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**“Our Worst Enemies Are in Our Midst:” Violence in the Texas Hill Country, 1845-1881**

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**“Our Worst Enemies Are in Our Midst:” Violence in the Texas Hill  
Country, 1845-1881**

**by**

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## **Dedication**

For my parents, David Roland and Ingrid Keefauver Roland; for Dr. Charles P. Roland; for my grandparents, Ernest Keefauver, Elizabeth Whitehead Keefauver, and June Clifton Roland; and especially for my granddaddy, Dr. Hall C. “Mack” Roland.

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# **“Our Worst Enemies Are in Our Midst:” Violence in the Texas Hill Country, 1845-1881**

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Between 1845 and 1881, the Texas Hill Country was the southwestern frontier of contiguous white settlement in the state. For roughly thirty-five years, Anglo and European immigrant settler communities struggled against natural disasters, lack of market access, Native American raiders, bandits, and one another in a sustained effort to incorporate this remote region into the wider economic and political networks of the nineteenth century United States. Prior to the Civil War, the Hill Country’s ethnically diverse white settlers were united in a war of attrition against Native Americans. For several reasons, most in the region opposed secession in 1861. After secession, the problem of frontier defense sustained community cohesion for a time, but the demands of the intensifying conflict eventually forced Hill Country Texans to choose sides in a vicious local conflict that erupted between 1862 and 1864. Despite the Hill Country’s Civil War experience, Reconstruction was not marked by a continuation of high-levels of political violence. An unprecedented campaign of Indian raiding quickly reasserted security as the region’s defining political issue. In addition to the Indian war, a conflict that continued until approximately 1880, the late 1860s saw a rise in cattle rustling and other forms of criminal

activity. Finally, by 1880 the so-called “outlaw frontier” was also forced beyond the Hill Country. The extended fight against Indians and criminals meant that while the bloody legacy of the Hill Country’s Civil War experience was not forgotten, after 1865 a remarkably swift reconciliation took hold within the white settler community due to the imperative for settlers to once again cooperate for mutually-held security goals. I argue that patterns of violence both defined and revealed the priorities and concerns of white settlers in the Civil War-era Texas Hill Country. White frontier Texans were local agents of the imperial nation-state, and they worked together to advance market integration and state-building in the Southwest both before and after the Civil War. Ironically, between 1861 and 1865 Hill Country settlers were set against one another by the divisive national politics that grew from the advance of Anglo American empire in the Southwest.

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## Introduction

In a March 19, 1860 letter, former New Orleans *Daily Picayune* editor George Wilkins Kendall extolled the virtues of life in the Texas Hill Country to prominent New York agricultural expert Henry Stephens Randall. A tireless advocate for Texas, Kendall painted a picture of idealized rusticity for Randall. He cheerfully told of killing “a fat young buck” that morning. “We shall have venison and mutton on Sunday, and room for you at table,” he teased. In June, he again invited Randall to visit him, and proposed a tour of the Hill Country. “I am willing to take oath that you would say you had never breathed purer air, seen clearer water, or set eyes upon a more lovely country since you were born upon earth,” wrote Kendall. Kendall’s enthusiasm for the Hill Country was matched by that of Franz Kettner, a Bavarian immigrant. Echoing Kendall, Kettner described the pleasures of life out of doors and the straightforward practicality he observed among Texans. “Concerning my health,” Kettner boasted, “I am still as spry as I was ten years ago, and I ride from morning to evening without becoming tired.” According to Kettner, “in Texas, a person is old in years but still remains young. One does not become like a philistine as in Germany. That comes from natural living instead of forced living.”<sup>1</sup>

Proponents of frontier life, however, could not obscure the fact that the Hill Country was the site of endemic violence between white settlers and native peoples, a trend that seemed to only grow worse in the decade before secession. As a young married man in

Bandera County in the 1850s, Levi Lamoni Wight was acutely aware of the danger from Indian raids. “My rifel was to me an indespenable companion in that country of prouling savages,” he wrote. “Many a night [I] slept with that rifel on one arm and my wife on the other.” Franz Kettner described constant vigilance in response to raiding. “I took my revolver off in the evening,” he wrote, “and as soon as I got up in the morning, strapped it back on my side. ... I never risked leaving my wife alone ... even for only an hour.” Even the perpetually upbeat George W. Kendall had to admit that Hill Country shepherds were not exactly the stock characters of the agrarian romantic ideal. Describing his encounter with one such individual, he noted that the man was armed with a double-barreled gun, a Bowie knife, and a six-shooter.<sup>2</sup>

The uneasy coexistence of seemingly contradictory facts, such as idyllic agrarianism and frontier violence, was in many ways the defining feature of the Texas Hill Country in the antebellum period. In 1860, the Hill Country lay astride an extended mid-continental shatterbelt region beginning on the Kansas-Missouri border and running for approximately a thousand miles to the Rio Grande in the south. It was along this vast and fluid borderland that the slaveholding South and the nominally free labor West collided. As a semi-arid, culturally diverse region that was the site of a long-term war of attrition against independent Native American groups, whose settlers benefited from the economic stimulus and, to a lesser extent, security provided by the United States Army, the Hill Country was in many ways a part of the greater American West. It also shared many characteristics with the upland South. Most native-born settlers in the region hailed from the Upper South

states, and the Hill Country had an economy characterized by free range stock raising, subsistence farming, and low rates of slaveholding. Due to its climate, geography, demographics, and economy, the antebellum Hill Country therefore constituted something of a borderland within the larger borderland of Texas. Like many borderlands, contradictions and conflicts would mark the Hill Country between 1845 and 1881, leaving a legacy of violence as one set of peoples, states, and systems eventually triumphed over others.<sup>3</sup>

The mid-nineteenth-century North American landscape was spiderwebbed with borders, frontiers, and shatterbelts between different cultures, religions, labor regimes, and states. The United States-Mexico border after 1848 was mostly a legal fiction superimposed on what had formerly been the northern half of the Mexican republic. By 1860, the victorious United States could hardly claim to have consolidated unchallenged power over its newly conquered territory. Along the Mason-Dixon line, the Ohio River, and the contested Missouri-Kansas border region, the free labor North transitioned to the slave labor South, though the fugitive slave law extended slavery's reach all the way to the Canadian border. The white settlement zone existed in uneven and porous frontier lines and pockets across and throughout the Trans-Mississippi states and territories, from the prairies of Minnesota, to the plains of eastern Colorado, to western Texas, the southwestern settlements in New Mexico and Arizona territories, California, the Mormon colony of Deseret, the Oregon country, and the Puget Sound. As Sean M. Kelley argues in his study of the plantation belt of the lower Brazos River valley in Texas, frontiers of culture riddled

the American landscape even in areas far from what would normally be considered “the frontier.”<sup>4</sup>

Historians have increasingly identified state-building and imperial expansionism as the central trend of the nineteenth century, both for the United States and internationally. The extension of central state authority throughout the territory claimed by the United States would require the abolition of some borders and the reinforcement of others. Though they tended to use terms like “settlement” or “civilization” to describe the processes that they were advancing, white settlers such as George W. Kendall, Levi Lamoni Wight, and Franz Kettner were agents of empire.<sup>5</sup>

Kendall, for instance, first visited Texas in 1841, when he joined Republic of Texas President Mirabeau Lamar’s quixotic Santa Fe expedition. Lamar’s bid to extend Texan hegemony over New Mexico proved disastrous, but it became the basis for Kendall’s popular *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition*. Kendall continued to support Anglo-American imperialism in the Southwest, cheered Texas annexation, and hurried to the front lines of the American conquest of northern Mexico to serve as a war correspondent. The Mexican-American War was the basis for another of Kendall’s works, an illustrated history of the conflict. Kendall became involved in sheep ranching in Texas after the war. He had purchased 4,000 acres beyond the western frontier line as early as 1845, but he initially grazed his sheep along the Nueces River. By 1853 he had moved his operations west of New Braunfels and into the Texas Hill Country, an area he described as “high, dry, [and]

coated with short grass,” and by 1856 he had located still farther west, near the German immigrant settlement of Boerne, with his family. In his books, in hundreds of private letters, and in widely read public correspondence, Kendall consistently championed Texas and encouraged Anglo Americans to seek their fortunes in the new state. Kendall’s boosterism eventually attached his name to the county in which he had settled. When George W. Kendall and thousands of other Anglo, European, African American, and Mexican Texan immigrants settled on isolated, rural ranches and farms, cleared land, planted crops, cared for roaming livestock herds, operated stores, contracted with the United States Army, established local governments, and implemented the Anglo American legal system, they simultaneously struggled for and benefited from the larger national project of conquering the American Southwest and bringing its diverse population into the orbit of distant state authority and national and international agricultural markets.<sup>6</sup>

Their efforts would not go uncontested. Historian Richard Maxwell Brown has conceptualized the many violent conflicts in the Western Hemisphere between 1850 and 1900 as part of a long, hemispheric “civil war of incorporation.” According to Brown, in the United States the forces of incorporation beginning in the 1850s were typically aligned with the Republican Party and supported nationalism, strong central governance, corporate interests, and the penetration of capitalist markets into regions and cultures throughout the territory claimed by the federal government. For a half-century, the forces of incorporation struggled with an assortment of opponents, including Southern secessionists, religious separatists, Native Americans, and even the outlaws of Western lore. Steven Hahn’s recent

history of the nineteenth century United States follows Brown's lead in describing not one Civil War, but a process of "civil wars," whereby the federal government of the United States and the dominance of market capitalism faced repeated and serious challenges over time. Seen in this way, the war between Southern slaveholders and Northern advocates of free labor and federal dominance was only the most consequential of the challenges posed to the process of national incorporation along a capitalist economic model.<sup>7</sup>

The characterization of the United States' process of incorporation as a series of civil wars is apt because it was a process that was often advanced and resisted through violence. This is unsurprising, for many aspects of nineteenth century American culture were intertwined with violence. That most visible of the symbols of American democracy, election day, was a boisterous and militant affair, often accompanied by street battles between opposing partisan factions. Anti-Catholic, nativist, and anti-abolition mobs carried out hundreds of attacks against targets such as convents, immigrant workers, and abolitionist newspapers. In the years before the American Civil War, violence frequently erupted along the border between free and slave states.<sup>8</sup>

Americans were also heirs to a deep tradition of vigilantism. Collective violence was especially common in Anglo Southern culture, where it was employed not only to police local social norms, but also to control enslaved labor and to enforce compliance with the circumscribed intellectual boundaries dictated by proslavery ideology. Interpersonal violence seems to have been more common among Southerners as well, for a variety of

reasons. Slaveholding households were inherently coercive, and they were frequently the sites of physical violence between slaveholders and their enslaved laborers. Southern “plain folk” also tended to accept violence as a normal aspect of life, and they readily employed it in their interactions with one another. As a result, studies suggest that the murder rate in southern states was significantly higher than that of their northern counterparts.<sup>9</sup>

Texas was distinguished even among the southern states for its culture of violence. In addition to the violence inherent to slavery and the cultural baggage carried into the state by Anglo Southern immigrants, Anglo Texans fought Mexicans in a series of military campaigns between 1836 and 1842, and were embroiled in a long-term war of attrition with Native Americans that began with Anglo settlement in the 1820s. The Anglo American tradition of vigilantism was frequently directed at Mexican Texans, in incidents like the forcible expulsion of Austin’s Mexican Texan population in 1854 and a series of attacks known as the Cart War in 1857. In the summer of 1860, several unexplained fires in North Texas set off a wave of paranoia across the state known as the “Texas Troubles,” culminating in the lynching of several suspected abolitionists and an unknown number of supposedly insurrectionary slaves. Many Texans were so immersed in a culture of collective violence that historian William Carrigan has described nineteenth century Texas as a crucible that forged a “lynching culture.” The state’s frontier status also contributed to its high level of violence. Although America’s white settler frontier perhaps did not measure up to its blood-soaked depiction in twentieth century Western films and novels,



studies of nineteenth century murder and violent crime rates have confirmed that frontier zones were statistically the most violent places in the United States by far.<sup>10</sup>

Violence within white settler communities was dwarfed in its scale by that between Native Americans and white settlers, especially after the mid-1850s. Indigenous peoples proved to be stubbornly resistant to European American conquest throughout the nineteenth century American West, and in few other regions was their resistance as tenacious and long-lived as Texas's western frontier. White settlement between the 98th and 100th parallels began in the mid-1840s, but even in the face of ecological and demographic decline the frontier zone remained heavily contested by powerful native groups such as the Comanches on the eve of the Civil War. Antebellum federal and state efforts to prevent Indian raiding proved to be largely ineffective, and Indians continued to steal horses, kill livestock, and murder, rape, and kidnap white Texans seemingly at will. Because of the swift movement and unpredictable nature of Indian raids, responsibility for fighting the war of attrition along the frontier largely fell on Texans who banded together in ranger units or informal citizen posses to pursue and attack indigenous raiding parties. Anger over raiding and hatred for Native Americans even led armed settlers to forcibly end the federal government's attempt to maintain reservations in the state in 1859. Texas was to be a white man's country.<sup>11</sup>

Violence and borders are mutually constitutive, and as a unique borderlands province within the state of Texas, the Southwest, and the American South, violence in the Hill

Country reflected both the cultural heritage of its white settlers and the coercion inherent in the national state-building project. Patterns of violence also reveal political loyalties and the ordering of competing priorities by mid-nineteenth century white settlers on the Texas frontier. Because violence served a critical function – perhaps *the* critical function – in the politics and the continent-wide process of incorporation during the Civil War era, this study uses the lens of violence to explicate the role played by local actors in the larger nineteenth century American “civil war of incorporation” in a lightly populated, little-known span of the Texas frontier.

The history of the Texas Hill Country during the Civil War era has been left mostly in the hands of antiquarians, or has been taken up by historians who focus on discrete topics such as German immigration, the secession vote, or the killing of German Unionists at the Nueces River in 1862. General studies of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West mostly ignore the turmoil engulfing the Hill Country between 1861 and 1865. A single scholarly article examines the local civil war that took place after the Nueces River battle in 1862, and a few other academic studies refer to the anti-Unionist violence in the region during the Civil War, most of which rely upon other secondary works. The most well-researched and most recent of these works is Glen S. Ely’s *Where the West Begins* (2011), which includes a chapter on Unionism and the collapse of Confederate authority in western Texas during the Civil War. Although Ely provides a much-needed scholarly discussion of

conditions in the Hill Country during the Civil War, his work is focused on describing the loss of Confederate control in the region rather than in accounting for the local dynamics of the conflict. More characteristic is Joe Baulch's 1997 article "The Dogs of War Unleashed," which describes some of the post-1862 violence in the Hill Country, but makes several mistakes, such as the claim that secessionist vigilantes were allied with Confederate guerillas belonging to William C. Quantrill's infamous command. One recent monograph covers the problem of criminality in Kimble County in the 1870s, and a few other works discuss various outlaws and the operations of the Texas Rangers in the in the post-war Hill Country. Aside from studies of frontier posts, military campaigns, and U.S. Army Indian policy, literature on the region during Reconstruction is virtually nonexistent, following the lead of an older historiography that failed to recognize Reconstruction as a national process rather than exclusively a project affecting the more recognizably "Southern" parts of the former Confederacy.<sup>12</sup>

The state of the existing literature on something as basic as the number of casualties at the Nueces River battle is telling. A variety of sources give casualty figures that range from nineteen to sixty, with several figures in between, despite the fact that the *Treue der Union* monument in Comfort clearly states how men were killed at the battle. Much of what has been written on the Hill Country during the Civil War era rests on a handful of sources that are repeatedly cited. The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a history of the Texas Hill Country between 1845 and 1881, and focused primarily on the years after 1860, that

is fundamentally grounded in a wide array of primary sources. As a reflection of my intentions, historiography is dealt with lightly in the body of this work<sup>13</sup>

Chapter One profiles the Texas Hill Country in 1860. On the verge of the secession crisis, the Hill Country was a sub-region of the western Texas frontier. As a semi-arid region that lacked access to efficient transportation routes, the Hill Country's economy was largely dependent on the presence of the United States Army to provide much-needed cash for local farmers, ranchers, and merchants. Besides Army contracting, most settlers derived a living from subsistence agriculture practiced on isolated homesteads. Slaveholding was rare, and many Anglo Texans in the Hill Country did not even own land, instead choosing to herd cattle on the open range. In addition to its economic, geographical, and climatological separation from the staple-crop producing eastern regions of Texas, the Hill Country was a remarkably diverse region. Belts and enclaves of Anglo, German, French, Polish, and Mexican Texan settlement were found throughout the Hill Country, along with small numbers of African American slaves. After 1850, settlement had been increasingly contested by Native American groups, who raided from their bases on the Southern Plains and from northern Mexico. The imperative to fight Indians helped to forge communities with mutual interests and a common politics that demanded active state and federal efforts to suppress raiding and protect households and property. The cultural backgrounds,

economic realities, and security concerns of white Hill Country settlers would later help to make the region a bastion of Unionism within Texas.

Chapter Two describes the political background and regional response to secession, and the role played by violence within white settler communities prior to the Civil War. Many Anglo communities in the antebellum Texas Hill Country exhibited a strong affiliation with state level Opposition politics, but the German Texan experience with nativism in the mid-1850s ensured that they remained committed to the regular Democratic Party until the eve of secession. Despite periodic electoral cleavages along ethnic lines, the politics of frontier defense served as a unifying force for white society, and in 1861 it coalesced with ideologies of liberal nationalism, economic self-interest, and specific cultural backgrounds to produce a regional majority that rejected secession. The Hill Country's political processes were not marred by violence, even during the highly-charged atmosphere surrounding the secession referendum, and despite the region's ethnic diversity. Nineteenth-century Americans were prone to interpersonal, social, and political violence, but violence in the Hill Country in the antebellum years was primarily directed outward at Native American foes, and vice versa. Violence within white settler communities took place at a higher rate than in non-frontier zones, but there is no indication that crime and violence were considered intolerable or unusual by denizens of the frontier prior to the Civil War. Despite the white settler community's peaceful veneer in 1861, the cultural and political ingredients for an outbreak of intracommunal violence were merely dormant rather than nonexistent.

For nearly a year and a half following secession, an uneasy peace prevailed between Unionists and secessionists in the Hill Country. Chapter Three examines this period, and the eruption of political violence that followed in the summer and fall of 1862. Because of the region's Unionism and concerns over frontier defense, Confederate recruiting proved to be slow going in the Hill Country, even in areas like Comal County that had supposedly evinced strong support for secession. At the same time, many who had voted against secession were conditional Unionists who embraced the Confederate cause, especially after Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers to suppress the rebellion. With the implementation of a state militia law and Confederate conscription, Hill Country settlers were forced to choose sides. The result was an organized Unionist resistance to the Confederacy, which spurred a violent response by state and Confederate authorities. The anti-Unionist crackdown reached a bloody crescendo in a battle and massacre involving Confederate forces and Mexico-bound Hill Country Unionists at the Nueces River on August 10, 1862. Members of the Unionist resistance were hunted down, imprisoned, and executed for the next two months. By October 1862, the region was believed to be pacified.

While the centrifugal forces of war were forcing Hill Country settlers to choose sides, the Indian war continued without interruption. Chapter Four describes the ongoing conflict between settlers and Native Americans, as well as the difficulties faced on the home front by Hill Country Texans. The language of frontier defense was imbued with concerns over the protection of white households and property, and proved to be a powerful political tool wielded by frontier Texans to alternately support or resist state and Confederate policies

such as conscription and the stationing of frontier defense forces in the region. Secessionist promises to provide better protection for the frontier ultimately proved illusory, and settlers continued to be front line troops in the long war of attrition with Native Americans. The demands of the Confederate war effort also placed a strain on the economy of the Hill Country, and inflation, an internal blockade on international exports, and the operation of Confederate direct taxation on agricultural produce deepened frontier dissatisfaction with the secessionist government. As the local economy suffered, divisions between Unionists and secessionists that had opened in 1862 only widened.

The campaign of anti-Unionist repression in 1862 left in its wake a simmering conflict that would boil over into a local civil war by the spring of 1864. Chapter Five charts continued efforts to maintain Confederate control of the Hill Country after the fall of 1862, the explosion of local violence in 1864, and the eventual Confederate collapse by the following year. Declining Confederate fortunes in the Trans-Mississippi West set off successive waves of desertion, and the Hill Country proved to be a tempting destination for many due to the region's remoteness and the tenuous level of control exercised by the Confederate government. A Union invasion of the lower Rio Grande valley in 1863 provided a base of operations for clandestine Union Army recruiting efforts in the Hill Country, and raised fears of a possible Union expedition into western Texas. Local secessionists already lived with a siege mentality, and they increasingly distrusted their neighbors and many of the local militia units, which they suspected of harboring Unionists. Several attacks by individuals and groups identified as Unionists combined with the

subsequent removal of Confederate forces from the region to heighten secessionist anxieties to a fever pitch. Faced with perceived threats to households and property, Anglo secessionists fell back on the tradition of vigilantism and unapologetically carried out a series of attacks on those who were considered disloyal. By 1864, state authorities valued stability along the frontier over crushing Unionist dissent, as exemplified by the state government's successful campaign to suspend Confederate conscription in the western frontier counties. In response to the developing civil war in the Hill Country, the state mobilized local militia to arrest those responsible for the violence. Outright violence largely ceased by the summer of 1864, but most of the perpetrators had escaped punishment by the time of the war's end in the following year.

Chapter Six examines the Hill Country during Reconstruction. After dozens of deaths and other acts of violence during the Civil War, the Hill Country appeared to be positioned for a continuation of violence in the post-war period. Now empowered by the U.S. Army's occupation of Texas and the Reconstruction government, Unionist grand juries handed down dozens of indictments for acts of wartime violence. Most of those involved in secessionist vigilantism disappeared, fleeing west or to friendlier locales in Texas, but some prepared to resist any attempt to bring them to justice, violently if necessary. Ironically, though a series of politically-driven murders and attacks took place in the 1860s, the tremendous political violence seen in other parts of the state during Reconstruction was not matched in the Hill Country. Instead, patterns of violence in the region again shifted, with an end to nearly two decades of drought and a subsequent surge in Indian raiding.



Beginning in the late 1860s, when Native American raiding was at its most destructive, a new challenge confronted the authority of the Anglo American state along the southwest Texas frontier. Criminal gangs, frequently based in Mexico or in remote reaches of the frontier, began to pose a significant threat to the lives and property of settlers. In the Hill Country, what historian Peter Rose terms the “outlaw frontier” was not overcome until the late 1870s. Farther west, the outlaw frontier survived well into the early twentieth century.<sup>14</sup>

Indians and multi-racial outlaw gangs were resisters of the Reconstruction-era process of national incorporation in Texas. The threat that they posed to settler households and property reversed the process of social and political fragmentation initiated during the Civil War and imposed significant external pressure on Hill Country communities for reconciliation and cooperation. The imposition of law and order and the destruction of Native American resistance was not complete in the Hill Country until roughly the early 1880s. The last deadly Indian attack in 1881 marked an end to the Hill Country’s thirty-five-year period as a battleground between white settlers and Native Americans, and the major problems confronting settlers shifted once again. Patterns of violence both defined and revealed the priorities and concerns of white settlers in the Texas Hill Country between 1845 and 1881.

Before we take stock of the Hill Country in 1860, a note on quotations and terms. I have chosen not to employ [sic] in quotations. Many of the individuals quoted herein were semi-literate, and their spelling and punctuation is phonetic or vernacular in several cases. To avoid excessively cluttered quotations, therefore, all spelling in quotations appears as in the original.

As for terminology, I use a variety of ethnic and racial terms to describe populations that were recognized as distinctive in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. For instance, I use the terms Indian, indigenous, Native American, and native peoples to describe the original occupants of the Texas Hill Country. My usage of racial and ethnic terminology is solely based on a desire for varied diction and an effort to avoid redundant or awkward language. Anglo has historically been employed in Texas to denote any native-born, non-Hispanic white person, a usage that I follow here. I describe immigrants to Texas as European when speaking of European immigrants in general, and as German or German Texan when referring specifically to natives of the German states and their descendants, who made up the largest immigrant ethnic group in the state in the nineteenth century. Because the term *Tejano* was not in usage in the nineteenth century, I describe Texans of Mexican descent as Mexican Texans.<sup>15</sup>

When denoting political loyalties, I primarily use the terms Unionist and secessionist. Because the exact motivations and ideologies of relatively obscure historical figures are resistant to a fine parsing 150 years after the fact, I follow historian Dale Baum's lead in

defining Texas Unionists as an expansive and often fragmented coalition of dissenters against the regular Democratic Party and the Confederacy. During Reconstruction, they would find a home in the newly organized Republican Party, a political organization that was itself a bi-racial and multi-ethnic coalition of diverse interests and ideologies. Particular historical moments, such as the secession referendum in 1861, found a wide array of Texans encompassed under the banner of Unionism. Many were conditional Unionists who would support the Confederacy after secession was an accomplished fact. Others were unconditional Unionists, who maintained their loyalty to the federal government during the late antebellum years and throughout the Civil War and Reconstruction. Conversely, “fire-breathing” secessionists were a small minority in the Hill Country in 1860. However, during the Civil War a substantial number of those Hill Country Texans who voted against secession went on to support the Confederacy. Because of their support for the fledgling Confederacy during the war, I describe these individuals as secessionists. Because secession was dead after 1865, I use the term conservative for those who resisted the Republican Party and the Reconstruction agenda.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, the Texas Hill Country requires definition. The Hill Country is a twentieth century vernacular term that lacks specificity, but generally refers to the eroded eastern and southern margins of the Edwards Plateau, which rises to the west and north of the Blackland Prairie and Rio Grande Plains, respectively, in south-central Texas. In the nineteenth century, this region was part of what was considered western Texas, and was simply referred to as “the mountains,” “the frontier,” or “the southwestern frontier.”

Geologically and ecologically, the Hill Country includes some areas that I address sparingly, such as northern Bexar County and western Travis County, and I include other counties in this study that are only partially located within the same physiographic region, such as Uvalde and Medina counties. I primarily discuss the following twelve Texas counties, as they existed up to the 1880s: Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kendall, Kimble, Llano, Mason, Medina, Menard, and Uvalde.

My decision to include or ignore particular areas reflects what I find to be the geographic contours of a common historical experience between roughly 1845 and 1881. Political, demographic, military, and economic aspects of this experience include low rates of slaveholding; a subsistence economy; social, economic, and kinship ties between communities; a constant threat from Indian raids until the mid-1870s; large numbers of European immigrant residents; widespread Unionism; and violent local conflicts following secession. Not all of these elements are present in all locations, but overall, they apply to a coherent region. For instance, I don't include Hays County in my discussion because the areas west of the Balcones Escarpment in that county were lightly populated and the county's demographics and politics were more akin to eastern Texas. More importantly, other Hill Country communities lacked economic or social ties to the county, and it was not a site of major conflict or anti-Confederate dissent during the Civil War. Just to the south, Comal County's geography is virtually identical to that of Hays County, but I include the county in my study because of its German immigrant population, its ties to and

influence on the broader German community in the Hill Country, and to contrast its historical experience with other predominantly German counties in the region.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> George W. Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, ed. Harry James Brown (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), 55, 81; Franz Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, Ilse Wurster, ed. Charles A. Kettner, trans. Peter Benje, Carol Okeson, and Jerry Okeson, (Wilmington, Del.: Comanche Creek Press, 2008), 19, 34-35, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Levi Lamoni Wight, *The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight: Life in a Mormon Splinter Colony on the Texas Frontier*, ed. Davis Bitton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), 19; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 88; Brown, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Glen S. Ely contends that the region between the 98<sup>th</sup> and 100<sup>th</sup> parallel in Texas, a zone which encompasses the entire Texas Hill Country, constituted a shatterbelt region, in this case a geographical and ecological transition zone between the American South and the American West. Cultural geographers typically include cultural diversity and contentious and shifting borders between different polities in their definition of a shatterbelt. I use the term synonymously with that of borderlands, but in the case of the Texas Hill Country there are also important geographical and ecological factors that define the region, as noted by Ely. Glen S. Ely, *Where the West Begins: Debating Texas Identity* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 3-34; Terry G. Jordan, "A Century and a Half of Ethnic Change in Texas, 1836-1986," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89 (hereafter *SHQ*) (April 1986): 385-422; William W. White, "Migration into West Texas, 1845-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1948), 16-25.

<sup>4</sup> Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910* (New York: Penguin Random House LLC, 2016); Sean Michael Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers: Race, Ethnicity, and Family Along the Brazos River of Texas, 1821-1886" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2000), 1-8.

<sup>5</sup> On state-building, incorporation, capitalist expansion, and nineteenth-century American imperialism, see Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987); Richard Franklin Bense, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Richard Maxwell Brown, "Western Violence: Structure, Values, Myth," *Western Historical Quarterly* (WHQ) 24 (February 1993): 4-20; Julia A. Brookins "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835-1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2013); and Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*, 1-8, 271-316, 377-391.

<sup>6</sup> Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 4-10.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, "Western Violence: Structure, Values, Myth"; Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*.

<sup>8</sup> David Grimsted, *American Mobbing: Toward Civil War, 1828-1861* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Stanley Harrold, *Border War: Fighting over Slavery before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18-96; Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 89-160, 242n4.

<sup>10</sup> Larry Knight, "The Cart War: Defining American in San Antonio in the 1850s," *SHQ* 109 (January 2006): 319-336; Paul D. Lack, "Slavery and Vigilantism in Austin, Texas, 1840-1860," *SHQ* 85 (July 1981): 1-20; William D. Carrigan, *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central*

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*Texas, 1836-1916* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, 102-111; Randolph Roth, Michael D. Maltz, and Douglas L. Eckberg, "Homicide Rates in the Old West," *WHQ* 42 (Summer 2011):173-195.

<sup>11</sup> Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 293-313; Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 4-10.

<sup>12</sup> Robert L. Kerby devotes approximately one page to the Nueces River incident. Neither Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. or Thomas W. Cutrer address the Nueces River battle, although Cutrer notes that at least after November 1863, Texas frontier defense forces "patrolled against Indian incursions, enforced Confederate conscription, brought in deserters, and protected settlers from renegades and outlaws." Robert L. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1972), 92-93; Alvin W. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991); Thomas W. Cutrer, *Theater of a Separate War: The Civil War West of the Mississippi River, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Ely, *Where the West Begins*; Joe Baulch, "The Dogs of War Unleashed: The Devil Concealed in Men Unchained," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook (WTHAY)* 73 (1997): 126-141; Peter R. Rose, *The Reckoning: The Triumph of Order on the Texas Outlaw Frontier* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Confusion and misinformation surrounding the Nueces River battle has been so rampant that Paul Burrier, an amateur historian from Leakey, Texas, has dedicated twenty years of research to debunking some of the mythology that has accreted around the controversial event. For an overview of the casualty figures attributed to the Nueces River battle, see William Paul Burrier, Sr., *Nueces Battle and Massacre: Myths and Facts* (San Antonio: Watercress Press, 2015), 105-106.

<sup>14</sup> Rose, *The Reckoning*.

<sup>15</sup> My comments on the history of the term *Tejano* are drawn from Jesus "Frank" de la Teja, "What is a *Tejano*? Evolving Mexican-American Identity and Texas History," presentation, November 18, 2015, The University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>16</sup> Dale Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism: Politics in the Lone Star State During the Civil War Era* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 1-5.

<sup>17</sup> Terry G. Jordan, "Perceptual Regions in Texas," *Geographical Review* 68 (July 1978): 293-307.

## **Chapter One:**

### **The Texas Hill Country on the Eve of the Civil War**

“We got along in that country rite well ... notwithstanding the Indians was quite troublesom.”  
– Levi Lamoni Wight, 1907<sup>1</sup>

In December 1853, New York journalist, abolitionist, and scientific agriculturist Frederick Law Olmsted crossed the Sabine River and entered Texas. On his route from Shreveport, Louisiana into the state, Olmsted passed through large swaths of land that were seemingly worn out and depopulated, the inhabitants having abandoned their former property and “gone to Texas.” Olmsted was eager to see the place that was exerting such a magnetic pull on Southern farmers. What he encountered turned out to be less than impressive. The town of San Augustine “made no very charming impression,” and neither did Nacogdoches, Crockett, Centreville, or Caldwell. Olmsted criticized planters’ homes in eastern Texas for being shabbily built, lacking pane glass, and having “furniture was of the rudest description.” Practically the only food available was corn bread, fried pork, and coffee, and occasionally some butter “of the most dreadful odor.” Social intercourse and manners were crude, and Olmsted claimed to have failed to witness a single person reading a book or newspaper during his entire sojourn in the region. Perhaps worst of all to an agricultural reformer like Olmsted, he found planters and non-slaveholding Anglo Texans alike to be careless, unscientific farmers.<sup>2</sup>

After journeying to Austin, Olmsted continued south, bound for San Antonio. As they neared the German immigrant enclave of New Braunfels, everything seemed to change.

Houses and outbuildings were more sturdily built. The land was more intensively cultivated. Best of all, from the point of view of an inveterate opponent of slavery like Olmsted, German immigrant farmers grew high-quality cotton using free white labor. After an enjoyable stay in New Braunfels, featuring a cozy inn room, enlightened conversation, and the best butter he had tasted south of the Potomac, Olmsted continued on to San Antonio. Once again, he was less than impressed with a Texas town, in this case largely because of the Hispanic population, whom he described as “brown idlers lounging at their doors.”<sup>3</sup>

Accompanied by German political radical and journalist Adolf Douai, Olmsted next visited the “mountains” north of town and entered the Hill Country proper for the first time. He described the German immigrant settlement of Sisterdale as a kind of frontier idyll, and was clearly taken by the area’s natural beauty and neatly maintained free-labor homesteads, as well as by residents such as the “professor who divides his time between his farm and his library.” Several visits to the region left Olmsted so enthusiastic for this part of Texas that he would devote a section in his published travel account to proving that a free-labor stock and sheep farm in the Hill Country was a better investment than a cotton plantation.<sup>4</sup>

Olmsted’s Texas Hill Country was a romantic, idealized version of a semi-arid frontier region that was simultaneously prone to both droughts and flooding, isolated from national and international markets, and embroiled in the 1850s in an escalating war with Native American groups. Yet his account spoke to the fact that antebellum western Texas, especially the Texas Hill Country, was very different from eastern Texas, which was an



extension of the Deep South's slave labor-based, staple crop economy. Olmsted's excitement about the possibilities represented by the Hill Country also reveals something of the mentality of Anglos and Europeans who settled in the region in increasing numbers during the decade before 1860. The "mountains" beyond the region of relatively dense white settlement between Austin and Castroville held both danger and opportunity for Southern yeomen and German peasants and political refugees. By 1860, Hill Country Texans still lacked integration into the wider market economy, but most settlers could exploit the region's fresh range, virgin soils, and natural resources well enough to support a household, and the federal government, especially the U.S. Army, provided a crucial source of income for settlers. Indian raiding posed the main threat to settlers' property, and Hill Country Texans employed the political discourse of frontier defense to ensure that state and national authorities remained focused on a solution to the dangers posed by independent native peoples. In the meantime, the day-to-day defense of property and households compelled dispersed settler communities to cooperate in a protracted war of attrition against hostile Native Americans. This precarious and seemingly contradictory balance between yeoman prosperity and persistent warfare characterized the quotidian experience of antebellum Hill Country Texans.

This chapter describes the Texas Hill Country on the verge of the secession crisis and the impending Civil War. The region was certainly distinctive, but it also had many similarities to other parts of the Lone Star State, the American South, and the western slaveholding borderlands. A detailed profile of the region is essential to understanding the

daily realities that confronted Hill Country Texans in 1860, and this chapter will examine geography; ecology; settlement patterns; community building processes; the economy; antebellum politics; and interactions between white settler communities and important regional players such as the Comanches and the United States Army. The interplay of these factors helps to explain the behavior of H.C. settlers during the 1860s and 1870s.

