasively to many (particularly in the northeastern United States) the idea that the Texas Revolution was a slaveholder attempt to take Texas from Mexico and spread slavery in the United States. Anti-slavery pamphlets continued to use his arguments to oppose Texas' annexation as late as 1845. The later use of graphic images added considerable impact to the polemic.¹

¹ Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 236-245, describes Lundy's visits to Nacogdoches and his connection with free person of color William Goyens; Marilyn M. Sibley, "Lundy, Benjamin," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 21, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/lundy-benjamin>; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983), pp. 387, 399-400, 450, 466, no.1473A.



114

Republic of Texas Land Scrip No. 645 320 Acres of Land... [to] Thomas Toby or his Legal representatives... Done at Columbia, this Twentieth day of December A.D. 1836. [Signed by] Sam. Houston, President of the Republic of Texas [and] Secretary of the Treasury Henry Smith

Printed broadside with manuscript ink on paper, 39.8 x 25.5 cm., Telegraph Print 1836. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

Compensating soldiers, citizens, and lenders for their efforts in supplying military and other services required paper documents from the Texas government, and paper was often in short supply. The Republic of Texas issued and printed a wide variety of materials leaving an incredible paper trail of money, scrip, and other documents that often leads detectives to certain truths about the period. Land was the only resource that Texas had in abundance, but it was often

granted to individuals without any regard for the indigenous people who inhabited it, hunted on it, or wandered over it. This scrip for 320 acres was issued to the Texas agent in New Orleans, Thomas Toby (d.1849), who was commissioned to sell thousands of acres of Texas land to raise money for the republic.² The document bears the authentic signatures of President Sam Houston and his Secretary of the Treasury Henry Smith (1788-1851) who had earlier served on the Consultation and General Council and as the first American Governor of the Provisional Government of Texas.³ Incidentally, the Republic of Texas never paid Toby's firm in full for the work they did, but a short-lived privateer for the Texas cause was named the *Thomas Toby* in his honor.⁴

¹ James P. Bevil, *The Paper Republic: The Struggle for Money, Credit and Independence in the Republic of Texas* (Houston: Bright Sky Press, 2009).

² See Edward L. Miller, *New Orleans and the Texas Revolution* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), pp. 180, 187-199; Anonymous, "Toby and Brother Company," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 22, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/toby-and-brother-company>.

³ Ralph W. Steen, "Smith, Henry," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 22, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/smith-henry>; Anonymous, "Thomas Toby," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 22, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/thomas-toby>.

115

Sam Houston, City of Houston, to Miss Anna Raguet, Feb. 14, 1839

Black and red ink on paper, 27.5 x 22 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett, Irion Family Papers* GA1-1

There were many lonely men in early Texas as there never were proportionately enough single women. By 1839, President Sam Houston, although a successful politician and military hero, was a divorcé who had up to that time led a complicated personal life. On Valentine's Day he wrote this crosshatched letter to twenty-year-old Miss Anna Raguet of Nacogdoches. As was sometimes the custom, he wrote in an elegant hand using black ink horizontally and then again in red ink vertically to conserve paper, which was scarce in Texas. Addressing it to "My Excellent Friend," he communicated recent news in a rather formal and business-like tone while professing his admiration and his desire to be her "knight errant whenever you should so order it." As was his custom in writing to her at the time, he signed it "Ever Thine Truly, Sam Houston." Miss Raguet was apparently never as infatuated with Sam. She ultimately spurned his advances and instead married his former secretary of state Dr. Robert Irion in late March 1840. Houston married Margaret Lea of Alabama in May that year after about a year's acquaintance with her. Anna and Dr. Irion's family kept Houston's love letters.¹

¹ Jenkins Garrett, Sr., *Ever Thine Truly: Love Letters from Sam Houston to Anna Raguet* (Austin, Texas: Jenkins Press, 1975).

116

Thomas J. Rusk, Nacogdoches, 30th April 1837 to Dr. Robert Irion, City of Houston

Ink on paper, 25 x 40.5 cm. (folded in half), with broken seal. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett, Irion Family Papers* GA1

In this letter Texan General and Secretary of War Thomas J. Rusk (1803-1857) writes to President Sam Houston's Secretary of State Dr. Robert Irion (1804-1861) that he has "...received some information from a source entitled to great credit of the undoubted hostility of the Cherokee Indians and of some matters going on between them and the Mexican Government." General Rusk, who was no friend of the Indians as Houston was, opined further that "...the safety of the property and of the lives of some of the frontier families depends

upon the placing here of a sufficient force to hold the Indians in check... The Caddos ought to be exterminated and I am not so sure about the Cherokees..." Ultimately, Rusk agreed more with Lamar's Indian policy and, two years later, helped drive the Caddos and Cherokees from eastern Texas.¹

¹ Priscilla Myers Benham, "Rusk, Thomas Jefferson," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/rusk-thomas-jefferson>; Linda S. Hudson, "Irion, Robert Anderson," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/irion-robert-anderson>.

117

William Home Lizars

Mexico & Guatemala [sic], with the Republic of Texas

Engraving with applied color on paper, 42 x 51.5 cm., Edinburgh: W. Lizars, ca.1836. *Gift of Lewis & Virginia Buttery*. 87-595 55/7 Metapath: 190548

Shortly after Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836, the Edinburgh painter, engraver, printer, cartographer, lithographer, and publisher William Home Lizars (1788-1859), brother of Daniel Lizars II (1793-1875), updated the original plate for the map of Mexico & Guatemala to include the new republic.¹ He identified the major towns as Galveston, Harrisburg, Brazoria, S. Felipe de Austin (although recently burned), Bejar, and "S. Jose" (probably intended to represent Goliad). Lizars made no further changes to the general cartographic shape of the former Mexican province, showing the Nueces River as the southern boundary and the western boundary curving to the point where the 100th meridian strikes the Red River. The map continues to show Mexico's administrative districts as Spanish Intendencias (*Intendencias*) and Internal Provinces (*Provincias Internas*) over fifteen years after Mexican independence.²

¹ Laurence Worms and Ashley Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers* (London: Rare Book Society, 2011), pp. 406-409.

² Compare David Rumsey Map Collection, 2003, list no. 0436.062, image no. 0436062, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps1150594-31350.html>, accessed 07/12/2019.



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T. G. Bradford

Texas

Engraving with applied color on paper, 35 x 28 cm. from Bradford, *An Illustrated Atlas Geographical, Statistical and Historical of the United States and the Adjacent Countries* (Philadelphia: E. S. Grant and Company, 1838), p. 164, plate 39. *Gift of Virginia Garrett.* 00491 126/16

In 1838, Boston editor and publisher Thomas Gamaliel Bradford (1802-1887), who had produced the first map of Texas for an atlas in 1835 (cat. no. 91), issued another larger map of the new republic in vertical format for his larger and more elaborate atlas of 1838. Boston engraver G. W. Boynton engraved the newer map. It corrected and updated some of the older information such as, for examples: what was formerly “Goliod” is now correctly spelled “Goliad”; Cole’s Settlement is now the town of Washington; the towns of Corpus Christi, Houston, Electra, and others have been added as have the Coushatta and Alabama Indian villages in the east; and the northeast boundary with Arkansas and Louisiana has been corrected to reflect, for the most part, its current configuration. By outline and in this version also by color, Bradford continued to show the old Mexican land grants rather than the republic’s new counties. In his lengthy text accompanying the map he conceded that “the boundaries of this infant commonwealth are as yet unsettled on the side of Mexico,” but the newer map includes the mouth of the Rio Grande; moreover, other examples of Bradford’s 1838 map nevertheless depict the Rio Grande as the boundary through original outline color suggesting perhaps Bradford may have had a different, more pro-Texas audience in mind.¹

¹ Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), pp. 270-271; James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1984; reprinted 1999), pp. 124-125. UTA Special Collections also has a complete 1838 Bradford Atlas with this map, donated by Murray Hudson of Halls, Tennessee (96-771).

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Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel

Map of Texas, Compiled from Surveys on record in the General Land Office of the Republic, to the year 1839

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 81 x 62.5 cm. Engraved by Stiles, Sherman & Smith, New York, from Hunt and Randel, *Guide to the Republic of Texas* (New York: Joseph H. Colton, 1839). *The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, Gift of W. E. Chilton, Jr.* 95-27 83/3 F390.H24

After independence, Texans claimed more extensive borders for their republic than those originally designated for the former Mexican province. This important map from the first general guide to Texas shows the lower Rio Grande as the southern and western boundary, but it also accurately notes in bold letters the “Range of the Comanche Indians” in the west along with a Comanche road there and a trail in the north. Based in part upon surveys from the Texas General Land Office (from the coast to the San Antonio Road, according to the guide), the map includes a large “lone star” in the cartouche at lower right and the seal of the General Land Office at lower left along with lithographed facsimile “endorsement” signatures of: Secretary of State James Webb; John Woodward, Commissioner General for Texas in New York; Francis Moore, Jr., editor of the Houston *Telegraph* newspaper; and John P. Borden, Commissioner of the General Land Office. Many new towns, counties, and sites, some named for recent heroes and martyrs for the Texas cause like Seguin, Fannin, Houston, and Milam appear perhaps for the first time on a printed map. According to the accompanying guide: “So many towns are constantly springing up in all parts of Texas, that a full enumeration of them would not only be impossible, but inconsistent with the character of this work.” The vast area of the Robertson Colony and Robertson County are particularly well represented. The map shows sites for conflicts or military engagements, including the Alamo, “Fanin’s Battle,” the “Battle” [of San Jacinto] near Lynchburg, “Parker’s Fort” (scene of the 1836 abduction of Cynthia Ann Parker), and, far to the north in the Cross Timbers, a reference to a “Caddo village burned by Gen. Rusk in Jany. 1839.” There is even a “projected railroad” (the Brazos and Galveston Rail-road) shown running from the Brazos at Bolivar through Liverpool in Brazoria County to “Austinia” on Galveston Bay. This scheme was abandoned in favor of a canal that also failed.¹

The inset Map of the Rio Grande and the Country west to the Pacific, probably based upon Tanner’s maps of Mexico, suggests that Texans cast their eyes much farther. There are Lower and Upper California here with the rivers Timpanogos and Buenaventura flowing southwest from their large lakes to the Pacific. In poorly understood western Texas, lack of color and a line of mountains labeled “Guadalupe Mt. Old Texas Boundary” imply the new boundary claim all the way to the upper Rio Grande. The new borders soon proved unstable and elusive as demonstrated in the failed Santa Fe and Mier expeditions of 1841 and 1842 and the two Mexican invasions of south Texas also in 1842, between these events. The influential map went through a second edition in 1845 (ca. no. 135) and was also translated into German to accompany an important emigrant guide by Georg A. Scherpf, published in Augsburg in 1841.²

¹ George C. Werner, “Brazos and Galveston Railroad,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 22, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/brazos-and-galveston-railroad>.

² Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1983), pp. 430-431, nos. 1348-1348B. Davis, et al., *Going to Texas: Five Centuries of Texas Maps*, p. 43, plate 20.

120

Handwritten Provisional Government promise to Pay to George M. Waddle [No. 207 To Joshua Fletcher Esquire. *The Treasurer of the provisional Government of Texas promises to pay George M. Waddle (sic, Waddell) on order twenty-two dollars out of monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.* [Probably issued at San Felipe] Signed January 27th, 1836, by Henry C. Hudson comptroller and John W. Moody, auditor. Signed on verso by George M. Waddell
Ink on pink paper, 8.3 x 16 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* AR382 OS Box 292

Initially, the Provisional Government of Texas had to issue handwritten promissory notes to individuals who helped finance the war for independence.

James Bevell, *The Paper Republic: The Struggle for Money, Credit, and Independence in the Republic of Texas* (Houston: Bright Sky Press, 2009), pp. 85-89, 98; Bob Medlar, *Texas Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (Anderson, South Carolina: Society of Paper Money Collectors, 1968), p. 166.

121

[Republic of Texas Audited Draft Velasco Sphinx Note] No. 179 for \$110 to Thomas J. Golightly on order, One Hundred & Ten Dollars...
On printed paper form, 8.1 x 17 cm., issued at Velasco, July 17th, 1836. Signed Asa Brigham Auditor and Henry C. Hudson Comptroller.
Gift of Jenkins Garrett AR382 OS Box 292

This is an example of an audited draft “Sphinx Note” issued by the Government of the Republic of Texas at Velasco. It is so-called because the printed form has two human-faced lions (sphinxes) surrounded by printer designs.¹ Thomas Jefferson Golightly (d.1840) served with the Texas army.²

¹ Bevell, *The Paper Republic* (2009), pp.137-139; Medlar, *Texas Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (1968), p. 186.

² James Hays McLendon, “Golightly, Thomas Jefferson,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 25, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/golightly-thomas-jefferson>.

122

[This Certificate Republic of Texas...audited draft with solid star], No. 2603 for \$180.00 to Charles F. Wright for “Two Cannon... Columbia, 27 Jany 1837, 9.7 x 17.5 cm., signed by George Washington Poe, Paymaster-General of the Texian Army.
Gift of Jenkins Garrett AR382 OS Box 292

From the beginning, the Republic of Texas had many debts to pay. This audited draft for \$180.00 to Charles F. Wright for “Two Cannon” issued at the first capital of Columbia has the printed words “Texian Army” crossed out, making it possible that the cannon went elsewhere – possibly to the fledgling Texas Navy, another huge drain on the government’s finances.