The Texas Hill Country is a sub-region of the Edwards Plateau, a thirty thousand square mile limestone plateau that is the southernmost unit of the Great Plains. The Edwards Plateau dominates much of southwest Texas from an extension west of the Pecos River, where it is known as the Stockton Plateau, to the Balcones Escarpment and the Colorado River canyon country in the east, north, and south. The area known as the Hill Country begins at the eastern and southern edge of the Edwards Plateau, where the Balcones Escarpment abruptly rises approximately 300 feet above the Gulf Coastal Plain, and extends in an arc for roughly 150 miles north and west into the heavily eroded margins of the Edwards Plateau. The Central Texas or Llano Uplift is another important physiographic feature that forms much of the northern one-third of the region. The Llano country, while higher in elevation than areas to the east of the Balcones Escarpment, is itself a basin of ancient, exposed igneous and metamorphic rock bordered by layers of younger, more typical Edwards Plateau limestone. Elevations within the Hill Country range from less than 1,000 feet along the Balcones Escarpment to more than 2,400 feet along the region's western margins, with average elevations ranging between 1,400 and 2,200 feet. Most of

the region has thin, rocky soils, although the canyon bottoms and river valleys possess deeper, more fertile soils that are sufficient to support agriculture.<sup>5</sup>

The permeable limestone rock of the Edwards Plateau, varying between 400 and 800 feet in thickness, acts as a massive filter through which precipitation seeps downward until it reaches an underlying layer of less permeable sandy and clayey soil known as the Trinity Formation, where it then emerges in a vast network of springs. The hydrology of the Texas Hill Country dissects the region into a series of river valleys or canyons, separated by ridges of Edwards Plateau limestone, known to nineteenth century settlers as “divides.” The Hill Country is the source of or contributes to several major Texas river basins: from northeast to southwest, the Colorado, Guadalupe, San Antonio, Medina, Frio, and Nueces. Major tributaries of these rivers include the Llano, Pedernales, and Sabinal rivers, as well as Cibolo, Hondo, and Seco creeks. Hundreds of small creeks in turn drain the canyons and river valleys, beginning as springs in the wooded draws of the limestone ridges. The cities and towns situated at the foot of the Balcones Escarpment, including Austin, San Marcos, New Braunfels, and San Antonio, were founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in part to take advantage of the springs and rivers that emerge onto the Gulf Coastal Plain at these points.<sup>6</sup>

Although it is the source for many of the state’s major rivers, the Hill Country region is situated between the 98th and 100th meridian, a zone that marks the transition from a humid subtropical to an arid climate on the North American continent. To the east of the Balcones Escarpment, the Blackland Prairie between San Antonio and Austin receives over

thirty inches of rain in an average year. The thirty-inch line is displaced to the west somewhat by the higher elevation of the Hill Country, meaning that much of the region averages at or near thirty inches of annual rainfall. In his landmark study of the Great Plains, historian Walter Prescott Webb described the thirty-inch line as an “institutional fault,” beyond which humans were forced to adapt to arid conditions. In areas on the western edge of the Hill Country annual precipitation falls to less than twenty-six inches.<sup>7</sup>

Despite annual averages hovering around thirty inches for much of the region, precipitation levels in the Hill Country vary widely, both seasonally and from year to year. Fredericksburg, Texas, for instance, recorded eleven inches of rain in the drought year of 1956 and forty-one inches the following year. Much of the Hill Country’s precipitation is accumulated during periodic, massive thunderstorms, especially in the spring and summer. Naturalist William Bollaert noted the effects of these rain events in 1850, writing that “during the rainy season large volumes of water rush down from the mountains, forming ‘freshets,’ after which the streams dwindle down to mere rills.”<sup>8</sup>

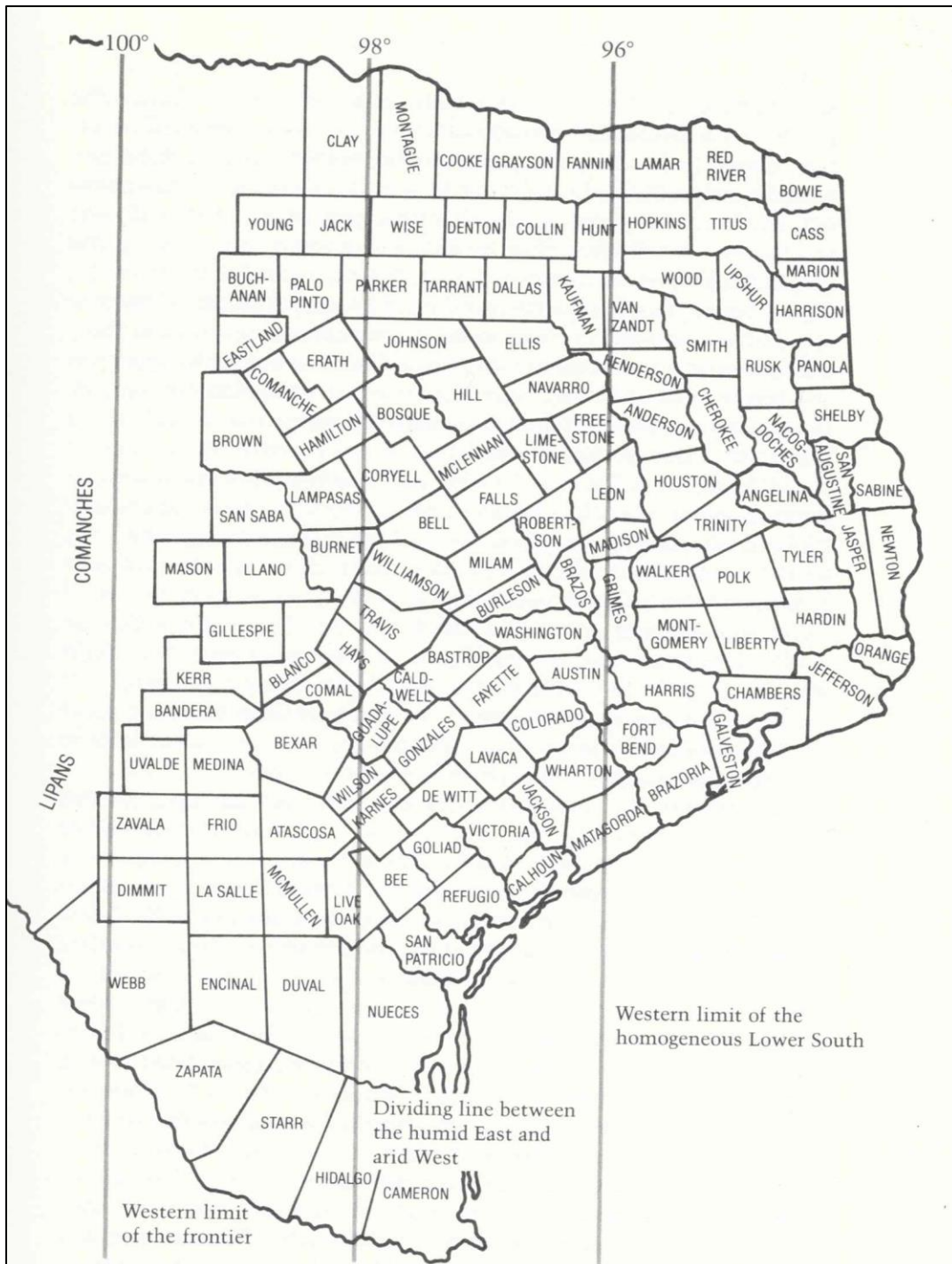


Figure 1. Texas in 1861. From Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 15.

During the nineteenth century, the effects of infrequent but heavy rainfall were mitigated by the Hill Country's ecology. In the twenty-first century, much of the Hill Country is heavily eroded and largely covered in woody growth, but in the nineteenth century the region was dominated by a variety of medium and long grasses which formed large prairies on the flat terrain of the waterless divides and in the river valleys and canyon bottoms. These grasslands were interspersed with parklike oak forests, and on steeper slopes thick stands of Ashe juniper formed what were known to settlers as "cedar brakes." Pecan, cypress, sycamore, cottonwood, and other trees typical of central Texas lined the river and creek bottoms. The open grasslands of the nineteenth century Hill Country, maintained by periodic fires, grazing animals, and drought periods that discouraged forestation, were extremely effective at capturing the sporadic precipitation that was characteristic of the region. Drought tolerant native grasses prevented the erosion of thin soils on the hills and dry divides, slowed runoff rates, and ensured that rainfall made its way into the water table. As a result, the Hill Country tended to maintain ample supplies of water and grass even in times of drought.<sup>9</sup>

Human habitation of the eastern Edwards Plateau dates to as early as 9,200 B.C. Due to the rich natural resources of the region, the semi-arid climate, and the overall lack of arable soils, a succession of nomadic hunter-gatherer cultures occupied the region prior to permanent European settlement. With the beginning of Spanish settlement in Texas in the

early eighteenth century and the arrival several decades later of a Shoshone-speaking people calling themselves the *Numunu* – known as the Comanches by Europeans – the economic, social, and political dynamics of indigenous life in the Hill Country entered a period of turmoil that would continue for more than a century. Well before permanent settlement by Euro Americans, the Hill Country became a violent, turbulent borderland situated between contending native polities.<sup>10</sup>

The indigenous American West was roiled beginning in the sixteenth century by climatic change known as the Little Ice Age and the near-simultaneous Columbian exchange of horses, firearms, new trade goods and networks, and Old World diseases. The result was an extended period of migration, warfare, and new social and political formation. The Comanches, an offshoot of the Shoshone people of the Great Basin region, began their long migration to Texas sometime in the seventeenth century. As they pushed through the Rocky Mountains and onto the Great Plains, they accumulated horses that filtered north from New Spain. Now mounted and with access to the vast bison herds of the Great Plains as well as firearms and other goods supplied by French trade networks, the Comanche migration eventually turned into a campaign of conquest. As they pushed south, the Comanches aggressively forced the Athapascan-speaking peoples collectively known as the Apaches first from the Central Plains, and then from the Llano Estacado in northwest Texas and eastern New Mexico.

The Comanches appeared for the first time in the historical record in 1706 in Spanish colonial correspondence from Taos, on the northern frontier of New Mexico. They quickly

initiated several decades of both devastating raids and trading relationships with the Spanish colony. By the mid-eighteenth century Comanche attention turned to the South Plains of Texas, including the Edwards Plateau, and they began another phase of territorial expansion.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1750s and 1760s, the Spanish attempted to establish a series of missions on the northern and southwestern edges of the Hill Country to protect their native allies, the Lipan Apaches of the lower Rio Grande, against Comanche encroachment. Two of the three missions were soon destroyed by the Comanches, and the third was abandoned in 1771. The Spanish government in Texas recognized that Comanche power was easier dealt with through diplomacy than through force of arms, and they abandoned their alliance with the Lipans after 1769. By the late eighteenth century, therefore, the Comanches exercised dominion over a vast area stretching from the Arkansas River Valley in the north to the Edwards Plateau in the south that was known as *Comanchería*. Europeans would not attempt to settle in the Hill Country again for seventy-five years.<sup>12</sup>

Thousands of miles to the east, the American colonies' successful war of independence unleashed the forces that would lead to *Comanchería*'s undoing in the nineteenth century. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the War of 1812 enabled a tide of cotton-growing, slaveholding Anglo Americans to surge south and west into newly secured territories on the Gulf of Mexico and in the lower Mississippi River valley. At the same time, the successful Mexican war for independence (1810-1821) and its chaotic aftermath made the new Mexican republic an enticing target for land-hungry American settlers. Beginning in



the 1820s, Anglo Americans began to take advantage of liberal immigration laws to settle in the Mexican state of Coahuila y Tejas. Most of these settlers were from the southern United States, and they poured into Texas in hopes of continuing the expansion of slavery and cotton agriculture. The demographic changes wrought by Anglo immigration combined with the political instability of post-independence Mexico and a substantial dose of luck to enable Texas's successful secession from Mexico in 1836. Although the Mexican government steadfastly refused to recognize the legitimacy of Texas's independence, the vast majority of Texans hoped for a swift annexation by the United States.<sup>13</sup>

Texas's aspirations for annexation were initially stymied by the United States Congress due to concerns over the political implications of bringing another large slave state into the Union, as well as a desire to avoid the war with Mexico that would surely follow. By 1844 the political situation had shifted enough to allow the election of James K. Polk on a platform that included Texas annexation as a major plank, and statehood was achieved the following year. In the meantime, between 1836 and 1845 the Republic of Texas was forced to contend with Mexican military incursions, massive public debt, lack of foreign markets, and the problem of Indian relations.<sup>14</sup>

Indian policy in the Republic of Texas varied greatly from one presidential administration to the next. Sam Houston, hero of the Texas Revolution and first president of the Republic of Texas, recognized the financial, diplomatic, and military weakness of independent Texas and favored a conciliatory, non-confrontational policy toward both Mexico and Native American groups. After Houston was succeeded by his inveterate

political opponent, Mirabeau Lamar, Texas adopted an aggressive, imperialist stance toward both of its principal antagonists.<sup>15</sup>

Lamar envisioned Texas as the cornerstone of a cotton-growing empire in the Southwest that would provide much greater security for the future of slavery than would the United States, where radical abolitionism had emerged during the 1830s. During his tenure, the new capital city of Austin was founded in 1839 at the foot of the Balcones Escarpment. This reflected Lamar's ambitions for westward expansion, and by placing the Republic's capital on the very edge of *Comancheria*, his hostility toward the presence of indigenous peoples in Texas and confidence that they could be defeated. During Lamar's tenure, the Republic of Texas initiated a series of military campaigns against Texas Indians, including the Comanches. These military ventures proved to be bloody and financially exorbitant, but by 1844 the Comanches were forced to make peace with the belligerent Texans. In the meantime, with the growth of Anglo American power in Texas, as well as a long-lived peace with indigenous enemies to the north beginning in 1840, the Comanches diverted the bulk of their raiding activities into northern Mexico.<sup>16</sup>

Comanche raiding into northern Mexico between 1830 and 1845 proved to be so devastating that it weakened Mexican defenses, depopulated many areas, and helped pave the way for the United States' conquest of the region during the Mexican-American War. The Comanches were at the height of their power in the immediate aftermath of the war, numbering perhaps as many as 20,000 people who possessed hundreds, even thousands of Mexican and Native American slaves, and over 100,000 horses. A U.S. Army officer who

encountered them in 1849 noted that the Comanches considered themselves “the most powerful nation in existence.” Along with their allies, the Kiowas and Kiowa-Naishan, the Comanches still dominated the Southern Plains and the Edwards Plateau, and they presided over a wide-ranging trade network. However, this dominance quickly began to unravel in the wake of the American conquest of northern Mexico.<sup>17</sup>

On the eve of the Mexican-American war, white settlers began to push into the Hill Country for the first time since the failed Spanish missions of the eighteenth century. Although they had concluded a peace treaty in 1844, the Texas government recognized no Comanche territorial claims within the new state of Texas. Lands in the Hill Country were awarded to Texas Revolution veterans and to settlers who had come to Texas during the Republic period, and a liberal public lands policy continued with statehood. Land speculators also began to purchase lands in the Hill Country as early as the 1830s, in hopes of turning a profit as the frontier line pushed west. However, actual white settlement of the region did not begin until the initiation of two colonization schemes in the 1840s that helped to establish a pattern of Central European immigration to the Texas Hill Country during the antebellum period and beyond.<sup>18</sup>

During the Republic period, the Texas government emulated the Mexican *empresario* system by engaging land speculators in several colonization schemes that were intended to help accelerate the population of the western frontier zone. The first of these schemes that would have a long-term impact on the Texas Hill Country was known as Castro’s Colony.

In 1842, French immigrant Henri Castro received a colonization contract to settle 600 families on lands west of San Antonio, with another allotment along the Rio Grande. Settlement began in 1844, and within a year over 2,000 people were living in the colony. Medina County was established in 1848. Settlers were primarily recruited in Alsace, a region on the French-German border with both French and German speakers, and in Germany. Chain migration to the settlement during the ensuing years brought more French, Alsatians, Germans, and a smattering of other Western and Central Europeans. Although the initial settlements of Castroville, D'Hanis, Quihi, and Vandenburg were on a roughly east-west line on the flat prairies below the Balcones Escarpment, settlers subsequently began to push beyond the Escarpment and into the Hill Country, which comprised the northern quarter of the county. As settlement continued to develop, many settlers in the southwestern quadrant of the Hill Country maintained kinship, community, and business ties to the Alsatian and German community in central Medina County.<sup>19</sup>

The second colonization scheme to affect the Hill Country began in 1842 in the Duchy of Nassau in Germany, and was organized by a group of noblemen who sought to purchase land in the Republic of Texas. The organization initially considered establishing a chain of slave-labor plantations in Texas as the surest path to financial success. The group reorganized in 1844 as a stock company calling itself the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*, known more simply as the Adelsverein. Instead of slave plantations, the Adelsverein decided to pursue a colonization contract with the Republic of Texas. Once a contract was obtained and fulfilled, the stockholders hoped to profit from land

speculation, to expand markets for German exports, and to provide an avenue for struggling German peasants and artisans to find economic relief.<sup>20</sup>

The Adelsverein first attempted to secure the rights to the Bourgeois-Ducos grant, a colonization contract that was to settle immigrants on lands to the west and north of the Castro colony. However, the contract was set to expire as the society was in negotiations to take it over, and it was not renewed by the Texas Congress. The Adelsverein next turned to Henry Francis Fisher, who with Burchard Miller held the contract for the Fisher-Miller grant, a tract of more than 3.8 million acres north and west of the Llano and Colorado rivers, far in advance of the main line of white settlement in Texas.<sup>21</sup>

In December 1844, the first Adelsverein settlers disembarked at Carlshafen (Indianola), on Matagorda Bay. After they proceeded inland, New Braunfels was founded on March 21, 1845 on land purchased at the Comal Springs, at the foot of the Balcones Escarpment. The new town was intended to be a way station for German settlers making the journey from the coast to the Fisher-Miller grant. The following spring the settlers moved west into the Hill Country, settling on a site near the Pedernales River and founding the town of Fredericksburg on May 8, 1846. Like New Braunfels, Fredericksburg was supposed to serve German settlers who were on their way to the land grant beyond the Llano River. However, organized German settlement largely stalled south of the Llano River. In 1847, five small settlements – Castell, Leiningen, Schoenburg, Meerholz, and Bettina – were begun on the north side of the river, but after the early 1850s only the community of Castell survived. By 1848, the Adelsverein was bankrupt. Although it attempted to continue

operations under a different name, by September 1853 the company was completely defunct and its direct contribution to German immigration into Texas was at an end. The Adelsverein was a commercial failure and did little to settle the lands north of the Llano River, but it introduced about 7,000 German immigrants into the state of Texas and was directly responsible for the founding of two major towns and the creation of two new counties, Comal (1846) and Gillespie (1848).<sup>22</sup>

Immigration from the German states was motivated by several push and pull factors. The most well-known of the antebellum immigrants were the Forty-Eighters, liberal revolutionaries who had participated in a series of republican uprisings against the reactionary ruling powers in the German states in 1848-1849. Although only about 100 Forty-Eighters seem to have immigrated to Texas, they had an outsized influence in the Hill Country, and settled in the short-lived Llano River commune of Bettina and in the *Lateiner* communities of Sisterdale, Comfort, and Boerne, so-called because of their residents' high educational attainment. In addition to known revolutionaries, small numbers of free-thinkers, socialists, and various radicals congregated in these small settlements, some of which were initially organized as utopian socialist communes. For example, Eduard Degener, a member of the revolutionary German National Congress of 1848, lived in Sisterdale, along with scientific agriculturalist Ottomar von Behr, German revolutionary and geographical theorist Ernst Kapp, and several other highly educated, elite Germans.<sup>23</sup>

The leadership provided by highly educated, politically radical, elite Germans was important, but the vast majority of German immigrants were not revolutionaries. Instead, most were peasant farmers and small craftsmen, with merchants and professionals forming a very small, though influential, percentage of the immigrant population. During the first half of the nineteenth century a population boom took place in rapidly industrializing regions of the German states. Simultaneously, the traditional agricultural economy was rapidly losing viability. As early as 1800, less than half of the rural German population could support itself exclusively through agriculture, and large numbers of peasants were becoming tenant farmers. Rural protoindustry, such as linen handloom weaving and iron ore digging, became crucial for the economic viability of these districts. Protoindustry also sustained a population boom in these areas. Out-migration in the 1850s was highest in districts that were agriculturally marginal, and where participation in rural protoindustry was a major aspect of the local economy. Rising grain prices, falling wages, and competitive pressures due to the consolidation of more efficient modes of industrial capitalist manufacturing created an economic crisis for peasant farmers and rural craftsmen in these districts by the mid-nineteenth century. Essentially, many rural Germans immigrated to the United States because their local economies had not industrialized quickly enough to compete with British and other foreign industries. For these immigrants, characterized by historian Walter Kamphoefner as “poor but not destitute,” Texas represented a land of economic opportunity.<sup>24</sup>

The governments of the mid-nineteenth century German states also maintained a set of policies that exacerbated social and labor tensions. They repressed political and civil liberties, exacted high taxes, forced men into military service, and maintained a system of semi-feudal labor obligations to landowners. The German petite bourgeoisie faced a frustrating economic situation in their own right, as medieval holdovers such as craft guilds and a system of paid citizenship rights conspired to limit economic competition and frustrate ambitious small property holders. Economic anxieties and political frustrations overlapped to help push immigrants to leave Germany. Most immigrants were not political revolutionaries, but immigration often functioned as a sort of vote against the governments of the German states.<sup>25</sup>

After the Adelsverein's collapse, German settlement continued in a classic case of chain migration. Correspondence between Texas and Germany is replete with discussions regarding prospects for immigrants to the state. For instance, in 1850 Bavarian immigrant Franz Kettner described the prospects to be had in Texas to his family in Germany. "I must say that a person doesn't have the possibility of becoming rich here immediately," he wrote. But, "one can ... improve his situation each year with the result of a secure livelihood after several years." Kettner offered to help any friends from home that chose to migrate, saying that they could find him by inquiring around Seguin or New Braunfels. Once they had made contact in Texas, "then I could be very helpful to him. Someone familiar with the circumstances in the country can buy things much cheaper and the newcomer can save a lot of money." The ability to rely upon friends and relatives in a new



area was an important support system for new immigrants, and helps to account for the fact that European immigrants tended to settle near countrymen who had arrived earlier.<sup>26</sup>

German immigrant communities could differ significantly from one another. Mason County was home to a group of German Methodist converts, while Fredericksburg was predominantly Evangelical Lutheran and Catholic, and the Boerne-Sisterdale-Comfort area was settled by a number of utopians, freethinkers, and socialists. In Fredericksburg, for instance, the first public building was the *Vereinskirche*, a church that was shared among religious denominations. In contrast, the town of Comfort did not have a church until 1892, forty years after initial settlement of the area. Even with their confessional, regional, and class differences, German Texans tended to form tightly knit communities based on a shared language. In many ways, they were able to forge in Texas the national unity that had eluded them in Germany.<sup>27</sup>

German Texans tended to be drawn from the states of west-central Germany more so than other German immigrants to the United States, but Teutonic immigrants arrived from all of the German states, as well as Switzerland and Austria. Because of the Adelsverein's roots in Nassau, natives of that state were overrepresented in the German Texan population. According to the 1850 census, 5 percent of Texas's population had been born in Germany, a percentage that was certainly too low. Although their share of the state's population declined slightly over the course of the decade, in 1860 an estimated 25,000 German-born people were found in Texas. By that time, German settlement had expanded from the vicinity of Matagorda Bay and Houston west into the Hill Country to form what later

geographers and historians would refer to as the Texas German belt. The German Texan share of the population in 1860 is estimated to have been 85 percent in Comal County, 75 percent in Gillespie County, over 50 percent in eastern Kerr and southern Blanco counties, 46 percent in Mason County, 36 percent in Medina County, and 10 percent in Llano County.<sup>28</sup>

Although the colonization efforts of Henri Castro and the Adelsverein were directly responsible for the settlement of thousands of European immigrants in the Hill Country, two much smaller efforts at organized settlement also took place in the 1840s and 1850s. The first of these efforts originated in Illinois, where the Mormon church was facing increasing hostility from neighbors around their settlement at Nauvoo. Church representatives were sent to Texas to attempt to secure a colonization contract with the struggling republic. Joseph Smith's murder in June 1844 led most of the Mormon faithful to follow Brigham Young west to the Great Salt Lake, but a splinter group headed by Lyman Wight traveled south to Texas beginning in 1845. With approximately 150 followers, Wight first settled near Austin, where the community built the first water mill in the area. However, the Mormons soon decamped and moved into the Hill Country. They established a mill and settlement about four miles southeast of Fredericksburg, which they named Zodiac. By 1853 the community numbered approximately 250 persons. After a flood destroyed the Zodiac mill, the colony's peregrinations took them to Burnet County, and then to two succeeding locations in Bandera County. They built and operated mills in both counties, and were instrumental in the organization of Bandera County in 1856. By

1858 Wight had died and the colony had dissolved, although a small number of members remained in the Hill Country.<sup>29</sup>

The second deliberate settlement scheme followed the Mormons' sojourn on a bend in the Medina River in 1854 in what would become Bandera County. In 1853, Medina County resident and Prussian native Charles de Montel (originally Scheidemantel) formed a partnership with land speculators John James and John Herndon to purchase large tracts of land north of the Alsatian settlements. De Montel and his partners laid out a town site and erected a water-powered saw mill at the same site on the Medina as the earlier Mormon settlement. In 1855, sixteen Polish families arrived at the site, having been recruited from an earlier Polish settlement south of San Antonio. The immigrants received purchase rights to town lots and farmland, and provided labor for a water-powered lumber mill that the business partners constructed. The settlement became the town of Bandera, and the county seat of Bandera County when it was incorporated in 1856.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to the ethnic- and religious-minority communities that established the first settlements in the region, Anglo American settlement proceeded without formal organization, with individuals and family groups making their way to the Hill Country frontier in search of cheap, virgin lands and concomitant economic gain. Texas land law between 1845 and 1853 gave settlers the right to purchase 320 acres of "vacant and unappropriated" public domain on the condition that they occupy and improve them. After three years' residence and the requisite payments, they could receive title to the land. Between 1854 and 1858, when large numbers of Anglo settlers began to arrive in the Hill

Country, the standard land allotment was reduced to 160 acres; after 1858 it was again raised to 320 acres. Land prices were affordable, with unimproved public domain acreage reported to be valued between fifty cents and \$2 in Bandera, Burnet, and Gillespie counties in 1857, and from twenty-five cents to \$2 in Llano and Uvalde counties in 1860. In contrast, United States public lands were sold at a uniform rate of \$1.25 per acre until 1854, when a scaled pricing system was introduced. The availability of cheap land held a powerful allure for yeomen and plain folk Anglos as well as European immigrants.<sup>31</sup>

The conclusion of the Mexican-American War in 1848 was the decisive event that spurred Anglo Americans to begin settling beyond the Balcones Escarpment. Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended hostilities between the United States and Mexico, required that cross-border raiding by the “savage tribes” occupying its recently acquired territory should be “forcibly restrained” by the United States government. To fulfill this obligation, the United States Army established a chain of forts along Texas’s western and Rio Grande frontier in 1849.<sup>32</sup>

The arrival of the Army provided a nominal degree of protection from Indian raids for white settlers. More importantly, the military posts provided a market for any nearby merchants and farmers and thereby helped to attract settlers to otherwise isolated areas along the Hill Country frontier. The establishment of Fort Croghan led to the birth of the adjacent town of Burnet and the incorporation of Burnet County in 1852. This made Burnet County the fourth county to be established in the Hill Country. Further south, Fort Martin Scott was located just outside of Fredericksburg, where it provided a market for the young

town's merchants and area farmers. Fort Inge was located at the southern end of the 1849 frontier defense line, on the Leona River in southern Uvalde County. Land speculator Reading W. Black purchased land nearby in 1853, and the town of Encina (later Uvalde) was founded on his property in 1855. Like the Medina County settlements to the east, the town of Uvalde was located below the Balcones Escarpment. However, it served as the county seat and as a commercial center for settlers who lived in the canyons of the Nueces, Leona, and Sabinal rivers.<sup>33</sup>

In 1851, the Army began to relocate the line of frontier defense posts between 40 and 100 miles to the west, abandoning Forts Croghan and Martin Scott in 1853. New posts were established at Fort McKavett, on the San Saba River in unorganized Menard County; at Fort Terrett, on the North Llano River; and at Fort Mason, forty miles northwest of Fredericksburg. The new defense line also included Fort Clark, located west of Uvalde on the southwestern edge of the Hill Country. With the exception of Fort Mason, the new posts were far enough west that settlement around them before 1860 was very sparse. The towns established at Uvalde and Burnet continued as county seats and local centers of commerce after the Army's departure, largely due to their location along roads established to support military logistical operations.<sup>34</sup>

After 1850, Anglo settlers began to expand more generally into the Hill Country's river valleys and canyons. In that year's census, only a little more than 4,000 settlers were recorded along Texas's entire western frontier. For the next decade, the zone of settlement advanced by around ten miles per year, while approximately 5,000 settlers came to the

western frontier counties annually. Temporary camps of shingle-makers dotted the banks of the upper Guadalupe and Medina rivers in the early 1850s, and by 1853 permanent settlers began to filter in to the region behind the frontier defense line. Bandera, Blanco, Kerr, Llano, Mason, and Uvalde counties were all organized in 1855 or later as settlement accelerated during the half-decade before the war. By 1860, some Anglo settlers were living up to eighty-five miles beyond Fredericksburg, on the far western edge of the Hill Country.<sup>35</sup>

Most Anglo American settlers arriving in the Hill Country in the 1850s were natives of the Upper South. In a study of antebellum migration into twenty-four Texas counties west of the Trinity River, historian William W. White found that in six “southern frontier counties,” including the Hill Country counties of Mason, Kerr, Bandera, and Uvalde, and in Gillespie County, which White examined separately, most native born Americans were from the Upper South states of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri. Arkansas alone provided nearly 32 percent of all migrants to the six “southern frontier counties” in White’s study. This trend was also apparent in Gillespie County, where Arkansas provided almost 5 percent of migrants in White’s sample, more than any other slave state in the majority German county.<sup>36</sup>

The next largest group of Anglo American settlers came from the slaveholding states of the Deep South, forming approximately 15 percent of White’s total sample. However, in a trend with implications for the Hill Country’s settlers’ later response to secession and the Civil War, Deep South natives were more likely to be women, meaning that the ratio of

Deep South natives who were voters or potential soldiers was lower than their share of the general population. The Hill Country also contained a significant minority of Anglo Americans from the Lower North. The state of Illinois contributed just over 6 percent of the population of White's "southern frontier counties," and several early community leaders came from free states. As mentioned before, Reading W. Black, the leading citizen in Uvalde County, was a native of New Jersey. Another New Jersey native, John R. Scott, served as the first chief justice of Burnet County. Other Northerners were attracted to the area by the growth of the sheep raising industry, and made up an especially large share of the population in Bandera County, where 12 percent of residents in 1860 were born above the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>37</sup>

Along with Anglo settlers came the forced immigration of African American slaves. However, proximity to free soil in Mexico, danger from Indian attacks, and an economy that was based on subsistence agriculture meant that slavery was far less common on the Texas frontier than in cotton-growing regions to the east. A total of 815 slaves accounted for just 5.2 percent of the regional population in 1860. Burnet and Comal counties produced virtually all the region's cotton and were home to 235 and 193 slaves respectively, or 52.5 percent of the regional total. Medina County, three-quarters of which lies below the Balcones Escarpment, reported 106 slaves, another 13 percent of the total enslaved population.<sup>38</sup>

Only four slaveholders in the region owned twenty or more slaves, the traditional threshold to be considered a planter; three of the four were Anglos living in Comal County.

W.H. Merriwether was the largest slaveholder in the ten Hill Country counties, with twenty-eight slaves enumerated in 1860. With twenty-four slaves, Charles de Ganahl of Kerr County, the Georgia-born son of an Austrian father and Anglo mother, was the only large slaveholder west of the Balcones Escarpment. Four German immigrants held a total of sixteen slaves in 1860, and the heavily German counties of Gillespie and Mason tallied only fifty-one enslaved individuals.<sup>39</sup>

Because of the seasonal rhythm of labor in a grain-growing and stock-raising economy like the Hill Country, enslaved workers were used for a variety of tasks throughout the year. Labor was scarce and brought a premium on the frontier, and slaveholders could profit from their enslaved workforces by the practice of slave hiring. In Burnet County, enslaved worker Joe Allen was “the sole supporter of a poor widow with a large family.” Allen and his wife Mandy were employed at Noah Smithwick’s mill, and provided income for his widowed owner. In Kerr County, Fritz Schladoer, William A. Williams, and William Wharton were each employing one of the county’s forty-nine enslaved workers at the time of the 1860 census. Other census takers were less careful when enumerating the enslaved, and probably underrepresented the extent of slave hiring in the region. Through slave hiring, white settlers who did not hold slave labor could still participate in the chattel bondage system, which served to further bind the interests of the non-slaveholding yeomanry to their slaveholding neighbors.<sup>40</sup>

The 1860 census recorded a total population of 15,642 in the ten organized counties of the Texas Hill Country, a growth of roughly 400 percent from the 1850 census returns from



the three counties that were organized at that point. Although the antebellum Hill Country was rapidly gaining population, settlement was not evenly dispersed across the region. Comal County alone had a population of 4,030 which was mostly clustered around New Braunfels, and nearly 71 percent of the region's residents lived in Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, or Medina counties, all of which were created in 1852 or earlier.<sup>41</sup>

Outside of the region's small towns, settlement tended to take place in small dispersed communities along the creeks and river bottoms of the region to take advantage of the presence of water sources, while the waterless divides remained unsettled open range. These rural communities were often separated by several miles, and many settlers lived in near-total isolation. Describing his mail route in 1859, August Santleben recalled that from his father's house four miles east of Castroville, he had to travel distances of eight, twelve, and six miles between homesteads on the route to Bandera. On a trip from Austin to Fredericksburg five years later, Julius Schuetze found the countryside still sparsely settled with isolated homesteads. After fording the Colorado River, Schuetze traveled for twelve miles before stopping at a home along the road. By his calculations, the road to Fredericksburg did not pass another home for forty miles, when it emerged into the settlement of Grape Creek in Gillespie County.<sup>42</sup>

By 1860 the Hill Country was divided into three population zones. A tier of Anglo-dominated areas were located in the northeastern Hill Country around the lower Llano River and the Colorado River canyon country, including Burnet, Llano, and much of Mason counties. A belt of German settlement was concentrated along the Guadalupe and

Pedernales river valleys and Cibolo Creek in the central part of the region, extending north to the vicinity of Fort Mason and western Llano County. Another zone of lightly populated, Anglo-dominated areas beginning on the upper Guadalupe and Medina rivers extended northwest toward Fort McKavett on the edge of the frontier, encompassing Uvalde, northern Medina, Bandera, Kerr, western Gillespie, and unorganized Kimble and Menard counties. Except for these last two counties, at least a handful of Central European immigrants were found in each of the region's counties. Small numbers of Mexican Americans were concentrated in the southwestern counties, and a significant minority of Anglo Americans lived in the German-dominated counties of Comal and Gillespie.<sup>43</sup>

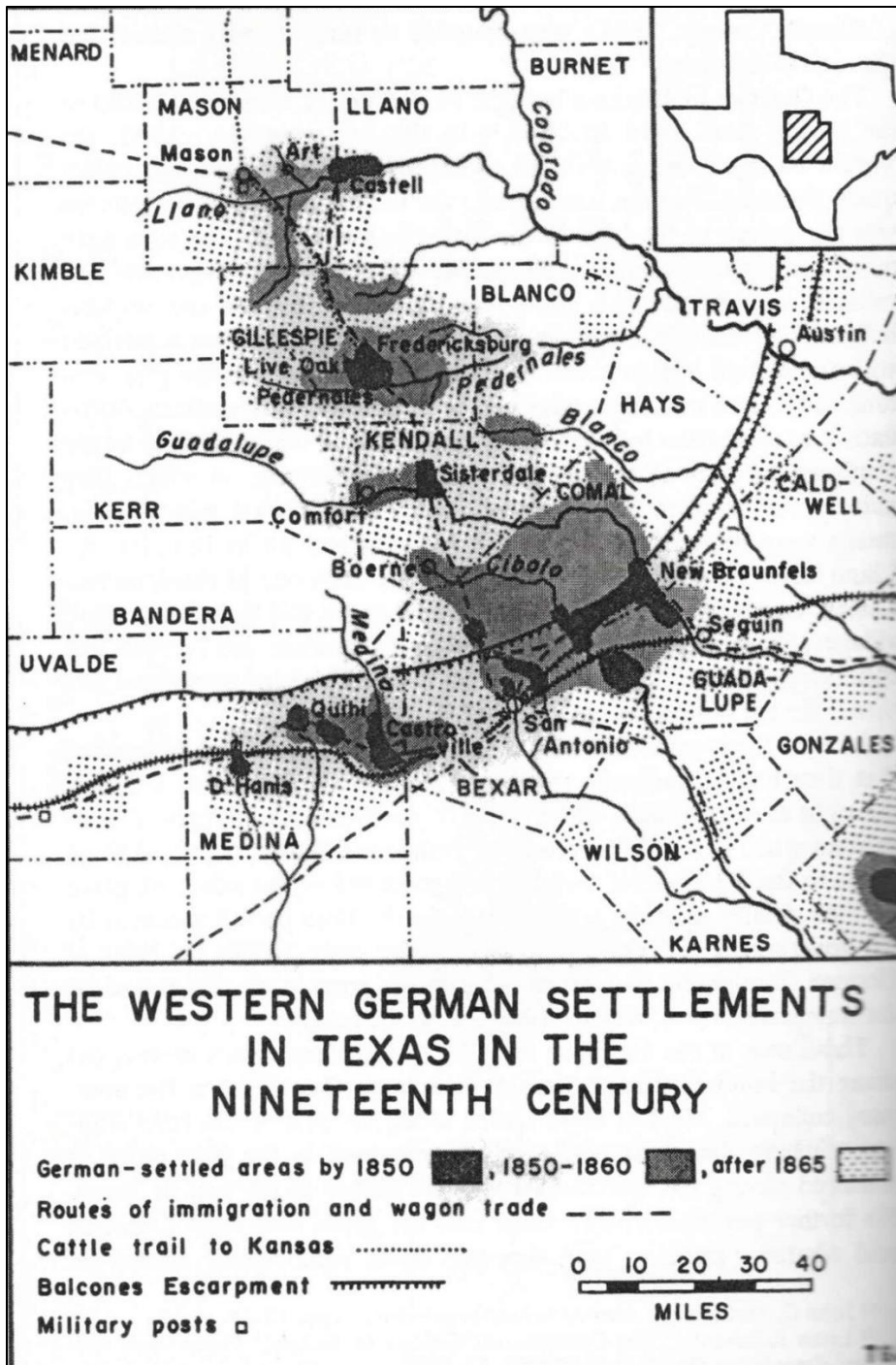


Figure 2. The Western German Belt. From Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 46.

Most settlers came to the frontier to take advantage of cheap lands, low taxes, virgin soils and ranges, and plentiful game, fish, and other natural riches to provide for their families and, with luck, to grow wealthy. Even as they secured a subsistence and benefited from the natural resources of the commons, white settlers in the Hill Country looked eagerly to the expansion of regional, national, and international markets for their agricultural produce. These markets could provide a path into the money economy, the acquisitions of consumer goods, and the achievement of true wealth. However, in the 1850s the region remained on the margins of the market economy. Subsistence farming, free-range stock raising, and federal government spending were the pillars of the antebellum Hill Country's economy.

The remoteness of the Hill Country settlements and the lack of efficient transportation routes were the primary impediments to the region's integration into markets for agricultural goods. Because of the structure of the road network and the Army's logistical system, most of the region existed as an economic hinterland of San Antonio. Manufactured goods entered the Hill Country through a land route beginning at Port Lavaca, 150 to 200 miles distant from most settlers, and continuing through San Antonio and on to the frontier. Austin and New Braunfels were secondary commercial hubs for Hill Country settlers. The lack of railroads and navigable rivers meant that ox teams were relied upon to haul all goods in the Texas interior, "moving with prodigious slowness and irregularity," at a cost of 1 to 1 ¼ cents per pound of freight from ports on the coast. An

early settler recalled that it often took seven or eight days to haul a load of cypress shingles from Bandera to San Antonio, and up to three weeks in wet weather. Hopeful correspondents from Fredericksburg in 1857 predicted that “the Harrisburg Railroad will greatly benefit this county when it reaches Austin.” A Kerr County writer echoed this sentiment, stating that “the railroad from Port Lavaca to San Antonio will best meet the needs of this county.” Three years later, a Uvalde County resident noted that “the people look forward for railroads and Artesian wells with great anxiety.” In the meantime, most communities in the region would remain physically isolated.<sup>44</sup>

Given the state of transportation, antebellum Hill Country settlers faced major obstacles in getting their agricultural goods to market. As a result, most had little access to the cash economy. Upon visiting San Antonio in 1853, Frederick Law Olmsted was struck by the scarcity of money in the town, and noted that “there are no home-exports of the least account. Pecan-nuts, and a little coarse wool, are almost the only items of the catalogue.” Money was derived from Army contracts, “and from this source, and from the leavings of casual travelers, and new emigrants, the hard money for circulation is derived.” The situation in western Texas was little changed by 1860.<sup>45</sup>

As Olmsted discovered, the federal government, particularly the United States Army, contributed in several ways to the viability of frontier settlement beyond its mission of providing security to the region. The first role the Army fulfilled was that of injecting capital directly into the local economy in a myriad of ways. In 1860, the Army had 3,009 soldiers and 300 civilian employees in Texas, and spent \$315,000 on contracts and

operational expenses. Another \$777,000 went toward soldier pay. The \$10 million dollars dispersed in Texas operations between 1849 and 1860 accounted for about 4 percent of the state's increase in valuation over the period. Importantly, the Army made most of its purchases in gold and silver. Because Army posts were predominantly located along the frontier, the impact of military spending was magnified in these areas. As a sub-region of the frontier, the Hill Country benefited disproportionately from the Army's reliance upon local contractors to provide logistical support for the frontier posts. San Antonio was the Army's logistical hub in Texas, and the supply lines originated there for all posts on Texas's western frontier, as well as posts along the Rio Grande and in the Trans-Pecos. Unlike the northwestern counties and areas further west, the Hill Country's population was large enough to produce an agricultural surplus that could support large-scale contracts. This fact, along with proximity to San Antonio, meant that contractors based in the Hill Country supplied posts as far flung as Fort Belknap in Young County and Fort Stockton in the Trans-Pecos.<sup>46</sup>

Hill Country settlers acquired Army dollars by hauling supplies overland; by supplying Army posts with locally-produced meat, grain, and other foodstuffs; through the renting of property to the Army; through labor on Army projects; by serving as sutlers and post traders; by selling items to local soldiers; and by sales of fuel, horses, and mules to Army units. Mason County settler Franz Kettner made \$175 for six weeks of wagon hauling for the Army in 1856, which helped him to purchase a new farm. He concluded from this experience that he could rent his wagon and ox team for half the profits from hauling, "on

which I could live very well even without the farm.” He assured his parents in Germany that “my finances are in very good condition.” In Gillespie County, merchant Frank van der Stucken delivered 300 tons of hay at \$7.32/ton to Fort Mason in 1853. In the same year, he and a partner received \$1,992 for hay delivered to Fort Chadbourne, on the northwest Texas frontier. Similar contracts followed during the 1850s, with van der Stucken and occasional partners being paid \$43,850 for forage contracts in 1856, \$34,945 in 1859, and \$1,225 in 1860. By the 1860 census, van der Stucken listed real estate worth \$4,000 and a personal estate of \$18,000. Other prominent merchants and local leaders in the Hill Country with Army contracts included Charles de Montel, James M. Hunter, John H.T. Richarz, and Louis Martin. Texans with Army contracts would sub-contract with local farmers, ensuring that military funds became more widely dispersed within the community.<sup>47</sup>

Besides Army contracts, Hill Country settlers benefited when soldiers spent their pay at local merchants and saloons, and purchased local produce from nearby settlers. Reading W. Black recorded frequent visits to his store by the soldiers of nearby Fort Inge, and merchants and farmers near the Hill Country’s other posts had similar experiences. Franz Kettner estimated in 1853 that his ten acres of grain and one-and-a-half-acre garden would yield a \$300 profit, “since we live only fifteen miles from the fort, and up here on the Indian border, grain and sweet potatoes are sold at very high prices.” Henry Hoerster, another German immigrant in Mason County, would butcher as many as one hundred hogs at a time and sell the cured meat to the Army in San Antonio. He would then fill his wagons

with “loads of whiskey, flour, sugar, and Liverpool salt from San Antonio, Austin, and Indianola” to sell to the soldiers at remote frontier outposts.<sup>48</sup>

Army operations also indirectly aided the regional economy through the creation of new infrastructure, especially roads. Between 1849 and 1851, Army surveying expeditions laid out two routes from San Antonio to El Paso. The first, known as the Lower Road, passed through the towns of Castroville and D’Hanis before continuing to the west. The second road, known as the Upper Road, went northwest from San Antonio, passing through Boerne, Fredericksburg, and a few miles from the German settlements on the Llano River, before turning west onto the unsettled Edwards Plateau. The military roads provided markets for merchants in the towns that lay along their route. Fredericksburg, for instance, was the final settlement on the Upper Road before travelers reached El Paso. This fact made it a strategic point for purchases of supplies, repairs to wagons and other equipment, and similar transactions with westward-bound immigrants. The military roads also provided access to San Antonio, drawing the Hill Country settlements into the Lavaca-San Antonio economic corridor. An 1851 expedition also laid out a road from Fort Mason to Austin, giving the northern Hill Country counties another route for the movement of goods and people. Stagecoach lines followed the route of military roads, and used military posts and soldiers as protection while bringing travelers and creating private infrastructure to support the stages. United States mail contracts and the practice of establishing post offices at rural stores were yet another source of federal dollars for revenue hungry merchants and contractors.<sup>49</sup>



Outside of the Army, the Hill Country had limited outlets for the marketing of raw and agricultural products. The primary regional exports were cypress wood products and beef cattle, and to a lesser extent wool, grains, and other livestock. Giant old-growth cypress trees lining the creeks and rivers of the Hill Country were an important source of lumber and wooden shingles for builders in a region that was largely devoid of suitable timber. On his trip through the Hill Country, Frederick Law Olmsted recorded finding a fallen cypress tree along the Guadalupe River which was “at least fourteen feet in diameter.” In the area around the Sisterdale settlement, “within long walking range, are a dozen or twenty more, single men, living in huts or caves, earning a tough livelihood chiefly by splitting shingles.” Eight saw mills in Bandera, Burnet, and Comal counties produced 950,000 board feet of lumber and 700 “loads of timber” in 1859-1860. Cypress shingles were transported via wagon to San Antonio, where they were sold in lots of 1,000 for \$4 to \$5.<sup>50</sup>

The primary expression of the exploitation of the commons was open range cattle herding, which quickly became a dominant practice on the Hill Country frontier. Anglo Americans had already encountered the Texas prairies west of the Trinity River, and a blending of Hispanic and Anglo Southern stock raising traditions had been taking place along Texas’s Gulf Coastal Plain and Blackland Prairie for two decades prior to settlement in the Hill Country. Beginning in 1845, Texas experienced a prolonged period of drought. Although there were a few wetter years in the early 1850s, by the mid-1850s drought had again set in. The range east of the Balcones Escarpment soon began to suffer from the dry conditions, and stock raisers pushed west in search of better grazing lands. For instance, in

the late 1850s brothers Jesse T. and Samuel Ealy Johnson, Sr. moved their herds from the Blackland Prairie near Lockhart to Blanco County in search of unexhausted range. James W. Nichols recalled that by 1859 in Gonzales County, “the range gave way so that I either had to sell off my stock or moove to fresh range ... I sold out my place, wound up my buisness, and set out to moove to Blanco County. That county had just been organized and the range was fresh.” The Hill Country’s elevation, sparse settlement, and unique ecology and hydrology combined to maintain the region’s grasslands and water sources even during drought, a fact that was touted by regional boosters such as the indefatigable George W. Kendall and writers in the *Texas Almanac*.<sup>51</sup>

By 1860 the Hill Country counties contained at least 154,073 cattle, and herd numbers continued to skyrocket. Blanco County’s cattle herd jumped from 1,388 head in 1858 to 20,664 by 1861, and Llano County saw a similarly stupendous increase from 26,499 to 58,678 head between 1860 and 1861. Many Anglo settlers in particular were landless, open range cattlemen. In overwhelmingly Anglo Llano County, for example, only 99 of 260 taxpayers in 1860 held real estate. In the same year, only 53 of 130 taxpayers in Uvalde County owned land. In more settled Blanco County, approximately 21 percent of those listed on the Agricultural Schedule of the 1860 Census owned livestock but no real estate. By contrast, one study finds that 19.1 percent of Texans statewide who were engaged in agriculture held no real property, while regions just to the northeast and southeast of the Hill Country had lower landlessness rates of 13.5 and 16.9 percent, respectively.<sup>52</sup>

Although cattle herds grew quickly and could be raised with minimal capital investment, the very abundance of cattle throughout Texas limited regional markets for stock raisers. Therefore, cattle herds had to be driven to much more distant markets to bring a profit. Northern and western markets probably accounted for one-half to three-fourths of Texas's antebellum beef cattle exports, but the primary market for the antebellum Hill Country was New Orleans, over 500 miles away. Cattle herds were either driven overland to New Orleans or to the Texas coast, where they were loaded onto steamships bound for the Crescent City. Cattle were also reportedly driven as far as Kansas, Missouri, and California. Beef cattle were valued at between \$5.85 and \$6.94 per head for tax purposes in 1860, and were said to bring \$12.50 per head when driven to markets in New Orleans and California. Franz Kettner recorded in 1858 that his father-in-law was able to sell seventeen cattle for almost \$13 per head, "and he can still sell about another 30 head." However, the time, risk, and expense involved with moving cattle to these markets combined to limit their impact as a source of wealth for Hill Country settlers. Although New Orleans was importing over 50,000 Texas cattle per year by 1861, the Hill Country's share of this market was not significant enough to open a major cash stream for the frontier.<sup>53</sup>

Sheep herding was another emerging pursuit in 1860. In 1853, George Wilkins Kendall settled on a ranch in what was then Blanco County, later to be named Kendall County in his honor in 1862. Thereafter he became a tireless promoter of both the Hill Country and of sheep herding in Texas. A man of seemingly boundless energy, optimism, and diligence, Kendall had a herd of 6,000 sheep by 1860, and reported a clip of 16,000 pounds of wool

in that year. Kendall's letters on sheep herding were published in the *Texas Almanac* and in a variety of other outlets, and hopeful sheep ranchers flocked to the region. Unfortunately for many settlers, sheep were much less hardy than semi-feral cattle and were subject to massive die-offs from weather and disease. According to Kendall, a neighboring sheep rancher lost 700 sheep in one night to a "norther" during the winter of 1859-1860, and "another man lost 200 Merinoes in a night, all frozen." Despite these obstacles, Kendall and his Blanco County neighbors produced 26,870 pounds of wool from 11,512 sheep in 1860. By 1861 28,968 sheep roamed the Hill Country's meadows.<sup>54</sup>

Besides the export of cypress wood products, beef cattle, and wool, Hill Country settlers took advantage of any opportunity to get their surplus to market. During the severe drought year of 1860, George W. Kendall reported that "below [the Balcones Escarpment], on nine acres out of ten, they will hardly make seed," and in a later letter, he said that corn was selling at \$2.75 per bushel in San Antonio, "and at such prices it is an object to raise as much as one can." Settler Christian F. Bergmann sold cedar posts for fencing in San Antonio at \$8 to \$10 per 100, with which he could "buy coffee, sugar, and other small items to take home." Farmers in outlying settlements also raised fruit and vegetables, which they took to market in San Antonio and New Braunfels.<sup>55</sup>

Because of the climate, the soil, proximity to free-soil Mexico, and the lack of viable transportation routes, cotton farming was virtually nonexistent in most of the Hill Country in 1860. Burnet and Comal counties produced the most cotton in 1860, with 602 and 626  $\frac{1}{4}$  bales respectively. The largest producer in Comal County was Georgia-born Eli Mercer,

who produced 130 bales with the labor of twenty-three slaves. The largest German Texan producer was Jacob Obert, with 24 bales, followed by Andreas Breustedt, with 7 bales. Neither was a slaveholder, and no other Comal County Germans produced more than 5 bales of cotton. Gillespie County reported a total of 10 bales, Medina County produced 4, and no other counties reported any cotton production. The Hill Country's cotton production was a miniscule contribution to the state of Texas's total 1859 production of 431,645 bales.<sup>56</sup>

Overall, the Hill Country settlements relied upon the Army as their most lucrative and steady market for agricultural goods. Merchant and farmers nearest to the military posts benefited the most from the Army's proximity, while settlers in more remote areas may have received infrequent but critical injections of capital from sales of grain, livestock, wagon driving contracts, or other dealings with the government. Most Hill Country settlers likely had limited commerce with the Army, however, and they practiced subsistence agriculture that depended on the raising of grains and vegetables, the herding of cattle on the open range, and the natural bounty obtained through hunting and gathering to support their families.

Although they were cash-poor, many settlers found that they could maintain a household on the frontier without undue effort. Homesteads relied heavily upon the labor of women and children, and spinning and weaving were commonly practiced to mitigate limited access to manufactured goods. Cattle could be raised at virtually no expense,

providing dairy products, beef, and hides. Hogs fattened on the pecans and acorns of the river and creek bottoms.<sup>57</sup>

For German settlers, used to increasingly smaller property holdings in their homeland, the vast spaces of Texas and the bounty of the commons made their new homes seem like a place of unbounded possibility and fruitfulness, even if the environment was utterly foreign at first. In his study of nineteenth century German Texan farmers, Terry Jordan finds that German immigrants to Texas readily adapted to the crops and stock raising practices found in Texas. However, German farmers maintained a distinctive emphasis on intensive and diversified agriculture, and while Anglos were content to let their livestock run freely on the range, German settlers in the Hill Country undertook the incredible task of constructing thousands of miles of rock fences to enclose fields, pastures, and even entire properties.<sup>58</sup>

The primary issue confronting would-be farmers in the Hill Country, whether Anglo or German, was aridity. Settlers eventually found that through the adoption of dry land farming techniques such as early and deep planting, maize and other grains grew readily. Maize was the primary crop in the region, followed by wheat, representing an emphasis on “safety-first” subsistence agriculture. For instance, Blanco County’s ninety-nine farmers who owned improved acreage raised 6,590 bushels of corn and 1,590 bushels of wheat in 1859. Farmers in Kerr County raised 799 bushels of corn to ninety-nine bushels of wheat in the same year, and Llano County farmers raised 690 bushels of corn and fifteen bushels of oats. Frederick Law Olmsted reported yields of fifty bushels of corn to an acre on the

frontier's virgin soils, in contrast with supposedly "good" yields of ten bushels per acre in Virginia, and settlers benefited from the initial lack of introduced weeds. George W. Kendall confirmed the possibility of Olmsted's estimate in 1858 and 1859, when he raised 500 bushels of maize on ten acres. Farmers who perhaps held more marginal lands or did not display Kendall's diligence and commitment to the latest farming techniques had more modest yields, and reports from 1860 indicated harvests between ten and thirty-plus bushels per acre in Blanco, Burnet, Uvalde, and Llano counties.<sup>59</sup>

Household subsistence was also aided by the region's remarkable abundance of fish and game, and the gathering of nuts, berries, and honey. Levi L. Wight remembered Gillespie County in 1847 as "indeed a land flowing with milk and honey and it dident stop at this but wild game [was] in sech abundance that it was thought that it would never be exhausted." Franz Kettner boasted to his relatives in Germany of catching so many fish from the Llano River in 1853 that "we cannot stand to look at, much less eat, any more fish for a week." Three years later, he recorded killing six deer in one morning, and "during the three-quarter year stay there, I also found twenty bee trees, of which the best had thirty bottles of honey." Because of this natural abundance, "no one spends any effort here to raise bees." During his visit to the Hill Country settlements, Frederick Law Olmsted was told of vast quantities of game being harvested. While staying in Sisterdale, he dined on one of a reported eighty-five turkeys that had been killed over the winter by his host's sons. At Comanche Springs, in far northern Bexar County, a professional hunter was said to have killed 11,000 pounds of game over a nine-month period. Some settlers even made a living

as hunters, particularly in pursuit of prized bear meat and grease. One of these lived on Currie's Creek in what became Kendall County, and had killed sixty black bears over the course of two years. Blanco County immigrant farmer Christian F. Bergmann assured his family in Germany that "there is plenty of big game," and "we always have meat to eat because when I happen to shoot a deer we have food for a while, or a turkey, of which we have an abundance here." Although these accounts must be measured against potential boosterism or nostalgia for a way of life that had passed, accounts of the period uniformly agree that for many settlers, the Hill Country could seem incredibly bountiful indeed.<sup>60</sup>

Cooperation and social cohesion were crucial to the successful acquisition of wealth and property on the frontier. Despite the Hill Country's rich resources, the threat of natural disasters constantly loomed over every homestead. The severe drought that gripped Texas beginning in the mid-1850s was the most significant natural obstacle faced by antebellum settlers. Prairie fires posed another hazard to livestock, fences, and wooden buildings. In the late 1850s the state was also visited by swarms of grasshoppers that denuded fields of crops. Flash floods, which occurred periodically even during drought periods, could destroy farms and mills. Natural disasters could be accepted as part of frontier life, but settlers worked together diligently to build communities that were resilient in the face of both natural and man-made calamities. According to Emma Altgelt, "in early times, there was a certain degree of communism, due to the conditions. People carried on for months at times without ready money. One man gave another whatever he could spare, and took in



exchange, what he needed.” Although many lived in isolated settings, Hill Country settlers were keen to engage in the community-building practices that they had inherited from their German and Anglo American parent cultures.<sup>61</sup>

German immigrants proved to be especially vigorous proponents of associational culture. Wherever they settled, nineteenth century German-speaking enclaves hosted a variety of *vereine*, or associations, such as *Turnvereine* (athletics clubs), *Kegelvereine* (bowling clubs), *Schuetzenvereine* (shooting clubs), *Saengerbunde* (singing groups), agricultural improvement associations, mutual aid societies, and rhetoric and philosophy clubs. As early as 1853, for instance, German Texan singing clubs held the first state *Saengerfest*, a gathering that included clubs from Austin, New Braunfels, Sisterdale, and San Antonio. German *vereine* provided key sites of sociability, communication, and community mobilization for Teutonic immigrants.<sup>62</sup>

Aside from these formal organizations, German immigrants were well known for their penchant for conviviality. As Emma Altgelt put it, “love of good fellowship never forsake the German race.” In a typical example, Franz Kettner recounted a visit to his beer saloon in Fredericksburg by the local singing club to celebrate the birth of his son, at which occasion they drank two kegs of beer in his honor. Olmsted witnessed German settlers in Sisterdale gathering in the evening after supper, “waltzing, to the tones of a fine piano, and music of the highest sort, classic and patriotic. ... After the ladies had retired, the men had over the whole stock of student-songs, until all were young again.” In Olmsted’s estimation, “No city of fatherland ... could show a better or more cheerful evening

company.” The German Texan desire for community was also manifested in the small “Sunday houses” that were built in Hill Country towns. These cottages gave settlers in the outlying areas places to stay when they visited town for church services and to attend to business. Through the forming of *vereine* and their tendency to live near one another and maintain strong social ties, German Texans on the Hill Country frontier welded together strong new communities out of groups of immigrants who had come from a variety of German states.<sup>63</sup>

By contrast with their German immigrant neighbors, Anglo settlers tended to be more individualistic, and outside of Protestant churches and common schools they were somewhat less energetic in forming voluntary community associations. Even so, they relied upon kinship and community ties for a variety of purposes such as labor, recreation, and mutual aid. When he constructed a mill on the Colorado River in the winter of 1857-1858, Noah Smithwick relied upon “the full working force of Hickory creek, and a contingent from Backbone valley” to complete the project. Although they were private enterprises, mills were also crucial community institutions for Hill Country farmers and they served to bind mill owners, merchants, and farmers together in relationships of mutuality and obligation.<sup>64</sup>

Weddings, school closing exercises, and Fourth of July celebrations were also especially important community affairs. In Burnet County, “if there was a wedding everybody was invited and a long table set out in the yard, around which the guests stood while partaking of the cheer with which it was loaded.” Events such as the Fourth of July

were chaired by committees appointed by the community, and everyone in the neighborhood was expected to contribute to the festivities. The organization of Masonic lodges, periodic camp meetings, voting days, jury duty at district court sessions, and road building levies were all important settings for forging community bonds between otherwise isolated frontier settlers.<sup>65</sup>

Although little could be done about drought or swarms of grasshoppers, white Hill Country settlers came together to protect households and property from man-made threats. One source of danger came from a source that was itself considered chattel: black enslaved labor. As previously discussed, for a variety of reasons slavery was relatively rare in the frontier settlements. Nonetheless, small property owners tended to cast a wary eye at enslaved laborers, who embodied the dependency and lack of autonomy that aroused deep class anxieties among the yeomanry. Slaves were seen as a potential source of disorder and petty crime, threats to property that could not be taken lightly by subsistence farmers.<sup>66</sup>

Proximity to Mexico made the Hill Country a tempting route to freedom for some slaves, and in addition to posing a threat to property owners through pilfering and other petty crimes, fleeing slaves represented a very real loss of invested capital. Although the Hill Country counties do not seem to have maintained regular slave patrols, settlers would quickly band together to apprehend runaways if they were discovered in the area. Noah Smithwick described the response in his community when a group of runaways were detected near his farm in Burnet County. Because the runaways “were not desirable additions to the neighborhood,” Smithwick and four neighbors quickly gathered and

attempted to catch the runaways in their camp near the Colorado River. In their pursuit, the makeshift posse recovered a horse that had been stolen from the neighborhood, confirming fears of the threat to property posed by runaways. The confrontation with the runaway group turned into a nearly disastrous fire, with Smithwick and a neighbor being wounded, and Smithwick's prized tracking dog receiving a wound that ultimately proved fatal. Although he expressed remorse for the incident in writing about it approximately forty years later, Smithwick accurately noted that "the capture of fugitive slaves was a necessity of the institution."<sup>67</sup>

Natural disasters and runaway slaves certainly posed problems, but it was raiding by Native American groups based in Mexico and on the South Plains that aroused the greatest terror along the frontier and provided the strongest force for social cohesion among white settlers. Although the first settlers in the region experienced peaceful trading relationships with native peoples, Indian raiding developed and intensified during the 1850s. Racial hatred, anger over the theft and destruction of property, and the desire to exact revenge for kidnappings, murders, and attacks on isolated settlers led white Texans to informally band together to kill Indians and recover stolen property. At the same time, they demanded that the state and federal governments launch major campaigns to rid western Texas of the Indian threat and open the way for unimpeded settlement. By the late 1850s, the rhetoric of frontier defense had become a powerful political tool wielded by Hill Country settlers.

German immigrant settlers arriving in the Hill Country in 1846 found that they were entering a liminal zone between the powerful allied Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa

Naishans, the growing Anglo American settlements east of the Balcones Escarpment, and the Mexico-based Lipan, Kickapoo, Seminole and other fragmentary native tribes. After 1845 the Southern Plains tribes had largely withdrawn to the north and west, following the contraction of the bison herds due to drought and overhunting. In 1849, an Army officer reported that bison rarely ventured south of the Red River, and that their range had contracted on the east and west as well. Noah Smithwick remembered that when he settled in Burnet County, “the Indians were gone and likewise the buffalo.” However, much of the Hill Country remained within the range of the Penateka band of the Comanches and early settlers traded frequently with Comanches and other tribal groups for items like wild game meat and bear grease.<sup>68</sup>

In 1847 John Meusebach and a delegation from the Adelsverein set out for the San Saba River to make a treaty with the Penateka Comanches. The resulting agreement pledged the Comanches to refrain from molesting Adelsverein settlers, allowed settlers to travel and settle within the Fisher-Miller grant, and allowed the Comanches to visit the German settlements. In return, the Comanches received a payment of \$3,000 worth of goods. The Meusebach treaty has been hailed by many historians of German Texan immigration as a landmark treaty in American and Texan history and credited with opening “a vast territory of over 30,000 acres,” the “great pioneer work of the German settlers in Texas.” In fact, Meusebach’s treaty took place within a context of overall peaceful relations between white settlers and native peoples in the second half of the 1840s. The arrival of Castro’s colonists

and the Adelsverein settlers on the frontier marked the beginning of the end of a short-lived détente between white Texans and the South Plains tribes.<sup>69</sup>

After 1850 relations between whites and Indians in Texas began to deteriorate for several reasons. A series of epidemics, the continued collapse of the bison herds, the withering of traditional trade networks, the ecological destruction caused by New Mexico- and California-bound wagon trains, and encroachment from other Indian tribes in the Indian Territory and on the Central Plains all combined to render the Southern Plains tribes increasingly desperate and politically fragmented. A westward advance of the Army's frontier defense line in 1851-1852 and the continued expansion of white settlement along the frontier also placed pressure on the borders of *Comanchería*. As Franz Kettner acknowledged, "the Indians were continually driven back and robbed of parts of their best hunting grounds. The Indians sought to make it difficult and to stop the settlers in any way possible." Sporadic raiding began to increase in the early 1850s, and although the federal government focused on treaty-making and diplomacy in dealing with the Texas tribes, the Texas legislature responded by authorizing the creation of offensive-minded ranger forces.<sup>70</sup>

In 1854, the U.S. Army's Second Dragoons were reassigned from Texas in response to fighting along the Oregon Trail. With the removal of mounted forces from the state, raiding in the Texas frontier settlements seems to have accelerated. Lipans, Tonkawas, Kickapoos, and multi-racial Seminoles based in Mexico probably perpetuated most of the raiding at this time, and Mexican and Anglo bandits also took advantage of the growing chaos that

spilled over from the Nueces-Rio Grande frontier into the southwestern Hill Country. The death toll among white Texans is debatable, but frontier Texans flooded Governor Elisha M. Pease with letters and petitions describing the besieged condition of the settlements. While Texans were always ready to criticize federal frontier defense efforts for being inadequate, any removal of troops was opposed as well. Short of a full-scale offensive war against the Indians in Texas, mounted troops were the Hill Country settlements' best hope for federal aid to interdict raiders and recovering captives and stolen property.<sup>71</sup>

Horse theft was typically the main objective of Native American raids, but prominent Hill Country settler W.E. Jones warned that "it is greatly to be feared that if the Indians fail to get horses by stealth they will attempt it by violence and perhaps attack some family or families situated remotely from other families." Governor Pease responded by authorizing the creation of six companies of rangers. The next year he ordered Captain James H. Callahan of Blanco County to organize "a Mounted force ... to protect those settlements from the thefts and murders to which they are constantly subjected by marauding bands of Indians." Significantly, Callahan was "to follow them up and chastise them wherever they may be found."<sup>72</sup>

Jones's letter and Callahan's subsequent actions reveal the entanglement of the concepts of property, the protection of households, and frontier defense for mid-nineteenth century Texans. Callahan interpreted his orders liberally and led an infamous expedition into Mexico in October 1855 to attack the Seminoles and Lipans living around Piedras Negras. Callahan's incursion resulted in the deaths of several Texans and Mexicans, and damage

to the town of Piedras Negras, but did nothing to end raiding from Mexico. Aside from punishing these groups blamed for raiding, one of Callahan's primary motivations seems to have been the recovery of runaway slaves that were living among the Mexican tribes. From the viewpoint of Callahan and many frontier settlers, Indians stole horses, killed cattle, sheltered runaway slaves, and occasionally murdered white Texans, for which they deserved severe retaliation.<sup>73</sup>

As threats to white settlers' property and households mounted, Indian raids became a galvanizing issue for Hill Country communities in the 1850s. Levi L. Wight summarized the Indian raiding in Bandera County in the 1850s by saying that "they finally got and destroyed about all our possessions of worldly affairs." Petitions complained that the reassignment of the Second Dragoons meant that "instead of receiving the protection, we have a right to expect," the federal government had "removed from our State a large portion of the only force that could be effective in affording us that protection." The government's reluctance to mount offensive operations against the offending native groups was ludicrous, because if the current situation "does not constitute a State of war, we are at a loss to define the meaning of war among barbarians." Federal policies meant that "the lives of our friends and fellow citizens are daily sacrificed and property destroyed to amount almost incredible to those that have had no opportunity of seeing for themselves." Residents of Uvalde and Medina counties complained that Indian raids "have continued in our settlements all the time killing our hogs and cattle and stealing our corn Feasting themselves upon the products of our Labor." The federal government had failed to aid the



settlements, and consequently they were “left to suffer in our property while our lives and the lives of our wives and children are every moment in danger from the Merciless Savages.”<sup>74</sup>

The continuous outcry from frontier Texans over Indian raiding led Governor Pease to implore Army authorities to step up efforts to defend the frontier. The Army responded by sending the newly formed Second United States Cavalry Regiment to Texas in late 1855, and several new military posts were founded, including Camp Verde in Kerr County. This move raised troop levels in Texas to more than 4,000 soldiers for the first time since the Mexican-American War. However, troop numbers fluctuated from year to year, falling as low as 2,351 soldiers in 1857 and then gradually rising to 3,009 by 1860. The Army also tended to garrison antebellum frontier posts with infantry and artillery units due to the excessive cost of supporting cavalry forces. For instance, in 1858 the Army posts in the Hill Country were garrisoned by one company and two detachments of the First Infantry, and by one detachment of the First Artillery. The following year saw two companies of infantry as the total Army force in the Hill Country. Dismounted forces were clearly inadequate to catch fast-moving, mounted raiding parties. The situation was sarcastically described by Olmsted as “keeping a bulldog to chase mosquitoes.”<sup>75</sup>

The Second Cavalry fought thirty-six separate combat engagements with Indians between 1856 and 1861, and the Army claimed to have killed 261 Indians, wounded eighty-eight, and captured fifty-three Indian women and children in Texas during the antebellum period. However, the Army’s frontier defense policy was generally static and reactive.

Texans respected the Second Cavalry, but they believed that major offensives needed to be mounted to carry the war to the Indians in their villages and winter encampments. In the words of a petition from Bexar County, defensive tactics were “totally ineffectual and ... to accomplish any good end they must feel in their own homes the evils which they inflict.” Texans took the matter into their own hands in May 1858, when a ranger force under John S. “Rip” Ford crossed into Indian Territory and attacked a Comanche village. At a loss of only two killed and two wounded Ford’s rangers inflicted a reported seventy-six casualties and captured eighteen Comanche women and children. The Army finally obliged Texan persistence, and a September expedition under Captain Earl van Dorn of the Second Cavalry attacked another Comanche village in the Indian Territory, inflicting fifty-six casualties at a loss of five soldiers killed and ten wounded.<sup>76</sup>

This change in tactics would prove to be only temporary. A force of more than 400 Texans mounted another campaign in May 1860, traveling through Indian Territory as far as the Kansas border, but this time had no success in bringing hostile Indians to battle. Meanwhile, the Army returned to its previous static defensive posture. The most disappointing outcome was that raiding in the aftermath of these expeditions only worsened. The Army’s perceived failures combined with a controversial effort by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs to establish two Indian reservations within the state to lead many on the frontier to question the federal government’s attitude toward Texans. Texans violently rejected efforts to establish reservations within the state, and the forcible expulsion of the Indians on the Texas reservations in 1859 by enraged local white settlers

meant that thereafter, any Indians who appeared on the frontier were entering a free fire zone where they were assumed to be hostile and could be immediately attacked.<sup>77</sup>

With the federal government seemingly incapable of providing effective protection from Indian raiding, white frontier Texans fought what one historian has labeled “the settler’s war.” Many settlers served in the ranger forces raised by the state during the 1850s, and settlers would also informally band together to respond to any Indian incursions. Anglo settlers had developed this system of mutual defense over three decades of experience with fast-moving Indian raiders in Texas, but German settlers quickly adopted the same methods. Matilda Doebbler Gruen recalled an incident in the German immigrant community of Grape Creek in Gillespie County which was representative of hundreds of similar events. As a small girl, she saw an Indian trying to steal a horse in a field near her parent’s house. After she alerted her father, he blew a horn that he kept as part of a community alarm system, and “the neighbors came running with their guns.” Once assembled, the settlers would set out in pursuit to kill Indians and recapture livestock.<sup>78</sup>

Levi Lamoni Wight described several such pursuits in his memoirs. After one raid on the Mormon colony in Bandera County, “we was soon on their heels with the remaindr of our horses.” The Indians were overtaken by the next morning.

We discovered their camp before they discoverd us. The first intemation thay had of our aproch was the sharp cracking of our rifels. We were within less than one hundred yards of them. They returned the fire and retretd, one Indian kiled [and] two wounded. They diserted their horses and ours. We rounded up the intire buisness and returned.<sup>79</sup>

Anglo settlers brought a high degree of racial animus to the war of attrition along the frontier and pursued and killed Indians with little remorse. Some had fought Indians in Texas in the 1830s and 1840s, and many others had grown up on family tales of Indian fighting on the American frontier. In a typical example of Texan attitudes toward indigenous foes, after a skirmish with Indians near Burnet in 1859, “Billy McGill, a lad of thirteen, had the honor (?) of killing the only Indian left on the ground, and on investigation it proved to be only a squaw.” A wounded Indian who escaped “was found the next day and dispatched.” For Anglo settlers, vicious and remorseless combat with Indians was simply a fact of frontier life.<sup>80</sup>

In comparison to their Anglo neighbors, German immigrants tended to harbor more tolerant views toward non-whites. Two centuries of European exposure to accounts of Indians, much of them in the romantic “Noble Savage” genre, helped set the conditions for German settlers’ initially friendly relations with Indians on the frontier. As raiding accelerated after 1850, however, German settlers began to favor harsher policies against the Indians. By 1852 settlers around Fredericksburg were petitioning for the forced removal of Indians from the area. Germans served alongside Anglos in ranger units; as Franz Kettner proudly noted, his hundred-man ranger company included twenty-six Germans. “All of the young Texans took up their weapons, I among them,” wrote Kettner. The Indian war helped to create a sense of shared interests and identity across ethnic lines. When the safety of property and households were at stake, Hill Country settlers could afford nothing less than unity in a common cause.<sup>81</sup>

In 1860, the Texas Hill Country was a distinctive section within the state of Texas, albeit one with similarities to other parts of the state and the South. As romantically described in Olmsted's account, those areas of Texas that were west of the Trinity River had little in common with eastern Texas and its Deep South cotton planting economy. Because of its ranching and subsistence farming economy, low rates of slaveholding, and the regional origins of most of its Anglo settlers, western Texas formed the westernmost limit of the upland South. A semi-arid climate, sparse population, and the problem of Indian raiding further demarcated the line of counties, two to three deep from the Red River to the Rio Grande, as a sub-region within western Texas that comprised the state's white settler frontier. As part of the frontier, the Hill Country's distinctiveness was further accentuated through its large European immigrant population and its inhabitants' special relationship with the U.S. Army as a source of military defense and economic gain.

Hill Country Texans, therefore, brought a number of peculiar concerns to the turbulent political environment of the late antebellum years. Significantly, the threat of Indian raiding acted as a centripetal force to bring the region's diverse communities together in defense of households and property. Frontier defense was also the most powerful political issue in the region, and Hill Country settlers were unified around demands that the federal government provide more Army troops, more mounted units, and pursue more aggressive policies toward native peoples. Even with the region's investment in a common political issue like frontier defense, however, antebellum electoral politics revealed potential

sources of division within the white settler community. The election of 1860 and Texas's response to its results threatened to further expose and widen these political divisions, with uncertain consequences for the stability and prosperity of the Hill Country frontier.

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Quotes: Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas: Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 68, 116-117, 62, 64, 67, 78-80, 82-84, 93, 100-107.

<sup>3</sup> Quote: *Ibid.*, 149, 140-147, 177-183.

<sup>4</sup> Quote: *Ibid.*, 195, 183-214.

<sup>5</sup> "Balcones Escarpment," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 13, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/rxb01>, Texas State Historical Association; Terry G. Jordan, "Hill Country," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 14, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ryh02>, Texas State Historical Association; Rose, *The Reckoning*, 7-10; E. H. Johnson, "Edwards Plateau," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 16, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/rxe01>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>6</sup> Rose, *The Reckoning*, 7-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ely, *Where The West Begins*, 7-16; "Texas - Precipitation," map, Texas Parks and Wildlife, <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/texas.html>, accessed February 25, 2017; C.M. Woodruff, Jr., "Environment and Land Restoration in the Central Texas Hill Country: A Geologic Excursion to Selah, Bamberger Ranch, Blanco County, Texas," *Austin Geological Society* (1997), 4; Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 8.

<sup>8</sup> William Bollaert, "Observations on the Geography of Texas," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20: 121; Jordan, "Hill Country."