¹ Compare Bevell, *The Paper Republic* (2009), p. 14, fig. 6.21; Medlar, *Texas Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (1968), pp. 46-47; See Jim Dan Hill, *The Texas Navy in Forgotten Battles and Shirtsleeve Diplomacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

123

[Republic of Texas “Star Money”] No. 176 for One Hundred Dollars, issued at the City of Houston, November 15, 1837, 9 x 18 cm., signed by William G. Cooke for Sam Houston, President, and by Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury.
Gift of Jenkins Garrett AR382 OS Box 292

The first formal paper currency of the republic was called “Star Money” because of the lone star design. Unfortunately, it was easily counterfeited. There was so much demand for Houston’s signature that on October 23, 1837, the legislature passed an act that authorised the President’s personal secretary, William G. Cooke, to sign the star notes with Houston’s name along with a countersignature by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Smith.

¹ Bevell, *The Paper Republic* (2009), pp. 172-176; Medlar, *Texas Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (1968), p. 85.

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[Government of Texas Engraved Five Dollar Note], 7.5 x 17.8 cm., issued at Houston June 1, 1838. Left: woman standing on a globe; Center: Mounted Indian Hunting Buffalo, signed by William G. Cooke for Sam Houston, President, and by Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury. Draper, Toppan, Longacre & Co., Phila & N.Y.
Gift of Jenkins Garrett AR382 OS Box 292



To improve the quality of printing and thereby curtail counterfeiting, the Government of Texas by act of June 9, 1837, ordered the Philadelphia banknote

engraving firm of Draper, Toppan, Longacre & Co. to produce bills for Texas in denominations of \$1, \$3, \$5, \$10, \$20, and \$50. The \$5 bill featured a bare-breasted Liberty with her foot on a globe and a mounted Indian hunting a buffalo.¹ The latter was ultimately based upon an 1833 watercolor of an Assiniboin *Hunting on Horseback* by St. Louis artist Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834).²

¹ Bevell, *The Paper Republic* (2009), pp. 177-178, fig. 8.17; Medlar, *Texas Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (1968), p. 87, no. 59.

² See Rindisbacher’s original at the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, accessed August 25, 2022, <https://www.cartermuseum.org/collection/assiniboine-hunting-horseback-196650>, and the lithograph the engravers copied <https://www.cartermuseum.org/collection/hunting-buffaloe-196474>

125

Charles Picquet, Frederic Leclerc, and A. Brué
Carte du Texas, Extraite de la grande Carte du Mexique, Revue corrigée et considerablement augmentée d’apres des documents récents et des renseignements fournis par Mr. Le Docteur Fe. Leclerc
Lithograph with applied color on paper, 29 x 33 cm. lithographed by Thierry brothers (Paris: Charles Picquet, 1840), from Henri Fournel, *Coup d’oeil historique et statistique sur le Texas*. (Paris: Delloye, 1844).
Gift of Jenkins Garrett 96-3 24/11

A finely executed French map from 1840 features twenty-seven “Divisions” of the Republic of Texas and emphasizes the Comanche Indians by assigning them the first of these where may be found “Grands Troupeaus de Buffles” (Great Herds of Buffalo). Up on the Red River is an abandoned Pawnee village, and there are references to the Cherokees, Alabamas, and Coushatta Indians in east Texas. The map first accompanied an 1840 book *Texas et sa Revolution* by Frederic Leclerc (ca.1810-1891), a French physician and student of botany who travelled to the United States in 1837 and who had spent several months in Texas the following year.¹ Leclerc’s text gives excellent descriptions of the towns of Galveston, Houston, Bejar or San Antonio, as well as the people of Texas, particularly the Indians. The map emphasizes by



larger font the importance of the town of San Felipe de Austin, which Leclerc had seen in July 1838, enthusiastically remarking that most of the families including several Mexican families had returned and were rebuilding their homes, that traces of the fire were almost gone, and that new settlers were arriving in throngs and that he optimistically believed “San Felipe has a future.” Interestingly, he reported bold visits by groups of Comanches to San Felipe following their treaty with Sam Houston whose popularity, Leclerc noted, was on the wane among the Anglos.² Leclerc’s text first appeared without the map in two installments in the periodical *Revue des deux Mondes* on March 1 and April 15, 1840, before the book appeared later that year with a dedication to Houston’s political rival, Mirabeau Lamar.³

¹ James L. Shepherd III, “Frederic Leclerc,” *Handbook of Texas online*, accessed August 19, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/leclerc-frederic>.

² Frederic Leclerc, *Texas and its Revolution*, translated by James L. Shepherd III (Houston: Anson Jones Press, 1950).

³ Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1955), pp. 435, 339-440, nos. 1362, 1378.

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After William Sydney Porter (a.k.a. O. Henry)

Battle of Plum Creek

Engraving on paper, 10.7 x 15.5 cm., engraved by T. J. Owens, in John Wesley Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas: Reliable Accounts of Battles, Wars, Adventures, Forays, Murders, Massacres, Etc....* (Austin, Texas: Hutchins Printing House, 1889), opp. p. 24. 22.5 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

Whereas Sam Houston had at least attempted to pursue a fair Indian policy, the Texas Republic’s relations with indigenous groups worsened considerably during the Lamar administration. During the late 1830s, the Comanches continued to raid along Texas’ western frontier, and President Lamar regularly sent punitive raids against them. On March 19, 1840, a mêlée had erupted in downtown San Antonio during negotiations – the so-called Council House fight – in which dozens of Comanches were killed or captured and seven Texans died. This led to what has been called “the greatest Comanche raid in the history of the Southwest.” Approximately one thousand Comanches raided, killed, and plundered their way down the middle and lower Guadalupe Valley, attacking Victoria and Linnville where some residents had to escape on boats into Lavaca Bay. As the Comanches returned northwestward, a force of Texan mounted volunteers caught up with them at Plum Creek near present Lockhart, Texas, and a running battle resulted.¹ The crude woodcut illustration of the Battle of Plum Creek shows Comanche warriors at left running

headlong into a force of mounted Texan volunteers at right. In the foreground, a Comanche chief wearing a top hat and holding an umbrella beats a hasty retreat. The original sketch for the woodcut was probably the work of William Sydney Porter (1862-1910), better known later as the writer O. Henry, who also worked as a draftsman at the Texas General Land Office in Austin around the time that Wilbarger’s book was prepared for publication.²

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), pp. 169-172

² Mavis P. Kelsey, Sr., and Robin Brandt Hutchinson, *Engraved Prints of Texas, 1544-1900* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2005), pp. 243, 324-329, fig.7.641; Connie Patterson, “Porter, William Sydney,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/porter-william-sydney>.

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After Edward Hall

City of Austin the New Capital of Texas in January 1, 1840

Lithograph with applied color on paper, 11 x 19 cm., by J. Lowe, in Rev. A. B. Lawrence, *Emigrants’ Guide to Texas* (New York: William W. Allen, 1840). 20 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F390.T38

One of the early problems for the Texans was finding a suitable location for a seat of government. During the Revolution, Washington-on-the-Brazos had served as the capital until March 17, 1836, then Harrisburg (March 21-April 1836), and finally Velasco (April-September 1836). The first capital of the republic was Columbia, but since there were no hotels, it was replaced by the new “city” of Houston on November 30. President Lamar sought to move the Texas capital out of the city named for his rival, Sam Houston. In 1839, commissioners chose a small village called Waterloo, located on the Colorado River, as the future site of a capital named Austin in honor of the famous empresario and general.¹ By January 1, 1840, when the original sketch for this lithograph was drawn, the town had only a few hastily constructed wooden clapboard buildings. Most of the buildings were log cabins. The view shows the Colorado River in the foreground, looking up a wide rutted-dirt Congress Avenue toward an empty capitol hill. The governor’s two-story “mansion” is on the hill at right. The temporary one-story capitol is the larger log building in the left distance. The larger white clapboard building at left was “Bullock’s Tavern.”²

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), p. 172; John G. Johnson, “Capitals,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 08, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/capitals>.

² The Austin History Center of the Austin Public Library has a photograph (PICA 01083) of Edward Hall’s original sketch with a key. It is reproduced on the UNT Portal to Texas History, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph123887> Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (1955), pp.434-435, no. 1361.

John Arrowsmith

Map of Texas compiled from Surveys recorded in the Land Office of Texas and other official Surveys

Engraving with applied coloring on paper, 62 x 52 cm., 1841, from *The London Atlas of Universal Geography* (London: Arrowsmith, 1842).
Gift of Virginia Garrett 00574.135/3

John Arrowsmith's 1841 map of Texas was one of the first maps – if not the first map – to show all the new republic's most ambitious boundaries in one big composition. These included the lower Rio Grande and not the Nueces River as the southern boundary with Mexico, the upper Rio Grande as the border with Mexican New Mexico, and the “stovepipe” panhandle stretching into what is now Colorado and New Mexico. The odd shape of this panhandle claim resulted in part from negotiations between U.S. and Spain in the Adams-Onís Treaty. Beautifully executed and engraved in Arrowsmith's clean and crisp style, this British-produced map was based upon a variety of sources from the Republic of Texas General Land Office (including the Hunt & Randel map by Colton), maps from travel accounts, and others. It includes the republic's original twenty-three counties plus additional counties formed up to 1839. Among the latter is the big Robertson County named for former empresario and pioneer Sterling Clack Robertson (1785-1842) whose right of claim to settle families in the area had led to a dispute with Stephen F. Austin and his partner Samuel May Williams. The map appeared in Arrowsmith's *London Atlas of Universal Geography* first published in 1841, but other variants were included in his later atlases as well as in William Kennedy's popular travel and guidebook *Texas: The Rise, Progress and Prospects of the Republic of Texas*, also published in 1841. Arrowsmith's map was widely copied. It helped spread the Le Grand quote written across the Llano Estacado area of the panhandle that “This tract of Country... is naturally fertile well wooded & with a fair proportion of water” for the old Wilson-Exter empresario grant appearing earlier on the Colorado & Red River Land Co. map (see cat. no. 95).¹

¹ Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845* Second Edition Revised and Enlarged by Archibald Hanna (Woodbridge, Connecticut: Research Publications, Inc., 1983), pp. 371, 438, nos. 1120A, 1373; James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1984; reprinted 1999), pp.126-127, plate 32; Luke Gournay, *Texas Boundaries: Evolution of the State's Counties* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1995), pp. 35- 41; Raymond Estep, “Le Grand, Alexander,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fle24>, accessed August 08, 2019.; McLean, Malcolm D. “Robertson, Sterling Clack,” *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro34>, accessed August 08, 2019.

J. Edmund Blake, et al.

A.2. Part of the Boundary Between the United States and Texas; From Sabine River Northward to the 36th. Mile Mound

Lithograph on paper, 32 x 18 cm., by W. J. Stone (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government, 1842). 00570@127/8 [and]

Message from the President...Proceedings of the Commissioner Appointed to Run the Boundary Line Between the U.S. and the Republic of Texas

(Washington, D.C.: Senate Ex. Doc. 199, 27th Cong. 2nd Sess., 1842). 23 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F392.B7 J65 1842

On August 7, 1839, the Republic of Texas and the United States formed in New Orleans a “Joint Boundary Commission” to survey Texas' eastern boundary with the United States. The Texas Commissioner was Memucan Hunt (1807-1856), legislator and former secretary of the Texas Navy, and the U.S. Commissioner

was J. H. Overton. The field survey began on May 21, 1840, and concluded over a year later at the Red River on June 24, 1841. The engineer-surveyors, cartographers, and draftsmen included James Duncan Graham, George Meade, Andrew Belcher Gray, J. Edmund Blake, James Kearny, and Hamilton P. Bee – names familiar to those interested in Texas, U.S., military, and cartographic history. The official report appeared in 1842 along with maps such as the one shown here.¹ However, these maps were reduced versions of a rare eleven-sheet set of mammoth-size lithographs printed on fine paper (also in the UTA collection and too large to exhibit here). Topographical details relate to early inhabitants of east Texas, including both Anglo settlers and the Cadohadacho or Caddo people.

[The Republic of Texas Ten Dollar “Redback Note”] issued January 15, 1840, 7.8 x 18.1 cm., signed by James H. Starr, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, President. Printed by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson, New Orleans and Rawdon, Wright & Hatch of New York.



The Republic of Texas government printed too much money, but collectors no longer regret that today.¹ This spectacular ten dollar “Redback Note” – so-

called because of the lone star and medallions printed in red ink on the back – has a seated figure of a bearded Zeus with a thunderbolt and scepter on the left, a portrait of a beautiful maiden rising from the waters in the center, and a three-masted ship under full sails flying a striped lone star flag – a custom ordered-design reflecting the “imperial” taste of the administration of Mirabeau B. Lamar and their pride in the Texas Navy.²

¹ See the Rowe-Barr Collection of Texas Currency at the DeGolyer Library Special Collections at Southern Methodist University, accessed August 25, 2022, <https://www.smu.edu/libraries/digitalcollections/tbn>

² Beville, *The Paper Republic* (2009), pp. 204-208, fig. 8.17.

John Gadsby Chapman

A Scamper among the Buffalo

Engraving with etching on paper, 12 x 20 cm., by Henry Jordan & John or Frederick Halpin, in George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1844), vol. 1, frontispiece. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F390.K32 v.1

In 1841, Republic of Texas President Mirabeau B. Lamar sent an expedition of Texan commercial traders and merchants to Santa Fe along with some civilian commissioners and a military escort. Lamar hoped the expedition could help Texas appropriate some of the lucrative trade that was passing along the Santa Fe Trail and that the commissioners could convince the New Mexicans to join Texas' revolt from the Mexican central government. The expedition members included some names still remembered in Texas history and place names: Colonel William G. Cooke, Tejano patriot José Antonio Navarro, Richard F. Brenham, and the New Orleans *Picayune* journalist and author George Wilkins Kendall (1809-1867), whose *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* (1844) became a popular best-seller in the United States. The engraved frontispiece to the first volume of Kendall's account of the expedition (which also includes a map by W. Kemble of Texas and northern Mexico) shows the Texans somewhere north or northwest of Austin engaged in a sporting

buffalo hunt. The finely engraved background consists of a gently rolling prairie filled with buffalo, the ox-drawn wagons, and the military escort. The artist Chapman chose to illustrate a portion of Kendall's *Narrative* where he describes an Irish-Texan "greenhorn" – who had never hunted buffalo before – chasing them on a Mexican pony, "...in neck or nothing style, riding up to the first buffalo he met, and banging away with his pistols as fast as he could load and fire." That day, according to Kendall, the expedition killed twenty-eight, took some ten or twelve young calves, and added: "As to getting to the number of wounded, that would have been impossible."

Due to inadequate preparation and ignorance of the New Mexicans' resolve to support the Mexican government, the Texans' mission that began somewhat as an adventurous "lark" soon turned into a complete failure. The Texans brought no maps or scientific instruments to guide them or to record measurements for later work. As they neared their destination, Kiowas stole some of their horses, the Texans ran low on food and supplies, and New Mexicans took the Texans prisoner and sent them south in chains. Most of the Texans were finally released at the port of Veracruz on June 13, 1842, but Navarro, the last of them, who had signed the Texas Declaration of Independence, was held there at the Castle of San Juan d'Ulúa until January 27, 1845.¹

¹ H. Bailey Carroll, "Texan Santa Fe Expedition," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 24, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texan-santa-fe-expedition>. See William B. Taylor and Gerald D. Saxon, intro. and ed., *George Wilkins Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* (2 vols.; Dallas: DeGolyer Library and William B. Clements Center for Southwestern Studies, 2004 reprint), vol. 1, pp. xiii-xxxvi. David McDonald, *José Antonio Navarro: In Search of the American Dream in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2010).

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Charles McLaughlin, Henry Hillyard, and Joseph Napoleon Gimbrede

Texians Drawing the Black Beans at Salado

Engraved transfer toned lithograph on paper, 14 x 23 cm., in Gen. Thomas Jefferson Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition Against Mier...* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845). *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

Restraining over-zealous militants such as the author of this book, Thomas Jefferson Green (1802-1863), and the insubordinate behavior he condoned, were just a couple of the serious problems facing the Texas government.¹ During Houston's second term as president (1839-1842), there were two Mexican invasions. The first, in March 1842, under General Rafael Vázquez, briefly seized San Antonio before withdrawing with one hundred prisoners.² A second in September that year, under General Adrian Woll, took San Antonio then fought a battle with Texas forces at Salado Creek just east of the city before withdrawing later the same month with more prisoners and some 200 Tejanos who feared retaliation from the Anglos.² Texans like Green clamored for an invasion of Mexico, but President Houston believed this was foolhardy and appointed Texan General Alexander Somervell to make a large demonstration of force to the Rio Grande. After over two hundred of Somervell's men sacked Laredo without his authorization, he ordered a withdrawal on December 19.

However, now three hundred men from Somervell's army chose to disobey. One of these was Green who had briefly served Texas as a military recruiter, commissioned "brigadier general," and politician, who had forcibly seized the prisoner Santa Anna at Velasco, and who had conspired with Texan General Felix Huston to invade Mexico. This firebrand group from the Somervell expedition now elected Colonel William S. Fisher commander and chose instead to attack the town of Mier on the southern or Mexican side of the Rio Grande, a boundary



for the Republic that Green had first sponsored the bill for as a legislator. A large Mexican army under General Pedro de Ampudia overwhelmed Fisher's Texans, and they surrendered after a two-day battle on December 25-26, 1842. After a march south, the Texan prisoners overpowered their guards, but soon 176 Texans were recaptured.

For the Texans' killing of some of the Mexican guards, Santa Anna, back in power in the capital again, ordered one of every ten Texan prisoners held at the town of Salado in the Mexican state of San Luis Potosi to be shot. This was determined by the blindfolded prisoners drawing 17 black beans from a pot that also contained 159 white beans. This engraved transfer lithograph, one of thirteen from "General" Green's account of the expedition, illustrates this tragic episode. Of the surviving Mier prisoners who drew white beans, one was shot, some did hard labor, some died in captivity, some escaped (Green was one of these), and some were finally released by Santa Anna on September 16, 1844.³

According to Green's preface, "The designs accompanying the work were executed on the spot by Charles McLaughlin, one of the Mier prisoners, who participated in all the dangers and sufferings of this eventful expedition, and to whose genius great credit is due for their faithfulness to the life." However, according to inscriptions underneath the image, as was customary for engravings, two other artists took credit for shaping this composition, one "Hillyard del[ineavit]" or delineated it, and another "Gimbrede sc[ulpsit]" or carved / engraved it. This strongly suggests that these two professional artists – likely Henry Hillyard and Joseph Napoleon Gimbrede – gave the amateur McLaughlin considerable assistance.⁴

¹ Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 165-166, 216-219, 221, 266, 325-328; Robert Bruce Blake, "Green, Thomas Jefferson," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 24, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/green-thomas-jefferson>;

² Sam W. Haynes, "Mexican Invasions of 1842," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 24, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mexican-invasions-of-1842>.

³ Haynes, *Unsettled Land* (2022), pp. 165-166, 216-217, 218, 221, 266, 325-328; see also Sam Haynes, *Soldiers of Misfortune: The Somervell and Mier Expeditions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Joseph M. Nance, "Mier Expedition," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 24, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mier-expedition>.

⁴ Groce and Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1880* (1957), pp. 260, 317, records Hillyard as an English-born panoramist and Gimbrede as the son of the former West Point drawing instructor Thomas Gimbrede.

Josiah Gregg and Sidney E. Morse

A Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico Showing the Great Western Prairies

Color cerograph on paper, 33 x 40 cm., printed by Morse and Samuel Breese, New York, from Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies: or, The Journal of a Santa Fe Trader...* (2 vols.; New York: H. G. Langley, 1844). *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* 83-551a 46/11

The title of this map is somewhat misleading today for it includes much more than present Oklahoma, northern Texas, and eastern New Mexico. Also included are the present areas of Kansas and much of Colorado. The map carefully denotes towns, settlements, pueblos, forts, trading posts, camps, springs, rivers, creeks, wooded areas such as the Cross Timbers, sandy regions including parts of the Canadian River valley, mountains and escarpments such as the “Wichita Mts,” and the edges of the “Llano Estacado or Staked Plains.” The map depicts the ranges and hunting grounds of indigenous people such as the Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Kanza, Oto, and others. It also shows lands allotted to more agricultural tribes forcibly resettled from the east and Texas such as the Seminole, Cherokee, Osage, Shawnee, Delaware, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Waco. Even lands allotted to “Half Breeds” turn up on this map, which was printed in two colors by cerography, a new wax engraving transfer process that involved a copper plate, wax, and electrotyping, by the firm of Sidney Morse and Samuel Breese.¹ The map was based upon information from the Missouri-born Santa Fe trader Josiah Gregg (1806-1850) who wrote what is considered the best firsthand account of the early merchant-traders in New Mexico. The map was the best printed map in its time for the depiction of the southwestern prairies. It shows various routes of the Santa Fe and Chihuahua traders such as Gregg’s own treks, between and through Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory. The map and Gregg’s book went through multiple editions, both in English and German. The map also appeared in their *Cerographic Atlas of the United States* and *Morse’s North American Atlas* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1844-1845).²

¹ Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers* (1985), pp. 154, 468-469; David Woodward, *The All-American Map: Wax Engraving and Its Influence on Cartography* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, for the Herman Dunlop Smith Center for the History of Cartography, Newberry Library, 1977).

² Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Reprint intro. by Max L. Moorehead, ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954); Streeter, pp. 473-475, nos. 1502-1502F; Davis, et al., *Going to Texas*, pp. 58-59; John Logan Allen, “Patterns of Promise: Mapping the Plains and Prairies, 1800-1860,” in Luebke, Kaye, and Moulton, eds. *Mapping the North American Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 51; Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963), vol. 2, pp. 186-188, 264, no. 482; Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West* (1959), pp. 110, 126, 127; Ben W. Huseman, *Revisualizing Westward Expansion: A Century of Conflict in Maps, 1800-1900* (University of Texas at Arlington, 2008), p. 19, no. 16; Huseman, *Paths to Highways: Routes of Exploration, Commerce and Settlement* (The University of Texas at Arlington, 2018), p. 26, no. 37.

Sidney E. Morse

Texas

Color cerograph on paper, 38 x 31 cm., printed by Morse and Samuel Breese, 1845 (first printed in 1844 without color), from *Morse’s North American Atlas* (New York: Morse & Breese, 1845). *Gift of Ted W. Mayborn.* 90-736 53/1

Geographer and mapmaker Sidney Morse’s cerographic map of Texas shows thirty-five counties and many new towns, reflecting the tremendous growth in the republic. It does not include the less settled lands of western Texas and the panhandle, but it does accurately reflect real estate prospects in those areas by a vertical line of type stretching across the western portion of the map labelling it “Range of the Comanches.” The map accurately depicts new roads and greater detail on Texas’ creeks and rivers. Interestingly, it differentiates by label the “Upper Cross Timbers” and “Lower Cross Timbers” of north Texas.¹

¹ Cartographic Associates, *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed August 25, 2022, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps5512.html>; Woodward, *The All-American Map* (1977) p. 14ff; Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers*, pp. 154, 468-469.

Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel

Map of Texas, compiled from Surveys on Record in the General Land Office of the Republic of Texas

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 81 x 62.5 cm., from *A New Guide to Texas* (New York: Sherman & Smith, 1845). *Gift of Virginia Garrett.* 00879 138/1

This updated edition of the 1839 Hunt & Randel *Map of Texas* (cat. no. 119) was published in New York by Sherman & Smith instead of J. H. Colton, whose name still appears with the 1839 date in the small copyright caption at the bottom left of the plate. The colors are different and there are now thirty-three counties and more towns, particularly in the north – far away from the unstable Mexican border. These include De Kalb in Bowie County, Paris in Lamar County, Savannah and Jonesboro in Red River County, Honey Grove, Bois d’Arc, and Warren in Fannin County, Henderson in Rusk, Huntsville in Montgomery County, Independence, Brenham, Mt. Vernon, and Industry in Washington County, and Justinia, Palacios, and Preston in Matagorda County to name a few.¹

¹ Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845* 2nd edition (1983), pp. 430-431, nos. 1348-1348B.

Texas Annexation and the U.S. War with Mexico, 1846–1848

Sam Houston's second term as Texas President had just expired in December 1844 when both House and Senate of the United States Congress finally voted to pursue the annexation of Texas. Part of the impetus for the change in attitude in the U.S. was fear that Great Britain or some other European power might attempt to seize or lure Texas within its Empire – an idea that Houston had coyly and masterfully pursued diplomatically with no real intent. Mexico still refused to acknowledge Texas' independence, and annexation now shifted most of Texas' defense burden to the United States. In July 1845, U.S. President Polk sent General Zachary Taylor with most of the small professional U.S. Army to south Texas to protect the new boundary. He also dispatched a diplomat with an offer to purchase California and much of what would become the American Southwest. Most Mexicans were incensed by this. Step by step neither country backed down, and when a U.S. reconnaissance patrol provoked a Mexican response just north of the Rio Grande, Polk found a way to justify aggressive action to the American Congress, which declared war on Mexico. After two years, the United States succeeded militarily in seizing much of northern Mexico and, in one of the first amphibious assaults in U.S. history, successfully landed an army near the Gulf port of Veracruz that fought its way to the Valley of Mexico and occupied Mexico City. Meanwhile, the new state of Texas continued to grow as new waves of immigrants from the United States and Europe continued to arrive.

Thanks to Jenkins and Virginia Garrett and many others, UTA Libraries' Special Collections can tell this history through original rare maps, prints, books, broadsides, letters, diaries, and journals better than many of the finest institutions throughout the United States, Mexico, and the World. On display is only a miniscule amount of UTA's treasures relating to this subject. The Garretts found a focus in this war for their collecting early on, and, through generous endowments from them and others, Special Collections continues to broaden and deepen these holdings. The U.S. War with Mexico shaped Texas like no other and continues to impact this state, other states, and the two nations today.

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Jarvis Griggs Kellogg, attrib.