<sup>9</sup> In 1860, in the midst of what would be a decade-long drought period beginning in the mid-1850s, George Wilkins Kendall repeatedly commented on the abundance of grass on his Hill Country ranch, as well as the persistence of the spring on his property. Despite his fears during the extremely hot and dry year of 1860, his spring continued to run. See Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 56, 73; Jordan, "Hill Country;" Woodruff, "Environment and Land Restoration in the Central Texas Hill Country," 69-75.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas R. Hester, "Early Human Populations Along the Balcones Escarpment," in Patrick L. Abbott and C.M. Woodruff, Jr., eds., "The Balcones Escarpment: Geology, Hydrology, Ecology, and Social Development in Central Texas," published for the *Geological Society of America Annual Meeting* (November 1986): 55-57.

<sup>11</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 20-55.

<sup>12</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 55-64.

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Torget, *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3-9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-254.

<sup>15</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 127-211.

<sup>16</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 214-233; Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 74-83; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 127-211.

<sup>17</sup> Quote: Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 293, 294-299; DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 226-296.

<sup>18</sup> Reuben McKittrick, *The Public Land System of Texas, 1823-1910* (Madison: Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1918), 42-52; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 217; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 212-224. For examples of Hill Country lands being granted during the Republic period, see Laura Knott, Jeffrey Chusid, et al., "Cultural Landscape Report for the Browning Ranch, Blanco County, Texas," (n.p.:

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University of Texas School of Architecture, 2003), 6-7; John S. Moursund, *Blanco County History* (Burnet, TX: Nortex Press, 1979), 154-157; and Ruben E. Ochoa, "Uvalde County," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcu03>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>19</sup> McKittrick, *The Public Land System of Texas*, 44-47; Bobby D. Weaver, *Castro's Colony: Empresario Development in Texas, 1842-1865* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 15-16, 35-37, 50-52, 73-83, 89-90.

<sup>20</sup> James C. Kearney, *Nassau Plantation: The Evolution of a Texas German Slave Plantation* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2010), 1-6, 11-23, 62.

<sup>21</sup> Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1930), 119, 140, 152-159; Louis E. Brister, "Adelsverein," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ufa01>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>22</sup> Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas*, 119, 140, 152-159; Brister, "Adelsverein."

<sup>23</sup> *Lateiner* was a term used to signify that a settlement contained a large number of educated Germans, who would have been trained in Latin. Glen E. Lich, "Forty-Eighters," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pnf01>, Texas State Historical Association; Anne W. Hooker, "Degener, Edward," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fde28>, Texas State Historical Association; Louis Reinhardt, "The Communistic Colony of Bettina," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 3 (July 1899): 33-40.

<sup>24</sup> "As early as 1800:" Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 22; Walter Kamphoefner, *The Westphalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 12-69.

<sup>25</sup> Walter Struve, *Germans & Texans: Commerce, Migration, and Culture in the Days of the Lone Star Republic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 13-16; Levine, *Spirit of 1848*, 6-8; Kamphoefner, *The Westphalians*, 58-69; Cornelia Küffner, "Texas-Germans Attitudes Toward Slavery: Biedermeier Sentiments and Class-Consciousness in Austin, Colorado, and Fayette Counties" (M.A. thesis: University of Houston, 1994), 93-114; Günter Moltman, "German Emigration to the United States during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Social Protest Movement," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1980), 103-109.

<sup>26</sup> Quotes: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 19, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Edgar Ledbetter, Jr., "Religion Among the Early German Settlers of Texas, 1830-1860," (B.D. thesis, The University of Chicago, 1944), 68-93.

<sup>28</sup> Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land: German Immigration to Texas, 1847-1861* (Waco: Texian Press, 1970), 33-35; Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 32-33, 45-53; Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas*, 164.

<sup>29</sup> C. Stanley Banks, "The Mormon Migration into Texas," *SHQ* 49 (October 1945): 233-244; Davis Bitton, "Mormons in Texas: The Ill-Fated Lyman Wight Colony, 1844-1858," *Arizona and the West* 11 (Spring 1969): 6-26.

<sup>30</sup> Amasa Clark, *Reminiscences of a Centenarian: As Told by Amasa Gleason Clark, Veteran of the Mexican War, Compiled by His Daughter-in-Law, Cora Tope Clark* (Bandera, TX: Mrs. Amasa Clark, 1930), 28-30; Christopher Long, "Bandera County," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcb02>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>31</sup> McKittrick, *The Public Land System of Texas*, 47-49; Aldon S. Lang and Christopher Long, "Land Grants," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mpl01>, Texas State Historical Association; *The Texas*

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*Almanac for 1858* (Galveston, TX: Richardson & Co., 1857), 55, 58, 65; *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, (Galveston, TX: Richardson & Co., 1860), 173, 186.

<sup>32</sup> “Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; February 2, 1848,” *The Avalon Project*, Yale Law School, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/guadhida.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/guadhida.asp), accessed February 27, 2017; David Paul Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War: Texas Rangers and Rebels* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 4; Vivian Elizabeth Smyrl, “Burnet County,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcb19>, Texas State Historical Association; Ochoa, “Uvalde County.”

<sup>34</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*; Clark, *Reminiscences of a Centenarian*, 28-29; Jerry M. Sullivan, *Fort McKavett: A Texas Frontier Post* (Austin: Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 1993), 25.

<sup>36</sup> White, “Migration into West Texas,” 16-25. This pattern also held for the northwestern frontier counties. See Rupert N. Richardson, *The Frontier of Northwest Texas, 1846-1876: Advance and Defense by the Pioneer Settlers of the Cross Timbers and Prairies* (Glendale, CA: A.H. Clark & Co., 1963), 115-117. See also Terry G. Jordan, “The Texan Appalachia,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60 (September 1970): 409-427.

<sup>37</sup> Eighth Census of the United States (hereafter Eighth Census), Bandera County, Texas; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 284-285; Thomas W. Cutrer, “Black, Reading Wood,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 04, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbl04>, Texas State Historical Association; Darrell Debo, *Burnet County History* (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1979), 36; M.G. Bowden, “History of Burnet County” (M.A. thesis: University of Texas, 1940), 75; Scott Family Vertical File, Herman Brown Free Library, Burnet, Texas.

<sup>38</sup> The numbers used here are from the returns of the Slave Schedule, Eighth Census, with the exception of Blanco County, whose original returns have been lost. Totals for Blanco County are published in Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864). Tax rolls for the region tend to give slightly lower figures, probably a function of two factors. First, slaveholders wished to pay less taxes and sought to minimize the numbers of slaves assessed for taxes. There may have also been a tendency for some slaveholders to report higher numbers to census takers in an effort to boost Southern representation in Congress. County tax rolls give a total of 706 slaves in the ten counties of the Hill Country, in every case except for Llano and Uvalde counties fewer than were reported to the census. County Tax Rolls, Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, 1860, TSLA.

<sup>39</sup> German slaveholders in the Hill Country were Charles de Montel, Joseph Landa, H. Kloss, and Nicolaus Zink. Slave Schedule, Eighth Census, Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, Texas; Irene Van Winkle, “Life was rarely dull for members of the Ganahl family,” *West Kerr Current*, <http://wkcurrent.com/life-was-rarely-dull-for-members-of-the-ganahl-family-p1644-71.htm>, accessed March 16, 2017; Küffner, “Texas German Attitudes Toward Slavery,” 67.

<sup>40</sup> Quote: Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 248; Slave Schedule, Eighth Census, Kerr County, Texas; Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 109.

<sup>41</sup> Seventh Census of the United States (hereafter Seventh Census); Eighth Census.

<sup>42</sup> August Santleben, *A Texas Pioneer: Early Staging and Overland Freighting Days on the Frontiers of Texas and Mexico* (Castroville, TX: Castro Colonies Heritage Association, 1994), 19; Julius Schuetze, “My Experiences in Texas,” *Texas Vorwärts*, June 4, 1886 and June 11, 1886, trans. Winifred Schuetze Cade, *German-Texan Heritage Society (GTHS) Journal* 17 (Summer 1995): 122-123.

<sup>43</sup> The 1860 census listed twenty-nine individuals in several households in Burnet County who were born in Germany or Switzerland, or were the children of at least one German-speaking immigrant. Uvalde County only had fourteen such individuals, although several soldiers at Fort Inge were German immigrants. Bandera County’s immigrant population was mostly comprised of Silesian Poles. Of those Hill Country



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residents who gave their birth place as Mexico and seem to have been ethnically Hispanic, twenty-five (4.9 percent of the total county population, plus another eight who were Hispanic but born in Texas) resided in Uvalde County, eighteen in Bandera County, and thirteen in Gillespie County. The other Hill Country counties combined for only fourteen more of these individuals, with Blanco, Llano, and Medina counties recording no Mexico-born residents. William W. White's study of migration into antebellum western Texas draws on a statistical sample that overstates the number of non-native born residents in sparsely populated Bandera and Uvalde counties. Based on a sample of fifteen families in Bandera County and fourteen families in Uvalde County, White concludes that 40 percent of Bandera residents were German and 21.43 percent of Uvalde residents were from Mexico. Analysis of the Eighth Census, Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Medina, and Uvalde County, Texas; White, "Migration into West Texas," 7-10, 20-21; Jordan, "The Texan Appalachia"; Jordan, *German Seed*, 40-54.

<sup>44</sup> *The Texas Almanac for 1858*, 66, 73; *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, 186; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 153, 180; Clark, *Reminiscences of a Centenarian*, 31.

<sup>45</sup> Quotes: Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 153.

<sup>46</sup> The population of Throckmorton County, containing Camp Cooper, totaled only 124 in 1860. Throckmorton did not produce an agricultural schedule in the 1860 census. Coleman County returned no census information in 1860, but the next county to the east, Brown, only contained 244 enumerated persons, and also produced no agricultural return. Fort Belknap in Young County (population 592 in 1860), had been abandoned in 1859. Fort Chadbourne lay beyond the line of organized settlement. Given the sparse nearby settlement, the apparent lack of major farming activity, and the existing road network, the three to twelve companies of troops who occupied the northwest posts between 1852 and 1860 could not rely upon local sources for their logistical support. Schedule 1, Population, and Schedule 4, Agriculture, Eighth Census; Thomas T. Smith, *The Old Army in Texas: A Research Guide to the U.S. Army in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2000), 95-103. Thomas T. Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845-1900* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 8, 19-20, 28-38, 176, 184-186, 203-208, 211-213; *The Texas Almanac for 1858*, 66; Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed*, 170-171.

<sup>47</sup> Quotes: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 55; Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy*, 109-110, 203-213; Family #182, Eighth Census, Gillespie County, Texas.

<sup>48</sup> "since we live:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 43; "loads of whiskey:" Myrtle Murray, "Home Life on Early Ranches of Southwest Texas," *The Cattleman* 26 (December 1939): 33-36.

<sup>49</sup> Jordan, *German Seed*, 170; Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy*, 139-143, 145, 156-157, 161-163; Santleben, *A Texas Pioneer*, 18-22; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 44.

<sup>50</sup> Quotes: Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 194, 191; Schedules 4 and 5, Products of Industry, Eighth Census, Bandera, Burnet, and Comal County, Texas; Christian F. Bergmann, *New World View: Letters from a German Immigrant Family in Texas (1854-1885)*, ed. Ruth I. Cape (New York: Peter Lang, 2014), 47.

<sup>51</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 296; *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, 136-137; Rebekah Baines Johnson, *A Family Album* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 70; quote: James W. Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn: The Journal of James Wilson Nichols, 1820-1887*, ed. Catherine W. McDowell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 139; Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 56, 73; *The Texas Almanac for 1858*, 73.

<sup>52</sup> County Tax Rolls for Bandera, Burnet, Blanco, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, 1860, TSLA; County Tax Rolls for Blanco and Llano County, 1861, TSLA; Agricultural Schedule, Eighth Census, Blanco County, Texas; Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), 67.

<sup>53</sup> B. Byron Price, "Don't Fence Me In: The Range Cattle Industry in the Confederate Southwest, 1861-1865," in *Southwestern Agriculture*, ed. Henry C. Dethloff and Irvin M. May, Jr. (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1982), 59-60; County Tax Rolls for Bandera, Burnet, Blanco, Gillespie, and Mason County,

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1860, TSLA; *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, 173; Johnson, *A Family Album*, 70; quote: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 61-62.

<sup>54</sup> Agricultural Schedule, Eighth Census, Blanco County, Texas; quote: Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 70; George W. Kendall, "Sheep Raising in Texas," in *The Texas Almanac for 1858*, 184-186; George W. Kendall, "Communication on Sheep Raising," in *The Texas Almanac for 1859* (Galveston: Richardson & Co., 1858), 126-128; County Tax Rolls for Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, 1861, TSLA.

<sup>55</sup> "below:" Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 37; "buy coffee:" Cape, *New World View*, 47, 48-49; Jordan, *German Seed*, 134-139; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 157.

<sup>56</sup> Bales are calculated here using Bureau of the Census practice, which accounted for 400 pound bales. In Texas, bales were typically 450 to 500 pounds. Agricultural Schedule, Eighth Census, Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, Texas; Family #408 and #507, Eighth Census, Comal County, Texas; Slave Schedule, Eighth Census, Comal County, Texas; Karen Gerhardt Britton, Fred C. Elliott, and E. A. Miller, "Cotton Culture," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/afc03>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>57</sup> Many women mentioned spinning and weaving in connection to the Civil War, indicating that purchasing finished cloth was more common during the antebellum years. Nonetheless, poorer families relied upon home manufactures throughout the period, and even women of better means viewed spinning and weaving as essential household skills. Louise Romberg Fuchs, *Erinnerungen von Louise Fuchs, geb. Romberg* (TX: p.p., 1929), trans. Helen Franke and Gertrude Franke, *Reminiscences* (Texas?: s.p., 1936) (hereafter *Reminiscences*), 37; Otilie Fuchs Goeth, trans. Irma Goeth Guenther, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother (Was Grossmutter erzahlt), 1805-1915*, (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1982), 78.

<sup>58</sup> Jordan, *German Seed*, 164-165, 192-195.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-177; Agriculture Schedule, Eighth Census, Blanco, Kerr, and Llano County, Texas; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 137; Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 37; Schedule 6, Social Statistics, Eighth Census, Burnet County, Texas; Schedule 6, Social Statistics, Eighth Census, in Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 432; *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, 173, 186.

<sup>60</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 9; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 43, 55, 63; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 197, 223; Cape, *New World View*, 46.

<sup>61</sup> On the drought of 1845-1865, see David W. Stahle and Malcolm K. Cleaveland, "Texas Drought History Reconstructed and Analyzed from 1698 to 1980," *Journal of Climate* 1 (1988): 59-74, and "Drought History of Western Texas," in *The Texas Almanac for 1861*, 136-137. On fire danger see Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 215-220, and Kendall, *Letters from a Texas Sheep Ranch*, 8. On grasshoppers see John W. Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, ed. Henry C. Armbruster (Austin: The Pemberton Press, 1965), 13; Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 245-248; and "Negro Hire in Caldwell County," *Gonzales Inquirer*, January 15, 1859. On flooding, see Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 223, 229, 241-242. "In early times:" Emma Altgelt, *Beobachtungen und Erinnerungen*, trans. by F.J. Dohmen, (hereafter *Observations and Recollections*) (New Braunfels, TX: New Braunfels Zeitung, 1930; trans. San Antonio: CWA Survey of Historical Records, 1934), 22.

<sup>62</sup> Theodore Albrecht, "German Singing Societies," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 28, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/xag01>, Texas State Historical Association; Jordan, *German Seed*, 178; Theodore Albrecht, "Texas State Sangerbund," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 2, 2013, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/xat01>, Texas State Historical Association; Theodore Albrecht, "German Singing Societies in Texas," (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1975), 80.

<sup>63</sup> Altgelt, *Observations and Recollections*, 16; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 78; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 198; Terry G. Jordan, "Sunday Houses," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 09, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/cfs01>, Texas State Historical Association.

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- <sup>64</sup> Quote: Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State, or Recollections of Old Texas Days* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 241.
- <sup>65</sup> For a study of the types of community ties commonly found in the antebellum Upland South, see Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 50-58, 70-77. Although set in the South Carolina Low Country, many of the same patterns of mutuality and obligation between community members are described in Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Quote: Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 233, 233-241; Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 15, 20-21.
- <sup>66</sup> Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 109-110; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 328.
- <sup>67</sup> Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 242-245.
- <sup>68</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 296-297; Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 230; Brian J. Boeck, “‘They Contributed Very Much to the Success of Our Colony’: A New Source on Early Relations between Germans and Indians at Fredericksburg, Texas,” *SHQ* 105 (July 2001): 85-87; Weaver, *Castro’s Colony*, 105-107.
- <sup>69</sup> Quotes: Rudolph L. Biesele, “The Relations between the German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860,” *SHQ* 31 (October 1927): 129.
- <sup>70</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 299-309; Dorman H. Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers, 1846-1859*, Vol. 3 (Austin: Texas Library and Historical Commission, 1960), 130-137, 161, 181; quote: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 32; Boeck, “‘They Contributed Very Much to the Success of Our Colony,’” 85-91.
- <sup>71</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 261-262, 264-266.
- <sup>72</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 265; quotes: Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 3, 220-221, 223.
- <sup>73</sup> Ronnie C. Tyler, “The Callahan Expedition of 1855: Indians or Negroes?,” *SHQ* 70 (April 1967): 574-585.
- <sup>74</sup> “they finally got:” Wight, *Reminiscences*, 18; “instead of ... war among barbarians,” “have continued ... left to suffer:” Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 3, 233, 248-249.
- <sup>75</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 3, 219-249; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 8; Smith, *The Old Army in Texas*, 98-102; Olmsted, *Journey to Texas*, 298.
- <sup>76</sup> Smith, *The Old Army in Texas*, 20, 37; quote: Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 3, 233-234; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 17-18.
- <sup>77</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 19; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 263-264, 266-268, 270-276, 288-292, 296-322; Walter P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 172.
- <sup>78</sup> Gregory Michno, *The Settlers’ War: The Struggle for the Texas Frontier in the 1860s* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2011); Matilda Doebbler Gruen, *I Think Back, Being the Memoirs of Grandma Gruen, as told to her Granddaughter Winifred Cade* (San Antonio: p.p., 1937), 9.
- <sup>79</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 15.
- <sup>80</sup> Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 248.
- <sup>81</sup> Julia A. Brookins “Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens,” 129-142; Karl Hoerig, “The Relationship between German Immigrants and the Native Peoples in Western Texas,” *SHQ* 97 (January 1994): 422-451; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 32.

## Chapter Two:

### The Hill Country in Antebellum Politics and the Secession Crisis

“When the term Democrat was made to mean secessionist I could go with the party no further.”

– Noah Smithwick, 1899<sup>1</sup>

In February 1861, Burnet County settler Noah Smithwick traveled from his frontier home to Austin. Smithwick was a strident Unionist, “a Democrat of the Jackson school.” In the winter of 1860-1861 he had publicly campaigned against Texas’s impending separation from the Union, an action that drew threats from local secessionists. Following passage of the secession ordinance on February 1, 1861, Smithwick decided to leave Texas and travel overland to California. He was in Austin to dispose of his property, including an enslaved man, and to purchase supplies for the upcoming journey.<sup>2</sup>

While in town Smithwick witnessed a speech on secession being made on the state capitol grounds. He later recalled that “a big, rough looking fellow, a carpenter, I believe,” stepped out from the crowd of onlookers and posed a question. ““What the hell’s it all about, anyway?,”” asked the carpenter. ““The nigger,’ someone answered. ‘The nigger! H – ! I ain’t got no nigger! Give me a nigger, some of you, and I’ll fight for it as long as any of you. I ain’t going to fight for somebody else’s nigger.’” “And yet,” Smithwick noted, “that was just the kind that had to do a large part of the fighting.”<sup>3</sup>

Although he lived in a city that lay just to the east of the Texas frontier proper, this unnamed white craftsman displayed an ambivalence toward secession that would be

echoed by many Texans of middling means. Unionism found a constituency throughout the Lone Star State, but perhaps nowhere did it persist through the secession crisis and beyond more tenaciously than in the Texas Hill Country settlements. The relative appeal of either secessionism or Unionism along Texas's western frontier derived from the confluence of multiple factors, including the relative effectiveness of frontier defense; the economic impact of the U.S. Army; ideologies of race, labor, and politics that white settlers brought with them to the frontier; and the influence of local leaders who either supported or opposed Texas's secession.

For most Hill Country Texans, these factors combined in early 1861 to produce a commitment to Unionism, and secession garnered little support among the region's referendum voters. For both Anglo and European immigrant settlers, the federal government was a source of economic security and a partner in the conquest of the frontier. Although the U.S. Army's frontier defense strategy saw little success and was frequently criticized, some settlers also believed that it was the best that could be hoped for under the circumstances. The concept of the Union also had deep emotional meaning for many settlers, particularly those from the North, the Upper South, and the German states. Adherents of Unionism espoused the liberal nationalist idea that the United States, under the Constitution and the federal government, was the freest and fairest country in the world – at least for white men – and both Anglos and European immigrants feared that secession would be accompanied by a loss of personal and economic liberty, high taxes, war, military conscription, and the dominance of slaveholding interests in state and Confederate politics.

Finally, local political leaders in many places were strongly Unionist, and they helped to mobilize a large electoral turnout in opposition to the secession, especially in the predominantly German counties.

On the other hand, the frontier was also home to a secessionist minority, who in some counties formed a majority. To the north of the Hill Country, a tier of sparsely populated frontier counties voted in favor of secession. Within the Hill Country, Unionists were clearly in the majority in early 1861, but four of ten counties voted in favor of disunion. Secessionism was motivated by many of the same factors as Unionism, but secessionists often came to opposite conclusions about issues such as frontier defense, the value of the Union, the need to defend slavery, and the desired course for future territorial conquest. Nationalism and state-building were the major trends of the nineteenth century, but the shapes that they would take were sharply contested by Americans.

As a newly settled frontier region, the antebellum Hill Country tended to have higher homicide and violent crime rates than the more populous, older white communities of the state. However, prior to the Civil War crime and violence within the white community did not seem to raise the concerns of residents, perhaps reflecting a culture that was resigned to a certain level of violence. Antebellum political culture tended to be militant, and perceived threats to slavery in Texas frequently aroused violent responses from the Anglo community. With the emergence of the Republican Party in 1854, and the election of Abraham Lincoln six years later, the very pillars of Anglo Southern society – slavery and white supremacy – seemingly faced their gravest challenge since the founding of the

American republic. Secession and fears over slavery were thereby intertwined, raising the stakes for the 1861 referendum. Given this situation, it is remarkable that campaigning and voting for or against secession in the region was not marred by violence. The political crisis that culminated in 1860-1861 forced Hill Country Texans to make difficult decisions regarding their material and ideological priorities, a process which revealed sharp divisions within Texas society and ultimately tore apart the social fabric of the frontier's white settler communities.

The daily concerns of most antebellum Hill Country settlers revolved around fears of Indian raiding, the consequences of the ongoing drought, and even more mundane matters such as protecting their sheep from scab disease or locating wandering oxen. Even so, partisan politics at the state and national level were eminently important for the Texas frontier. Army troop levels, Indian policy, and the state's efforts at frontier defense could, and did, become issues in political campaigns.

Prior to the Civil War, Texas was a strongly Democratic state. Democrats had supported Texas annexation in 1844, the state was mostly populated by Democrat-leaning Anglos from the American South, and the Democratic Party was favored by European immigrants. Democrats carried Texas convincingly in each presidential election between 1848 and 1860. The Texas Hill Country broadly conformed to these statewide voting patterns, and voters showed a strong preference for Democratic candidates in national campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

However, not all Texans gave their allegiance to “the Democracy.” Texans who voted against the Democratic Party, often referred to as the Opposition, found a political home in the Whig Party until 1854. With the collapse of the Whig Party in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Opposition-aligned Texans almost immediately moved into the new American Party, commonly referred to as the Know-Nothings. The Know-Nothings were nativist, anti-Catholic, and nationalist, and appealed to Americans who were concerned about high rates of foreign immigration and the increasingly divisive sectional politics of the 1850s. Although Know-Nothingism and Unionism were not one and the same, many future Southern Unionists and Northern Republicans were members of the party, whose 1856 platform in Texas included planks balancing the preservation of the Union with a call for state rights and federal non-interference with slavery. During the same period, the Southern Democratic Party had increasingly come under the sway of an ultra-state rights ideology promulgated by staunch pro-slavery Senator John C. Calhoun and others.<sup>5</sup>

In Texas, the Know-Nothings achieved swift and surprising victories in local elections in Austin and Galveston in 1854. They put forward a statewide slate of candidates for the 1855 election and were supported to varying degrees by prominent Texas politicians such as Benjamin Epperson, John Hancock, sitting Lieutenant Governor David C. Dickson, and United States Senator Sam Houston. Democrats were forced in turn to organize to meet the threat posed by the American Party, and held their party’s first nominating convention for statewide office in 1855. Although the American Party succeeded in sending twelve representatives to the state legislature and in electing one United States Representative,



Democrats carried the statewide office races in 1855. Both national and state races were a disaster for the Know-Nothings in 1856, with the strongest party candidate for statewide office carrying only fourteen counties. After 1857, crushing defeats at the polls and internal discord over the same politics of slavery that had torn apart the Whigs caused the Know-Nothings to disappear as a political force in Texas. For the next decade, the Opposition was without a formal statewide political organization with which to oppose orthodox Democrats.<sup>6</sup>

The appearance of Know-Nothingism in Texas was more than an odd footnote in the state's political history, particularly for German Texans. By 1854, many of the initial Adelsverein settlers were citizens, and German Texans had become more involved in politics. Although the nativist and anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Know-Nothings was insignificant in determining the party's level of support in most areas of the South, Texas's relatively large non-Anglo, non-Protestant, and immigrant population was directly targeted by adherents of Know-Nothingism in the state. This surge of nativism was seen as a direct threat by German Texans, and helped to solidify their already strong affinity for the Democratic Party. The predominantly German Hill Country counties voted heavily for James C. Buchanan in 1856 and John C. Breckinridge in 1860. Gillespie County was the exception to this rule, voting 70 to 66 for the Constitutional Union candidacy of John Bell in 1860.<sup>7</sup>

Politics at the state and local level were more complicated than the Democratic hegemony displayed in national elections. The Hill Country counties were unexceptional

prior to the mid-1850s. Each organized county voted in favor of the winning gubernatorial candidate between 1849 and 1853. In 1855, the three German-dominated counties of Comal, Gillespie, and Medina voted overwhelmingly for Democrat Elisha M. Pease, whereas predominantly Anglo Burnet County voted heavily in favor of Know-Nothing candidate David C. Dickson. Other counties noted for their tendency to support Know-Nothing candidates were Bandera and Uvalde. Although Burnet County subsequently voted almost two-to-one for Democrat James Buchanan over Know-Nothing Millard Fillmore in 1856, state and local voting patterns demonstrated the potential for Opposition politics in the Hill Country.<sup>8</sup>

That the Texas Opposition did not take root in the Texas Hill Country after 1855 is due largely to the strong Democratic affiliation of the German Texan community and to the politics of frontier defense. After 1855-1856, escalating Indian raids and the collapse of Know-Nothingism made the Indian problem the most important political issue along the Texas frontier. The 1857 gubernatorial race pitted Opposition candidate Sam Houston against regular Democrat Hardin Runnels. Runnels promised a vigorous state effort at frontier defense, in contrast with Houston's reputation for moderation toward Native Americans, and Democrats loudly denounced Houston's past flirtation with nativism. Concerns over frontier defense were paramount to Hill Country settlers, and in combination with German Texan distaste for Houston's nativist ties, Runnels carried every organized county in the region except for Uvalde County, where a tendency to vote for the Opposition was again displayed in a 32 to 25 victory for Houston.<sup>9</sup>

Despite promises to suppress Indian raids, the Runnels administration was unsuccessful in its frontier defense efforts. Runnels' political problems were exacerbated by the extreme positions taken by the state Democratic Party during his administration, including advocacy for the reopening of the slave trade, open discussion of secession, and agitation for the annexation of Cuba. Opposition politics were not coequal to Unionism, but Unionists tended to have been members of the antebellum Opposition. Democratic extremism was very concerning for Texans who were less aroused by national political developments and felt that the party should focus on issues of more immediate local importance. Sectional politics within Texas were also a prominent issue. The state legislature passed a preemption law in 1858 that allowed slaveholders to preempt 160 acres of surveyed land on the public domain for every three slaves that they held. Predictably, the law was tremendously unpopular in the mostly non-slaveholding frontier counties.<sup>10</sup>

The 1859 gubernatorial race again pitted Houston against Runnels, with the results reversed. In the election, Runnels lost 19 percentage points on the western frontier, where Houston gained 25 points over his showing in 1857. Houston criticized the fire-breathing rhetoric of state rights Democrats like Runnels, but according to one close analysis of the 1859 race, rather than signaling a clear-cut electoral endorsement of Unionism, Houston won because he distanced himself from nativism, embraced the James Buchanan administration, and "attracted the votes of many newcomers and previously apathetic men who believed in the party of Andrew Jackson but doubted the commitment of Runnels and the Democratic firebrands to solving local problems peculiar to their regions." Except for

normally Opposition-leaning Bandera County, the predominantly Anglo Hill Country counties all supported Houston in 1859. By contrast, German Texans for the most part continued to vote regular Democrat, and Comal and Medina counties overwhelmingly supported Runnels despite his extreme state rights and pro-slavery stances. However, Ferdinand Lindheimer noted in the summer prior to the election of 1859 that Houston was in the lead in Fredericksburg and Boerne. In what was perhaps a signal of a growing German Texan willingness to privilege Unionism over old political allegiances, Runnels' narrowly won Gillespie County by 102 votes to 90, and lost in heavily German Blanco and Mason counties.<sup>11</sup>

Any hope that Sam Houston could have forged a durable Unionist coalition evaporated after John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid in October 1859, an event that seemed to confirm state rights Democrats' claims about the aggressive intentions of anti-slavery Northerners. Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860 came at a time when Texans were gripped by rumors of slave uprisings, the so-called "Texas Troubles," as well as unrelenting Indian raids and attacks along the Rio Grande frontier by Mexican guerillas under Juan N. Cortina. Serious talks about a Texas secession convention began in October 1860, by which time it had long been apparent that Lincoln would be elected. The election results reinforced the siege mentality that many Texans had during the late antebellum period, and mass meetings for secession were held throughout the state. Under Texas law, only the governor could call a special session of the legislature, which could then call a convention of the people. Houston

steadfastly refused to bring the legislature into session, leading secessionists to call in December for an extralegal convention of delegates, who were to be elected on January 8, 1861.<sup>12</sup>

On December 17, Houston responded to the secessionists' plan by calling for the legislature to meet in special session on January 21, 1861, in hopes that they would declare the convention illegal. Instead, the legislature endorsed the convention and adjourned. Ten delegates to the secession convention represented districts composed at least partially of Hill Country counties, including German immigrants Theodore Koester (Comal County), Charles de Montel (Medina County), and A. Nauendorf, a San Antonio merchant representing the combined Bexar-Medina County Seventy-second district. Many Unionists boycotted the election of delegates, and Gillespie, Mason, and Uvalde counties do not appear to have held elections. The actions of the Hill Country's delegates during the convention were unremarkable, and at least two of the Hill Country's delegates, Theodore Koester and W.F. Preston, were conditional Unionists who had opposed the convention at public meetings in Comal County.<sup>13</sup>

On February 1, 1861, the Texas secession convention voted 166 to 8 in favor of an ordinance of secession, with all of the Hill Country delegates bowing to the inevitable and joining the majority. The secession ordinance was to be ratified by a popular referendum, and on February 23, 1861, 46,153 Texans voted for and 14,747 against the measure. Only eighteen of 122 counties posted a majority against secession.<sup>14</sup>

The politics of frontier defense and the concerns of the German Texan community had somewhat obscured the strength of Unionist sentiment in the Hill Country in the late 1850s, and the delegates at the secession convention were clearly not representative of the region's voters. The secession referendum of February 23, 1861 marked the Hill Country as a bastion of Unionism in Texas, along with the Red River counties in North Texas. Six out of ten Hill Country counties voted against secession, with Bandera County voting in favor by a single ballot. The close vote in Bandera County, along with the anti-secession vote in predominantly Anglo Burnet and Uvalde counties, can likely be correlated with those counties' records of Opposition voting in the 1850s. Besides Bandera, Kerr County voted 76 to 57 in favor, Llano County voted 150 to 72 in favor, and Comal County voted 239 to 86 in favor of secession, making the most German county in the Hill Country also the strongest in the region in favor of secession. Comal County's seemingly dedicated support for secession is mostly attributed to the influence of *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* editor Ferdinand Lindheimer, who urged German Texans to support secession in order to gain the confidence of their Anglo neighbors and avoid persecution.<sup>15</sup>

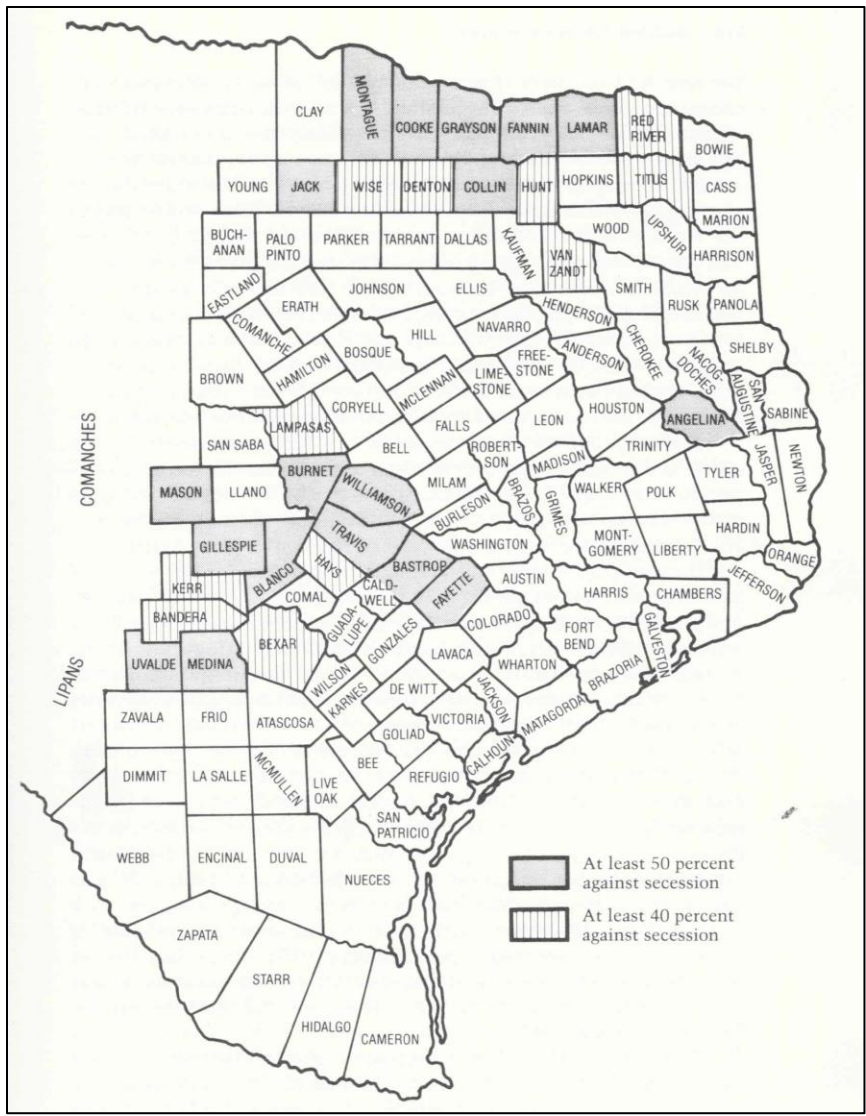


Figure 3. The Secession Referendum Vote, 1861. From Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 175.

Settlers in the Hill Country had numerous reasons to support the Union in 1861. Perhaps the most important consideration for frontier settlers throughout the state was the economic impact of the U.S. Army. As previously discussed, several Hill Country communities disproportionately benefited from the Army’s presence due to their location near Army

posts and along military logistical routes. A comparison of the Army's antebellum logistical network with voting on secession reveals that voting patterns tended to correlate with whether a county was integrated into the system of Army logistical contracting. The northwestern frontier counties that voted for secession either encompassed or were near several Army forts, but contracts to supply these posts were often held by interests in San Antonio and Fredericksburg. For instance, in 1859 Fort Mason's post sutler, James T. Ward, held a contract to supply corn to Camp Colorado. In the same year Fredericksburg merchants Frank van der Stucken and William Wahrmund held contracts to supply Fort Chadbourne with corn, and Louis Martin held a contract for 500 tons of hay for Camp Cooper. The final post in the northwest counties, Fort Belknap, was supplied with corn by San Antonio merchant James Duff. The Red River counties had no local military posts and weren't along a logistical route, but farmers in these counties profited from sales of grain to Army posts and Indian agencies in the Indian Territory, a source of income that would vanish with secession. The northwestern frontier counties' vote for secession, then, may have been enabled as much by lack of ties to the Army's largesse as by Indian attacks, and the opposite likely held true in the Hill Country.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to economic self-interest, settlers could muster several pragmatic arguments against secession. Some saw the United States government as a partner in the protection of the frontier, however flawed. On the eve of secession, Fredericksburg resident Theodore Specht asserted that while the Army's protection from Indian raids was insufficient, it was better than what might be expected in a post-secession Texas. In Blanco County, James W.