James K. Polk [and] George M. Dallas President and Vice-President, of the United States

Lithograph with applied color on paper, 34 x 23 cm., by Kellogg & Hanmer (Hartford, Connecticut, ca.1844). 2002-903 GO28/10

This lithographed 1844 U.S. presidential campaign broadside for Democrat James K. Polk and his running mate George M. Dallas includes maps of Oregon and Texas.¹ These allude to the most pressing foreign policy issues of the campaign: the Oregon and Texas questions. The image also has an emblematic U.S. eagle, upside down lone star, flags, theatrical curtains, acanthus and laurel leaves, and rosette roundels as decorative elements. Although Polk and Dallas ran and won the September 1844 presidential election on a pro-annexation platform, outgoing President John Tyler recommended annexation, and both the U.S. House and Senate approved by February 27, 1845, before Polk and Dallas took office in March.

¹ On Kellogg and Hanmer, see Groce and Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1880* (1957), p. 364.

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David H. Burr

The State of Texas, 1836-1845

Engraved transfer lithograph (with hand-colored outlines), 45.5 x 54 cm. Engraved by S. Stiles & Co. (New York: R. S. Fisher, 1846).

Gift of Virginia Garrett

00793 130/4

This historically themed map is one of the first printed maps to show the former Texas republic and Mexican province as a state, and the map's distinct hand coloring well illustrates disputed areas (in yellow) claimed by both the Texas (and now U.S.) and Mexican governments from the time of Texas independence in 1836 to the eve



of the U.S. War with Mexico in 1846. The cartographer David H. Burr was geographer to the U.S. House of Representatives (1838-1847) and before that had been topographer to the U.S. Post Office Department (1832-1838). As early as 1833, Burr issued a similar map based in part on Stephen F. Austin's and Henry S. Tanner's 1830 map of Texas. One of Burr's innovations then was to include an inset, "Plan of the Port of Galveston, made by order of the Mexican Government by Alexander Thompson of the Mexican Navy in 1828," seen at lower left. As Texas passed from Mexican province (technically part of the state of Coahuila y Texas) to an independent republic and then a state, Burr continued to update his own maps, but he also kept many of the original features of the first edition. As examples, Burr's 1833 edition had several of the Mexican-Anglo land grants, but this 1846 map has several counties including Rusk in the east which was added in 1843. In 1846, Burr continued to show a "Spanish Garrison" and a "Cherokee Village" long after these features had disappeared, but he also added newer towns and villages such as Austin, Crockett, and Texana that had been established during the years of the republic. Burr also noted the location of copper and silver mines in west central Texas, but not enough of these resources were ever found to make commercial mining of them viable.¹

¹ Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest*, pp. 122-123; Compare maps in Luke Gournay, *Texas Boundaries: Evolution of the State's Counties* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1995), pp. 31-45; Cohen, ed., *Mapping the West* (2002), p. 117, for information on Burr. UT Arlington *Cartographic Connections*. <http://libraries.uta.edu/ccon/scripts/ShowMap.asp?accession=00793>, accessed 4-23-08.

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Samuel Augustus Mitchell, Sr.

A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California, with the Regions Adjoining

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 56 x 52.5 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1846). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00583.132/2

Published just before the War with Mexico, Mitchell's map embodies the theme of the United States' drive to "fulfill its manifest destiny to overspread the continent." It shows the recently annexed former Republic of Texas in its largest territorial form including its farthest claims into present New Mexico and Colorado. In the Texas area the map includes old Spanish roads from Louisiana stretching to the Rio Grande and into Coahuila and Tamaulipas, newer roads connecting the rapidly developing and multiplying multi-colored counties, and the old Camino Real or Chihuahua Trail leading south from Santa Fe (in Texas!) along the Rio Grande past "Passo del Norte" to Chihuahua. Mexican New Mexico has been confined to a tiny strip west of the Rio del Norte. The large pink area labeled "Upper or New California" includes the Mexican territories of Upper California and what was part of New Mexico – coveted by the United States. This section derived in part from U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Lieutenant William H. Emory's *Map of Texas and the Countries Adjacent...* of 1844, which was a compilation of the best information on what

became the American Southwest available in Washington, D.C., before the war with Mexico. It also included up-to-date information obtained by another U.S. Army Topographical Engineer, Lieutenant John C. Fremont, who had first concluded that the continent's interior included a "Great Basin." Mitchell's map calls it "Great Interior Basin of California" where "streams and rivers... have no outlet to the sea." Among the featured trails are the "Oregon route" (with a table inset at lower left of the "Emigrant Route from Missouri to Oregon" giving mileage details), Fremont's alternate route to St. Vrain's Fort near Long's Peak in the Rockies, the "Caravan route to Santa Fe," and, beyond this, a route to California by way of "Vegas" and the Mojave R. leading to the "Great Spanish Trail from "P. Angeles" to Santa Fe. Looming large in pale yellow is the vast Oregon Territory jointly administered and stretching up to the 54° 40' parallel of North latitude, seen before a compromise split was reached in the Oregon Treaty between the U.S. and Great Britain of June 1846. For this area the map largely followed the printed map of Oregon from the report of Charles Wilkes' U.S. Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842. In far northern Oregon the map traces part of "Mackenzie's route" while further south leading through western Oregon from the "Great Falls" and upper reaches of the Missouri River in "Missouri Territory" is "Lewis and Clark's route" to the Columbia River. With all this information, it is not surprising that Mitchell's commercial map was widely used – Mormon leader Brigham Young ordered six copies for his western migration in the winter of 1846. The map also served as an inset in *Mitchell's Reference and Distance Map of the United States*.¹

¹ "Manifest destiny," *Wikipedia*, accessed September 7, 2022; Huseman, *Paths to Highways* (2018), p. 28, cat. no. 44; Huseman, *Revisualizing Westward Expansion* (2008), p. 21, cat. no. 17; Cohen, ed., *Mapping the West* (2002), pp. 134-135; Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (1957-1963); vol. 3, pp. 253-254, no. 520; Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin* (2005), pp. 88-89; Judith A. Tyner, Map 25, in Warren Heckrotte and Julie Sweetkind, eds., *California 49: Forty-Nine Maps of California from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (San Francisco: California Map Society Occasional Paper No.6 with The Book Club of California, 1999), pp. 50-51; William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 130.

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After Alfred Sully or Joseph Horace Eaton

Corpus Christi

Engraving on paper, 9 x 15 cm., in William Seaton Henry, *Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1847), frontispiece. 20 cm. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* E405.1.H52

In July 1845, lead units of U.S. General Zachary Taylor's "Army of Observation" arrived by ship and camped at the little village of Corpus Christi on the south bank of the Nueces River – the boundary line that Mexico claimed separated the Mexican state of Tamaulipas with the former Mexican province of Texas. Meanwhile, Mexican troops remained at their usual posts along the Rio Grande, which the U.S. claimed as the new boundary. During the next few months, peace still reigned along the no-man's land of the Nueces Strip until Taylor received orders to advance south to the north bank of the Rio Grande – a march begun on March 8, 1846. This further incursion was more than the Mexicans could take, and, on April 25, they attacked a party of U.S. Dragoons on reconnaissance a few miles north of the Rio Grande. With this news, the President went to Congress, which voted to declare war.

Demand back in the United States for accurate information and images from the war was such that soldiers and others sent sketches back home to be engraved or lithographed. Some of these appeared in the first illustrated newspapers such as the *New York Herald*, but others soon appeared in some of the earliest published accounts of the war. U.S. Army Lieutenant (soon Captain) William Seaton Henry of the Third Infantry Regiment wrote a series of eyewitness accounts as "G. De L." for the news journal *Spirit of the Times* and later collected them in a

book, *Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico*. Henry's book includes numerous engraved images and maps which he acknowledged to be the work of Lieutenant Alfred Sully and Major Joseph Horace Eaton, an aide-de-camp to General Taylor. Henry described Corpus Christi both before and after the last of Taylor's Army left on March 8.¹

¹ Stewart, Sandweiss, and Huseman, *Eyewitness to War* (1989), pp. 10, 101-102, 104, 113, 120, 181, 200, 207.

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Major Joseph Horace Eaton

Matamoras, Mexico, June 29, 1846, to Colonel ?

Handwritten in ink on captured official paper stamped "Division del Norte, General en Gefé," 21 x 13.4 cm. (folded). *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

This is an original letter signed by Major Eaton, full of news and gossip about the situation of the American forces in northern Mexico. He mentions quite a few people including General Taylor, Captain Bliss (Taylor's aide-de-camp and son-in-law), General Winfield Scott, Captain Philip N. Barbour, and Lieutenant W. S. Henry, and Mexican leaders Bustamante, Herrera, and Mariano Paredes.

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Thomas Bangs Thorpe

Battle Field, Palo Alto – Mexican Army Drawn up in Battle Array

Engraving on paper, 8.9 x 15.2 cm., in T. B. Thorpe, *Our Army on the Rio Grande* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1846), opp. p. 74.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett

E405.1.T53

Prints based upon sketches drawn by eyewitnesses shaped U.S. public perception of the War with Mexico. This is one of the first printed views of the first major battle of the war based upon a sketch by artist and author Thomas Bangs Thorpe (1815-1878) who arrived in Matamoros just after the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma and immediately began interviewing eyewitnesses and touring the battlefields. Thorpe originally joined General Taylor's Army to cover the campaign as a newspaper correspondent for the New Orleans *Tropic* but soon turned the material he collected into two of the earliest books on the war, *Our Army on the Rio Grande* and *Our Army at Monterey*. After the war German artist Carl Nebel and American journalist George Wilkins Kendall used the print and Thorpe's books as material for their own more celebrated and famous portfolio rendition of the Battle of Palo Alto in their *The War Between the United States and Mexico Illustrated* (1851). Thorpe was already a noted author and humorist before the war and, as a young man, had showed an early interest in history painting and had studied with artist John Quidor.¹

¹ Milton Rickels, *Thomas Bangs Thorpe: Humorist of the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962; Stewart, Sandweiss, and Huseman, *Eyewitness to War* (1989), pp. 11-12, 103-104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 120, 200. See UTA's Kendall Family Papers and Kendall and Nebel's *War Between the United States and Mexico Illustrated* (1851), plate 1.

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[Thomas Bangs Thorpe, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 14, 1846, to Messrs. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia]

Handwritten ink on paper, 27 x 21 cm.

Gift of Jenkins Garrett, Mexican War Collection

This is an original letter penned by T. B. Thorpe in New Orleans shortly after his return from Mexico. The letter is addressed to his publishers Edward Carey and Abraham Hart in Philadelphia and concerns his books, *Our Army on the Rio Grande* and *Our Army at Monterey*.

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Photographer Unknown

[Texas Mounted Volunteer]

Quarter-plate daguerreotype, ca.1847-1848. *Gift of Dr. William J. Schulz.* 2008-15



Photography was in its infancy when this man sat for his daguerreotype portrait. His broad-brimmed hat is turned up and has a lone star medallion pinned to it. Wearing a dark military-style jacket with a triple row of brass buttons, he clasps a book in his hand – possibly an indication of his literary aspirations or love of reading.

Although there is little documentation with the photograph, there is a good chance that he may have been a Texas Mounted Volunteer serving with Zachary Taylor's Army in the U.S. War with Mexico – *the very first war connected with photography*. The daguerreotype process was first announced to the world by its inventor, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in 1839, and by 1847 photographers were already in the United States, for example, in New Orleans, and they were even travelling into the interior of Mexico to record images. A daguerreotypist visited northern Mexico shortly after the February 1847 Battle of Buena Vista and took images of General Zachary Taylor, his second-in-command General John E. Wool, and other American and Mexican soldiers and civilians.¹ As concisely explained by Malcolm Daniel at the Metropolitan Museum, each daguerreotype was "... a remarkably detailed, one-of-a-kind photographic image on a highly polished, silver-plated sheet of copper, sensitized with iodine vapors, exposed in a large box camera, developed in mercury fumes, and stabilized (or fixed) with salt water or 'hypo' (sodium thiosulfate)."²

¹ See Rick Stewart, Martha A. Sandweiss, and Ben W. Huseman, *Eyewitness to War: Prints and Daguerreotypes of the Mexican War, 1846-1848* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press in conjunction with the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, 1989).

² Malcolm Daniel, "Daguerre (1787-1851) and the Invention of Photography," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, Essays*, (October 2004), *The Met*, accessed August 28, 2022, [https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/dagu/hd_dagu.htm#:~:text=Each%20daguerreotype%20is%20a%20remarkably,hypo%E2%80%9D%20\(sodium%20thiosulfate\)](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/dagu/hd_dagu.htm#:~:text=Each%20daguerreotype%20is%20a%20remarkably,hypo%E2%80%9D%20(sodium%20thiosulfate).).

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George A. Davi

Louisa Van Zandt Clough

Quarter-plate daguerreotype with applied color, in velvet book-style double case, Austin, Texas, ca.1850. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett Clough Family Papers GA51*



Printed images of Texas women of the nineteenth century are rare, and then there are one-of-a-kind sketches, paintings, and daguerreotype portraits. Fortunately, this daguerreotype has documentation identifying the sitter as Louisa Van Zandt Clough (1834-1924). It is in a blue velvet double book-style case enclosing a second daguerreotype of her

husband, Jeremiah Morrill Clough (1819-1862), and both are possibly wedding portraits. Louisa was born in Franklin County, Tennessee, one of six children of Isaac Van Zandt and Frances Cooke Lipscomb who moved to Harrison County in east Texas in the late 1830s during the feud known as the Regulator-Moderator War. In 1843-1844, the family lived in Washington, D.C., where her father served as the Texas chargé-d'affaires to the United States. By 1845, they were back in Harrison County where she may have met her future husband and New Hampshire native Jeremiah who had just started practicing law in the county that year. Jeremiah served in the First Texas Mounted Volunteers during the U.S. War with Mexico, then in the Texas state legislature in Austin from 1849-1850. Around this time

the couple married and probably had their picture taken by Austin daguerreotypist George A. Davis. During the Civil War, Jeremiah served as Lieutenant Colonel of the Seventh Texas Infantry and was killed at Fort Donelson. Louisa Clough, like her brother, prominent Fort Worth pioneer K. M. Van Zandt, later lived in Tarrant County where she died at the age of ninety.¹

¹ Brenda McClurkin, "Clough Family Papers, A Guide" University of Texas at Arlington Library, Texas State Archival Resources Online; Jo Ella Exley, comp. and ed., "The Reminiscences of Frances Cooke Lipscomb Van Zandt," *East Texas Historical Journal* 25:2 (October 1987):42-48; "Jeremiah Clough," *Legislative Reference Library of Texas*, accessed September 2, 2022, <https://lrl.texas.gov/legaleaders/members/memberdisplay.cfm?memberID=5387>. On Davis, see David Haynes, *Catching Shadows: A Directory of 19th-Century Texas Photographers* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993), p. 31.

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John Woodhouse Audubon

Jaguar

Chromolithograph on paper, 17 x 25.5 cm., lithographed by John T. Bowen, Philadelphia, in John James Audubon and Rev. John Bachman, *The Quadrupeds of North America* (3 vols.; New York: Victor G. Audubon, 1849-1854), vol. 1, opp. p. 1, no. 21, plate CI. QL715.A92 vol.1

Accounts of early visitors and naturalists in Texas reveal many stories about animals and natural resources that once existed in abundance. Many early people took these resources for granted. John Woodhouse Audubon (1812-1862), son of artist, naturalist, and author John James Audubon (1785-1851), visited Texas on three separate occasions: the first with his father, in 1837, when they visited several officials of the Republic of Texas, including Sam Houston; the second, a research trip without his father, in 1845-1846; and a third time, in 1849, with a California-bound expedition. While the Audubons, and particularly the father, are best known for their massive painting project and illustrated volumes, *The Birds of North America* (1827-1838), they also worked on a second project to paint and illustrate the mammals for another series of volumes, *The Quadrupeds*, which contains prints and descriptions for dozens of animals John W. Audubon personally observed in Texas and the Southwest or from which specimens were procured including skunks, rabbits, bears, armadillos, rodents, squirrels, raccoons, opossums, wolves, deer, peccary, and a wide variety of predatory cats. One of the latter was the Jaguar seen here in a chromolithograph for the octavo *Quadrupeds* after John W.'s watercolor painting. It is more remarkable because the animal may no longer be found in the wild here. Rev. John Bachmann, who wrote the text for the Audubons, often included interesting anecdotes about the animals related to him by John W. who, in turn, reported animal stories, in this case about the jaguar, involving famous Texans such as the Texas Ranger John Coffee Hays and the late Alamo defender James Bowie.¹

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¹ For more information and references on the Audubons, Hays, Bowie, and the jaguars, see Ben W. Huseman, "Natural Encounters in Old Texas: Audubon's Quadrupeds at UTA," *Fronteras*, October 19, 2020, accessed August 26, 2022, <https://fronteras.uta.edu/2020/10/19/natural-encounters-in-old-texas-audubons-quadrupeds-at-uta/>, which also cites other references; Ben W. Huseman, "Audubon, John Woodhouse," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 08, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/audubon-john-woodhouse>; Ben W. Huseman, "Audubon, John James," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 08, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/audubon-john-james>.

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To Arms! To Arms! 100 Men for the United States Army!

Engraved stereotyped broadside on paper, 39.5 x 26 cm. (Millersburg, Ohio: Printed by Means, February 1, 1847). *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*. GO 28/10

Some Texans love to remember the Texas War for Independence but tend to ignore the part played by other parts of the United States in establishing the security of Texas' borders, particularly during the U.S. War with Mexico of 1846-1848. The state of Ohio, for example, answered President Polk's initial call for volunteers with three regiments. Other companies over the quota were also organized, and over 8000 men from Ohio saw action in Mexico, but still others were discharged before ever leaving the state.¹ This broadside from Millersburg, Ohio, appeals to the patriotism of potential Ohio recruits and has a graphic U.S. eagle.

¹ Norman E. Tutorow, ed. and comp., *The Mexican-American War: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 313, no. 4297, cites Oliver N. Johnson, "Ohio in the Mexican War," M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1926.



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Charles Hooton

General Hospital

Lithograph on paper, 14 x 22 cm., Hullmandel & Walton, Lithographers, in Charles Hooton, *St. Louis' Isle, or Texiana* (London: Simmonds and Ward, 1847), opp. p. 122. *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* F390 .H76

Although the United States' annexation of Texas brought advantages to the settlers, particularly regarding security from foreign invasion, it did not solve the primitive conditions normally endured by people living along a frontier. For example, dozens of the hundreds of German immigrants arriving on the Texas coast beginning in the late 1840s contracted cholera and other mosquito-carried diseases as a result of being unable to move inland quickly enough due to a lack of wagons which General Zachary Taylor's Army had commandeered to transport supplies into Mexico.¹ During the War with Mexico, more American and Mexican soldiers died from disease than from actual violence.²

This evocative image of a “*General Hospital*” on Galveston Island is one of five lithographed views that accompanied Englishman Charles Hooton’s book, *St. Louis’ Isle, or Texiana*. The views include “*Galveston from the Gulf Shore*,” “*Settlers’ Houses on the Prairie*,” a “*Scene on a Bayou*” and “*The Fever’ Burial Ground*” and, like the text, reflect upon Hooton’s own miserable experiences in the Republic of Texas in 1841. The views are quite realistic scenes of the Texas coastal prairies and capture some of the primitive conditions and beauty of early Texas. The disdainful and cynical Englishman’s book could serve as an antidote to the many travel narratives and guidebooks about Texas that tended to be nauseatingly promotional and optimistic, and it is useful to remember it was written before climate change and before most of Texas was covered in steel, concrete, strip malls, and commercial billboards. In his preface, finished at Nottingham, England, on January 18, 1847, Hooton admitted that he wrote to prevent “any projecting Emigrants from following in the same fatal footsteps.” He also opined that no matter what improvements or changes Texas might have made in its form of government, “...it must be kept in mind that the climate has not changed along with it. There still remain the same sun, the same brick-burned earth – the same pestilent, sweltering bayous, in which the fish that cannot escape get cooked (though not literally boiled) to death, as before.” He believed, like many still today, that “... the country is still the same, and the objections against it are as potent and incontrovertible as ever.” Hooton’s book nevertheless has a charm that perhaps only *real* Texans can appreciate.

¹Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831–1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930; rpt. 1964).

²Peter Guardino, *The Dead March: A History of the Mexican-American War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018).

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S. Augustus Mitchell & Co. and George Stealey
Map of Mexico, including Yucatan & Upper California exhibiting the chief cities and towns, the principal traveling routes &c. [with secondary] Map of the Principal Roads from Vera Cruz and Alvarado to the City of Mexico, Including the Valley of Mexico, Mountains, Plains, Volcanoes, Lakes &c. Compiled from the latest and best authorities by Geo. Stealey, Civil Engineer [and] Profile of the Road between Mexico and Vera Cruz

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 83 x 60.5 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1847). 270003 77/11

The Mitchell mapmaking firm in Philadelphia produced several different maps showing aspects of the U.S. War with Mexico (see also cat. no. 5). This vertically oriented map of Mexico, Yucatan, and Upper California consists of four separate maps on one sheet designed to inform the public about the geography of the areas most affected by the conflict. A fine outline rendering of the recently annexed former Republic of Texas includes eastern New Mexico and the republic’s “stovepipe” panhandle extending into parts of present Colorado and Wyoming. The map shows the Santa Fe Trail as the “Trader’s route to Independence, Mo.,” the old “Camino Real” to Chihuahua or Chihuahua Trail, and the “Camino Real” or “old San Antonio Road” from Natchitoches to “Presidio del Rio Grande.” A road from Goliad leads south through Refugio to Corpus Christi to Pt. Isabel to Brazos Santiago through the battlefields at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma to Matamoras – all points important in the opening and supply phases of U.S. Army General Zachary Taylor’s northern campaign. South of the Rio Grande there is more evidence of Taylor’s northern campaign by the emphasis on the road from Matamoras to Camargo,

Mier, Seralvo [sic, Serralvo], Marine [sic, Marin], and Monterey [sic, Monterrey]. Yet more follows with roads from Monterrey to Rinconada, Saltillo, Buena Vista, Agua Nueva, Encarnacion, and beyond. All of these towns were mentioned in reports emanating from Taylor’s campaign in 1846-1847. The old Camino Real extending from San Antonio and the Alamo to Presidio del Rio Grande to Monclova to Saltillo was the route followed by General John E. Wool on a march with the largely U.S. Volunteer “Central Division” to reinforce Taylor. Roads from Matamoras and Monterrey lead off to Tampico where General William Jenkins Worth’s Division of Regulars and, later, Patterson’s Division of Volunteers withdrew in preparation for the invasion of Central Mexico. Even the rendezvous site of Lobos Island appears -- an otherwise insignificant location to show on a general map. Further west in Upper California may be seen the coastal road and the “Great Spanish Trail to Santa Fe.” There is nothing as yet indicated from General Kearny’s overland trek to California.

The inset at upper right shows the “Battle Field of Monterey” with a plan of the city and small lines indicating the “Route of Gen. Worth’s Div[ision]” on the 20th of September 1846 and the “Route of the 1st Div[ision] and Vol[unteer]s” on the 21st. Variations of this plan appeared in illustrated newspapers, reports, and other accounts of the time. The bottom of the sheet features George Stealey’s Map of the Principal Roads from Vera Cruz and Alvarado to the City of Mexico, including the Valley of Mexico, Mountains, Plains, Volcanoes, Lakes &c. This area encompassed General Winfield Scott’s Central Campaign in Mexico, and much of the map and even the idea for the profile elevations below derived from Alexander von Humboldt. A hand-drawn red line indicates General Scott’s route from Veracruz to the National Bridge, Cerro Gordo, “El Encerño” [sic, El Encerro, one of Santa Anna’s haciendas], Jalapa, Perote, Puebla, to Mexico City. This, the map notes, is the “Main Road from Veracruz to Mexico... Stagecoaches run through in 3 days.” (Scott and the U.S. Army had to fight their way over this route in just over six months, from March 9 to September 14, 1847.) Stealey also took care to include the routes of Hernan Cortes’ conquest in 1519, 1520, and 1521, as well as roads from Mexico City to Tampico, Oaxaca, and Acapulco.

It is interesting to note that UTA’s map apparently once belonged to Lieutenant D. T. Van Buren of the 2nd Artillery, according to an inscription on the back. Daniel Thompkins Van Buren (1826-1890) was a New York native and West Point graduate who participated in the final battles for and occupation of Mexico City. He eventually rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General for the Union during the Civil War. Van Buren’s ink annotations along the route from Veracruz to Mexico City declare that from the high road near Jalapa one “Can see the Gulf from here” and note the location of the “Castle” at Perote. Near the decorative Mexican eagle grappling a serpent appears to be Van Buren’s notes about his return to the U.S. at the end of the war: “left Mexico 20th May 1848 / at Vera Cruz 14th June [1848] / [at] N[ew] Orleans 28th June [1848].” Far to the north along the Rio Grande in New Mexico is a handwritten “Jornada del Muerto” – perhaps a cryptic reference to the march of the Missouri Volunteers under Colonels A. W. Doniphan or Sterling Price.

Huseman, *Paths to Highways* (2018), pp. 29-30, no. 34; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* (2nd ed., 1983), nos. 3868, 3869; On Van Buren, see Francis R. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1798-1903*, (2 vols.; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1994; originally published in Washington, D.C., 1903), vol. 1, p. 980; Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny* (2014), p. 27, no. 50.



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John Disturnell

Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 76.5 x 104.5 cm.

(New York: J. Disturnell, 1847).

310048 102/1

Capitalizing on the demand for maps of Mexico during the U.S.-Mexico crisis and war, New York publisher John Disturnell first issued an edition of this map in 1846 from a copper plate originally used in 1828 for New York publishers White, Gallaher & White's *Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico* (cat. no. 85). From an 1845 map by John C. Fremont and Charles Preuss, Disturnell reworked the area of Alta California and the Great Basin. Among other changes, he added some new trails, routes, roads, and railroads and the boundaries of the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. Pre-war routes shown include the Oregon Trail, Santa Fe Trail, "Capt. Fremont's Route 1843," "Maj. Long's Route," the Spanish Trail from California to Santa Fe, the Chihuahua Trail or *Camino Real* to Santa Fe, plus many roads in Texas and what is still Mexico today.