Nichols argued to his neighbors that they should take a wait-and-see approach to Lincoln and doubted the legality of secession. Perhaps most importantly, he felt that should a war break out, the new Confederacy would be unable to maintain its independence “for they [the North] have the Army, Navy, and Treasury. Men and means is a great advantage to say nothing of the cause and if they don’t want to put their own men in the field they can hire as many foreign soldiers as they want. They have all the advantages of us.” Among the arguments offered against secession by Noah Smithwick was the simple fact that he “did not believe that the South would be benefitted thereby, nor did I believe that the North would tamely acquiesce in the disruption of the nation.” The creation of the Confederacy held uncertain prospects for the Texas frontier, and threatened the possibility of more Indian troubles, war, conscription, and economic problems.<sup>17</sup>

Another explanation that has been offered for the Unionism of the Hill Country frontier, as opposed to the pro-secession vote in the northwestern frontier counties, is that Indian attacks were less severe south of Fort Mason and relations with the Army were consequently better. The first part of this explanation – fewer Indian attacks in the Hill Country – does not seem to have been the case. The history of the Indian wars in Texas tends to focus on the northwestern Texas frontier, but the southwestern frontier saw numerous Indian raids during the antebellum period as well. During 1860 alone, as many as thirteen people died from Indian attacks in the Hill Country. Raiding south of Fort Mason may have been less severe than north of the post, but it was still quite enough to raise an outcry among Hill Country settlers. If frontier secessionism was based on levels

of Indian raiding, the Hill Country should have been as eager to leave the Union as other parts of the frontier.<sup>18</sup>

A study of secessionism on the northwest Texas frontier also finds that Indian raiding had little direct correlation with the voting patterns of Anglo settlers. It was unlikely “that the areas of Jack, Wise, Clay, and Montague had in any sense been spared the Indian depredations visited against the counties immediately to the south,” which voted for secession, and “hence were more favorably inclined toward the union.” The place of origin of settlers in these counties seems to have been the crucial difference. The Red River counties had large numbers of northern-born settlers; the pro-secession northwest frontier counties above Fort Mason did not. The latter counties also had more settlers from the Deep South states as a percentage of their population than either the Red River valley or the Hill Country.<sup>19</sup>

The condition of federal-local relations was probably a more accurate predictor of secessionist sentiment on the frontier than the volume of Indian attacks, in that federal-local relations in northwest Texas were particularly poor on the eve of secession. The demagoguery of brothers George and John R. Baylor, who were experienced rangers and local leaders, whipped settlers on the northwest Texas frontier into a frenzy over the reservations that had been established in the area in 1855. The Baylors and their followers blamed the reservation-dwelling Indians for raiding along the northwest frontier in the late 1850s, and they also saw the reservations and Indian agencies of the Indian Territory as a perverse system that fed and supplied the perpetrators of livestock theft and murder in

Texas. The Baylors' agitation eventually led to mob violence against the Texas reservation Indians, and the reservations were closed in 1859. Other secessionist politicians and newspaper editors such as John Marshall of the Austin *Texas State Gazette* also used the issue of frontier defense to assail the supposed benefits of remaining in the Union. They liked to point out not only the inadequacy of the tactics employed by the U.S. Army, but also the fact that a struggle over the election of the Speaker of the House in 1859-1860 had led to a failure by Congress to appropriate funds to support Army frontier defense operations in Texas.<sup>20</sup>

By 1860, John R. Baylor was editing the Weatherford *Whiteman*, a newspaper dedicated to "the frontier and its defense," and calling for secession. Baylor and his allies still blamed the federal government for its failure to stop raiding from the Indian Territory, and the issue of frontier defense seems to have been a factor in the vote for secession in some counties north of Fort Mason. It was important enough as a statewide issue to merit inclusion in two passages of the Texas Declaration of Causes that explained the reasons for secession. The first passage accused "our unnatural and sectional enemies" of having "for years almost entirely failed to protect the lives and property of the people of Texas against the Indian savages on our border, and more recently against the murderous forays of banditti from the neighboring territory of Mexico," and complained that the federal government had not reimbursed the state for its expenditures on frontier defense operations, "thus rendering our condition more insecure and harrassing than it was during the existence of the Republic of Texas." The second passage accused the Northern states of having "refused to vote

appropriations for protecting Texas against ruthless savages, for the sole reason that she is a slave-holding State,” a reference to the Speaker of the House impasse and its aftermath. Indian raids were not in and of themselves a cause for secessionism, but different views on the federal government’s role were crucial to the relative strength of Unionism and secessionism along the frontier. Along the northwestern frontier, white settlers had felt threatened by the Texas reservations and continued to view federal Indian policy north of the Red River with skepticism, urged on by John R. Baylor, John Marshall, and others. In the Hill Country, by contrast, settlers were on generally good terms with the Army and saw the national government as an important ally in the larger project of civilizing the frontier and opening access to markets.<sup>21</sup>

Several factors account for Hill Country settlers’ greater degree of attachment to the federal government. As indicated by patterns of secession referendum voting in the northwest frontier counties, the place of origin of the settlers in a given community was of signal importance. Anglos in the Hill Country were mostly from the Upper South, with a large minority from the North. They tended to have a stronger affiliation with the defunct Whig Party than natives of the Deep South, and they had been a base for Opposition votes in the antebellum period. Their home states provided the bulk of polling for John Bell in the 1860 election, and either seceded after Fort Sumter or did not secede at all. The political culture of these settlers tended to have a more nationalist orientation than that found among Deep South Democrats, and they placed a greater intrinsic value on the Union and had a strong emotional attachment to the imagined national community of the United States.<sup>22</sup>

Noah Smithwick's experiences and attitudes were similar to that of many Anglo American settlers of the antebellum Hill Country frontier. Smithwick was born in North Carolina, raised in Tennessee, and came to Texas in 1827 at the age of nineteen, drawn by promises of cheap land, natural riches, and a mild climate. For thousands like Smithwick, it appeared that in Texas "the primitive curse was set at defiance." Smithwick fought in the Texas Revolution and against Indians during the days of the Republic and after Texas's annexation to the United States. He gradually pushed west with the advancing line of white settlement, arriving in Burnet County in the early 1850s to work as a blacksmith for the United States Army at Fort Croghan. In February 1861 Smithwick owned and operated a mill on the Colorado River and farmed nearby. Smithwick was incredulous at the logic behind disunion. In his view, the interlocking mandates of patriotism and self-interest demanded a rejection of secession.<sup>23</sup>

Scarce fifteen years had passed since we were rejoicing over being admitted to membership in the great American Union – fifteen years of comparative peace and unexampled prosperity. The country had settled up rapidly, capital was flowing in and new enterprises were being inaugurated. Schools, and good ones, were being organized all over the country, mail routes and postoffices established. ... The iron horse had crossed the Brazos and was heading towards Austin. And now all the advantages accruing to us under Uncle Sam's beneficent rule were to be thrown to the winds.<sup>24</sup>

Like most in the Hill Country, Smithwick was not wealthy, but he had achieved financial security and could provide for a family despite the toll exacted by sporadic Indian raids. Smithwick was also very conscious of the role that he, his family, and others like him had played in the expansion of the Anglo American empire. "As the son of a

revolutionary soldier,” wrote Smithwick, “I could not raise my hand against the Union he had fought to establish. I had fought to make Texas part of the Union, and I would not turn round and fight to undo my work.” Smithwick derisively noted that one local secessionist leader was “a man who had never set foot in the country till all the danger from Mexicans and Indians had passed.”<sup>25</sup>

Although he later proved to be a loyal Confederate, Levi Lamoni Wight, son of Mormon leader Lyman Wight, summed up the outlook for many smallholding Anglos in 1861. When he married in 1856, Wight’s possessions consisted of “two cows, one cityson rifel, one ax, a drawing knife ... one skillet for the purpos of cooking our bread an meat, 2 chairs [and] one bead sted homemad.” Nearly four years later, Wight was supporting his wife and two children on rented land in Burnet County. “We was getting along rite well,” he remembered. “We accumulated and added to our little estate (nothing) untill by the time the war was declared between the South and the North we had about 50 or more head of cattle, some poneys ... a wagon and some oxen.” Secession and the potential for war threatened to undo the social stability and economic progress experienced by Hill Country settlers like Smithwick and Wight since statehood, and to many it appeared to be a rejection of their role as front-line soldiers in the conquest of the American Southwest.<sup>26</sup>

The presence of large numbers of European immigrants, particularly German natives, was another distinguishing feature of the Hill Country that helps to explain the strength of Unionism in the region. Because of their close ties with the U.S. Army, settlement patterns, and the struggle against the nativists during the 1850s, economic pragmatism and cultural

isolation offer attractive explanations for German Texan behavior during the secession crisis. Hill Country Germans are often contrasted by historians with their fellow immigrants in the eastern counties. According to the most comprehensive study of secession in Texas, by the mid-1850s “the majority of Germans had adopted the primary social and political values of southern whites. With only a few modifications, Germans came to accept a value system based upon liberal capitalism, individual democracy, and slavery.” By contrast, “the isolation and concomitant low degree of assimilation into Texas society of frontier Germans” helps to account for the strength of Unionism in Gillespie and similar counties. These characterizations tend to downplay the possibility that German Texans were a dynamic, politically-engaged community with their own priorities, albeit one whose actions in the American political context drew heavily upon their European experiences.<sup>27</sup>

Much like their Anglo neighbors, culture and ideology were probably at least as significant in determining German Texan voting on secession as other, more pragmatic factors. Support for secession across the South closely paralleled rates of slaveholding, and German Texans had one of the lowest rates of slaveholding among any ethnic or racial group in the antebellum American South. German attitudes toward African Americans and slavery varied based on factors such as religion, class standing, and length of residence in the United States.

A minority of German Texans embraced slave labor, white supremacy, and pro-slavery politics, and supported secession and the new Confederacy. These individuals tended to

come from upper-class backgrounds in Germany, to have lived in Texas or the United States for a long enough period to have become acculturated, and to be well-connected with the Anglo power structure in the state. While some were avowed political conservatives, others had been liberals in the European context. In addition to those of upper-class backgrounds, Catholics tended to exhibit somewhat more conservative attitudes about slavery and politics than other immigrants. A key reason for bourgeois and aristocratic German acceptance of slavery was the fact that they had come from an economic system in Europe that retained many semi-feudal and forced-labor features. As Cornelia Küffner argues in her study of upper- and middle-class German Texan attitudes toward slavery, for many of these immigrants “life in Germany had already implicitly shaped their acceptance of slavery.” German Texan leaders like Jacob Waelder, Gustave Schleicher, Viktor Bracht, Charles de Montel, and Ferdinand Lindheimer played key roles in defending immigrant communities from charges of anti-slavery sentiment during the 1850s, and would support the Confederacy during the coming war.<sup>28</sup>

Certainly, a small number of Germans owned slaves and more at least tacitly supported the institution. Political radicals who embraced racial egalitarianism were also a distinct minority among German immigrants. However, in contrast to the contention by noted cultural geographer Terry Jordan that German Texan attitudes on race and slavery were “unremarkable,” most seem to have harbored a much lower degree of racial prejudice toward African Americans than their Anglo counterparts. German attitudes toward slavery could also come close to Anglo “free-soilism,” in which racial prejudice and distaste for



slavery were intertwined. Writing from New Braunfels to a Bavarian friend in 1852, German revolutionary and Lutheran minister Gustav Wilhelm Eisenlohr speculated hopefully that if western Texas were to be constituted as a separate state, the abolition of slavery in the new state could be accomplished via a popular vote because of low rates of Anglo slaveholding and because “the Germans are unanimously against slavery.” Eisenlohr believed that abolition would have to be followed by repatriation to Africa. “The black race, even when free, can never be the equal of the white,” he continued, “and the crossing of the two is a sin against nature.”<sup>29</sup>

Whether they viewed African Americans as inferior or espoused principles of racial equality, the acculturation process with regard to slavery proved to be extremely slow or nonexistent for German Texans who did not come from aristocratic backgrounds. German slaveholding was not a simplistic function of either limited financial means or racial ideology. Research into German Texan slaveholding reveals that at all socioeconomic levels, German immigrants held slaves at much lower rates than their Anglo counterparts. A recent study of the eastern German belt finds that “the ideological and cultural scaffolding necessary to make sense of antebellum slavery on its own terms was simply absent.”<sup>30</sup>

Anglos had long noted the low rates of German slaveholding in Texas. As early as 1844, the *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register* suggested that European immigrants to Texas be forced to take an oath disavowing any support for abolitionism. German-language newspapers in the state carried a number of anti-slavery statements in the early 1850s, but

Anglo Texan outrage was especially aroused when it became known that a meeting of German immigrant *verein* representatives at the 1854 state *Saengerfest* had issued a resolution calling slavery “an evil.” When it was published in English, the *Saengerfest* statement aroused “a storm of indignation,” especially from the nativist press. German leaders and Democratic Party spokesmen rushed to the defense of the German Texan community and assured Anglo Texans that the *Saengerfest* resolution was the work of an unauthorized minority that did not represent the views of the vast majority of Germans, who were purportedly conservative and supported slavery. The open expression of anti-slavery rhetoric largely disappeared after Forty-Eighter newspaper editor Adolph Douai, who had been an author of the *Saengerfest* resolution and suggested later that western Texas should become its own free state, was forced to leave the state in 1855.<sup>31</sup>

Protestations from immigrant leaders aside, the depth of German Texan commitment to slavery remained highly questionable. Frederick Law Olmsted was so enthusiastic about the potential for German Texan anti-slavery that he was involved for a time following his 1853 visit to the Hill Country in a scheme to settle western Texas with free labor settlers, in hopes that it would one day follow Douai’s suggestion and become a separate free state. Anglo Texan fears were certainly not helped by statements such as the description of Kerr County published in *The Texas Almanac for 1857*, in which County Court Clerk D.A. Rees informed readers that “our German inhabitants are mostly opposed to slavery.” Conservative German Texan leaders such as San Antonio businessman and publisher Gustav Schleicher were forced to continue to defend their community during the final years

of the 1850s. In a May 1859 editorial, Schleicher insisted, perhaps referring to himself, that “even the active revolutionary becomes, in America, conservative” and declared that “the fact that he selects *this* country from all the world is evidence of his satisfaction with things as they exist.” The efforts of Schleicher and other conservative German Texan leaders were complicated by continued Anglo suspicions over German radicalism and the slavery issue. As the election of 1860 loomed, many Anglo Texans feared that a fifth column lurked in their state.<sup>32</sup>

State rights politics and secessionism in Texas were correctly identified by German Texans as pro-slavery movements. In 1860, intellectual and liberal Hermann Spiess informed his relatives that “the issue of the whole election, in essence, is *for* or *against* slavery,” a dichotomy that made Lincoln “the candidate of freedom.” Writing on the day after Texas’s formal secession, Blanco County farmer Christian Bergmann explained secession to his family in Germany by stating flatly, “the North is against slavery and the South is in favor of it.” In Bergmann’s view, “these circumstances are a big setback for Texas, which, of course, takes sides with the South.”<sup>33</sup>

The 1848 revolution had largely been fought by the German working-class, and working-class and peasant immigrants shared a hostility toward the aristocratic institutions that they blamed for the misery they had experienced in their former homes. As readily as some upper-class Germans could accept slavery and secession in its defense, the mass of German immigrants who were from petit bourgeois and peasant backgrounds saw in the slave system a strong parallel with the social and labor system that they had hoped to escape

from by immigrating to the United States. The linking of slavery and secession by German Texans suggests that their votes in the secession referendum were not only a response to the political question at hand, but also represented a sort of indirect referendum on the system of labor that the Confederacy sought to defend.<sup>34</sup>

Another major factor in German Texan voting on secession was the political ideology that immigrants brought with them from Europe. For Europeans living in an age of revolution, the United States was seen as a place not only of economic opportunity, but a beacon of political liberty. Popular German songs, such as those in Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben's 1846 *Texanische Lieder*, specifically extolled the freedom to be found in Texas. Verses in *In dem Tal der Guadalupe (Ein Guadalupe lied)* celebrated the absence of feudalism ("In dem Tal der Guadalupe, wohnt kein Fürst, kein Edelmann"), equality before the law ("alle sind wir freie Leute, haben ein Gesetz, ein Recht"), and the lack of harassment by police ("fragt mich nie ein Polizist, was ich denke, was ich schreibe, ob ich dies, ob jenes treibe"). Instead of German-style repression, life in Texas was supposedly characterized by personal freedom.<sup>35</sup>

In the valley of the Guadalupe,  
I live out my life happily,  
Feel with every breath of air,  
Like the noble falcon in flight,  
That I am free and happy.<sup>36</sup>

Although von Fallersleben's rosy portraits of life in Texas were drawn from an assortment of private and published accounts rather than from personal experience, many German immigrants experienced an enlarged sense of personal autonomy after their

settlement in Texas. German immigrant letters often celebrated the political freedom that they experienced upon their arrival, and on the whole they proved to be enthusiastically nationalist in their political outlook. Most had not been avowed revolutionaries during the political upheavals of the 1830s and 1840s, but many European immigrants throughout the United States and up and down the socioeconomic spectrum seem to have broadly subscribed to an ideology of liberal nationalism that idealized the American Union as a guarantor of individual liberty and a source of rebuke to despotic Old World regimes. Historians Walter Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich have observed that “immigrants’ opinions on American issues were closely tied to their democratic aspirations for Germany and the rest of Europe.” In the context of a prevailing liberal nationalist sentiment, most German Texans could not support secession in defense of slavery without betraying the political convictions that they had brought to Texas.<sup>37</sup>

European immigrants to antebellum Texas quickly embraced the obligations and rituals of American citizenship. The outbreak of the Mexican-American War shortly after the beginning of mass European immigration to Texas afforded a ready opportunity for immigrants to join the American imperial project. Several hundred German immigrants enlisted in the U.S. Army and served in the war, an experience that served both to strengthen their attachment to their adopted nation as well as to enable them to lay claim to an unquestionable status as loyal citizens. The Army units that came to the Hill Country after the war with Mexico contained large numbers of German immigrants, a fact that was surely noted by Teutonic settlers who lived near the frontier posts. Antebellum German

Texans also performed the rituals of American civil religion by enthusiastically celebrating holidays such as the Fourth of July and Texas Independence Day. As historian Julia Brookins argues in her study of immigrant citizenship in nineteenth-century Texas, Germans Texans were deeply involved in the machinery of the expanding American empire in the Southwest, and saw “the expansion of U.S. power – even in the wake of violent conquest – as a rare and magnificent opportunity to contribute to human progress while achieving greater personal economic security.” German immigrants “developed a reputation as U.S. nationalists *par excellence*.”<sup>38</sup>

Finally, just as the intervention of Ferdinand Lindheimer was the key to Comal County’s vote, the influence of Unionist community leaders likely played a vital role in determining the vote on secession in other German-majority counties and districts. Conservative slaveholding elites tended to live in the eastern counties of the German belt, whereas the Hill Country’s immigrant leadership was heavily drawn from the ranks of Forty-Eighters and liberals like Eduard Degener, Hermann Spiess, and Jacob Kuechler. Local Unionist leadership surely influenced Gillespie County’s political realignment away from the Democratic Party, for instance, a shift that was already underway in the 1859 gubernatorial election, was completed by the time the county voted for John Bell in 1860, and continued with overwhelming opposition to secession in the 1861 referendum. Turnout for the secession referendum in Gillespie County was more than twice what it had been for the gubernatorial race in 1859, and was three times the turnout for the 1860 general election.

A similar pattern held in Mason and Medina counties, while Comal County's pro-secession vote came with a lower turnout than in the 1859 gubernatorial election.<sup>39</sup>

As to the charge of cultural isolation, some recent immigrants were indeed probably unfamiliar with the American political situation on the eve of secession, and may not have understood the potential costs of being perceived as opposing Texas's pro-slavery consensus. Gillespie County settler Ferdinand Ohlenburger, who arrived in Texas in 1859, had "no idea of a war to brake out between North & South." German political and cultural isolation would also seem to be supported by the fact that on February 18, 1861, two days after Texas militiamen seized all U.S. Army stores and facilities in San Antonio, and just five days prior to the secession referendum, twelve natives of a variety of German states appeared before the Gillespie County Chief Justice and took the United States citizenship oath.<sup>40</sup>

However, Franz Kettner assured his family in 1858 that "in general all the European news, we know in detail and extremely fast" in Mason County, because he received one Texas and two New York papers every week. The *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* frequently carried letters from Germans in the western settlements, and both English and German newspapers were distributed in the Hill Country. The interconnectedness of the German communities in San Antonio, New Braunfels, and the frontier settlements facilitated a robust flow of information about the political events of the day. Beginning in the early 1850s, German Hill Country communities hosted "Democratic clubs" that were designed to spread knowledge of American politics. On January 1, 1861, likely prompted by the

secession of South Carolina and the coming election of secession convention delegates, a mass meeting was held in Fredericksburg to discuss secession and recent events. The meeting adopted resolutions that approved of the governor's calling the legislature into session, urged a convention of the slave states and unified action on their part, and maintained that secession should be a last resort and that it would result in war if carried out. The resolution urging cooperation with other states was likely inspired by an earlier call issued by South Carolina for a convention of Southern states. That the citizens of Gillespie County would join in what was a brief but sharp debate in the South over cooperationism or immediate secession by individual states indicates that they were well-informed about the details of current political events.<sup>41</sup>

Ferdinand Ohlenburger's path through secession and war serves to illustrate the strength of many Germans' ideological commitment to the Union, even among those who were recent immigrants. Despite his initial ignorance of American politics, Ohlenburger harbored "a fancy to live in this country of the free, forming in my mind a hate against the institutions of the South & slavery." During the Civil War, Ohlenburger deserted from his frontier defense unit, joined the Union Army, and eventually became an officer in the United States Colored Troops. Two of the immigrants who had taken the United States citizenship oath in Gillespie County on the eve of secession would later be killed while trying to flee to Mexico and join the Union army. Oaths of loyalty to the United States and the overwhelming Unionist vote in the German Hill Country settlements were not products of physical and cultural isolation and ignorance of the politics of the late antebellum United



States. Rather, they were a defiant statement of German Texan commitment to Unionism despite what was expected to be a foregone conclusion at the referendum polls. For most German Texans on the frontier, then, liberal nationalist ideology mingled with the material benefits derived from the federal government, social anxieties about the power of slaveholding interests, and the influence of local Unionist leadership to produce fervent opposition to secession.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the region-wide consensus that produced heavy Unionist voting in the 1861 referendum, a minority of Hill Country Texans voted for secession. Besides the previously discussed Comal, Kerr, and Bandera counties, secession received the clearest support in Llano County, where it enjoyed a better than two-to-one majority at the polls. Large minority votes of 37, 39, and 40 percent in favor of secession were also polled in Burnet, Blanco, and Medina counties, respectively.<sup>43</sup>

Like their Unionist neighbors, Hill Country secessionists had a number of reasons to support disunion. Kinship, cultural ties, and political loyalties probably helped to motivate settlers from Southern states, particularly those of the Deep South, to support secession, much as Upper South and Northern natives found it difficult to potentially go to war against their extended families and communities of origin. The peculiar concerns of the frontier regions and the influence of local leaders could clearly cut both ways as well, with the northwest Texas frontier, the Hill Country, and the Red River counties diverging on secession, even though they were affected by many of the same trends and policies. Most

Hill Country voters rejected the arguments of secessionists like John R. Baylor and John Marshall, but many of those who voted for secession likely accepted the idea that frontier defense might somehow improve under a new political regime. Finally, many of those who voted for secession were influenced by fears over slavery's future under a federal government dominated by Republicans. James Nichols recalled that his nearest neighbor in Blanco County believed that if Nichols voted against secession, he was voting to "let them run over us and take our rights away from us." Other secessionists accused Nichols of being a "black republican," an accusation which reveals the racial anxieties behind secessionism for many Hill Country Texans. Even in a region with low rates of slaveholding, Anglo Texans had a strong commitment to white supremacy, and many hoped to one day join the ranks of slaveholders. To those who were most committed to these ideas, the results of the election of 1860 appeared calamitous, if not entirely unexpected.<sup>44</sup>

Attitudes about the future of nationalism and imperial expansion also motivated secessionists, especially in Texas. The federal government was seen as the primary vehicle for imperial conquest, state-building, and market integration by most Hill Country Texans. However, there were competing visions for the path of Anglo American empire in the late antebellum period. Many secessionists foresaw the creation of a white man's republic that was built on the labor of a staple-crop-producing, permanent black underclass. In this conservative version of nationalism, the tumult of class and labor conflict that was seen in revolutionary Europe was to be avoided through the slavery system, ensuring prosperity

and stability for white male citizens and their households. Southern conservative nationalists called for filibustering expeditions in Latin America, the annexation of Cuba, and the reopening of the slave trade to ensure that slaveholding was affordable for a broad segment of white society. The ideologues who espoused these views reacted to the rise of the Republican Party in the 1850s by being among the earliest and most strident of secessionists.<sup>45</sup>

Like their liberal nationalist counterparts, Southern conservative nationalists also saw imperial expansion as an essential aspect of their vision for the nation-state. The clandestine organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle embodied the outlook of slaveholding imperialists. The K.G.C. called for filibustering expeditions to overthrow the governments of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, in order to found an American slaveholding empire centered on Havana, Cuba. Founded by Virginian George C. Bickley in 1854, in 1860 the organization moved its headquarters to San Antonio, following a long pattern of slaveholding imperialist filibusterers who had used Texas as a base of operations. By late 1860, thirty-two local K.G.C. “castles” were organized in twenty-seven counties around the state, including organizations in New Braunfels and Castroville. The K.G.C. initially called for the territories seized through pro-slavery Anglo American expansion to be annexed into the Union, but as the secession crisis developed the K.G.C. took a leading role in organizing mass meetings, electing secession convention delegates, and seizing federal property. Texans in particular were interested not only in Mexico and the Caribbean Basin, but they also tended to see secession as a vehicle for

engrossing the western territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and the state of California, reflecting a longstanding desire by slavery advocates in the state for western territorial expansion. Both secessionists and Unionists saw themselves as agents in the national project of conquering and civilizing the Southwest. Competing visions for the future of the American West and other potential territorial acquisitions were at the heart of the national political crisis. By 1861, at least a substantial minority of Texas frontier settlers believed that a federal government that was purportedly under the sway of abolitionist forces could no longer serve the best interests of Southern-style imperialism.<sup>46</sup>

Even though Texans had different political loyalties and visions for the future of nationalism and labor, the boundaries of political possibility within the state were narrowly circumscribed. Historian Randolph Campbell has described antebellum politics as “conflict within consensus.” White supremacy and support for slavery were inviolable tenets in Texas politics, as they were throughout the future Confederate states. Paranoia over threats to slavery increasingly gripped white Southerners over the course of the 1850s, leading to censorship of the mail, mob attacks, and a political discourse that revolved completely around which parties and candidates could best protect slavery from the designs of abolitionists and Republicans. The threat of violence was ever-present in antebellum politics, especially in the South, where fears over abolitionism and rumors of slave insurrection could lead to explosions of vigilantism.<sup>47</sup>

A prominent example of the potential for paranoia-induced vigilantism occurred in Texas in the summer of 1860. With memories of John Brown's raid the previous year fresh in their minds, a series of fires in North Texas in the midst of a record-setting heat wave convinced many Texans that they were the target of an abolitionist plot to instigate a slave revolt. Fear spread throughout the state, and vigilance committees hanged an unknown number of supposedly insurrectionary slaves. The hysteria even led to the lynching of several white men who were suspected abolitionists, including Northern Methodist minister Anthony Bewley. The panic was known euphemistically as the "Texas Troubles."<sup>48</sup>

Violence was seemingly endemic within the white settler communities of the antebellum Texas frontier, and the Hill Country appears to have conformed to the frontier trend of high statistical rates of interpersonal violence. Due to missing or incomplete records, measuring violent crime in the antebellum period is quite difficult. Based on the surviving records of murder indictments from six counties with an 1860 population of 10,134, the Hill Country had a regional murder rate of around 60 per 100,000. By comparison, the state of Texas recorded a murder rate of nearly 11 per 100,000 population in the year ending on June 1, 1860. The true statewide rate was almost assuredly higher due to underreporting, especially of Hispanic and African American deaths, and census figures excluded the deaths of Native Americans killed in frontier violence. However, with similar caveats in mind, plantation counties in Georgia recorded a similar annual average murder rate of 10 per 100,000 in the antebellum years, while the state of Florida averaged

around 40 murders per 100,000 in the antebellum years. Bloodier still were many areas of the West, such as California, where nine counties had an average annual homicide rate of 65.45 per 100,000 population between 1850 and 1865.<sup>49</sup>

Some Hill Country counties had extremely high violent crime rates. Illegal liquor sales and card playing were the most common crime in Uvalde County, but the county also totaled three murder indictments, ten indictments for assault with intent to kill or murder, two indictments for aggravated assault, ten indictments for assault and battery, two cases of “affray” (public fighting), and a case of arson between the time of its first court term in the spring of 1857 and the spring of 1860. Assuming that each murder case pertained to a single victim, and with a total population of only 506 in 1860, Uvalde County’s average annual murder rate was at least 148 per 100,000 population.<sup>50</sup>

Most Hill Country communities were not quite as sanguinary as Uvalde County. Multi-year examinations of several counties seem to conform to the murder rate observed in 1859-1860. Six murder indictments were recorded in Gillespie County between 1855 and 1860, for an estimated annual murder rate of at least 42 per 100,000 population, although with three murders in 1859-1860 alone, the single year murder rate was pushed to more than 106 per 100,000. With a total population of 399 in 1860, Bandera County’s single murder indictment between 1857 and 1860 yielded a murder rate of at least 83 per 100,000. Over the same period, Medina County’s three murder indictments equaled a murder rate of at least 54 per 100,000.<sup>51</sup>

Still, though violence and crime did occur, the justice system by and large seems to have worked at least as well as in other places in the state, and settlers' letters and reminiscences fail to mention crime as a major problem during the 1840s and 1850s. Several counties' antebellum district court minutes give no hint of an especially chaotic situation. For example, in September 1856, the first criminal case tried in Kerr County resulted in William Fowler's conviction and sentence to one year of hard labor at the state penitentiary for theft of a mule. Through the fall district court term of 1860, the county recorded three indictments for assault with intent to kill and murder, one indictment for assault with a deadly weapon, and three cases of assault and battery. By far the most common offense was the illegal sale of alcohol. No murders took place in the county between its founding in 1856 and 1860.<sup>52</sup>

Nineteenth century elections were rowdy, militant affairs, with opposing sides often marching to the polling places and engaging in skirmishes with their opponents. Anglo Texan fears over abolitionism and the "black Republican" threat to slavery heightened the tensions surrounding a process that was already prone to violence, and accusations of voter fraud and intimidation were commonly leveled by Unionists after the 1861 secession referendum. Although these accusations were often exaggerated, secessionists in the Hill Country apparently made several attempts to intimidate Unionists. Probably realizing that they were in the majority locally, Unionists generally responded by confidently asserting themselves on election day. However, the surprisingly close vote in Kerr County's Precinct 2, comprised of the *Lateiner* community of Comfort, was later attributed to secessionist

intimidation tactics. In Burnet County, Noah Smithwick recalled that he was “placed ... under the ban” for his outspoken opposition to secession. “Just wait til we get things fixed,” a local secessionist told Smithwick, “and we’ll attend to your case.” Smithwick and a majority of Burnet Countians nonetheless voted against secession. James Nichols described tense discussions with his “redhot secesh neighbours” in Blanco County. “I never went to town but what I was tackled by someone ... and was pounced on by some one as though I was the only Union man in the county.” On the day of the secession referendum, Nichols witnessed a near outbreak of violence when a crowd of Unionists entered the town of Blanco to vote and began shooting at a secessionist flag. Perhaps unsurprisingly, “the result was, there was a large majority of votes cast for the union at that box that day.”<sup>53</sup>

Remarkably, despite Anglo Texans’ willingness to resort to violence to resolve personal conflicts and to suppress political and social dissent, the secession referendum was not marked by outright coercion in the Hill Country. Unionists were clearly undeterred by scattered secessionist intimidation efforts, and voter turnout for the secession referendum generally surpassed that of the 1859 gubernatorial and 1860 presidential elections across the region. Ironically, outside of Comal County the only Hill Country county with a lower voter turnout than in the previous state and national elections was Uvalde County, which voted 76 to 16 against secession. The secession crisis and the state’s entry into the Confederacy did not result in violence in the Hill Country’s white settler communities, even though the political situation meant that the potential for violence grew steadily stronger with each passing day.<sup>54</sup>



Most settlers in the Texas Hill Country saw little reason to support secession in 1861. The region was a frontier that depended on the federal government for markets of any significance, had a subsistence economy and low rates of slaveholding, and was peopled largely by natives of the North, the Upper South, and Europe who had ideological, emotional, and kinship ties to the American Union. On the eve of secession, their economic and political concerns revolved around market integration and the defeat of Native American opposition to settler conquest rather than the anxieties over the future of slavery that plagued cotton-growing farmers in eastern Texas. The federal government was seemingly a more reliable ally in the endeavors of frontier Texans than the new cotton- and slave-oriented Confederacy. As a result, the Hill Country settlements were, for the most part, hotbeds of Unionism in 1861. Nonetheless, Unionists and the region's secessionist minority maintained a fragile peace as they debated and voted on the momentous question of disunion.

When Texas's secession became official on March 2, 1861, the issues facing Hill Country settlers shifted once more. The onset of a fratricidal war would increasingly demand the demonstration of loyalty, either to the Union or to the new Confederacy. The culture of violence often found on the Texas frontier had been remarkably absent during the secession crisis, as most Hill Country settlers expressed a consensus that gravitated around frontier defense and economic stability, and encompassed various shades of

Unionism. Once the possibility of remaining in the Union was foreclosed, the durability of this political consensus became tenuous at best.

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<sup>1</sup> Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-251.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Mike Kingston, Sam Attlesey, and Mary G. Crawford, *The Texas Almanac's Political History of Texas* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1992), 37, 72-75.

<sup>5</sup> Randolph B. Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850-1880* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983), 155-159; William J. Cooper, Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 359-365; Ralph A. Wooster, "An Analysis of the Texas Know Nothings," *SHQ* 70 (January 1967): 416-417.

<sup>6</sup> Wooster, "An Analysis of the Texas Know Nothings," 414-417.

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis*, 167-168; Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery*, 364-365; Kingston, Attlesey, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 72-74.

<sup>8</sup> Kingston, Attlesey, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 54-57.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*; Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 9, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 28-29.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 29; Ada Maria Hall, "The Texas Germans in State and National Politics, 1850-1865," (M.A. thesis: University of Texas, 1938), 43; Kingston, Attlesey, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 54-57.

<sup>12</sup> Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 224-228; Jerry Thompson, "Cortina, Juan Nepomuceno," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 19, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fco73>, Texas State Historical Association; Lack, "Slavery and Vigilantism in Austin, Texas," 17-19; Anna Irene Sandbo, "The First Session of the Secession Convention of Texas," *SHQ* 18 (October 1914): 162-169, 178-180.

<sup>13</sup> Ralph A. Wooster, "An Analysis of the Membership of the Texas Secession Convention," *SHQ* 62 (January 1959): 328-335; Ernest W. Winkler, ed., *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861*, (Austin: Austin Printing Company, 1912), 146, 405-407, 445, 448-449; Walter L. Buenger, "Secession and the Texas Germany Community: Editor Lindheimer vs. Editor Flake," *SHQ* 82 (April 1979): 393.

<sup>14</sup> Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 147-150; Joe T. Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession, February 23, 1861: The Vote," *East Texas Historical Journal* 11 (October 1973): 15-16.

<sup>15</sup> Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession," 15; Buenger, "Secession and the Texas Germany Community," 393-396.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *The Old Army in Texas*, 103; Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 28.

<sup>17</sup> Brookins, "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens," 358-362; Hall, "The Texas Germans," 55; "for they [the North]:" Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 143, 145; "did not believe:" Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250.

<sup>18</sup> Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 109-110. At least two other Hill Country settlers died from Indian attacks while outside the region. Casualty totals compiled from Dorman H. Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers, 1860-1916*, Vol. 4 (Austin: Texas State Library and Historical Commission, 1961), 8; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 21, 23, 35, 41-42, 50; Bob Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas, 1856-1956* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1956), 179-180; J.W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin: Hutchings Printing House, 1889), 630-631; Schedule 3, Mortality Statistics, Eighth Census.

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- <sup>19</sup> Floyd F. Ewing, Jr., "Origins of Unionist Sentiment on the West Texas Frontier," *WTHAYB* 32 (1956): 26; White, "Migration into West Texas," 16-25.
- <sup>20</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 300, 303-305, 312-313, 318-322; Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 109-114.
- <sup>21</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 312-313; "the frontier:" quoted in Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 116, 137-138; "Texas Declaration of Causes, February 2, 1861, A declaration of the causes which impel the State of Texas to secede from the Federal Union," accessed April 6, 2017, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/2feb1861.html>.
- <sup>22</sup> White, "Migration into West Texas," 16-25; Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 106-107, 114.
- <sup>23</sup> Quote: Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 1; Margaret Swett Henson, "Smithwick, Noah," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 24, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsm50>, Texas State Historical Association.
- <sup>24</sup> Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 249.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 249-250.
- <sup>26</sup> Bitton, *Reminiscences*, 23.
- <sup>27</sup> Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 82, 100.
- <sup>28</sup> Küffner summarizes the debate over German Texan attitudes toward African Americans and slavery in the second chapter of her thesis. Küffner, "Texas-Germans Attitudes Toward Slavery," 22-36, 46-68, quote 93. Sean Michael Kelley's dissertation argues that German immigrants in the plantation society of the lower Brazos River valley remained culturally distinctive from their Anglo neighbors well into the late-nineteenth century, and their sense of isolation from Anglo plantation culture helps to explain their low rates of slaveholding and lack of enthusiasm for secession. Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers," 223-242, 353, 373-376. Walter Kamphoefner's introduction to Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) is a more recent review of the literature on German immigrant politics during the Civil War ear, and emphasizes that Germans tended to be reluctant Confederates at best. On the effects of religion on attitudes toward slavery and politics, see Walter Kamphoefner, "Dreissiger and Forty-Eighter: The Political Influence of Two Generations of German Political Exiles," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America*, 90-93. For examples of other conservative or pro-Confederate German-speaking Texans, see Charles A. Leuschner, *The Civil War Diary of Charles A. Leuschner*, ed. Charles A. Spurlin (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 2000); Joseph Bruckmüller Papers, CAH; Emil F. Wurzbach, *Life and Memories of Emil Frederick Wurzbach* (San Antonio, 1915); "Wurzbach, Charles Louis," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwu02>; Thomas W. Cutrer, "Erath, George Bernard," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fer01>; Helen S. Sundstrom, *The Family and Genealogy of Getulius (Julius) Josef Kellersberger: A Swiss Engineer in the Confederate Army* (Austin, TX: Sundstrom, 1977); Moritz Maedgen Papers, Duer-Harn Papers, and Amsler Family Papers, all in the Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
- <sup>29</sup> "unremarkable:" Terry G. Jordan, "Germans and Blacks in Texas," in Randall M. Miller, ed., *States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years* (Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989), 96; Walter Kamphoefner, ed., "Forum: German Americans and Their Relations with African Americans during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28 (Fall, 2008): 10-76; Brookins, "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens," 165-167; Gustav Wilhelm Eisenlohr to Otto Helbing, March 19, 1852, Gustav Wilhelm Eisenlohr Collection, CAH.
- <sup>30</sup> Walter Kamphoefner, "New Americans or New Southerners? Unionist German Texans," in Frank de la Teja, ed., *Lone Star Unionism, Dissent, and Resistance: Other Sides of Civil War Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 104-106; Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers," 237.
- <sup>31</sup> *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, July 24, 1844; Hall, "The Texas Germans," 11-40; "a storm:" *Austin Texas State Gazette*, June 17, 1854; Marilyn M. Sibley, "Douai, Carl Daniel Adolph," *Handbook of*

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Texas Online, accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fdo30>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>32</sup> Laura Wood Roper, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Western Texas Free-Soil Movement," *American Historical Review* (AHR) 56 (October 1950): 58-64; *Texas Almanac for 1857*, 72; "even the active:" San Antonio Daily Herald, May 24, 1859.