Article 5 of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (cat. no. 150) ending the U.S. War with Mexico refers to an 1847 version of this map, seen here, which is now commonly called the "Treaty Map." The routes of Generals Taylor, Wool, and Kearney (from Fort Leavenworth as far as Santa Fe) are included (and emphasized with a hand-drawn red line on UTA's copy along with the Oregon Trail and the National Road from Veracruz to Mexico City in the inset at bottom left). Inset in the Gulf of Mexico, Disturnell reproduced a map by Captain J. H. Eaton of the U.S. Third Infantry depicting the battlefields of the lower Rio Grande as well as a chart of the Bay of Veracruz originally produced for French Vice Admiral Baudin during the Franco-Mexican Pastry War of 1838-1839.

In 1937, Colonel Martin Lawrence, Chief of the Library of Congress' map division, identified up to 23 versions or "editions" of the map which first began appearing in 1846. UTA owns original examples of Lawrence's so-called "fourth edition" of the map, published by Disturnell in 1846, as well as Lawrence's seventh "Revised Edition," published by Disturnell in the early months of 1847 (seen here, the one that accompanied the American copy of the treaty). Oddly, the Spanish printing of the treaty was accompanied by a separate edition of the map (Lawrence's twelfth, also an original of which is in the UTA cartographic collection)¹

¹ Lawrence Martin, *Disturnell's Map* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937); Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, vol. 3, pp. 6, 259, no. 540; Cohen, *Mapping the West* (2002), pp. 142-144; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* (1983, 1999), pp. 137-139; Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin* (2005), pp. 88-90; Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1959), pp.156-157.

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Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, dated at Guadalupe Hidalgo, 2d February, 1848. Ratified by the President U.S., 16th. March, 1848. Exchanged at Queretaro, 30th May, 1848. Proclaimed by the President U.S., 4th July 1848
Stereotype print on paper, 32 x 20.5 cm.1848. Handwritten in ink:
"Presented by the Honb. R. P. Letcher, Minister Plenp. at Mexico to his Friend Capt. Jonas P. Levy 1850" *Gift of Jenkins Garrett* E408.U5802

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the United States War with Mexico. It was first signed in the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo which was then just outside Mexico City. By the treaty, Mexico gave up its claim to Texas and acknowledged the Rio Grande as the border. The U.S. paid Mexico \$15 million plus \$5 million toward U.S. citizens' claims against Mexico. In addition, the U.S. received the territories of the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, most of New Mexico and Arizona. Mexican citizens within those areas could receive full U.S. citizenship or choose to relocate. This fine presentation copy was given by the U.S. diplomat and Minister to Mexico Robert P. Letcher (1788-1861) to Captain Jonas Phillips Levy (1807-1883) who commanded the U.S. troop transport ship *America* during the war and served as captain of the port of Veracruz.¹

¹ On Letcher see "Robert P. Letcher," *Wikipedia*, accessed August 30, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_P._Letcher; on Levy see "Jonas Phillips Levy," *Wikipedia*, accessed August 30, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jonas_Phillips_Levy, and Cyrus Adler and Simon Wolf, "Levy, Jonas Phillips," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, accessed August 30, 2022, <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9890-levy-jonas-phillips>

Immigrant Waves of the 1840s and 1850s

The Texas population, not including indigenous people, grew from approximately 142,000 in 1847 to 212,295 in 1850 and 604,215 in 1860.¹ In addition to people arriving from the American South, this also included large numbers of immigrants from Europe, particularly Germans. Many were attracted by offers of cheap land. While politics and the economy were largely dominated by wealthy Southern slaveholders who had come to Texas with the idea of establishing cotton plantations, the Germans and other Anglos often started with subsistence farming.

¹ Campbell, *Gone to Texas* (2003), p. 207.



Antonio and Presidio del Rio on the Rio Grande: the “Upper” road, the “Lower or old” road, and, to the north of them both, “Woll[']s Road.” The latter referred to a smuggler’s trail entering San Antonio from the hills to the west of the town used by the French-born Mexican General Adrian Woll for his surprise raid on San Antonio in 1842. (Although Woll’s men only held the town for a week, they managed to slip back into Mexico with a number of Texan prisoners.)

The small inset map includes the “Caravan Route from Arkansas 1840” to Paso del Norte – a reference to the return journey of a group of Mexican traders from Chihuahua who had come up the trail the year before. The inset also shows “Gen[era]l. Kearny’s Route [in] 1846” from Missouri to Santa Fe. DeCordova issued revised editions until 1861.

¹ Robert S. Martin, “United States Army Mapping in Texas, 1848-50” in Dennis Reinhartz and Charles C. Colley, eds., *The Mapping of the American Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M, 1987), p. 39; Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest*, pp. 39, 140-141; Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers* (1985), pp. 459-460; Taliaferro, Kenamore, and Haller, *Cartographic Sources in the Rosenberg Library* (1998), pp. 15, 129-130, no. 295A; Dorothy Sloan Books Auction 25 abstracts (2018), accessed September 9, 2018, <https://www.dsloan.com/cms/auction/25/item/map-decordova-texas-1849>; Huseman, *Paths to Highways* (2018), pp. 36-37, no. 58.

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Robert Creuzbauer

J. DeCordova’s Map of the State of Texas Compiled from records of the General Land Office of the State...1849

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 85 x 78.5 cm., mounted on paper, 89.5 x 82.5 cm., engraved by J. M. Atwood, N.Y. (Austin: Jacob De Cordova, 1848). *Gift of Virginia Garrett* 00588 140/9

Texas land agent, promoter, and colonizer Jacob DeCordova (1808-1868) commissioned Texas General Land Office cartographer Robert Creuzbauer (ca.1823- after 1910) to produce this map “from records of the General Land Office...” A masterpiece of promotion, DeCordova’s map updated and further refined the basic composition of Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel’s 1845 map of Texas. Like Hunt & Randel’s maps, the DeCordova and Creuzbauer production has facsimile signature endorsements and an inset showing Texas’ most grandiose boundary claims. However, while Hunt & Randel’s has endorsements from the Texas Secretary of State, the editor of the Houston *Telegraph*, the Texas General Land Commissioner, and the Texas Consul General in New York, DeCordova obtained the facsimile endorsements of similar officials plus the arguably more famous Texas pioneer heroes, soldiers, and politicians, Thomas J. Rusk, Sam Houston, and John C. Hays. Reportedly Sam Houston even praised the map on the floor of the U.S. Senate, calling it “the most correct and authentic map of Texas ever compiled.”

The map includes many new towns and settlements such as Dallas, Corsicana, Palestine, Tyler, Springfield, Cameron, Leona, Carthage, Pulaski, Marshall, Gilmer, San Marcos, New Braunfels, Vandenburg, Quihi, and Dhanis, to mention a few. Details for creeks and rivers and topographical features like Comanche Peak, Enchanted Rock, and Pilot Knob are named. Along the upper Brazos there are new Indian villages belonging to the Waco, Caddo, Keechi, Ionie, and Rock peoples. Among the trails it delineates are three important roads between San

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J. Bädeker

Karte des Staates, Texas (aufgenommen in die Union 1846.) nach der neuesten Eintheilung

Engraved transfer color lithograph with applied color on paper, 29.5 x 36.5 cm. (Elberfeld: J. Bädeker, 1849). *Gift of Virginia Garrett.* 00517 127/9

By the late 1840s, German-language maps of the new state of Texas began to proliferate as a result of the increased interest among European emigrants. Among the first non-English and non-Hispanic speaking immigrant groups in Texas were the primarily German-speaking Alsatians of former Republic of Texas empresario Henri Castro’s colony located just west of San Antonio. In 1842, Castro (1786-1865), a former consul general for the Republic of Texas in Paris, had received contracts for two grants of land to settle 600 families. By 1845, he had introduced 2,134 settlers, and they had established the town of Castroville in his



honor. This map has a rather crudely executed Texas flag and features the Castroville Colony in yellow with an inset plan of the town of Castroville at lower right. The map also shows a second area in faded green belonging to the Deutsche Colonie (or German Colony) of the so-called Mainzer Verein (also known as the Adelsverein). An inset plan of its principal town of Neu Braunfels is at lower left. The unusual map was published and lithographed in Elberfeld; a town located today in western Germany in the Wupper Valley near the Rhine.

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Ferdinand von Roemer

Topographisch-Geognostische Karte von Texas

Color lithograph on paper, 56.5 x 48.5 cm., by Henry & Cohen, Bonn, from Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas. Mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutsche Auswanderung und die Physischen Verhältnisse des Landes* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1849).
2004-697 51/9 and F391.R71

Dr. Ferdinand von Roemer's 1849 map was the first geological map of Texas, and, as noted in its German title and the title of the book it accompanied, it included considerable topographical information and insight into German emigration to Texas and the physical conditions of the land. Based upon James T. D. Wilson's rare *A New & Correct Map of Texas* which was published by R. W. Fishbourne in New Orleans in 1845, Roemer's map translated material from it derived from the Texas General Land Office but also included information gathered on places he had personally visited during the eighteen months he spent conducting a geological survey in Texas in late 1845 and early 1846 at the request of Baron Ottfried Hans von Meusebach, the Commissioner-General in Texas of the Adelsverein. A professor of paleontology, Roemer (1818-1891) was from a prominent family in Hildesheim (at that time part of the Kingdom of Hanover) and had the recommendations and financial support of members of the Berlin Academy of Sciences including Baron Alexander von Humboldt and the great geologist and paleontologist Leopold von Buch. Roemer's book described his visit to meet with Comanches and Comanche traders in the company of Meusebach and Indian agent Major Robert S. Neighbors. In addition, he later wrote the first monograph on Texas geology, *Die Kreidebildungen von Texas und ihre organische Einschlüssen* (1852).¹

Like Wilson's map, Roemer's shows much of the southern, central, and eastern parts of the state including many clear and concisely presented details in the valleys of the Medina, San Antonio, Guadalupe, Colorado, Brazos, Trinity, Neches, Sabine, and Red Rivers. An important addition are the hachures denoting the Balcones Escarpment which Roemer shows stretching from near Presidio in the southwest to the Brazos. Interesting details show Mesquite Prairies, the Cross Timbers, "*Buffel Herden*" (buffalo herds), Castroville, San Antonio, Neu Braunfels, Seguin, Flores Rancho, Gonzales, Columbus, La Grange, Bastrop, Austin, Friedrichsburg, Industry, Nassau Plantation, Parker's Fort, Torrey's Trading house, Bucksnot, a "dorf d. Caddoes" (Caddo village, Waco), missions, "*Quellen*" (springs), "*Salz See's*" (salt ponds), numerous "B."s (for *Bach* or creek), a "*Grosses Comanche Dorf*" (large Comanche village), and even the new town of Dallas on the Trinity River. Among the routes, trails, and roads depicted by Roemer's map, but also on Wilson's, are: the route of the Texan expedition to Santa Fe in the year 1841; the Chihuahua Trail; the road between Presidio and Nacogdoches; a number of roads in eastern, central, and south Texas; roads in western Louisiana and Arkansas; and even Preston road through Dallas and Bonham to the Red River. Interestingly, the roads labeled as ferries on the eastern side of Wilson's map ("*Gaines' Ferry*," "*Junker's Ferry*," "*Ballou's Ferry*") Roemer's translates more properly into German as "*Fähre*" (trails).²

¹ See Samuel Wood Geiser, *Naturalists of the Frontier* (Dallas: SMU Press, 1948), pp. 148-171; *Roemer's Texas*, translated by Oswald Mueller (Austin: Eakin Press, 1995).

² Compare Martin & Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900*, pp. 132-133, plate 35.

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Probably after Conrad Caspar Rordorf

Galveston in Texas

Steel engraving with applied color on paper, 13 x 16 cm., printed by the Kunstanstalt der Bibliographische Institut, from *Meyers Universum* (Hildburghausen: Joseph Meyer, 1856), plate DCCLXXV, with text on pp. 73-79.
GA65/5

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Probably after Conrad Caspar Rordorf

Neu Braunfels in Texas

Steel engraving with applied color on paper, 13 x 16 cm., printed by the Kunstanstalt der Bibliographische Institut, from *Meyers Universum* (Hildburghausen: Joseph Meyer, 1857), plate DCCLXXXIII, with text on pp.
55-57. GA65/5

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Probably after Conrad Caspar Rordorf

San Antonio in Texas

Steel engraving with applied color on paper, 13 x 16 cm., printed by the Kunstanstalt der Bibliographische Institut, from *Meyers Universum* (Hildburghausen: Joseph Meyer, 1857), plate DCCXV, with text on pp. 149-150.
GA65/5

Texas towns such as Galveston, New Braunfels, and San Antonio attracted large numbers of European, particularly German-speaking, immigrants before the Civil War. These three steel engravings probably derive from sketches made around 1847 by a Swiss artist named Conrad Caspar Rordorf (1800-1847) who first travelled to Texas to study natural history with a *Naturforschender Verein* (Natural Sciences Society) with connections to the *Adelsverein*. Rordorf may have drawn up the formal document that the Adelsverein's Texas Commissioner Hans Ottfried von Meusebach utilized after concluding negotiations with the Comanches in Fredericksburg on May 7, 1847. In total, Rordorf reportedly sketched a fine panorama of Neu Braunfels, some views of Galveston, and forty-five drawings in Texas. Unfortunately, later, on October 28 that same year, Rordorf was shot and mortally wounded in a shoot-out between factions of Germans over the ownership of Nassau Plantation in Fayette County. Soon afterwards, most of Rordorf's sketches disappeared. The three steel engravings appeared anonymously years later in a popular German monthly illustrated magazine published by entrepreneur Joseph Meyer (1796-1856) of Hildburghausen in the small German Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen. In a kind of early German version of *National Geographic Magazine* Meyer utilized illustrations by eyewitness artists or other prints after eyewitness artists to produce thousands of steel engravings to illustrate texts that he wrote based upon sources describing places all around the world.¹

¹ See James C. Kearney, "The Murder of Conrad Caspar Rordorf: Art, Violence, and Intrigue on the Texas Frontier," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73:1 (July 2019): 1-28, in which he makes a strong argument for the Rordorf attribution; John and Deborah Powers, *Texas Painters, Sculptors & Graphic Artists: A Biographical Dictionary of Artists in Texas before 1942* (Austin: Woodmont Books, 2000), p. 432.

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Erhard Pentenrieder

[San Antonio Pictorial Stationery]

Lithograph on paper, approximately 30 x 24 cm. (San Antonio: Erhard Pentenrieder, ca.1855-1859). *Kendall Family Papers* AR376

San Antonio merchant and publisher Erhard Pentenrieder (1830-1875) came to Texas from Munich, Bavaria. He issued and sold pictorial stationery that depicted the many cultures of antebellum San Antonio. The design, reportedly "Drawn after Nature" by Pentenrieder himself, elaborated on an earlier design featuring the Main Plaza by W.C.A.

Thielepape, who produced the first lithograph in Texas in 1855. Pentenrieder's design includes an Indian, a Tejano, a Black man, and an Anglo frontiersman, along with views of the Main Plaza with San Fernando Church, ruins of four Spanish missions (San Antonio's earliest tourist attractions), the courthouse, another building, a bear, a jaguar, a muleteer, and a *vaquero* or cowboy lassoing a steer – all surrounded by what are possibly mustang grapevines and assorted fruits and vegetables.



Another pictorial lettersheet version by Pentenrieder & Blerch includes more tropical types of vegetation and vignettes showing the Menger Hotel, the German Casino, the Freemason's Hall, and a camel and driver from the U.S. governments' so-called "camel experiment."¹

¹ Dorothy Sloan Rare Books Auction 23 (April 4 & 5, 2013), no. 213; Ben Huseman, "The Beginnings of Lithography in Texas," in Ron Tyler, ed., *Prints and Printmakers of Texas: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual North American Print Conference* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1994), pp. 20-47; Pauline Pinckney, *Painting in Texas* (Austin and London: The University of Texas Press, for the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, 1967), pp. 150-151, no. 81.

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Helmuth Holtz

[Matagorda, Texas Stationery]

Lithograph on paper, 27 x 21 cm., lithographed by Eduard Lang, Hamburg (ca.1856), *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

This early lithographed letter-sheet depicts the Texas port town of Matagorda, founded in 1829, which, by the time it was drawn by German immigrant artist Helmuth Holtz, had a population that consisted of almost two-thirds enslaved people. The letter-sheet includes images of the "Colonado [sic, Colorado] House" Hotel, the Masonic Hall, a church, the courthouse, the residence of Colonel Robert Harris Williams, and the store of merchant George Burkhart, Sr., who may have sold Holtz's pictorial letter-sheets to customers.¹

¹ Diana J. Kleiner, "Matagorda, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 08, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/matagorda-tx>; Ben W. Huseman, "Holtz, Helmuth Heinrich Dietrich," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 8, 2022, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhoas>; Anonymous, "Williams, Robert Harris," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 08, 2022, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/williams-robert-harris>.

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Mainzer Adelsverein (Hermann Willke, Nicolaus Zink, et al.)

Karte des Staates Texas

Engraved transfer lithograph with applied color on paper, 58 x 66 cm., printed by Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, issued with packet with title *Instruction für Deutsche Auswanderer nach Texas...* (Wiesbaden: Verein zum Schutze deutsche Auswanderer nach Texas, 1851). 36 cm. 310104 77/13

This German-language map of Texas was published in 1851 in Wiesbaden, located on the Rhine near Mainz in what is now Germany, by an organization known as the *Adelsverein* (literally, Society of Nobles) who, beginning in April 1842, while Texas was still a republic, had originally formed to promote German emigration to Texas. Their joint stock company, called variously, the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Auswanderer nach Texas* ("Society for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas") or the *Verein zum*

Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas ("Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas"), acquired the so-called Fisher-Miller land grant, an area of land consisting of nearly three million acres located between the Llano and Colorado Rivers that had first been granted in 1842 by the Republic of Texas to Henry Francis Fisher and Burchard Miller for the purposes of settling 600 families. Fisher and Miller had not fulfilled their contract which was extended in 1844 to include 6,000 settlers. Meanwhile, the first German colonists began arriving at a hastily constructed port they named Carlshafen (near later Indianola) on the Texas coast. Despite a shortage of wagons for transport due to the U.S. Army's requirements at the beginning of the U.S. War with Mexico, most of the colonists moved inland and survived, establishing several towns including New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. Although the Society eventually succeeded in attracting over 5,000 German emigrants to Texas, by 1847 it was facing bankruptcy due in part to a lack of business sense among many of its members. The German Emigration Company, as it was known in Texas after 1848, continued to exist until September 1853 when it assigned all its properties and colonization rights to creditors.¹

¹ Louis E. Brister, in *Handbook of Texas Online*, s. v. "Adelsverein," <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/AA/ufa1.html>, accessed 4/15/2010; Rudolph L. Biesele, in *Handbook of Texas Online*, s. v. "Fisher-Miller Land Grant," <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/FF/mnfl.html>, accessed 4/15/2010; Jerry C. Drake, "Adelsverein," in Thomas Adam, ed., *Germany and the Americas* (3 vols.; Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), vol. 1, pp. 40-42.

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John Eppinger and Francis C. Baker

Map of Texas, "Compiled from surveys recorded in the General Land Office by J. Eppinger & F. C. Baker, 1852,"

Engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 78.5 x 62.5 cm. (sheet) folds to fit cover 14.4 x 9.3 cm. (New York: Sherman & Smith, 1852).

Gift of Virginia Garrett.

00586 131

This map of the state of Texas was one of the first commercial pocket maps to appear after the more famous (and less rare) map of Texas by Jacob DeCordova of 1848-1849. The first edition of the Eppinger & Baker map was issued in 1851, and the second one, shown here dated 1852, is identical except for the date. The map includes all Texas Counties created up to 1849 as well as some of the 1850 additions



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Bureau of Topographical Engravers

Map of Texas and Part of New Mexico

Engraved transfer lithograph on paper, 86 x 94 cm., "Lithog. Of Rictchie & Dunnovant" and "Printed at H.F. Walling's Map Establishment, 90 Fulton St. New York (Washington, D.C.: U.S. War Department, 1857). 2005-1338 103/4

such as Wood, Freestone, Uvalde, and Kinney counties. The map shows rivers, creeks, and such topographical features as Comanche Peak and the Cross Timbers as well as towns, settlements, and roads as they existed before the construction of railroads. Battlefields of the recent U.S. War with Mexico and the Texas War of Independence appear in south Texas and across the border in northern Mexico. An inset shows California and the vast U.S. territories of New Mexico and Utah. John Eppinger and Francis C. Baker both lived and worked in Jefferson, a thriving community which at that time was part of Cass County in far northeast Texas. Eppinger was a young lawyer born in Georgia around 1825. Baker was born in Indiana in 1821. A partner in William C. Baker & Company of Jefferson, Francis also edited, wrote articles, and published local newspapers. Both men separately produced plans of Jefferson that were later lithographed and distributed. In late April 1848, Eppinger, Francis Baker, and a relative, J. D. Baker, announced that they were leaving Jefferson with the intention of conducting a "scientific exploration of Texas" and creating a map after "visiting every county in the state." In the same article, they also left a detailed list of the scientific instruments they intended to bring along. More details of this exploration are not known. Unfortunately, in November 1850 Eppinger was killed in a hunting accident. Baker returned to Jefferson where he continued to work as a newspaperman, promoting a southern route for the transcontinental railroad. He was still living there as late as 1871.¹

¹ Jacques D. Bagur, *Antebellum Jefferson, Texas: Everyday Life in an East Texas Town* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2012), pp. 55, 98-99, 102, 111, 112, 146, 165, 179, 271, 284, 292, 301, 302, 358, 396, 484, 526, 574. *Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston, Tex.) 13:18, ed.1, Thursday, May 4, 1848, p. 3, col. 2; *The Star State Patriot* (Marshall, Tex.): Saturday, April 3, 1852, p. 2, col. 3, had an advertisement for their Texas map; Clinton P. Hartmann, "Baker, Francis C.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 21, 2019, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fba27>. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Dorothy Sloan Auction 25 Abstracts, <https://www.dsloan.com/cms/auction/25/item/map-eppinger-baker-texas-1852>, retrieved 10/21/2019.

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The U.S. War Department published this highly detailed map of Texas in limited numbers "chiefly for military purposes" in 1857. It shows trails, roads, forts, and topographical details such as water sources, hills, ridges, and mountains. The map was compiled from recent and older Army explorations and surveys, most of which were conducted by officers of the Army's Bureau of Topographical Engineers. These "authorities" are listed at lower left, and their routes and trails are noted on the map itself. Some of the most recent included "Military Surveys and Reconnaissances" by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston; Topographical Engineers Lieutenants F. T. Bryan, Martin L. Smith, W. F. Smith, and Nathaniel Michler "up to 1851"; Major William H. Emory's "Map of the Rio del Norte Section..." of the U.S. Mexico-Boundary survey (1857); Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple's U.S. Pacific Railroad Survey "up to 1856"; Lieutenant J. N. Moore's map of a portion of New Mexico (1857); and Captain Randolph B. Marcy's maps for his exploration of the Red River (1852). Many of the soldier's trails, paths, and roads connected newly established forts in west and south Texas (Forts or Camps Mason, Belknap, Phantom Hill, Chadbourne, Concho, McKavett, Terrett, Clarke, Duncan, and Hudson), in eastern New Mexico (Forts Stanton, Craig, and Thorn), as well as older forts in Texas and Indian Territory.

The Topographical Engineers compiling the map also incorporated information from the U.S. Army's surveys made during the U.S. War with Mexico of 1846-1848 and for the earlier U.S. boundary with the Republic of Texas (1840) as well as sketches for the U.S. Coast Survey (1850s) and DeCordova's (and Cruzbauer's) map of Texas based upon surveys for the Texas General Land Office (1849, see no. 151, and later editions). This formidable list of sources together with more accurate geodetic coordinate readings, listed along with the "authorities" or officers that took those measurements in a table at lower right, meant that for the first time the shape of Texas boundaries appears fully comparable with that commonly recognized today.¹

¹ Martin & Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900* (1984, 1995), pp. 152-153, plate 45 reproduced the more common 1880 edition of this map for the *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies...* (Washington, 1880). At that time they were apparently unaware of the existence of the rare 1857 printed and published edition of the map; *David Rumsey Map Collection*, no. 5141.000, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps2197.html>, accessed August 13, 2018. On Henry Francis Walling, see Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers*, pp. 327-338.

History Still Shapes Texas

Although much of Texas' physical past has largely disappeared and is still disappearing, many of the old ideas and events of the past continue to shape Texas today. For all the short-term benefits envisioned at the time, slavery, secession, and the Civil War brought ruin upon Texas. Like all history, Texas' Independence was a lot more complicated than the simple version many of us have carried with us since the seventh grade. Hopefully, all Texans are becoming more aware of the problems connected with racial injustices of the past and present. And old Texan attitudes toward the environment have created a real mess. Obviously, the necessary changes are not easy. Texas never could and never will really succeed on its own if the rest of the United States, Mexico, and our neighbors around the world are in chaos. But the stories of Texas are still worth telling, and the myths are still interesting. The story of Texas will never be told or remembered like this again, and that is undoubtedly a good thing. The shape of Texas history will shift again.

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Artist Unknown

Galveston Tremont Music Hall Polka March

Chromolithograph on paper, 35.5 x 27 cm., lithographed by Ehr Gott & Forbriger, Cincinnati, Ohio, for sheet music composed by Charles Hoffmann and "respectfully dedicated to Aug[ust]. Sachtleben, Prof. of Music (Cincinnati: W. C. Peters & Sons, 1858). GO11

Texas continued to prosper into the 1850s, and popular cultural amenities that had been previously unavailable were beginning to flourish. This chromolithograph portrays what is likely one of Texas' first piano and music stores and a "Circulating Musical Library" along with a modest concert venue, the "Tremont Music Hall" in Galveston. However, coming storms, both figurative and literal, would soon shape and define Texas, wiping off the map many of the old ideas and places.