<sup>33</sup> "The issue:" quoted in Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 100; Cape, *New World View*, 51.

<sup>34</sup> Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 35-41; Andrew M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 31-36, 38-44; Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers," 237-238.

<sup>35</sup> August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Texanische Lieder: aus mündlicher und schriftlicher Mittheilung deutscher Texaner: mit Singweisen* (San Felipe de Austin, TX: Adolf Fuchs, 1846, i.e. Hamburg-Wandsbeck, p.p., 1846).

<sup>36</sup> "In dem Tal der Guadalupe, leb ich froh mein leben hin, fühl bei jedem Atemzuge, wie der Edelfalk im Fluge, daß ich frei und glücklich bin." Von Fallersleben, *Texanische Lieder*.

<sup>37</sup> Kamphoefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War*, xiii; Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 83; Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 19-32.

<sup>38</sup> Brookins, "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens," 361-362, 295, 112-118, 207-208.

<sup>39</sup> Küffner, "Texas-Germans Attitudes Toward Slavery," 46-76; Kingston, Attlesey, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 54-56, 72-74.

<sup>40</sup> Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 100; "no idea:" quoted in Martin W. Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863-1867* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 64; Gillespie County Commissioner's Court Minutes, Book A, 224-235.

<sup>41</sup> "in general:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 44; "Agents," *Austin State Gazette*, January 14, 1860; Hall, "The Texas Germans," 7-10, 50-51.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers*, 64. The Vater brothers were killed at the Nueces River battle on August 10, 1862. *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas.

<sup>43</sup> Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession," 15-16.

<sup>44</sup> Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 145-146.

<sup>45</sup> Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861*, 132-150.

<sup>46</sup> Roy Sylvan Dunn, "The KGC in Texas, 1860-1861," *SHQ* 70 (April 1967): 543-573; Donald S. Frazier, *Blood & Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 3-22.

<sup>47</sup> Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis*, 147, 171-175, 178-179; James Marten, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 6-17; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 329. See also Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery* and Clement Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

<sup>48</sup> Donald E. Reynolds, "Reluctant Martyr: Anthony Bewley and the Texas Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860,"

*SHQ* 96 (January 1993): 345-361.

<sup>49</sup> Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., for instance, notes that in examining murder rates as reported through the 1860 census "the most telling variable was difference in the length of time a state had been in the Union ... so that frontier conditions undoubtedly had much to do with the violence." Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, 242n4, 89-113. Hill Country murder rate calculated from District Court Minutes, Bandera County, Texas, Book A; District Court Minutes, Comal County, Texas, Book A; District Court Minutes, Gillespie County, Texas, Vol. B and Vol. C; District Court Minutes, Kerr County, Texas, Vol. A; District Court Minutes, Medina County, Texas, Vol. 2; and District Court Minutes, Uvalde County, Texas, Vol. 1. County records for Blanco, Burnet, Llano, and Mason counties are missing. Texas state murder rate calculated from "Table III. - Deaths in the Year Ending June 1, 1860, - Continued. Texas.," in *Statistics of the United States*

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(*Including Mortality, Property, &c.*) in 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 38. For murder rates outside of Texas see Roth, Maltz, and Eckberg, "Homicide Rates in the Old West," 183, 188. Calculating Texas's antebellum murder rate is very difficult for several reasons. The rate calculated here is derived from a reported 65 murders in 1859-1860, but does not include additional homicides that were not considered murders in the 1860 census. The 1860 census includes murders committed by Indians while subsequently omitting murders committed by whites. For instance, Uvalde County scrupulously reported the deaths of four residents lost to Indian attacks, but did not mention any other murders for the year ending June 1, 1860, despite the fact that murder indictments were handed down at the October 1859 and January 1860 terms of the county district court. Many of those charged with murders and assaults also seem to have been acquitted, obscuring the exact rate of violent crime. Two out of a total of three murder cases between 1857 and 1860 in Medina County saw the defendants found not guilty. My calculations rely upon county district court records, and murder rates are tabulated based on murder indictments rather than convictions. Footnote discussion of Uvalde and Medina County district court records is based on District Court Minutes, Uvalde County, Texas, Vol. 1, 98, 123; District Court Minutes, Medina County, Texas, Vol. 2, 11, 19-20, 45, 73, 155, 249. Historian Robert R. Dykstra has argued forcefully against the notion of high rates of violence in the Old West. Although his assertions about rates of Western violence have been challenged by a number of quantitative studies, he observes that murder was not seen as a common occurrence, and that the establishment of a justice system was a top priority for new settlers on the Western frontier. See Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York, 1968), 112-148, and Robert R. Dykstra, "Overdosing on Dodge City," *Western Historical Quarterly* 27 (Winter 1996): 505-514.

<sup>50</sup> District Court Minutes, Uvalde County, Texas, Vol. 1, 13-124.

<sup>51</sup> Murder rates are calculated from each county's population in the 1860 census. The average annual rate, therefore, does not account for population growth up to 1860 and murder rates may have been higher than reported here due to population increase over time. District Court Minutes, Gillespie County, Texas, Case #4, Case #21, Case #37, Vol. B, and Case #55, Case #59, and Case #60, Vol. C.; District Court Minutes, Bandera County, Texas, Book A, 4-73; District Court Minutes, Medina County, Texas, Vol. 2, 11-249.

<sup>52</sup> District Court Minutes, Kerr County, Texas, Vol. A, 4, 7, 12, 14, 30, 36, 44, 59.

<sup>53</sup> Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 58-59; Kamphoefner, "New Americans or New Southerners?," 110; Guido Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort in Texas: A Centennial History* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1974), 80; Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250; Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 145-146.

<sup>54</sup> Kingston, Attlesley, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 54-57, 72-75.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **From Secession to the Nueces River**

“The air I am told in places smells sharply of treason and we must endeavor to crush it out.”

– Governor Francis R. Lubbock, April 4, 1862<sup>1</sup>

On August 10, 1862, Confederate and Texas state troops attacked a party of approximately sixty-five predominantly German immigrant Unionists on the banks of the Nueces River in Kinney County, Texas. Nineteen Unionists were left dead after a firefight and the subsequent execution of several wounded survivors. This incident, often remembered as a massacre, has been the defining episode in most accounts of the Hill Country during the Civil War. For Hill Country Texans who lived through the period, the Nueces River battle was instead only the opening round of a prolonged period of violence and destruction. This chapter examines approximately the first twenty months following secession, as the Hill Country transitioned from a state of fragile coexistence between Unionists and secessionists to one of intense but targeted violence.<sup>2</sup>

The politics behind the secession referendum, examined in Chapter Two, yield insights into the political alignments and economic priorities of Hill Country communities. However, the vote for or against secession is not an adequate measure of support for or opposition to the Confederacy following secession. A more nuanced interpretation emerges when we view the actions of individuals and groups within these communities. Many

Anglo residents voted against secession but later willingly served the Confederacy. Some German immigrants also seem to have fallen into the category of conditional Unionists.

Regardless of political affiliation, Hill Country Unionists and secessionists alike placed a priority on home defense above all else. Even staunchly pro-Confederate Hill Country settlers were loath to leave their families on a frontier that was “the common tramping ground of hostile Indians.” Fortunately for them, the state of Texas was more than willing to accommodate the desires of many frontiersmen to remain at home in local defense units. Although Civil War frontier defense was ultimately less than effective and became the source of a protracted conflict between the state and Confederate governments, many Hill Country men succeeded in remaining close to home for at least part of the war. However, a common desire to remain on the frontier ultimately was not enough to keep the war from coming home.<sup>3</sup>

By the winter of 1861-1862, the ongoing war demanded increasing numbers of men under arms on distant fronts. As the first year of the war came to a close, Hill Country settlers were confronted with stark choices. The enactment of a new militia law, followed by Confederate conscription, threatened frontier residents with compulsory military service in a cause many found repugnant. Forced by the threat of conscription to choose sides, a minority of fervent Unionists joined armed resistance organizations throughout the Hill Country in hopes that an anticipated Union invasion would materialize. Their secessionist neighbors quickly informed the state and Confederate governments of the Unionist threat.

The threat of militant Unionist dissent greatly alarmed the authorities in Confederate Texas. Eventually, the Confederate command structure and the Texas state government determined that they had to suppress dissenting Texans. Confederate authorities imposed martial law, established a military tribunal, and worked in coordination with state forces to suppress Unionist organizations throughout the state. In the Hill Country, their efforts culminated in the pitched battle at the Nueces River. Several Unionists suspected of involvement in armed resistance or defiance of martial law were hunted down in the aftermath and summarily executed. Others attempted to continue their flight to Mexico or Union-held territory. Still more Unionists hid out in the rugged terrain of the Hill Country. Many historians have assumed that by the fall of 1862 “overt resistance to the Confederacy virtually disappeared.” In reality, the Nueces River battle was only the opening round of a brutal conflict that would continue through the end of the war and reverberate into Reconstruction and beyond.<sup>4</sup>

Texans responded to secession in sharply divergent ways. Writing two days after Texas’s formal secession, San Antonio newspaper editor James P. Newcomb spoke for many of his fellow Unionists when he remarked that “the ordinance which separates us from the embrace of the glorious Union that fostered us in infancy goes into effect. How ominous. Do not Texans hold their heads in shame?” Secessionists were predictably jubilant. In a typical editorial, Austin firebrand John Marshall rejoiced “with exceeding great joy that the sovereignty of Texas has declined to bow the knee to her Northern



enemies, and will vindicate her majesty, her glory, and her honor.” Marshall promised, by way of a backhanded note of conciliation, that “by gones shall be by gones” so long as erstwhile Unionists would now support Texas and the Confederacy. Ominously, the fire-eating editor concluded that “our determined purpose should be to crush her enemies, whether they are internal traitors or foreign foes.”<sup>5</sup>

A few Unionists were apparently unfazed by the very real threat of secessionist vigilante violence in Texas. James P. Newcomb was among the state’s most outspoken critics of secession. Throughout the spring of 1861, Newcomb kept up a daily harangue against the new Confederacy. On March 4, the editor painted a dire picture of the fiscal results of secession: “Before and After Secession - The State of Texas – The Republic of *Taxes*.” In addition to higher taxes, Newcomb predicted that the frontier would be depopulated in the absence of federal troops and funds. Exaggerated reports of Indian raids around Fredericksburg led Newcomb to declare that Texas had gained only “the shrieks of murdered men and women” through secession. In a wonderfully descriptive turn of phrase, Newcomb argued that even if the Indians were kept in check “there will be little to tempt the settler back to his impoverished home, since the great lacteal vein of the frontier, the U.S. Treasury, has been removed.” A few weeks after the battle at Fort Sumter, the sharp-tongued Unionist declared that “in our opinion, there never was a conflict so foolish, so suicidal.” Eventually San Antonio secessionists had heard enough. On the night of May 13-14, after Newcomb printed an account of the surrender of United States troops in Texas – along with “some strictures on the perfidy of the whole transaction” – a mob of local

Knights of the Golden Circle and state militia broke into Newcomb's office, destroyed his printing press, and set the building on fire. Newcomb left San Antonio the next day and departed Texas in August 1861, not to return until after the war.<sup>6</sup>

Many Texas Unionists fled the state in the aftermath of secession. California was a common destination for Unionist refugees. As early as March 25, James P. Newcomb reported that a wagon train of twenty-four families passed through San Antonio bound for California, adding "they expect to be joined by others west of here." Noah Smithwick sold his farm, slaves, and other property in Burnet County at a steep discount, turned his mill over to his nephew, and "immediately set about getting away." On April 14, 1861, Smithwick set out in a wagon train on the overland mail route to California with approximately thirty-five other emigrants. Others sought refuge in home states that remained in the Union. Mexico was the closest and most popular destination for Unionist emigrants. After meeting a German friend bound for the Rio Grande, New Braunfels resident Hermann Seele noted in his diary that Theodor Goldbeck and others were leaving Texas "to avoid the storm."<sup>7</sup>

Although some Unionists continued to be outspoken in their disdain for the new political order, and others attempted to "avoid the storm," many Hill Country Texans who had voted against it grudgingly accepted secession. Hermann Seele provides a typical example in his diary entries of February 23 and 24, 1861. Despite feelings of "pervasive depression" at the results of the secession referendum, Seele concluded that "nothing can be done now!" The next day he chaired a town meeting in New Braunfels to organize the

Comal County militia. By March 4, Seele was serving on a committee with prominent secessionists to investigate the presence of “abolitionist” papers in New Braunfels. Other Hill Country German Texans responded in like manner. August Santleben of Medina County recalled that “my father, like many other good citizens, voted against secession, but, after the measure was carried, he submitted to the laws of the land and directed his attention to his legitimate business.” Another memoirist remembered a similarly subdued, albeit more skeptical, reaction to secession around his neighborhood in Fredericksburg. “The settlers obeyed the laws, paid their taxes, and did not believe what the newspapers told them,” he recalled.<sup>8</sup>

The opening of combat at Fort Sumter, and Lincoln’s requisition of 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion, spurred many conditional Unionists to support the Confederate cause. Among the most prominent Unionists who threw their support behind the Confederacy were Sam Houston and James W. Throckmorton, one of only eight Secession Convention delegates to vote against secession. The outbreak of fighting in South Carolina also shattered any notion that secession would “proceed amicably,” as one German immigrant had hoped for during the secession crisis. The first priority of both Austin and Richmond quickly became the raising of troops for the war.<sup>9</sup>

The Confederate Provisional Congress anticipated the outbreak of war prior to Fort Sumter and passed a bill on March 6, 1861 authorizing President Davis to call for as many as 100,000 volunteers. Texas was initially required to provide 3,000 volunteers for Confederate service. The requisition on Texas was raised to 8,000 men a few days later.

On May 3, 1861, the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* published a proclamation by Governor Edward Clark explaining that the frontier counties would only be expected to provide frontier defense.<sup>10</sup>

Most in the Hill Country took the governor's message to heart and Confederate recruiting proved to be relatively slow going during the first months of the war. In spite of an overwhelmingly pro-secession vote, predominantly German Comal County proved to be rocky soil for Confederate efforts to sow war fever. In the same issue that reported the governor's proclamation, Ferdinand Lindheimer urged the young men of Comal County to join a Confederate company being raised by Gustav Hoffmann. Hoffmann had been chosen to recruit the company rather than enthusiastic secessionist and New Braunfels physician Viktor Bracht due to his popularity in the Comal County German community. Although the Confederates attempted to use a unifying community figure to encourage enlistment, the young men of Comal County still proved reluctant to join the army. Anglo Comal Countian T.J. Thomas suggested that "nothing short of a force draft upon them" would get his neighbors into the army. On July 17, Bracht confessed to Governor Clark, "The young men of the county ... have shown themselves badly wanting in vigor and patriotism." Bracht accused young Comal Countians of "an incomprehensible degree of indolence and indifference." Ferdinand Lindheimer echoed Bracht's concerns in late July, devoting a column and a half in his *Zeitung* to urge enlistment into Hoffmann's company. "The younger men," wrote Lindheimer, "apparently sense not the grave consequences that can befall a country where the man-power is unprepared." "We do wish Comal County could

finally furnish a company,” Lindheimer declared in September. “We of course already have furnished men ... but not in proportion that most other counties have.”<sup>11</sup>

Comal County had indeed furnished some men for Confederate units. Around twenty local young men apparently joined Henry E. McCulloch’s First Texas Mounted Rifle Regiment in the spring of 1861. A few volunteered for service in a smattering of other Texas units. Lindheimer was surely relieved when Captain Hoffmann finally succeeded in enlisting an all-German company by the end of September 1861. The unit mustered into service as Company B, Seventh Texas Mounted Rifles in Sibley’s Brigade. The German Texans soon found themselves marching west as part of Henry H. Sibley’s ill-fated campaign to conquer New Mexico. It had taken over five months for Comal County to raise a company for the Confederate army, a stark contrast to the two-thirds majority in the county who voted in favor of secession. Although at least a handful of German Texans had been enthusiastic enough about secession to participate in the capture of federal posts prior to secession, Teutonic communities throughout the state were slow to provide enlistments for the Confederacy.<sup>12</sup>

In both Anglo and German communities in the Hill Country, the story was much the same. A few men joined Confederate units in 1861, mostly McCulloch’s or Ford’s frontier regiments or units in Sibley’s Brigade, but most placed the defense of their homes and local neighborhoods above all other concerns. The captain of the “Lone Star Guards” of Burnet County made this point explicitly clear in a letter to Governor Clark. “We organized for home protection,” he wrote. “Our frontier is daily invaded by the Indians and for this

protection especially we have organized.” A militia unit in Blanco County echoed the same sentiments. The members of the “Pertentalles Home Guard” sent the state Adjutant General a copy of their “agreement.” They had organized a mounted company “for the purpose of drilling and defending our Settlement and immediate frontier from the depredations of the Indians or invasion of the Black Republicans.” The Blanco County militiamen’s concept of voluntary service undertaken for home defense epitomized an attitude that would pose a major challenge in the future to the state and Confederate governments as they attempted to coordinate a centralized war effort.<sup>13</sup>

The political weight accorded to frontier defense in 1861 Texas was not lost on the legislature. With secession a *fait accompli*, the legislature passed a stopgap measure on February 7 to provide some form of organized frontier defense following the removal of the United States Army. The act authorized frontier counties to raise forty-man “Minute” companies. Texas politicians also urged the new Confederate government to provide forces for frontier defense. On March 4, the Confederate War Department complied by authorizing Ben McCulloch to raise a mounted rifle regiment to defend the Texas frontier. McCulloch transferred the commission to his brother, Henry, who set about raising what became the First Texas Mounted Infantry Regiment. At the same time, the Texas legislature gave John S. “Rip” Ford the authority to raise another mounted regiment. This regiment, the Second Texas Mounted Infantry Regiment, would be initially used in tandem with McCulloch’s regiment to provide for frontier defense.<sup>14</sup>

Colonel Earl Van Dorn, former Second U.S. Cavalry officer and newly named commander of the Department of Texas, concentrated his frontier forces along the Rio Grande and Red River frontiers. These forces could help prevent incursions from Comanches, Kiowas, and Kickapoos to the north and west and Apaches and others from across the Mexican border, but the Hill Country initially had few troops locally assigned to protect it. On May 24, 1861, Van Dorn ordered Fort Mason garrisoned only by a lieutenant and twenty men from the First Texas Mounted Rifles. Along the southwestern edge of the Hill Country, one company each of the Second Texas Mounted Rifles was stationed at Camp Wood and Fort Inge, along with a light artillery battery at the latter post. A company of state volunteers also occupied Camp Verde in late spring 1861 until they were relieved by troops from one of the aforementioned frontier defense regiments. Approximately 325 United States Army prisoners of war were transferred to this post in late August.<sup>15</sup>

In September Colonel McCulloch reported an infantry company guarding the prisoners at Camp Verde and a cavalry company at Fort Inge. No forces were reported at Fort Mason, but in October McCulloch moved his regimental headquarters to the post. At least one mounted company from McCulloch's regiment was dispatched to Camp Verde in the same month in response to reports of Indian activity in the area. When the federal prisoners were dispersed along the frontier in December 1861, one contingent was sent to Fort Mason, indicating a continued garrison of some strength. McCulloch appears to have garrisoned

Fort McKavett, on the Edwards Plateau west of the main line of settlement, with a small force for most of 1861.<sup>16</sup>

David Paul Smith, author of the only book-length treatment of Texas frontier defense during the Civil War, contends that frontier defense under the Confederacy was “equal to that of antebellum days and superior to that of the immediate post-war years.” The initial Confederate defense plan suggests that this was not necessarily the case for the approximately 140 mile line of settlement between the Llano and Nueces Rivers. No more than four companies of Confederate or state troops appear to have been stationed along the Fort Mason-Fort Inge line at any point between secession and the spring of 1862. Camp Wood seems to have been abandoned after the summer of 1861. The Hill Country’s western defensive line was effectively withdrawn up to sixty miles to the east by the spring of 1862.<sup>17</sup>

United States Army manpower and unit composition at Hill Country posts fluctuated over time, but in 1860 and 1861 there were five companies of the Second Cavalry assigned between Fort Inge, Fort Mason, Camp Wood, and Camp Verde. Cavalry was a necessity for countering fast moving raiding parties, but it appears to have been in short supply between Fort Inge and Fort Mason in the months following secession. Confederate troops at Camp Verde and eventually Fort Mason had the additional duty of guarding prisoners, reducing their ability to devote manpower to pursuing Indian infiltrations. In the spring and summer of 1861 especially, frontier defense in the Hill Country suffered a downgrade both in sheer manpower and in military capability. More often than not, the defense of exposed



settlements continued to rely upon local minute companies and informal patrols of citizens, just as it had before the war.<sup>18</sup>

Fortunately for the Hill Country settlements, with few exceptions the region was remarkably free of Indian raids in 1861 in spite of the evacuation of the United States Army and the paucity of adequate Confederate forces. Most of the Indian fights reported by the two frontier defense regiments in the year following secession took place on the northwestern frontier or along the Nueces Strip-Hill Country margin. The predictions of secession advocates appeared to be coming true.<sup>19</sup>

Several factors likely contributed to the relative security enjoyed by the Hill Country in 1861. The most obvious reason for the apparent success of Texas frontier defense in 1861 was that both frontier defense regiments were led and manned by experienced Indian fighters. Both John S. "Rip" Ford and Henry E. McCulloch had ample experience in frontier warfare. Their subordinate officers and many of their men were equally experienced. This translated to an aggressive security strategy that even involved some limited offensive expeditions into hostile country to strike the Plains tribes in their bases of operations. A less commonly acknowledged factor is the severe drought that had gripped Texas since 1855. The lack of grass and water necessary to sustain mounted raids deep into the settlements likely complimented the positioning of Confederate troops to help prevent raiding on the scale experienced before the war. In addition to the problem of drought, a smallpox epidemic had broken out on the Plains in the late winter of 1860-1861. Exacerbated by an extremely cold winter, hundreds of Comanches and Kiowas succumbed

to disease in their winter camps in Kansas and Colorado. Finally, the Confederacy successfully conducted treaty negotiations with a number of native groups in August 1861. The treaty, signed at Fort Cobb in Indian Territory, included the Penateka division of the Comanches, as well as the Wichitas, Wacos, Caddos, and Tonkawas. Some tribes or tribal divisions, notably the Kickapoos, refused to sign the treaty and continued raiding the Texas settlements, but attacks and depredations declined on the whole.<sup>20</sup>

By the close of 1861, the haphazard transition from federal to Confederate States authority left the Hill Country in much the same position it had occupied prior to secession. Frontier defense was provided for, albeit inadequately, by the distant Confederate government, augmented by local militia forces and armed frontiersmen. For the most part, local men were able to serve near their homes in home defense units. Confederate and state contracts for frontier defense forces initially softened the economic blow dealt by the departure of the United States Army. The result was that Hill Country Unionists and secessionists largely coexisted peacefully for the first ten months of the war, banding together as they had always done to fight the threat of Indians. By December 1861, the need to marshal greater numbers of troops for the defense of Texas placed this uneasy coexistence in jeopardy.<sup>21</sup>

On December 25, 1861, the Texas legislature passed “An Act to perfect the organization of State Troops, and to place the same on a war footing.” The act organized the state’s counties into thirty-three militia brigades and made all able-bodied free white males

between the ages of eighteen and fifty subject to militia duty. Exemptions were included for various government office holders and other essential personnel, such as engineers and conductors on railroads, but the act made the vast majority of the state's military age white males liable for military service. Explaining that progress in organizing the militia over the previous months had been "signally slow" and "very imperfect," new Governor Francis R. Lubbock explained that under the new law, "every able bodied man in the state will be forced to discharge his duty, if unwilling to do so."<sup>22</sup>

The Confederate government was gravely concerned that its Army, composed primarily of twelve-month enlistees, would soon dissolve. On December 11, the Provisional Congress passed an act offering reenlisting troops a \$50 bounty, a sixty day furlough, and the right to reorganize their units and elect their officers. In January and February 1862, more acts were passed offering bonuses to volunteers, allowing commanders to detail men for recruiting purposes, and allowing the President to accept volunteers singly, among other measures. In the words of Albert Burton Moore, "every conceivable means of securing men was adopted, save that of compulsion." Governor Lubbock issued a proclamation noting a new requisition for 15,000 volunteers and, noting the new inducements to enlistment, urged Texans to join the army. Lubbock lauded the "chivalry and military fame of the brave Texans" and proceeded to remind them that a failure to fill the requisition would require him to fulfill the state's duty through drafting. When the Confederate Congress convened on February 18, President Davis strongly urged the adoption of

conscription. Finally, on April 16, 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a conscription law.<sup>23</sup>

The threat of compulsory military service spurred widespread Confederate enlistment by Hill Country men for the first time in the spring of 1862. Conscription held a stigma for many mid-nineteenth century Americans, and volunteering allowed new enlistees to elect their officers and serve with men from their home communities. The Third Texas Infantry Regiment, First and Second Mounted Rifles, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Thirty-third Texas Cavalry Regiments, and several other units received enlistments from the Hill Country.<sup>24</sup>

Five companies were raised predominantly from Hill Country communities in 1862. Local rancher Seth Mabry organized a company in Anglo-dominated Llano County that became Company E, Seventeenth Texas Infantry Regiment. Burnet County men comprised the majority of Company G of the same regiment under the initial command of C.C. Arnett, a wealthy 50 year old Burnet County farmer. Although it had taken several months for Comal County to muster its first Confederate company, by April 1862 two more companies were raised in the county by German immigrants Theodore Podewils and Julius von Bose. These units became, respectively, Company F, Thirty-second (Wood's) Texas Cavalry, and Company K, Third (Lockett's) Texas Infantry. The fifth Hill Country company came primarily from Gillespie, Kendall, and Mason counties. Belgian-born Fredericksburg merchant Frank van der Stucken captained this unit, which eventually became Company E, First Texas Cavalry in May 1862.<sup>25</sup>

The new legislation succeeded in getting men from the Hill Country into the Confederate army. It also created an explosive political situation along the southwestern frontier. Contrary to what many writers have assumed, it was the state militia act rather than Confederate conscription that initially reenergized Unionist opposition in the state of Texas. Unionists were alarmed by renewed calls for more troops and the implied threat of a draft well before the Confederate Congress finally took action. The enactment of the Confederate draft only served to exacerbate the fears of an already aroused Unionist populace in the Texas Hill Country.<sup>26</sup>

As soon as the militia law was put into execution, Hill Country communities responded with a series of petitions to Governor Lubbock requesting wholesale exemption. Several reasons were offered as to why the frontier ought to be spared from duties other than home defense. Most petitioners pointed out the reality of frontier subsistence agriculture and offered an indirect critique of the economic disparity between eastern slaveholders and western frontier settlers. “We are a poor and hard working population,” Bandera County citizens argued, “whose families depend for their daily support on their toil.” Hill Country settlers simply could not leave their families to fend for themselves on a wild and drought stricken frontier. Moreover, the Indian threat meant that men needed to stay home to protect their families and property. Medina County residents expressed their belief that the newly created Frontier Regiment “cannot be expected to keep the Indians out of the settlements.” Widely scattered farms and ranches required armed property owners for their defense. To accomplish this purpose, settlers in western Gillespie and unincorporated Kimble counties

requested to be enrolled as a minute company under the legislation of February 1861. While promising to fight “in case of an invasion from our cruel enemies of the Lincoln Government,” the petitioners wanted to serve “in the defense of our frontier.” If they were compelled to serve away from their homes, frontier settlers believed that it would lead to “the ruin and breaking up of our country.”<sup>27</sup>

Many Texans voted their disapproval of the new law with their feet. The trickle of Texans crossing into Mexico became a steady stream in response to the militia law. “There are many of the citizens of Texas leaving since the Governor’s proclamation calling out the militia,” reported Leonard Pierce, the U.S. Consul in Matamoros, Mexico. Three weeks later, Pierce complained, “I am continually besieged with refugees and deserters; most of them without funds, who expect me to send them North.” Confederate Colonel Henry E. McCulloch agreed with Pierce’s observations. “I find that many of the most notorious leaders of the opposition, or Union men, are leaving the country, principally in the direction of Mexico,” wrote McCulloch. He believed that some were departing simply to avoid the draft, while others were going to cooperate with those already in Mexico, “doing all they can to prejudice our cause with the authorities of that country,” and preparing to act in concert with Unionists remaining in Texas should a Union invasion ever take place. Throughout the month of March, McCulloch reported large numbers of Texans, especially Germans, crossing the Rio Grande.<sup>28</sup>

In response to the growing numbers of Texas refugees, McCulloch ordered his men to seal off the border. Even with these measures in place, McCulloch warned, “many of them

will dodge us and go south with their arms into Mexico and if ever Lincoln's army penetrate Texas from the south or west they will return with all the Mexicans they can bring with them." In early May, Consul Pierce reported that many people continued to flee Texas in spite of increased efforts to halt them. "The crowds of refugees do not diminish in the least," Pierce wrote, "although it is very difficult, owing to the strict watch kept upon their movements, for them to get out. Many are arrested; some are hung; others are taken and pressed into service." Large groups continued to cross the border as spring turned into summer.<sup>29</sup>

McCulloch's correspondence reflects both the long-standing security concerns of Texas authorities and the emerging reality of renewed Unionist organization in Texas. As mentioned in Chapter One, events in Mexico had been of great concern for Texas for decades. Texans viewed Mexico as a haven for runaway slaves, marauding native tribes, and bandits. Violence was endemic to the Nueces Strip border area during the 1850s and the outbreak of the *Cortinista* revolt in South Texas in 1859 only served to heighten Anglo Texan anxieties on the eve of secession. With the onset of the federal naval blockade, Texas's international border with Mexico assumed even greater significance as a lifeline of trade for the citizens of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi and a source of arms and materiel for the Confederate war effort. Because of the border's long history of violence and instability, state and Confederate officials were greatly concerned with reports that Unionists were taking shelter across the Rio Grande and attempting to subvert Confederate designs in Mexico.<sup>30</sup>

Fears of Unionist resistance in the Texas German belt were exacerbated by Anglo Texan suspicions about German immigrants. As discussed in previous chapters, German Texans were conspicuous for their low rates of slaveholding and were suspected by many Anglos of harboring abolitionist and free-thinking sentiments. The results of the secession referendum and the apparent lack of German Texan enthusiasm for the Confederate cause reinforced the perception that they were of doubtful loyalty. The rhetoric employed by state officials and influential newspaper editors did little to temper ethnic tensions. Governor Lubbock urged Texans to enlist in the army to fight the “Hessian hirelings,” a euphemism for Union soldiers. This phrase was commonly employed to contrast native born Southern whites fighting for home, liberty, and property with the large numbers of supposedly unprincipled Germans and other immigrants serving in the Union armies. The *San Antonio Herald*, a long-time nativist bastion, employed the same term to describe Union soldiers, and even sarcastically suggested that planters be compensated for the loss of their slave labor by being supplied with two “Hessians” for every slave lost.<sup>31</sup>

Ethnic division and a pervasive fear of clandestine abolitionists and “black republicans” were certainly a powerful force in 1862, but Confederate authorities also had ample reason to harbor legitimate concerns about disaffection and resistance to the draft in western Texas. An early hint of trouble came with the organization of the Frontier Regiment in early 1862. Realizing that the First Texas Mounted Rifles’ term of service would soon end, the legislature authorized the creation of a mounted regiment of state troops explicitly dedicated to frontier defense. Nine of the ten companies were to be organized from



groupings of frontier counties, with the tenth authorized to be raised from anywhere in the state. Once the companies were enrolled, company officers were to be determined by a vote of the soldiers. Hill Country men saw the Frontier Regiment as a way to fulfill their military service while remaining near their families and they eagerly signed up for the new unit.<sup>32</sup>

Controversy quickly arose over the organization of each of the three companies authorized to be raised in the Hill Country. John W. Sansom was appointed enrolling officer for the Frontier Regiment company from Blanco, Bandera, Medina, and Uvalde counties. Sansom was an experienced frontiersman and veteran of ranger operations, but several Blanco County residents complained that he is “an unsound man and entirely unfit for such service.” They also warned that an enrolling officer “can pick his men thereby Insuring his Election as Captain of the Company.” James M. Patton added that Sansom had stated his unwillingness to fight against the United States government and that he had ridiculed Patton for being “willing to fight for Southern mens negroes.” J.L. McCrocklin accused Sansom of stating that he would “lay in the Cedar Brake” rather than fight the federal government. Sansom was subsequently removed as enrolling officer and replaced by German-born Medina County businessman Charles de Montel.<sup>33</sup>

Jacob Kuechler apparently acted just as the Blanco County petitioners feared when he enrolled the company for Kerr, Hays, and Gillespie counties. Writing from Kerrville, D.H. Farr accused Kuechler of enrolling “an intyre dutch company” and attempting to “cut us [Anglos] out of the frontier servis.” Farr requested to be named enrolling officer so that he

could organize seventy volunteers from Kerr County, noting his credentials as county commissioner, “one of the highest offices we americans are allowed to hold under the dutch yoke of tyranny.” In closing, Farr urged Lubbock to “oblige your friends insted of your enemys.” On February 13, Farr informed Lubbock that Kuechler had evaded the efforts of Anglo residents of Kerr and Gillespie counties to meet with him for the purposes of enrolling, and that he had instead enrolled men from outside his enrollment district. Kuechler was even accused of adding German names to the roll, to be covered later through substitution. Farr labeled Kuechler “a violent union man” who was “thought to be a black republican.” Frank van der Stucken wrote from Fredericksburg on the same day to corroborate Farr’s account.<sup>34</sup>

Kuechler was later accused of plotting to use his company to aid Union forces in case of an invasion, an accusation that was sustained by Unionist Ernst Cramer. Cramer described the ulterior motive of Kuechler’s company in an October 1862 letter: “Our Company had been formed of men gathered together with the understanding that as soon as the northern troops would come within reaching distance, we would join them.” Like Sansom, Kuechler was eventually replaced as enrolling officer by Henry T. Davis.<sup>35</sup>

Residents of San Saba, Mason, Llano, and Burnet counties also complained about the enrollment of their company of the Frontier Regiment. According to the petitioners, enrolling officer Newton McMillan conducted an unfair election and even enrolled underage individuals to exclude Mason and Llano counties from the company. They asserted that “men right on the frontier have been prevented from joining their own

company – where men from the more settled sections – men from Burnett Co ... have by the preference shown them, been allowed the controlling influence in said company.” To redress their grievances, the petitioners requested that Indiana-born James E. Ranck replace McMillan as enrolling officer. Lieutenant Colonel T.C. Frost of the First Texas Mounted Rifles vouched for the fairness of the election and accused a contingent from Mason County of “flippantly” withdrawing “because the election did not suit them.” Frost described McMillan as experienced in ranging operations and “truly and purely southern, states rights and secession,” while “Mr. Rancke knows nothing of the service and his character for loyalty I am told is decidedly questionable.” McMillan remained as enrolling officer, and was elected Captain of his company.<sup>36</sup>

Much is revealed about local politics in squabbles over the enrollment of Hill Country companies for the Frontier Regiment. John W. Sansom and Jacob Kuechler were confirmed Unionists who went on to fight at the Nueces River battle. James Ranck served in the Frontier Regiment and was discharged due to a back injury on July 28, 1863. Despite his Confederate service, Ranck was a Unionist. As noted by the Blanco County petitioners, enrolling officers could manipulate company elections to ensure that they were voted into command. Unionists saw a chance to remain on the frontier fighting Indians instead of United States troops and attempted to gain control of the Frontier Regiment companies being recruited in their communities. Their attempts were stymied in all three cases.<sup>37</sup>

Some Unionists, like James Ranck, joined the frontier service anyway. Others, however, were determined to create their own military organization, legal or otherwise. Encouraged

by Confederate defeats in early 1862, anticipating a Union invasion of Texas in the near future, and desiring to resist conscription, some Hill Country Unionists elected to create a secret organization in the spring of 1862. John W. Sansom would later dub it the Union Loyal League (hereafter ULL), the name by which it has been known for the past century of Texas history. Ernst Cramer, a member of the ULL, recorded that the first meeting took place on March 24, 1862 at the isolated *Barenquelle* (headwaters of Bear Creek) on the high divide between Fredericksburg and Comfort.<sup>38</sup>