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George Washington Bacon

Map of the United States Showing Territory in the Possession of the Federal Union, January, 1864

Chromolithograph on paper, 49 x 72 cm., (London: Bacon & Co., 1864) 800574 18/1

Prominent London map publisher George Washington Bacon (1830-1922) issued this map of the United States in 1864 as part of his company's extensive *Shilling Series of Maps of War* begun in 1862. With purple, green, and yellow denoting "territory claimed by the Confederates in 1861," green and yellow denoting "military possession of the Confederates in 1861," green denoting "territory reclaimed from Rebellion by the Federal Union," and yellow denoting territory "remaining in the possession of the Rebels as of January 1864," the map gives an excellent overview of the course of the war and the ultimately successful Union strategy of dividing the Confederacy and gradually strangling the rebellion by imposing a blockade, controlling the coasts, and cutting off trade. Thus, the map accurately shows the Southwest was isolated from the rest of the Confederacy by 1864, and only Texas, except for its southern coast from Indianola south, remained under Confederate military control along with western Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas. While Generals Lee and Grant signed a Confederate surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, the war in Texas did not end until June 2nd that year.¹

¹ Davis et al., *Going to Texas* (2007), pp. 78-79.

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After Anthony (Anton) R. Roessler (1826-1893), [Copy of Engineer's Office, Department of the Gulf, Map No. 59

Texas

Prepared by Order of Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks under Direction of Capt. P.C. Hains, U.S. Engr. & Chief Engr., Dept. of the Gulf, April 1865. "This is the original map used by Genl. Custer during his tour of duty in Texas," Diazotype or blueline cyanotype on paper, 96 x 61.5 cm., 102 x 66.5 cm. (sheet), ca. 1927. Originally drawn on stone by Helmuth Holtz (1833-1915) and Baron Ludwig von Reizenstein (1826-1885) in New Orleans in 1865. 2013-268 139/10

During the U.S. Civil War, federal forces sorely needed up-to-date information about Texas should they eventually conquer or re-occupy it. In February 1865, they received a windfall when Austro-Hungarian-born civil engineer Anthony (Anton) R. Roessler mysteriously arrived behind federal lines in Louisiana. Up to this time he had been working for the Confederates in Texas as a draftsman and clerk in charge of the Texas State Military Board's unsuccessful cannon foundry in Austin. Before the war he had worked as an assistant and draftsman on the first Geological and Agricultural Survey of Texas under chief geologist Benjamin F. Shumard. In short, Roessler had the knowledge and capability to divulge considerable information about Texas' conditions, geography, and strategic resources. He was soon working in New Orleans as an assistant engineer alongside Reizenstein, who was another former Confederate, and Helmuth Holtz, a Union Navy veteran who had earlier survived the destruction of the U.S. gunboat *Westfield* in the Battle of Galveston.

Their map, seen here in a well-worn 1927 copy, gives many more details about roads, road conditions, and availability of horse fodder, timber, and other strategic resources than were available on commercial maps of the time. For example, east of Austin is a "Sandy Road, difficult for artillery" and around the "ordnance depot" at Marshall the "Country rolling, Supplies plentiful, Corn, Cotton" although "Beef Scarce." The information is not just the sort that could be found in a guide to Texas. Much of it is very specific. For example, "San Antonio city is surrounded North and East by hills of a uniform height from 60 to 70'; its fortifications are worthless. San Antonio Riv. is in the City fordable below Kud Lew's[illeg.] Mill, depth 3 ft. and in the Rears of Mrs. Schmidts and Hufmeyers residences and Galaghers Garden - depth one ft.; whereby the Main and the Military Plazas are accessible by way of Vance's Residence." Such is intelligence and advice for Union military planners: "Columbia, Harrisburg and Sabine Pass are important and favorable localities to hold, excellent places to direct Military operations. Houston the key of Texas is easily accessible from either of these points. Mouth of Brazos River is weakly defended."

In addition to such military details, there is an incredible amount of information about obscure roads, proposed roads, or roads connecting towns that no longer exist. For example, the towns of “Alton P.O.” in Denton County, Danville in Montgomery County, and Springfield in Limestone County all were at the center of several crossroads but can no longer be found on most maps today. In most cases, major roads now go around them. The “Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Proposed R. R.” through north Texas was never built as planned, but the Texas & Pacific finally completed a similar line between Fort Worth and Texarkana in 1880.

No original copy of this April 1865 map – “compiled & drawn by A. R. Roessler...drawn on stone by B[aron Ludwig] von Reizenstein & H[elmut] Holtz” and “printed by W. Probert” – has been found, but it must have been part of the series of maps prepared in the U.S. Army’s Engineer’s Office, Department of the Gulf in New Orleans. The only apparent addition to the copy map since 1865 is the note at the lower right: “This is the original map used by General George A. Custer during his tour of duty in Texas.” A better description might be “A Union Invasion Map of Texas.” The map may indeed have served Union forces occupying Texas following the war. The perplexing scarcity of extant copies could be due to a number of reasons. Perhaps it remained “secret,” or, possibly, Roessler had copies destroyed to prevent his fellow Texans not of the Republican persuasion from knowing the extent of his federal service. There are several short sketches of Roessler’s life.¹

¹ See James Patrick McGuire, *The Hungarian Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas, Institute for Texan Cultures, 1993), pp. 154-156, 282; *Handbook of Texas Online*, Keith Young, “Roessler, Anton R.,” accessed April 15, 2009, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/RR/fro56.html>; Keith Young, “The Roessler Maps,” *Texas Journal of Science* 17 (March 1965): 28-45; Samuel Wood Geiser, “Men of Science in Texas,” *Field & Laboratory* 26-27 (1958-1959): 187-188; Katherine R. Goodwin, “A. R. Roessler and the First Geological Survey of Texas,” <http://www.texashistoricalfoundation.org/map.htm>, accessed August 16, 2009; Llerena Friend, in her introduction to M. K. Kellogg, *M. K. Kellogg’s Texas Journal*, 1872 (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), pp. 6-14, was the first to provide some of the most important details; On Reizenstein see Baron Ludwig von Reizenstein, *The Mysteries of New Orleans*, Steven Rowan, trans. and ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. xiii; on Helmut Holtz see Ben W. Huseman, “Holtz, Helmut Heinrich Dietrich,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 10, 2018, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhoas.>; Huseman, *The Price of Manifest Destiny*, p. 43, cat. no. 91.

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[Duplicate. Amnesty Oath for John Dinkelaker, signed by him in Galveston on July 17, 1865, in the presence of H. Beard, Captain and Provost Marshal]

Handwritten ink on printed paper form, 21 x 24.5 cm. 2022-114

According to President Johnson’s plan for reconstructing the South and following Union General Gordon Granger’s announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation in Galveston, Texas, on June 19, 1865, Texas citizens who had not actively fought for the Confederacy could swear an oath of amnesty in return for the reinstatement of certain citizenship privileges. Among the conditions they had to swear that they would “...faithfully defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of States there-under” and that they would “... in like manner abide by and support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the Emancipation of Slavery...”¹ Although slavery was officially ended in Texas, racial discrimination was far from over and is still around today.

¹ Compare Loyalty Oath signed by H. Beard, Sam Houston State University Archives, accessed August 30, 2022, https://archivesspace.shsu.edu/repositories/2/archival_objects/2348

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After Theodore R. Davis

The Strand, or Main Street, Galveston, Texas[AND] Galveston, Texas [AND] Custom-House, Galveston, Texas

Engravings with applied color on paper, 30.2 (trimmed at top) x 28.5 cm., from *Harper’s Weekly Illustrated Magazine* (New York: Harper & Bros.) October 1866. 89-509 GO27/2

Harper’s Weekly illustrator-correspondent Theodore R. Davis (1840-1894) visited Galveston, Texas, shortly after the Civil War. One of the few buildings he sketched at that time that still survives today is the U.S. Customs House and Court House, designed by Supervising Architect of the Treasury Ammi Burnham Young (1798-1874) in 1857 and constructed between 1860 and 1861. Many of the other buildings in the city were wiped away in the Galveston Storm of 1900, which still holds the record for the worst natural disaster in U.S. history with an estimated loss of life around six thousand people.

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John W. Morris or Frank E. Beach

“First Capitol of Texas” [West Columbia]

Photographic print, 10 x 14 cm., on cabinet card, 11 x 17 cm. (Alvin, Texas: J. W. Morris, 1897). Description titled “First Capitol of Texas” on verso with credit: “These photographs can be bought for 25 cents each, pre-paid from J. W. Morris, Alvin, Texas, or F. E. Beach, 409 Travis St., Houston, Texas.” *Gift of Jenkins Garrett*

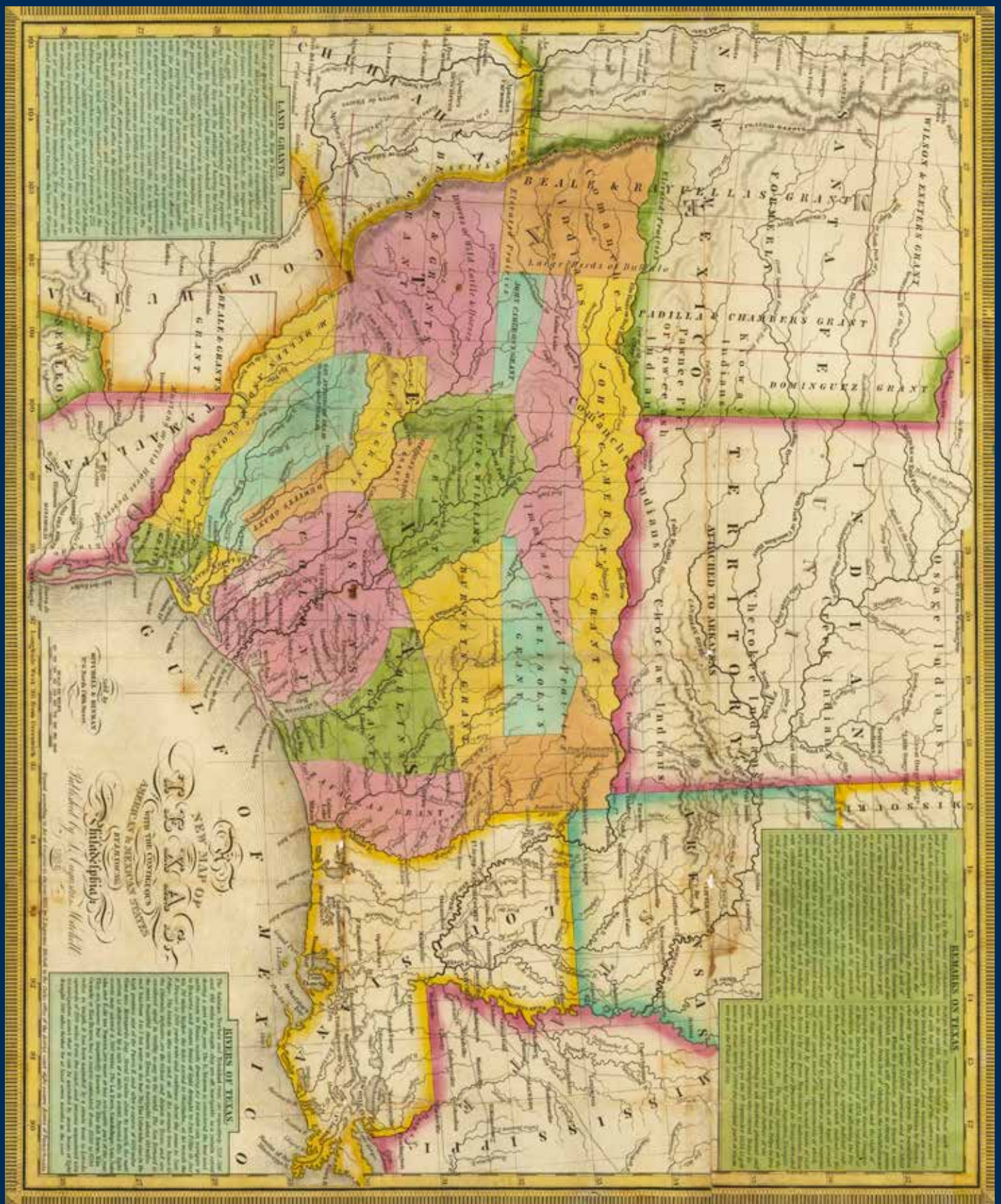
This old cabinet card photographic print could serve as a reminder that over time historic old log and clapboard lumber buildings do not fare well in the Texas climate. Each year many such structures disappear from the Texas landscape, “sitting down” or collapsing into a pile of rotting wood. But this has some benefits for, unlike modern concrete, metal, fiberglass, and steel buildings, they leave behind no unsightly mess on the Texas prairies. Many of the newer buildings of Texas since the 1930s have often been bolder and gaudier and less ecologically friendly.

West Columbia and Alvin, where J. W. Morris sold this print, are both in Brazoria County near Houston. J. W. was possibly John W. Morris who was earlier a partner in the photography business with Thomas Patton in Cameron from 1890-1891. Frank E. Beach was also a photographer active in Houston in 1897-1901 and earlier in Lampasas and Florence, Texas. The cabinet card here was sold along with a similar photographic cabinet card print of the “Independence Tree.”¹

¹ Compare images in the Lawrence T. Jones Photographic Collection at the DeGolyer Library at SMU, Dallas, accessed <https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/jtx/id/376>; and Haynes, *Catching Shadows* (1993), pp. 8, 78, 85.



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J.H. Young & S. Augustus Mitchell, *A New Map of Texas: with the Contiguous American & Mexican States.*, engraved transfer color lithograph on paper, 30 x 37 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1836).
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