Contemporaries agreed that the goal of the organization was to aid an expected Union invasion and to defend Hill Country Unionists from conscription and aggression by pro-Confederate elements. According to Sansom, eighteen men who led the Unionist movement during the immediate post-secession period in 1861 provided the initial impetus for the ULL's organization. Members readied themselves for action by organizing military companies in Gillespie, Kendall, and Kerr counties. Up to 500 men were reported to have attended an organizational meeting for the purpose of electing officers. Jacob Kuechler was elected Captain and Valentine Hohmann Lieutenant for Gillespie County. For Kendall County, Ernst Cramer was selected Captain and Hugo Degener Lieutenant. Henry Hartmann was chosen Captain and Philip G. Temple Lieutenant of the Kerr County company. Fritz Tegener was elected Major to command the companies as a battalion-sized element. Eduard Degener, a Forty-Eighter and former German parliamentarian, was chosen to head a political advisory board. Ernst Cramer reported that his paramilitary company

mustered eighty men. The new organization planned to maintain ties with Unionists in San Antonio and Austin to coordinate their efforts during the anticipated Union invasion.<sup>39</sup>

Confederate officers soon got wind of renewed Unionist activity in the Hill Country. On March 3, Colonel McCulloch reported his discovery of “a pretty considerable under-current at work through this country against our cause.” McCulloch recommended the enactment of martial law. On March 16 Captain Charles de Montel, now in command of a Frontier Regiment company, claimed that the vast majority of Medina County militiamen were “not only black republicans by principle but quite a number of them abolitionists.”<sup>40</sup>

Later the same month, Colonel McCulloch again urged the use of martial law to Governor Lubbock. He reported that an armed group of Germans in San Antonio intended to seize the city arsenal. He believed them to be “connected with the Austin party,” a reference to his belief that Andrew J. Hamilton was orchestrating a Unionist conspiracy from his hiding place in the hills west of Austin. “I am satisfied arrangements are making to resist the draft,” McCulloch warned. Further evidence was provided in the form of a notice found tacked up in San Antonio. According to McCulloch’s translation, the broadside excoriated several prominent San Antonio Germans for aiding the Confederacy, and called on German Texans to “inform everybody the revolution is broke out.”<sup>41</sup>

The next month Captain de Montel learned of petitions from the frontier requesting that the Frontier Regiment be removed. As de Montel understood it, the petition requested that Hill Country settlers be allowed to form their own home defense organizations in place of the Frontier Regiment. De Montel warned that this would allow “black republicans and

enemies of the country to arm themselves.” He reported that “we are in their way and since our late reverses they are getting verry bold – speak of the table having turned and of hanging all secessionists – one of them remarked in Dhanis the other day that the were 300 of them in Medina County sworn together to fight us!” On May 31, de Montel reported that “during the last few days the enemys of the South show considerable activity expresses are kept up bedween Castroville, Dhanis, Comfort, Berne, Fredrichsburg, etc.” De Montel believed that Unionists were “attempting to unite their forces.” Even Union officials were aware that a resistance movement was afoot in Texas. According to Consul Leonard Pierce, “the Union men in Texas are becoming bolder, and a battle is expected in the neighborhood of Austin and San Antonio.”<sup>42</sup>

In November 1861, Confederate authorities had been concerned enough that Hill Country Unionists would attempt to free several hundred United States prisoners of war being held at Camp Verde that they had ordered the prisoners dispersed to several points along the frontier. These concerns were raised anew as they learned of the existence of armed opposition groups in the Hill Country. At the same time that they were becoming aware of Unionist organization in the Hill Country, news arrived that Germans in Fayette County were also armed and ready to resist the draft. Governor Lubbock even learned from his correspondents that these Germans, 200 strong, were allegedly pledged “to be true to and to aid Lincoln and to countenance and assist the negroes in case of an invasion to rebel against their owners.”<sup>43</sup>

The specter of a slave revolt involving aid from white Texans was a nightmare scenario capable of unleashing extreme violence from Anglo Texans in 1862. Governor Lubbock initially attempted to have a Confederate commissioner appointed to prosecute disloyalty in Texas but could not obtain one. Perhaps recalling the excesses of the 1860 slave revolt panic, Lubbock counseled his sources to maintain a discrete watch on Fayette County dissidents. “In the absence of any secret attempt to escape or any open demonstration,” wrote Lubbock, “I would strictly counsel against the use of Lynch Law.”<sup>44</sup>

A final major concern was the depreciation of Confederate paper money and its refusal by many merchants in western Texas. As early as March 3, Colonel McCulloch reported that certain persons “have been using their utmost exertions to break down the currency of the country” and were doubling their prices for arms and supplies purchased with Confederate notes instead of specie. “Our friends do not act in this manner,” asserted McCulloch, “and these men are our enemies.” General Hamilton P. Bee concurred with the strategic importance of Confederate monetary strength, calling it “the means by which the nation carries on this war.” Bee declared that “a refusal to aid in its circulation, by depreciating its face value, to that extent weakens our government.”<sup>45</sup>

Brigadier General Paul O. Hébert had been almost completely focused on the defense of the Texas coast since taking command of the Department of Texas in August 1861. In the assessment of one historian, “Hebert at Galveston paid no attention to interior Texas although he issued a number of orders and proclamations concerning the coast.” The Texas coast was indeed extremely vulnerable should it be attacked, but Union strategy was

focused on capturing New Orleans and opening the Mississippi River. Still exceedingly nervous about a Union invasion along the Texas coast, General Hébert and his lieutenants now found themselves confronted with a potential fifth column in their rear.<sup>46</sup>

In response to these fears General Hamilton P. Bee declared martial law in San Antonio and Bexar County on April 28. Bee published a notice in the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* threatening to “take action” against anyone in Comal County found to be discounting the face value of Confederate notes. The San Antonio *Herald* reported approvingly that Bee had implemented a decree making Confederate currency *de facto* legal tender. On May 30, 1862, martial law was extended over the entire state by General Hébert. Both orders required white males over the age of sixteen to present themselves to the Provost Marshall for registration and made the depreciation of Confederate currency and the failure to obey any orders of the Provost Marshall liable for summary punishment.<sup>47</sup>

On May 28, Confederate Captain James Duff departed San Antonio for the Hill Country to extend General Bee’s proclamation of martial law to several counties north and west of San Antonio. Duff, a Scottish immigrant, was familiar with the region by virtue of his background as an Army sutler and contractor. With the outbreak of the war, Duff received a commission as a Brigadier General in the Texas State Troops. By spring 1862 he held a Confederate commission as the commander of a Partisan Ranger company. Duff arrived in Fredericksburg early on May 30 with his company and established camp.<sup>48</sup>



With the aid of a German translator, Duff publicly announced the imposition of martial law and gave the inhabitants of Gillespie County and Precinct 5 of Kerr County six days to report for registration and take a loyalty oath in accordance with Bee's proclamation. He then positioned sentries on the roads to prevent anyone from traveling without a pass. Duff reported the people "shy and timid" but after visiting several settlements with his troops to explain his purpose, "they displayed much more confidence in us, and in a corresponding ratio more desire to serve the Government." Duff found that Confederate anxieties about the depreciation of Confederate currency were justified. Citizens who were friendly to the Confederacy had already sold what forage they had on hand, and Duff was consequently required "to wait on Mr. F. Lochte, a wealthy merchant of the place ... who would not sell for paper money, and inform him that I required fifty bushels of corn." After one of his lieutenants visited Lochte, Duff reported "no difficulty in getting forage and all other necessary supplies."<sup>49</sup>

Captain Duff's next action was to arrest several Medina County citizens and to "endeavor to break up the chain of communication between the disaffected by private express" that had been reported by Captain de Montel of the Frontier Regiment. On his return to Gillespie County, Duff sought to arrest more disaffected Unionists. When he sought intelligence from pro-secessionists in the area, Duff found them cowed and lacking the "moral courage" to inform on their Unionist neighbors. After summoning them to meet him, Duff learned more about the actions of several outspoken Hill Country Unionists. The Unionists, it seems, had grown very bold indeed.<sup>50</sup>

According to Duff's informants, a campaign was underway to organize armed opposition to the Confederacy. The headquarters of the conspiracy was said to be at Guy Hamilton's ranch in western Travis County, where his relative Andrew J. Hamilton was believed to be hiding. Hill Country secessionists had been intimidated through acts of arson and assault, and Unionists were said to be communicating with the prisoners at Camp Verde, depreciating Confederate currency, and generally demoralizing the people of the area. In one case, a German immigrant who decided to join the Confederate Army was allegedly arrested by Gillespie County Sheriff Phillip Braubach on an outstanding warrant to prevent his enlistment. Braubach was also accused of intimidating Charles Nimitz and others who had complained about the original Frontier Regiment company organized under Jacob Kuechler. According to Nimitz, Braubach threatened to "bring 200 men to our doors and make us talk differently." An effort was apparently even made to attack Duff's command, but it failed to materialize once the Unionists saw the strength of the Confederate force.<sup>51</sup>

After gathering this information, Duff arrested three Fredericksburg area men: the aforementioned Braubach, grocer and tavern-keeper Frederick W. Doebbler, and merchant Heinrich F. Lochte. A fourth target, Jacob Kuechler, escaped. The settlement on Spring Creek in western Gillespie County was another center for dissent. "An old man by the name of Nelson" was said to head a community of Unionists who failed to report to the Provost-Marshal. Nelson instead sent "a defiant message" to Duff, who responded by dispatching

a patrol to capture him and other members of his party. However, the patrol was unsuccessful because Nelson “had taken to the cedar brakes and escaped.”<sup>52</sup>

On June 11 Duff relocated to Blanco County, where he declared martial law and “found the great majority of the people friendly ... to the Confederate States Government.” In Blanco County, Duff learned of a group of Unionists “who are bitterly opposed to our cause.” They were accused of plotting to attack the Confederate troops under his command and of being in communication with Andrew J. Hamilton. Apparently they fled, because none were arrested.<sup>53</sup>

On June 18, Duff moved to Kendall County, where he arrested Boerne merchant Julius Schlickum. Schlickum was accused of communicating with federal prisoners and of somehow being in possession of war news at least two days in advance of the mail. Along with Doebbler, Braubach, and Lochte, Schlickum was transported back to San Antonio, where Duff arrived on June 21. His prisoners were turned over to a military tribunal for trial.<sup>54</sup>

Confederate fears of disaffection and armed opposition in the Hill Country were well founded. The ULL was prepared to aid any Union invasion forces, resist conscription, and fight Confederate and state troops if necessary. Although it is difficult to tell exactly how well-organized and orchestrated Hill Country Unionist’s activities were, secessionists in the area were clearly intimidated by them. At a time of heightened apprehension about a possible Union invasion and rumors of disloyalty throughout central Texas, Confederate

and state authorities acted with remarkable restraint in enforcing martial law. No deaths or violence were recorded during Duff's initial foray into the Hill Country.

Duff's report and the subsequent Confederate military tribunals in San Antonio revealed that the Hill Country was seething with internal division. The ongoing demand for troops on the war's major fronts had abruptly ended the tense post-secession period of coexistence between secessionists and Unionists. Although most politically-active Germans Texans were Unionists, some worked with the Confederacy. Germans such as Charles Nimitz and Charles de Montel went beyond mere accommodation to the new government to actively serve the interests of the Confederacy. With the appearance of the ULL, Nimitz and de Montel proved more than willing to charge German Unionists with disloyalty and to work for their suppression and imprisonment. Anglos in the Hill Country were also divided, although many had come to support the Confederacy with varying degrees of enthusiasm. In short, Hill Country communities were riven by political strife as a result of secession. As the war ground on, frontier Texans were unable to remain neutral and found themselves forced to take sides in the conflict. The stage was set for an explosive situation much like that found in other border areas like Missouri or Kentucky.<sup>55</sup>

The first shot in the Hill Country's internecine conflict was fired approximately two weeks after Captain Duff's return to San Antonio. Hill Country Unionists were alarmed at the appearance of Confederate soldiers in the area hunting for dissident leaders and believed that someone had informed the authorities about their clandestine organization.

Members of the ULL determined that Basil Stewart, an English immigrant who worked as a shepherd, was the culprit. At some point, members of the ULL met and decided that Stewart must be killed to send a message to other potential informants. The task was assigned to Ernst Beseler of Kendall County. On July 5, 1862, Beseler shot and killed Stewart from ambush.<sup>56</sup>

Stewart's employer advertised a reward for information in the San Antonio *Herald*. No information was forthcoming, but the killing and reports of continuing Unionist activity shocked Confederate authorities into action. Captain E.D. Lane wrote that "the conscript law has driven this people into the mountains." Even more worrisome was Captain de Montel's report that members of the Medina County militia were to be found operating in the hills "armed to the teeth," determined to prevent enforcement of the draft, and ready to join the Union army in case of an invasion. The Unionists were so numerous and well-armed that Frontier Regiment Captain Henry T. Davis expressed the fear that his isolated camps would be overrun and the horses taken from his outgunned small patrols. Levi Lamoni Wight, now a member of Captain Frank van der Stucken's cavalry company, recalled that van der Stucken and his men were once targeted for attack but managed to avoid the planned ambush.<sup>57</sup>

As these reports filtered in from the Hill Country, General Bee appointed Captain Duff as Provost Marshal and ordered him back to Fredericksburg with four mounted companies under the command of Captain John Donelson of the Second Texas Mounted Rifles. His orders were to once again declare martial law, to require all citizens to take an oath of

loyalty, and to break up any encampments to be found in the countryside and send everyone back to their homes. According to Bee, anyone failing to return home and take the oath of loyalty would be “treated summarily as traitors in arms.” Upon arrival in Fredericksburg on July 21, Duff announced his orders and gave three days’ notice for residents to appear before him to take the oath of loyalty.<sup>58</sup>

Until this point, Confederate and state authorities had trod lightly in their attempts to suppress dissent. They were now determined to quash Unionist resistance in the Hill Country. Patrols were sent out to sweep the countryside in search of known and suspected Unionists. Hill Country militants took note of the more aggressive approach being employed by the Confederate task force. They had demonstrated their willingness to violently resist their enemies but the Confederate show of force dissuaded them from further open confrontation. Rather than trying to hide out and wait for either Confederate defeat or a Union invasion, the renewed Confederate pressure convinced some ULL members to leave Texas in hopes of joining the federal army.<sup>59</sup>

On August 1, members of the ULL assembled in the vicinity of Turtle Creek, eighteen miles southwest of Kerrville. Around eighty men met and discussed a plan to travel to Mexico and from there to New Orleans to join the Union army. Between sixty-five and sixty-nine of the men decided to make the trip. Fritz Tegener, Major of the ULL, commanded the group. Jacob Kuechler served as the group’s guide. Sometime around August 2 or 3, the party of well-armed and provisioned Unionists set out. They planned to cross the Rio Grande near the mouth of the Devil’s River. Unfortunately for the Unionists,

their progress was slowed by the roughness of the country, the distance between water holes and lack of forage, their heavily-laden pack mules, and unshod horses. According to Anglo Unionists John W. Sansom, the group believed that they had successfully evaded the Confederate troops “known to be hunting for them.”<sup>60</sup>

Charles Burgmann, a German immigrant living in Kerr County, and probably Charles Nimitz, conveyed the news of the Unionist’s departure to Captain Donelson at Camp Pedernales west of Fredericksburg. Donelson hastily assembled and dispatched a pursuit force under Lieutenant Colin D. McRae of the Second Texas Mounted Rifles. McRae set out on August 3 with ninety-four men from several Confederate and Texas State Troops units and quickly struck the trail of the heavily laden Unionist column. According to trooper R.H. Williams, along the trail they found human silhouettes carved into trees and used for target practice, a sign that “these Germans apparently meant business.” From the large amount of sign they located, they estimated the Unionists to number upwards of one hundred men. Traveling swiftly, on the afternoon of August 9 McRae’s troops spotted the Unionist camp at a bend in the West Fork of the Nueces River, approximately twenty miles from Fort Clark. Unionist scouts reported sighting what they believed to be Confederate soldiers on the same day. For unknown reasons their leader Fritz Tegener disregarded these reports. The Unionists remained in camp along the Nueces and set out a guard to protect them as they slept.<sup>61</sup>

McRae decided to divide his force and attack from both flanks of the Unionist camp. He would command the right wing of the attack and Lieutenant Homsley of Taylor’s

Battalion would command the left wing. McRae planned to signal the attack with a shot from his pistol. Under cover of darkness the troopers quietly crept down the river embankment, forded the Nueces, and crept into position in the cedar thicket surrounding the camp. At around 4 a.m. on August 10, a shot rang out from the left wing of the Confederate assault force. A Unionist picket, Ernst Beseler, was struck and killed immediately. More shots followed, killing Leopold Bauer and possibly others. The Unionist camp came alive with shouting, running men grabbing weapons, returning fire, and organizing a defense. In the confusion, the Confederates apparently did not press an attack but held their positions and waited for sunrise.<sup>62</sup>

As the sun began to rise the Confederates began their attack in earnest. The Unionists repulsed possibly as many as three Confederate charges, and even mounted a counterattack early in the fight. In spite of their success in holding their ground, Unionist casualties continued to climb as the fighting continued. Over the course of the battle, groups of Unionists began to slip out of the camp. With mounting casualties and dwindling numbers, a final group of able-bodied men and walking wounded fled the camp as the Confederates prepared for a final charge.<sup>63</sup>

As the smoke cleared and daylight grew the Confederates found themselves in possession of the battlefield. Nineteen Unionists – eighteen German immigrants and Pablo Diaz, a Mexican native who had been adopted by Germans – lay killed and wounded on the field. On the Confederate side two soldiers were dead and another eighteen wounded, several severely. Lieutenant McRae was numbered among the wounded. As they swept the



battlefield McRae's men recovered eighty-three horses, thirty-three small arms, and thirteen revolvers, as well as camp equipment and enough rations for one hundred men for ten days. Eventually the wounded Unionists were moved to a more isolated location by a detail led by Lieutenant Edwin Lilly. More shots rang out. No prisoners had been taken. "They offered the most determined resistance, asking no quarter whatsoever," McRae later reported, "hence I have no prisoners to report."<sup>64</sup>

The survivors scattered in the aftermath of the Nueces River battle. In the confusion, several men became lost or separated from their comrades. William Vater was severely wounded and had to be left near the battlefield. He was eventually rescued when he was discovered by a Uvalde County citizen who had traveled to the battlefield upon hearing about the fight. Ferdinand Simon was less lucky. He was captured by a Confederate patrol a few days after the battle and sent to San Antonio to face the Confederate military tribunal. He was convicted of levying war against the Confederate States and sentenced to death on October 10, 1862. Immediately following the battle Henry Schwethelm, Jacob Kusenberger, and Charles Graff pressed on toward Mexico, successfully eluding Confederate forces and crossing the Rio Grande on August 13. Although Schwethelm urged others to follow, arguing that it was more dangerous to turn back than to press on, most of the survivors decided to return home and regroup amongst a friendly populace. Small groups made their way back to the Hill Country, forced to subsist on prickly pears and whatever else they could forage. Once there, they hid out in the caves and cedar brakes of the Hill Country and attempted to evade Confederate patrols.<sup>65</sup>

Confederate forces now began a general crackdown on Unionist resistance. A roster of men in the Unionist party was located among the detritus of battle at the Nueces and a letter implicating influential immigrant leader Eduard Degener was found on the body of one of his sons. Whereas a few key Unionists had been arrested in June, everyone believed to have been among the Unionists at the Nueces was now targeted to be killed or captured. In addition, those who had refused to take the loyalty oath or who were considered troublesome Unionists were deemed worthy of arrest and possible “lynch law.” The only known official guidance Confederate troopers received for dealing with Hill Country Unionists in August 1862 was encompassed by General Hébert’s proclamation of martial law and General Bee’s instructions to Captain Duff. General Bee’s declaration that those who failed to return to their homes and take the loyalty oath would be “treated summarily as traitors in arms” left little doubt that the Confederate Army’s second attempt to suppress Hill Country dissent would be much harsher than the first one. As a result, a number of Unionists were killed in the aftermath of the Nueces River battle. Even before the battle, on August 4, a man named Lovell was hanged by either Duff’s or Davis’s company near the Frontier Regiment camp in Gillespie County. Lovell was identified as “a nowen and proved abolishnest” by a secessionist neighbor.<sup>66</sup>

There were a number of reasons why the Confederate response was often summary execution. One reason is that many Confederate troops serving in the Hill Country were not native to the region and had no personal ties to suspected Unionists as friends,

neighbors, or family members. For instance, Captain John Donelson's company was overwhelmingly Anglo and hailed from the Brownsville area. Other units came from areas bordering the Hill Country but culturally, economically, and politically more akin to the eastern two-fifths of the state. Though it contained a number of men from the Hill Country, Duff's Partisan Ranger Company was predominantly composed of Anglos from the Bexar County area. San Antonio was a hotbed of Unionism, but it was also the headquarters of the Knights of the Golden Circle and was home to plenty of fire-eating secessionists. Rural Bexar County was far more Anglo and secessionist than the city as well.<sup>67</sup>

Even the state frontier troops recruited from the Hill Country were not demographically representative of many of the communities they were supposed to be protecting. Captain de Montel's company had less than twenty Germans in a company of 128 men and officers. No more than eleven German Texans can be identified on the roster of Captain Henry T. Davis's 132 man company of the Frontier Regiment stationed west of Fredericksburg. Like the Confederate units in the Hill Country, many of the men in the Frontier Regiment companies came from areas that were close to the Hill Country but had much more in common with areas farther east. For instance, Captain Davis's company contained forty men from Hays County, including Davis himself. Hays County voted for secession and listed 797 enslaved persons on the 1860 census, a number nearly equal to the total number in all Hill Country counties considered in this study.<sup>68</sup>

Nineteenth century Texans created and sustained what one author has called a "lynching culture." The violent defense of honor and enforcement of community standards through

mob action was considered right and just in most quarters. As demonstrated during the “Texas Troubles” in 1860, this frequently meant the vigilante murder of anyone suspected of threatening slavery. Anglo Texan anxiety was only heightened now that the state was embroiled yet again in warfare. Texans were kept on edge by the quadruple threat of Kansas jayhawkers from across the Red River, Comanche and Kiowa raiders from the western plains, *Cortinista* guerillas, bandits, and various Indian tribes in the Rio Grande Valley, and the ever looked for Union invasion along the coast. The fact that frontier Unionists had apparently taken up arms within the state and drawn the blood of Confederate soldiers surely confirmed their worst suspicions. The pervasive culture of vigilante violence found in nineteenth-century Anglo Texan society combined with ethnic tensions, a siege mentality toward internal security, and a lack of community and kinship ties between Confederate and state troops and frontier settlers to spur a willingness to use violence against known and suspected Hill Country Unionists.<sup>69</sup>

A final consideration in understanding the violent repression of Unionists in the late summer of 1862 is the legal status of summary military justice under the norms of nineteenth century laws of war. Twenty-first century laws of war, international conventions, and standards followed by the United States and other Western militaries prohibit the summary execution of captured enemy combatants, whether uniformed or not. This was not the case, however, in the nineteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

The Lieber Code is famed as the first codified law of land warfare for the United States military and is considered a forerunner of modern Western rules of warfare. The actual

contents of Francis Lieber's pioneering 1863 work would likely shock twenty-first century sensibilities. The Lieber Code reflected nineteenth-century military norms in dealing with non-uniformed combatants. This included the summary execution of "armed prowlers" found in arms against a uniformed, government sanctioned military force. Participants in a rebellion within a constituted state were also not recognized as legitimate, although Lieber allowed that "humanity" could induce "the adoption of the rules of regular warfare toward rebels." Therefore, although abhorrent to modern readers, the Confederate reaction to armed resistance to the Confederacy was mostly within the bounds of normal military conduct at the time. Cultural factors made Confederate and state troops quite willing to carry out summary justice toward Unionists, but by the standards of nineteenth-century norms of military conduct, their action were little different from those of Union soldiers who executed guerillas in Missouri and Virginia.<sup>71</sup>

In reaction to the Nueces River battle, Confederate forces scoured the countryside for surviving ULL militants and other defiant Unionists. Nueces battle survivors Theodore Bruckisch and Henry Stieler were soon captured near Kerrville. They were subsequently shot to death by members of Davis's Frontier Regiment company on Goat Creek in Kerr County. On August 20 Captain Duff relinquished his duties as Provost Marshal and set out for San Antonio with his company of Partisan Rangers. En route, ULL members Conrad Bock and Fritz Tays were captured by Duff in the vicinity of Boerne. Both were hanged on August 24. Nueces battle survivors William Börner, Herman Flick, August Luckenbach,

Louis Rübsamen, and Adolph Rübsamen were also captured and killed in the weeks following the battle.<sup>72</sup>

Unionists who were not at the Nueces were also targeted in killings that may have exceeded the bounds of nineteenth-century legality, and property destruction that certainly did. Trooper R.H. Williams gave an account of hunting for “a Northern man named Henderson.” Henderson, an associate of the defiant Nelson mentioned in Duff’s June report, “had gone to the mountains, but his wife, also from the North, had been brought into camp with her numerous children.” The service records of Union soldier Allen Nelson state that his father Hiram’s house was burned “and the Family driven to the woods.” According to Williams, the Henderson homestead was also ransacked, crops trampled and destroyed, “even the bee-hives in front of the comfortable log house were overturned and empty.”<sup>73</sup>

Confederate troops eventually succeeded in rounding up Hiram Nelson, Seabird Henderson, Frank Scott, and Gustave Tegener. Tegener was the brother of Fritz Tegener, military leader of the ULL. Seabird Henderson’s son Howard Henderson was a Unionist combatant at the Nueces. He had been arrested prior to the Nueces battle by Confederate forces along with Hiram Nelson’s son Allen. Both escaped and eventually joined the Union army. Frank Scott’s sons Thomas and Warren were also present at the Nueces River and eventually joined the Union army. The elder men and Tegener were likely arrested in hopes that they would tell the troops the whereabouts of their sons and brother. They were probably also evading Duff’s men and refusing to take the Confederate loyalty oath at the

time of their arrest, making them subject to summary action under General Bee's directions. In late August, the four men were hanged and their bodies were thrown into a water hole in Spring Creek.<sup>74</sup>

Confederate Sergeant Thomas C. Smith recorded the situation in the Hill Country in his diary: "When one chances to fall into the hands of the C.S. soldiers he is dealt pretty roughly with and generally makes his last speech with a rope around his neck. Hanging is getting to be as common as hunting. The creeks in this area are said to be full of dead men!!" Frontier Regiment trooper John Seal wrote that Hill Country Germans were "now the worst scared people you ever saw." He confessed that he couldn't give an exact number of those killed by Confederate and state forces, but described dead Unionists "lying & hanging all over the woods."<sup>75</sup>

Other accounts mention hangings with little information about the circumstances under which they occurred. R.A. Gibson recorded that in addition to his neighbor Lovell in the Spring Creek settlement, "many others" were arrested and hanged. In a letter describing conditions along the frontier in 1864, W.W. Holland reminded Governor Pendleton Murrah that it was "well known" that Duff dealt with the Unionists in the area by hanging many of their leaders, "and others he hunted like wild beasts." The statements of Smith, Gibson, and Holland indicate that the full death toll may have been greater than the forty men recorded by name in contemporary documents.<sup>76</sup>

Confederate patrols swept the countryside, arresting suspected Unionists and "confiscating property of all kinds." Eduard Degener and Medina County postmaster H.J.

Richarz were among those arrested and sent before the military commission in San Antonio. The families of men in hiding were taken to Fort Martin Scott near Fredericksburg, where they were temporarily confined in the apparent hope that their men would be induced to surrender. Confederate troops also enforced the Conscription Act, forcing men from the frontier into the army.<sup>77</sup>

Not all suspected ULL members who fell into Confederate hands were executed. Some were arrested and imprisoned, some were conscripted, and others were detained or interrogated and then released. Ferdinand Simon narrowly escaped execution when his sentence was annulled after martial law was lifted by order of President Davis. Simon was later tried by a civil court for treason and apparently spent most of the war in prison before escaping or being released in late 1864. August Duecker was another Nueces survivor who hid out in the Hill Country. Duecker concealed himself in his attic but was eventually captured after his wife died and he was forced to come out of hiding. He tried to serve as a wagoner for Confederate forces but was arrested. Duecker escaped again and continued to hide from Confederate forces for the duration of the war. August Hoffmann escaped from the Nueces battle and was conscripted. He was then allowed to serve as a wagoner and cattle drover. Hoffmann's service concluded in late 1864 and he was apparently unmolested for the remainder of the war.<sup>78</sup>

Although it is difficult to determine the exact circumstances surrounding each case, men who were suspected of actively being in arms against the Confederacy were most likely to be executed immediately. Of the five men executed in the Spring Creek neighborhood, at



least one is known to have taken to the hills in defiance of the proclamation of martial law. The others may have also been acting in defiance of martial law, although this is only speculation. Those believed to merely be political Unionists or conscription evaders were arrested and sent before a military tribunal, interrogated and released, or drafted into the army. For instance, Christian Dietert, a miller from Comfort, was arrested by Confederate troops and was apparently destined for conscription. The pleas of his wife Rosalie, as well as his occupational exemption from Confederate conscription, enabled his release shortly after his initial detention. In the case of August Hoffmann, Confederate authorities may have been unaware that he was a Nueces battle survivor. With the possible exception of several of the men hanged in the Spring Creek settlement, all of those known to have been killed by Confederate and state troops between August and October 1862 were either members of the Unionist group at the Nueces River or were openly defying martial law and conscription by hiding out in the hills and cedar brakes near the frontier settlements.<sup>79</sup>

Realizing that it was exceedingly dangerous to remain near their homes, some of the Nueces survivors and a number of other Unionist fugitives now fled west and south. On September 22 Consul Pierce reported the arrival of seven battle survivors in Matamoros, Mexico. Julius Schlickum and Phillip Braubach, having escaped from Confederate imprisonment in San Antonio in July, crossed the Rio Grande with several others under fire in early October. They narrowly escaped unscathed. Schlickum later claimed a Confederate soldier was killed in the skirmish. At some point following the Nueces fight John W. Sansom crossed into Mexico with nine companions.<sup>80</sup>

Around a dozen Unionists, led by the elusive Jacob Kuechler, made another attempt to flee to Mexico in mid-October. On the night of October 18 they arrived at the Rio Grande and prepared to cross. Unfortunately for Kuechler's group, a Confederate patrol led by Lieutenant Homsley of Taylor's Battalion, who had helped lead the Confederate attack at the Nueces River, discovered them as they began to cross the river and a gun battle ensued. Four men were shot and killed swimming the river under fire and two others drowned in the muddy water. A seventh man died of his wounds after making it across the river. Kuechler and several others survived and took refuge in Mexico. Of those that elected to travel west, five arrived in Union-held El Paso in December 1862. A few remaining Nueces survivors and other Unionists continued to successfully elude Confederate forces in the rugged terrain of the Hill Country. Eventually eleven of the ULL members succeeded in joining the Union army.<sup>81</sup>

In early October, against the protests of General Hébert and Governor Lubbock, martial law in Texas was lifted by order of Jefferson Davis. Davis declared Hébert's actions "an unwarranted assumption of authority ... containing abuses against even a proper administration of martial law." Confederate authorities remained concerned about Unionist dissent within Texas but believed that major Unionist resistance in the Hill Country had been successfully crushed. In late August, Captain John Donelson reported that "most of the business connected with the office of Provost Marshall is now finished, & the affairs of the Country nearly settled." On September 8, Frontier Regiment trooper John Seal wrote

that although there were forty or fifty “tories” reported around the head of the Llano River, one more sweep of the area would probably be sufficient to clear it of armed opposition. On the same day, Captain Donelson reported that “fifty men would be sufficient to hold these counties in subjection,” as well as helping the Confederate States receiver dispose of a large quantity of confiscated property. However, Donelson admitted that “twenty or thirty Unionists are still concealed in the cedar brakes near this place. It is difficult to capture them, as their friends and hiding places are numerous.” Donelson believed that in the event of an invasion, “most of them will join the foe.” In a prescient warning, he suggested that the numerous six shooters and rifles in the community be pressed into service, lest they wind up being used against Confederate forces.<sup>82</sup>

By mid-October, Confederate and state authorities had killed at least forty known or suspected Hill Country Unionists at the cost of six Confederate military deaths. At nearly the same time in North Texas, Confederate and state authorities became aware of the existence of a pro-Union Peace Party. An investigation and subsequent violent suppression culminated in the October 1862 execution of over forty suspected Unionists in several North Texas counties. The incident known as the Great Hanging and the Confederate crackdown in the Hill Country have both received a great deal of scholarly attention as examples of Confederate persecution of Unionists and the Southern culture of communal violence. A brief comparison of the two Unionist movements is instructive.<sup>83</sup>

There were strong similarities between North Texas and the Hill Country in 1862. The North Texas counties formed Texas’s frontier with Indian Territory along the Red River,

one of the three frontiers that kept Texas leaders on edge. The proximity to Kansas jayhawkers and the potential for raids based in Indian Territory made defense of this frontier a major concern for North Texans, much as Hill Country residents feared Indian depredations from Mexico and the western plains. In another similarity, a majority of the population came from the Upper South states rather than the Deep South, and rates of slaveholding were low. North Texas had no significant European immigrant population but Evangelical Protestant and Northern Methodist groups had a wide following, lending a cultural and ideological source of dissent to the region during the crisis of secession and war. In the secession referendum, eight counties along the Red River frontier voted against the measure, making North Texas the largest concentration of Lone Star Unionism outside of the Hill Country and neighboring counties around Austin.<sup>84</sup>

The Peace Party was organized along similar lines as the Union Loyal League. It seems to have been spurred by the threat of Confederate conscription. Members were sworn to secrecy and the Party membership consisted of a first and second degree level. First degree members were sworn to support the reestablishment of federal authority in Texas and to aid other members in self-defense against conscription and secessionist aggression. A much smaller circle of second and third degree members appear to have actively engaged in plans to coordinate with federal forces, foment uprisings, and kill secessionists and take their property. Membership may have numbered as many as 1,700, with only a small minority belonging to the most militant circle of Party members. According to Richard McCaslin, while some members held Unionist political principles, the organization's goals

were mostly to seek “a method by which they could protect themselves, their families, and their homes in a frontier environment beset with violence and chaos.” Although this was the majority view, McCaslin notes that some were ready to use violence to restore the Union in North Texas. In another parallel, North Texas Unionists infiltrated the structure of the state militia and the Confederate Army, apparently planning on joining invading Union forces when the opportunity presented itself. At roughly the same time the ULL party was making its way to the Rio Grande, Confederate Captain and Unionist Martin Hart rode out of North Texas with thirty-seven men who were Confederates in name only.<sup>85</sup>

The Union Loyal League does not appear to have mustered such a large following, with a maximum of 500 men reported by John W. Sansom to have been directly involved in some way. If Ernst Cramer’s testimony that his Kendall County unit mustered eighty men under arms can be extrapolated to the Gillespie and Kerr companies, probably less than half of ULL members were ready to use violent means to resist the Confederacy. A fraction of these chose to flee to the Union Army in August 1862, with the rest going underground to avoid conscription or arrest.

The Confederate responses to each group have typically been lumped together as examples of Confederate repression of dissent and expressions of the Southern culture of vigilantism. In reality, each incident represented a different type of Civil War-era violence. Confederate repression in the Hill Country was actually remarkably limited given the security concerns and potential for violent hysteria that were such prominent features of mid-nineteenth century Anglo Texan culture. Thirty-six of the men killed had actively

engaged in armed resistance to the Confederacy. The remaining four were likely acting in defiance of the proclamation of martial law. The legality of other killings alluded to by contemporary accounts is uncertain. In the Hill Country in 1862, an armed Unionist movement was suppressed through military actions that were brutal but, strictly speaking, fell within the laws of war at the time or under the color of law, however tenuous the legality of martial law in Texas at the time.

In contrast, the mass killings in North Texas began under the sanction of state authorities but were largely carried out by a vigilante movement. Confederate authorities gave their tacit approval to the suppression of dissent in North Texas and Confederate and state troops aided in arresting and guarding suspected Unionists and providing security for the so-called Citizens Court convened in Gainesville. Despite the aid rendered to the Citizens Court, the bulk of the executions took place under the auspices of what was essentially a well-organized vigilante movement led by prominent local slaveholders and secessionists. Unlike those killed in the Hill Country, the vast majority of the men killed were probably moderate Unionists who had done little more than associate with some of the more militant members of the Peace Party.<sup>86</sup>

The chain of events leading to the majority of the killings in mid-October 1862 began during the last days of General Hébert's use of martial law in Texas, but the Great Hanging most likely would have occurred with or without the operation of martial law. Predictably, the violent suppression of Unionist dissent in North Texas only begat more violence. In the aftermath of the Great Hanging, the Red River frontier was beset by internal chaos and

Confederate authority gradually collapsed as the war continued. McCaslin asserts that the strife engendered by the vigilantism of 1862 carried over into the post-war years, leading to a long period of violence and destruction in the region.<sup>87</sup>

After the Nueces River battle, armed Hill Country Unionists and Confederate and state troops would not clash in such a large engagement again. Nonetheless, as in North Texas, Hill Country dissent did not end when the smoke cleared at the Nueces and Rio Grande. Instead, the Hill Country would experience many of the hardships common to other border communities during the Civil War, as well as difficulties unique to the region. The federal blockade, rampant inflation of Confederate money, sporadic Indian attacks, vigilante and guerilla violence, conscription, and the loss of men on distant battlefields threw the Hill Country into chaos between 1862 and 1865. Instead of limited, targeted violence by Confederate authorities, the Hill Country would soon be gripped by a vicious civil war between anti-Confederate dissenters, rival vigilante groups, and rogue state troopers. As fall turned to winter in 1862, for many frontier settlers the worst was yet to come. The repercussions would echo for years afterwards.

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<sup>1</sup> Francis R. Lubbock to Thomas J. Devine, April 4, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, Governor Francis R. Lubbock Records (FRL), TSLA.

<sup>2</sup> Six Confederates were also killed or subsequently died of their wounds. Fourteen were wounded but survived. *Treue der Union* Monument, Comfort, Texas; William Paul Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents* (San Antonio: Watercress Press, 2014), 305.

<sup>3</sup> Quote: Medina County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 5, 1862, Box 401-829, Texas Adjutant General's Department Records (TAG), TSLA.

<sup>4</sup> Quote: Robert Shook, "The Battle of the Nueces, August 10, 1862," *SHQ* 66 (July 1962): 42. In the past two decades a handful of historians have explored the existence of continuing Civil War violence in the Hill Country following the Nueces River battle. Nonetheless, the Nueces battle remains the most well-

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known incident in Hill Country Civil War history. See Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*; Baulch, "The Dogs of War Unleashed"; Stanley S. McGowen, "Battle or Massacre?: The Incident on the Nueces, August 10, 1862," *SHQ* 104 (July 2000): 64-86; Glen Sample Ely, "Gone from Texas and Trading with the Enemy: New Perspectives on Civil War West Texas," *SHQ* 110 (April 2007): 438-463.

<sup>5</sup> "the ordinance:" San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 4, 1861; "with exceeding ... foreign foes:" *Austin State Gazette*, March 12, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> "Before and After Secession:" San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 4, 1861; "the shrieks:" San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 15, 1861; "there will be:" San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 13, 1861; "in our opinion:" San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, May 3, 1861; "some strictures:" James P. Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas* (San Francisco, Cal.: James P. Newcomb, 1863), 12; Newcomb, *Journal of Travel from Texas through Mexico to California, Including a History of the "Box Colony,"* (San Francisco, Cal.: James P. Newcomb, 1863), 1-3.

<sup>7</sup> "they expect:" *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 25, 1861; "immediately set about:" Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250, 252; *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, April 17, 1861; "to avoid:" Hermann Seele, *The Diary of Hermann Seele and Seele's Sketches from Texas: Pioneer, Civic and Cultural leader, German-Texan Writer*, trans., introduction, and notes by Theodore Gish (Austin: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1995), 390, 423n68. Goldbeck remained in Mexico until 1869, when he returned to New Braunfels.

<sup>8</sup> "avoid the storm ... done now:" Seele, *The Diary of Hermann Seele*, 382-383, 386, 421n41; "my father:" Santleben, *A Texas Pioneer*, 22; "the settlers:" August Siemerling, "German Immigration into Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, September 21, 1894, trans. Clyde H. Porter, *The Dresel Family* (s.p., 1953), 1015.

<sup>9</sup> Sam Houston is famous for his Unionism as Governor, but his support of the Confederacy after secession is frequently overlooked. David Minor, "Throckmorton, James Webb," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36>, Texas State Historical Association; Sam Houston, *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863*, Vol. 8, eds. Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1943), 300-305, 327-339; quote: Carl H. Guenther, *An Immigrant Miller Picks Texas: The Letters of Carl Hilmar Guenther*, trans. Regina Beckmann Hurst and Walter D. Kamphoefner (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2001), 87.

<sup>10</sup> "An Act to provide for the Public Defence, March 6, 1861," in James M. Matthews, ed., *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: R.M. Smith, Printer, 1864), 45; *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, April 26, 1862, May 3, 1861, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," New Braunfels *Herald*, May 9, 1961; Proclamation, April 17, 1861, Governor Edward Clark Executive Record Book, Microfilm Reel 3476, TSLA.

<sup>11</sup> Viktor Bracht to Edward Clark, April 26, 1861, Box 2014/099-1, and May 3, 1861, Box 2014/099-2, Governor Edward Clark Records (EC), TSLA; "nothing short:" T.J. Thomas to Edward Clark, April 10, 1861, Box 2014/099-1, EC, TSLA; "The young men:" Viktor Bracht to Edward Clark, June 17, 1861, Box 2014/099-3, EC, TSLA; "an incomprehensible:" *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, July 26, 1861, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," New Braunfels *Herald*, June 6, 1961; "The younger men ... counties have:" *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, September 13, 1861, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," New Braunfels *Herald*, June 20, 1961.

<sup>12</sup> Louis Sarasin to Heinrich Guenther, April 21, 1861, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," New Braunfels *Herald*, January 30, 1962; Adolph Dreiss to Dear Parents, September 9, 1861, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," New Braunfels *Herald*, January 30, 1962, April 25, 1961; Minetta Algelt Goyne, *Lone Star and Double Eagle: Civil War Letters of a German-Texas Family* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1982), 17-19; Greg Woodall, "German Confederates from Comal County," *Columbiad 2* (Winter 1999): 51; Quartermaster Records, Box 401-838, Box 401-842, TAG, TSLA; Frank Frischmeyer, Military Service Records, TAG, TSLA; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," in *The Fate of Texas: The Civil War in the Lone Star State*, ed. Charles D. Grear (Fayetteville, Ark.: University of Arkansas Press, 2008), 112-115.

<sup>13</sup> Analysis of Third (Luckett's) Texas Infantry Regiment, Compiled Service Records (CSRs), Record Group (RG) 109, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (NARA); Bennett,



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*Kerr County*, 138-139; Capt. W.C. Adams' Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1217, TSLA; "List of men now in the State & Confederate Service from Blanco County Precinct No. 1," March 23, 1862, Civil War Muster Roll #904, TSLA; Joseph Graham to Francis R. Lubbock, May 16, 1862, FRL, TSLA; Alwyn Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission in San Antonio, July 2 – October 10, 1862," *SHQ* 71 (October 1967): 263; Charles D. Grear, *Why Texans Fought in the Civil War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010), 55-60; "We organized:" G.J. McFarland to Edward Clark, n.d., 1861, Box 2014/099-4, EC, TSLA; "For the purpose:" Capt. George Freeman's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #279, TSLA; David P. Smith, "Conscription and Conflict on the Texas Frontier, 1863-1865," *Civil War History* 36 (September 1990): 250-261; Clayton E. Jewett, *Texas in the Confederacy: An Experiment in Nation Building* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 113-140; Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, 53-54, 218-220, 276-280.

<sup>14</sup> H.P.N. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, Vol. 5 (Austin: The Gammel Book Company, 1898), 346-347; Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 28-29; John Hemphill and William S. Oldham to Leroy P. Walker, March 30, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) (*OR*), Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 618-19; L.P. Walker to Ben McCulloch, March 4, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 610; Col. H.E. McCulloch to L.P. Walker, March 30, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 617-618; General Orders No. 8, May 24, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 574-575; Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Major E. Kirby Smith recommended the occupation of Forts Inge, Verde, and Mason with cavalry and a company of infantry each. General Orders No. 8, May 24, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 574-575; Box 401-836, Quartermaster Returns, TAG, TSLA; E. Kirby Smith to L.P. Walker, April 20, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, 627-628; Camp Verde Quartermaster Requisitions, Box 401-841, TAG, TSLA; R.H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868* (London: J. Murray, 1907), 166-167, 175; William Royston Geise, "Texas – The First Year of the War. Part IV. April 1861 – April 1862," *Military History of Texas and the Southwest* 13, (No. 4): 33, 41 n. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Col. H.E. McCulloch to Brig. Gen. P.O. Hébert, September 20, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 4, 107-108; Stanley S. McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke: The First Texas Cavalry in the Civil War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 34; William W. Wigg and Capt. W.A. Pitts to Maj. Ed Burleson, October 24, 1861, Edward Burleson, Jr. Papers, CAH; Stephan Schwartz, *Twenty-two Months a Prisoner of War: A Narrative of Twenty-two Months' Imprisonment by the Confederates, in Texas, through General Twiggs' treachery, dating from April, 1861 to February, 1863* (St. Louis: A.F. Nelson Publishing Co., 1892), 90, 92; Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 35; Box 401-387, Quartermaster Records, TAG, TSLA. Fort McKavett, located approximately 60 miles west of Fort Mason, was part of the extreme western cordon of US Army defenses for the Hill Country frontier. McCulloch ordered Fort McKavett occupied but quartermaster records for the post do not extend beyond 1861. It is doubtful that the post was ever occupied by any significant body of Confederate or state troops. Sullivan, *Fort McKavett*, 24.

<sup>17</sup> Neither unit event records nor Texas Adjutant General's Department documents show any force at Camp Wood beyond August 31, 1861. Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 172; First Texas Mounted Rifles, Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Confederate Organizations, RG 109, NARA; Box 401-831, Box 401-836, Box 401-841, Box 401-843, Box 401-844, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *The Old Army in Texas*, 93-103; Harold B. Simpson, *Cry Comanche: The 2<sup>nd</sup> U.S. Cavalry in Texas, 1855-1861* (Hillsboro, TX: Hill Junior College Press, 1979), 161.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 38-39; Anonymous correspondent from Llano County, February 5, 1861, Box 401-830, TAG, TSLA; Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 167-171; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 25-28, 31-34; Marcus J. Wright, *Texas in the War, 1861-1865* (Hillsboro, TX: Hill Junior College Press, 1965), 201; Dewitt C. Thomas, Sr., "Reminiscences," 11-12, CAH.

<sup>20</sup> Gary C. Anderson claims that during the Civil War, "the Plains tribes were so decimated by the drought that few could mount raids into Texas." Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 327, 335-336; Stahle and Cleaveland, "Texas Drought History Reconstructed," 64, 66; Seymour V. Connor, "Ford, John Salmon [Rip]," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 2, 2015,

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<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffo11>, Texas State Historical Association; Harold J. Weiss, Jr., "McCulloch, Henry Eustace," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 2, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmc35>, Texas State Historical Association; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 10-16, 32-33; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 313; A.M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 196-197.

<sup>21</sup> Ely, *Where the West Begins*, 45. Numerous payments and contracts with frontier citizens can be found in boxes 401-844 through 401-849, TAG, TSLA; Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission in San Antonio," *SHQ* 71: 273.

<sup>22</sup> Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 455-465; quotes: Francis R. Lubbock to H.E. McCulloch, December 23, 1861, 122, and Francis R. Lubbock to General P.O. Hébert, Commanding, Dept. of Texas, Galveston, Dec. 24, 1861, 132, Francis R. Lubbock Letterpress book, Nov. 1861 – Apr. 1862, Box 2014/092-6, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>23</sup> "Every conceivable:" Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 7-8, 13-14; Francis R. Lubbock, "To the People of the State of Texas," *San Antonio Herald*, March 1, 1862; "An Act to further provide for the public defence," Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, 29-32.

<sup>24</sup> Lubbock, "To the People of the State of Texas"; Capt. George H. Sweet's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1289; "List of men now in the State & Confederate Service from Blanco County Precinct No. 1," March 23, 1862, Civil War Muster Roll #904, TSLA; Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas*, 138-139; Joseph Graham to Francis R. Lubbock, May 16, 1862, FRL, TSLA; Indigent family lists in Linda Mearse, *Confederate Indigent Families Lists of Texas, 1863-1865* (San Marcos, TX: n.p., 1995).

<sup>25</sup> Capt. Van der Stucken's company initially mustered as Company C, Eighth (Taylor's) Battalion Texas Cavalry on June 1, 1862. On May 2, 1863, Taylor's Battalion was joined with the Third (Yager's) Battalion Texas Cavalry and an independent cavalry company to form the First Texas Cavalry Regiment, and the Hill Country company was designated Company E. Eighth Census, Llano County, Texas; Seth Mabry, Seventeenth Texas Infantry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Capt. Seth Mabry's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1401, TSLA; Captain C.C. Arnett's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1167, TSLA; Eighth Census, Burnet County, Texas; Theodore Podewils, CSR, Thirty-second (Wood's) Texas Cavalry Regiment, RG 109, NARA; Julius Bose, Third (Luckett's) Texas Infantry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Frank van der Stucken, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 96.

<sup>26</sup> Leonard Pierce to William H. Seward, March 1, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 674; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Col. S.B. Davis, March 25, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 704-705; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Col. S.B. Davis, March 31, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 705; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Francis R. Lubbock, March 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>27</sup> In addition to the petitions quoted below, residents of Kerr and Comal counties made similar complaints to Governor Lubbock. Kerr County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, March 14, 1862 and Comal County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 17, 1862, FRL, TSLA; D'Hanis citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 1, 1862, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; "we are" and "the ruin:" Bandera County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, March 11, 1862, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; "cannot be:" Medina County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 5, 1862, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; "in case:" Kimble County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 22, 1862, FRL, TSLA;

<sup>28</sup> "There are:" Leonard Pierce to William H. Seward, March 1, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 674; "I am:" Leonard Pierce to William H. Seward, March 21, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, pg. 661; "I find:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Col. S.B. Davis, March 25, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 704-705; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Francis R. Lubbock, March 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Col. S.B. Davis, March 31, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 705.

<sup>29</sup> "Many of them:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Francis R. Lubbock, March 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA; "the crowds:" L. Pierce to Seward, May 5, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, pg. 685; Clara S. Scarbrough,

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*Land of Good Water (Takachue Poetsu): A Williamson County, Texas History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. (Georgetown, TX: Williamson County Sun Publishers, 1980), 188.

<sup>30</sup> Medina County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, April 5, 1862, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; Thompson, “Cortina, Juan Nepomuceno”; Col. H.E. McCulloch to Francis R. Lubbock, March 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA; J.A. Quintero to Col. H.E. McCulloch, January 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-1, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>31</sup> Lubbock, “To the People of the State of Texas”; San Antonio *Herald*, September 20, 1862, and July 26, 1862. This suggestion was certainly noticed by German Unionists. In a letter captured at the Nueces River battle German political leader Eduard Degener cited it as evidence of “the hatred of the Southerners towards the ‘Dutch.’ He suggested that if the Confederacy won the war, “it may be necessary for the Germans to emigrate again.” Alwyn Barr, “Records of the Confederate Military Commission in San Antonio, July 2 – October 10, 1862,” *SHQ* 73 (October 1969): 251.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 41-42; “An act to provide for the protection of the frontier of the state of Texas,” December 21, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 4, 162-164.

<sup>33</sup> Glen E. Lich, “Sansom, John William,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 21, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsa28>, Texas State Historical Association; “an unsound man ... the Company:” Blanco County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, January 11, 1862, FRL, TSLA; “willing to fight:” James M. Patton et al to Francis R. Lubbock, January 7, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; “lay in:” J.L. McCrocklin to Francis R. Lubbock, January 9, 1862, FRL, TSLA; Capt. Charles de Montel’s Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1619, TSLA; E. C. DeMontel, “Demontel, Charles S.,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 29, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fde35>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>34</sup> “an intyre ... your enemys:” D.H. Farr to Francis R. Lubbock, Jan. 28, 1862, Box 2014/092-1, FRL, TSLA; “a violent ... black republican:” D.H. Farr to Francis R. Lubbock, February 13, 1862, Box 2014/092-2, FRL, TSLA; Frank v.d. Stucken to Lubbock, February 13, 1862, Box 2014/092-2, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>35</sup> It should be noted that Ernst Cramer does not appear on the muster roll for Kuechler’s company. His use of the term “Our Company” reflects the fact that the company was composed exclusively of Germans, most of whom appear to have been confirmed Unionists. Barr, “Records of the Confederate Military Commission,” *SHQ* 71: 264; quote: Ernst Cramer to My Beloved Parents, October 30, 1862, in Walter Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, trans. Susan Carter Vogel, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 429. Capt. Jacob Kuechler’s Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1417, TSLA; Capt. Henry T. Davis’s Company, Muster Roll #1124, TSLA.

<sup>36</sup> “men right:” San Saba, Mason, Llano, and Burnet County citizens to Francis R. Lubbock, January 28, 1862, Box 2014/092-1, FRL, TSLA; Ninth Census of the United States (hereafter Ninth Census), Mason County, Texas; “flippantly ... questionable:” Lt. Col. T.C. Frost to C.S. West, Feb. 10, 1862, Box 2014/092-2, FRL, TSLA; Newton McMillan, Texas Frontier Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA. It is notable that Mason County was named as the center of opposition to McMillan. Mason County had the largest German immigrant population in the northern Hill Country. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas*, 164.

<sup>37</sup> Along with well-known Unionist William E. Jones, Ranck co-signed a recommendation to Governor Hamilton for a special pardon for Theodor Wiedenfeld of Kendall County in 1866, an indication of his Unionism. James E. Ranck, Service Records, TAG, TSLA; Theodore Wiedenfeld, April 11, 1866, Box 2006/075-6, Texas Applications for Special Pardons, TSLA.

<sup>38</sup> John W. Sansom, *Battle of Nueces River in Kinney County, Texas, August 10, 1862* (San Antonio: published by John W. Sansom, 1905), 2-3; Ernst Cramer to My Beloved Parents, October 30, 1862, *Germans in the Civil War*, 429. John W. Sansom was not a member of the ULL when it was initially organized and was not associated with it until July 25, 1862, less than a week before members of the group

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departed for Mexico. Therefore, Cramer's chronology and dates have been used instead of those given in Sansom's account. Most histories of these events have relied heavily upon Sansom's account.

<sup>39</sup> Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas" in Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1015-A; Julius Schlickum to Father, December 21, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 195-196; August Siemering, "Die Deutschen in Texas Während des Bürgerkrieges," *Freie Presse für Texas*, May 29, 1923, trans. Helen Dietert, ed. William Paul Burrier, *August Siemering's Die Deutschen in Texas Während Des Bürgerkrieges: The Germans in Texas during the Civil War* (Tamarac, FL: Llumina Press, 2013), 195-196; Sansom, *Battle of Nueces River*, 2-3; Hooker, "Degener, Edward"; Ernst Cramer to My Beloved Parents, October 30, 1862, *Germans in the Civil War*, 430.

<sup>40</sup> "a pretty considerable:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Maj. S.B. Davis, March 3, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 701-702; "not only black:" Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, March 16, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>41</sup> "connected with ... resist the draft:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Francis R. Lubbock, March 27, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA; "inform everybody:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Col. S. B. Davis, March 31, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 705.

<sup>42</sup> "black republicans ... fight us!:" Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, April 13, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; "during the last ... their forces:" Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, May 31, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; "The Union men:" Leonard Pierce to William H. Seward, March 21, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 661.

<sup>43</sup> Stephan Schwartz, *Twenty-Two Months a Prisoner of War*, 89-90; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 35; quote: Capt. James Duff to Maj. E.F. Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 787; A. Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas" in *The Dresel Family*, 1015-C; W.G. Webb and J.H. Moore to Governor Lubbock, April 2, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>44</sup> Francis R. Lubbock to Thomas Devine, April 4, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA; quote: Francis R. Lubbock to W.G. Webb and J.H. Moore, April 4, 1862, Box 2014/092-3, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>45</sup> "have been using ... our enemies:" Col. H.E. McCulloch to Maj. S.B. Davis, March 3, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 701; C.H. Merritt to Col. H.E. McCulloch, March 3, 1862; "the means ... our government:" *San Antonio Herald-Extra*, April 28, 1862.

<sup>46</sup> Geise, "Texas – The First Year of the War," 36-37, 39.

<sup>47</sup> *San Antonio Herald-Extra*, April 28, 1862; quote: *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, May 1862, trans. Oscar Haas, "Comal County in Civil War," *New Braunfels Herald*, October 1, 1963; *San Antonio Herald*, May 31, 1862; Department of Texas General Order No. 45, May 30, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 716.

<sup>48</sup> Capt. James Duff to Maj. E.F. Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 785; Richard Selcer and William Paul Burrier, "What Really Happened on the Nueces River? James Duff: A Good Soldier or the Butcher of Fredericksburg?," *North & South 2* (January 1998): 56-60; Capt. Manuel Yturri to wife, May 31, 1862, in Joseph Rafael de la Garza and Manuel Yturri, *Tejanos in Gray: Civil War Letters of Captains Joseph Rafael de la Garza and Manuel Yturri*, ed. Jerry Thompson, trans. José Roberto Juárez (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 33.

<sup>49</sup> Capt. Manuel Yturri to wife, May 31, 1862, *Tejanos in Gray*, 33; quotes: Capt. James Duff to Maj. E.F. Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 785.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 785-786; Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, May 31, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>51</sup> Quote: Testimony of Charles Nimitz in Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 71: 253-277; Resolution of the Gillespie Rifles, February 23, 1862, Gillespie County District Court Records (hereafter GCDC); Capt. James Duff to Maj. E.F. Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 786-787.

<sup>52</sup> Duff to Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 786-787.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Each man was convicted of crimes ranging from "Disloyalty" to "Depreciating the Currency." Duff to Gray, June 23, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 4, 787; Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 71: 253-277 and *SHQ* 73 (July 1969): 83-90.

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<sup>55</sup> Resolution of the Gillespie Rifles, February 23, 1862, GCDC; Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 71: 262-264, 273-274; R.H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 237; DeMontel, "DeMontel, Charles S."

<sup>56</sup> *San Antonio Herald*, July 26, 1862; Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas," in Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1015-B – 1015-C; Report of Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee, October 21, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 455.

<sup>57</sup> *San Antonio Herald*, July 26, 1862; Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. James M. Norris, July 7, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; "the conscript law:" Capt. E.D. Lane to Col. James M. Norris, July 25, 1862; "armed:" Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. James M. Norris, July 7, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; Capt. Henry T. Davis to Col. James M. Norris, July 25, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 25.

<sup>58</sup> Quote: Report of Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee, October 21, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 455; Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 235-236.

<sup>59</sup> Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 235-236; Second Lieut. A.V. Gates, Company D, Frontier Regiment, Monthly Return, July 1862, Box 401-831, TAG, TSLA; Ernst Cramer to My Beloved Parents, October 30, 1862, *Germans in the Civil War*, 431.

<sup>60</sup> Quote: Sansom, *Battle of the Nueces in Kinney County, Texas, August, 10, 1862*, 4; Stanley S. McGowen, "Battle or Massacre? The Incident on the Nueces, August 10, 1862," 76; Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, August 18, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 615; Fritz Tegener to August Duecker, August 23, 1875, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 105-106; Jacob Kuechler to James P. Newcomb, n.d. (believed to be 1887), Jacob Kuechler Papers (JKP), CAH; David R. Hoffman, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers: August Hoffmann's Memoir," *SHQ* 102 (April 1999): 496; Helen Raley, "The Blackest Crime in Texas Warfare," *Dallas Morning News*, May 5, 1929. The most frequently expressed reason for the slow pace of the ULL party is the notion that they were departing Texas under the protection of a thirty- to ninety-day window of amnesty issued by the Governor. No such proclamation has ever been found. Proclamations ordering residents to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederacy or depart within twenty to forty days were issued by Governor Clark and President Davis in June and August 1861 respectively. It is possible that some Unionists misunderstood the timeline of the proclamations, but it is more likely that this was a partisan fabrication created after the war. This myth appeared for the first time in a speech given by James P. Newcomb in 1887 on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Nueces battle. Newcomb's speech was itself based on a letter written by Jacob Kuechler. Sansom repeats this myth on page 11 of his 1905 pamphlet, an awkward claim given his statement on page 4 that they were eluding Confederate soldiers that were known to be hunting for them. Paul Burrier has an excellent discussion of the origins of the proclamation story in his *Nueces Battle and Massacre: Myths and Facts*, 73-82. *San Antonio Herald*, June 8, 1861; "An Act Respecting Alien Enemies," August 8, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 2, v. 2, 1368-1369; "An Act to Alter and Amend an Act Entitled 'An Act For The Sequestration of the Estates, Property, and Effects of Alien Enemies and for Indemnity of Citizens of the Confederate States, and Persons Aiding the Same in the War With The United States,'" August 13, 1861, *OR*, Ser. 2, v. 2, 932-944; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 97; Kuechler to Newcomb, 1887, JKP, CAH; Sansom, *Battle of the Nueces*, 4, 11.

<sup>61</sup> Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, n10 307; Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 614; Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 237-239; "Battle of the Nueces," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 29, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qfn01>, Texas State Historical Association; Sansom, *Battle of the Nueces*, 5. Varying accounts claim that Burgmann was either coerced into betraying the ULL fugitives, did so willingly, or did so out of anger when the Unionist party forcibly took provisions from him to supply themselves. In any case, he was listed as a volunteer guide in Lieut. McRae's report. He was wounded in three places during the Nueces fight and eventually enlisted into the 33<sup>rd</sup> Texas Cavalry Regiment, commanded by James Duff. Some sources claim that he fled to Mexico in 1865. Guido Ransleben says Burgmann was killed by a black Seminole sometime after the war. No primary sources can confirm the last two claims. Adolf Paul Weber, *Deutsche Pionere: Zur Geschichte des Deutschthums in Texas* (San Antonio: s.p., 1894), 13; *San Antonio Semi-Weekly News*,

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August 25, 1862; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 303-309; Charles Burgmann, Thirty-third (Duff's) Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 121; W.C. Nunn, *Escape from Reconstruction* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1956), 129.

<sup>62</sup> Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 615; Hoffman, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 496; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 91, 108-109. Ironically, Beseler had killed Basil Stewart on July 5, helping to prompt the crackdown on Hill Country dissenters. Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas," in Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1015-B – 1015-C.

<sup>63</sup> Kuechler to Newcomb, 1887, JKP, CAH; Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 247; Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 615; Sansom, *Battle of the Nueces*, 8-10. Lieutenant McRae reported that the five "Americans" in the Unionist group ran "at the first fire." John W. Sansom, one of the five, claimed later that they were attempting to facilitate a withdrawal by the main Unionist force. Sansom states that he and the other Anglos tried to fire on the Confederate flanks once the battle began in earnest, but were prevented by poor powder. Jacob Kuechler also remembered that after the second Confederate charge "about half of our men would not stand the fight any longer and left me." Whatever the case may be, it is clear that over the course of the fight many men left the Unionist camp. Had they been better organized and maintained their position, they might have driven back the Confederates or been able to fight their way to a more defensible position.

<sup>64</sup> In Lieutenant McRae's report he exaggerated Unionist casualties, claiming thirty-two killed. Greatly varying casualty figures are found in many different sources. The *Treue der Union* monument is believed to be the only correct list of those Unionists killed at the Nueces. It was erected in 1866 by relatives and neighbors of the men killed at the battle and its immediate aftermath. *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas; "Battle of the Nueces," *Handbook of Texas Online*; San Antonio *Semi-Weekly News*, August 25, 1862; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 303-309; Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 615. It is unclear whether McRae ordered the executions and deliberately failed to report the killing of the wounded or if he was unaware of it. R.H. Williams and Henry Schwethelm blamed Lieutenant Edwin Lilly (referred to by Williams in his account as "Luck") of Duff's Partisan Rangers for the executions. Henry Schwethelm also accused Alonzo Rees of Kerr County of participating in the killing of the wounded Unionists. William G. Wharton of Kerr County was another soldier suspected of carrying out executions. Both Rees and Wharton were members of Henry T. Davis's company of the Frontier Regiment, although Wharton apparently didn't enlist until December 1862. He may have been present at the Nueces in the capacity of a civilian volunteer. A final individual said by descendants to have carried out the executions is Oscar Splittgerber, a Prussian native from Gillespie County, but this appears unlikely. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 249-250; Henry Schwethelm to My Dear Otto, 1913, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 168, 362n1, 362n2; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 120; Capt. Henry T. Davis' Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1124, TSLA; William G. Wharton, Texas Frontier Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre: Myths and Facts*, 87-90.

<sup>65</sup> August Hoffmann also has an account of William Vater, but confuses him with his brother Adolf, who had been killed in the fighting, and possibly also with Ferdinand Simon, who was subsequently captured. Calimense Beckett of Uvalde County rescued William Vater and took him to a doctor in Brackettville. What happened to Vater after this is unknown. Kuechler to Newcomb, 1887, JKP, CAH; Hoffman, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 497; *Treue der Union* monument; Florence Anthon, *Early History of Uvalde and Surrounding Territory* (Uvalde, TX: West Main Press, 2006), 105; Report of Lieut. C.D. McRae, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 9, 615; Alwyn Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 73: 270-272. Schwethelm to My Dear Otto, 1913, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 166.

<sup>66</sup> *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, August 29, 1862; Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 73: 247-252; "a nowen:" Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; D.P.

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Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62," *San Antonio Express*, January 13, 1918. Hopkins records the name as Sowell, but the author believes this to be a mistake.

<sup>67</sup> Capt. John Donelson's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1141, TSLA; Analysis of Company A, Thirty-third (Duff's) Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSRs, RG 109, NARA; Dunn, "The KGC in Texas, 1860-1861," 543-573; Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," 110.

<sup>68</sup> Capt. Charles de Montel's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1619, TSLA; Capt. Henry T. Davis's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1124, TSLA; Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession, February 23, 1861," 12-28; Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 481.

<sup>69</sup> See Carrigan, *The Making of a Lynching Culture*.

<sup>70</sup> Knut Dörman, "The legal situation of 'unlawful/unprivileged combatants,'" *International Review of the Red Cross* 85 (March 2003): 45-74; William J. Haynes II, "Enemy Combatants," December 12, 2002, Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/international-law/enemy-combatants/p5312>.

<sup>71</sup> Quotes: General Orders No. 100, April 24, 1863, *OR*, Ser. 2, Vol. 5, 677, 681-682. Clay Mountcastle argues against the traditional view that the Lieber Code was a humanitarian achievement. Instead, Mountcastle asserts that the Lieber Code – and its vague language – was largely promulgated to codify an already active but unofficial Union policy of reprisals against guerillas encountered in the border states and occupied Confederate territory. Mark Grimsley concurs that in the Lieber Code, "the line between wanton destruction and vigorous prosecution ... was hazy at best." Clay Mountcastle, *Punitive War: Confederate Guerillas and Union Reprisals* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), 41-45; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 148-151.

<sup>72</sup> Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62;" Warren W. Schellhase, "Edited Journal of Fritz Schellhase," accessed August 20, 2014, <http://tuffie0.tripod.com/journaloffritzschehhase.htm>; Guido Ransleben, *One Hundred Years of Comfort*, 95; Henry Schwethelm to My Dear Otto, 1913, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 168; John Seal to Dear friends, September 8, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 315-316; John L. Donelson to A.A.A. General, August 21, 1862, John L. Donelson, Second Regiment Texas Mounted Rifles, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Post Return of Camp Perdenalis, September 1862, Posts in Texas #292, RG 109, NARA; State of Texas vs. James Duff & Richard Taylor, Case #12 and #13, Kendall County District Court Records (hereafter KNCCDC); *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas.

<sup>73</sup> Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*, 238; Allen B. Nelson, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, RG 94, NARA.

<sup>74</sup> First Sergeant Desmond P. Hopkins of Davis's company claimed to have counted "seven dead men hung on one limb" who were then cut down and tossed into Spring Creek. All other sources indicate that only the four men named were killed in this incident. Howard Henderson, Allen Nelson, Thomas Scott, and Warren Scott enlisted in the Union army at New Orleans on October 27, 1862. Howard Henderson, Thomas Scott, Warren B. Scott, and Allen B. Nelson, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSRs, RG 94, NARA; Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas*, 4, 14, 145; Harper Centennial Committee, *Here's Harper, 1863-1963* (Fredericksburg, TX: The Radio Post, 1963), 12-13; Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62;" Thomas C. Smith, *Here's Yer Mule: The Diary of Thos. C. Smith, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sergeant, Co. G, Wood's Regiment, 32<sup>nd</sup> Texas Cavalry, C.S.A.* (Waco, TX: Little Texan Press, 1958), 19.

<sup>75</sup> "When one:" Smith, *Here's Yer Mule*, 19; "now the worst ... all over the woods:" John Seal to Dear friends, September 8, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 315-316.

<sup>76</sup> Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; W.W. Holland to Pendleton Murrah, April 18, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, Governor Pendleton Murrah Records, TSLA.

<sup>77</sup> Richarz was discharged for lack of evidence but Degener was convicted and spent the rest of the war in prison. Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 73: 246-268; Barr, "Records of the Confederate Military Commission," *SHQ* 73: 83; Hooker, "Degener, Edward"; quote: Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62;" Post Return of Camp Perdenalis, August 1862, Posts in Texas #292, RG 109, NARA; John Seal to Dear friends, September 8, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and*

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*Massacre Source Documents*, 315-316.; Second Lieut. A.V. Gates, Company D, Frontier Regiment, Monthly Return, July 1862, Box 401-831, TAG, TSLA; Smith, *Here's Yer Mule*, 20-21; Harper Centennial Committee, *Here's Harper*, 12; Victor Nixon, Jr., "An Encounter with the Partisan Rangers," *The Junior Historian* 25 (September 1964): 7-9.

<sup>78</sup> Kamphoefner, *Germans in the Civil War*, 437n18; Julius Schlickum to Father, December 21, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 198-201; San Antonio *Semi-Weekly News*, June 18, 1863; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre: Myths and Facts*, 121; Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 498-502.

<sup>79</sup> Nixon, "An Encounter with the Partisan Rangers," 7-9.

<sup>80</sup> Leonard Pierce to William H. Seward, September 22, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, Vol. 7, Roll 4, Microfilm 797.14, CAH; San Antonio *Herald*, October 11, 1862; Julius Schlickum to Father, December 21, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 198-201; Sansom, *Battle of Nueces River*, 14.

<sup>81</sup> According to Guido Ransleben, an eighth man, Fritz Lange, eventually died as a result of the Rio Grande battle. His name does not appear on the *Treue der Union* monument. Paul Burrier believes that Lange was wounded during the river crossing and succumbed to lingering wounds around 1866. Ransleben, *A Hundred years of Comfort*, 114; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 193n9, 208; *Treue der Union* Monument, Comfort, Texas; Anson Mills to My Dear Father, December 26, 1862, W. W. Mills folder, Box 4, MS131, Rex Strickland Papers, C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department, The University of Texas at El Paso Library; Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62"; Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 498; Cynthia Hohenberger, "The Grapetown Legacy," *The Junior Historian* 26 (September 1965): 8-9; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 114.

<sup>82</sup> "an unwarranted:" Gen. Paul O. Hébert to Gen. Samuel Cooper, October 11, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 828-829; Francis Lubbock to Gen. Paul O. Hébert, September 25, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 829-830; "most of the business:" Capt. John Donelson to Gen. Hamilton P. Bee, August 21, 1862, in John Donelson, Second Regiment Texas Mounted Rifles, CSR, RG 109, NARA; John Seal to Dear friends, September 8, 1862, Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 315; "fifty men ... the foe:" Capt. John Donelson to Gen. Hamilton P. Bee, September 8, 1862, in John Donelson, Second Regiment Texas Mounted Rifles, CSR, RG 109, NARA.

<sup>83</sup> These include C. Lovell, killed around August 4 in the Spring Creek settlement, nineteen ULL members killed at the Nueces on August 10, nine ULL members killed on various dates in the aftermath of the Nueces River battle, four men killed at Spring Creek in late August, and seven men killed attempting to cross the Rio Grande on October 18. Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas*, 145; Harper Centennial Committee, *Here's Harper*, 12-13; Hopkins, "Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of '62"; Smith, *Here's Yer Mule*, 19; Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; *Treue der Union* Monument, Comfort, Texas. Works that examine the events in North Texas include Marten, *Texas Divided*, 103-104; Richard B. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994); David Pickering and Judy Falls, *Brush Men & Vigilantes: Civil War Dissent in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Richard B. McCaslin, "The Price of Liberty: The Great Hanging at Gainesville," in Grear, *The Fate of Texas*, 53-67; Brown, *Strain of Violence*.

<sup>84</sup> Pickering and Falls, *Brush Men & Vigilantes*, 6-10; McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 14-16; Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 66, 73-74.

<sup>85</sup> McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 56-57, 62-64, 78, 90-92; Pickering and Falls, *Brush Men & Vigilantes*, 73-74; William E. Sawyer, "Martin Hart, Civil War Guerilla," *Texas Military History* 3 (Fall 1963): 146-153.

<sup>86</sup> McCaslin, "The Price of Liberty:" 60-62.

<sup>87</sup> McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 108-193.



## **Chapter Four:**

### **The Indian War and the Home Front**

“I do not know what will become of you or us.”  
– Sophia Wight, December 5, 1863<sup>1</sup>

In April 1865, with the Civil War nearly at an end, Caroline Ohlenburger and Anna Hahn appealed to the Gillespie County Court for assistance. Ohlenburger, “a poor woman” whose husband was serving in the Union army, said that she could not “maintain herself & her own children further by her own means or work.” Anna Hahn’s husband was also away, having enlisted in 1862 in Captain Frank van der Stucken’s Confederate cavalry company. She requested assistance for herself and her “3 helpless children.” The commissioners awarded Hahn and Ohlenburger \$6 each in county scrip. The court also found that Hahn and “a certain McDonald” were each entitled to an additional \$32 dollars from the fund for dependent family members of soldiers. The McDonald family’s problems were manifold in 1865. A December 1864 Indian attack had claimed the lives of Mrs. Wiley Joy and her daughter Alwilda Joy McDonald, the wife of Unionist refugee Lafe McDonald. Eli McDonald would die along with Mrs. Gilley Taylor in another Indian attack in August 1865. The exigencies of civil war, a crippled economy, and continuing Indian raids brought hardships to all Hill Country settlers, regardless of age, sex, ethnicity, or political alignment.<sup>2</sup>

The Hill Country was spared the wanton destruction and near-famine conditions caused by major military campaigns in other regions of the Confederate South. Even so, between 1862 and 1865 Hill Country settlers experienced many problems in common with the other seceded states, as well as some that were unique to the region. The first problem was a collapsing economy. One Mason County rancher described conditions during the Civil War as “truly a terrible poverty.” The Union blockade, the rapid depreciation of Confederate currency, and the Confederacy’s demands for men and materiel conspired to dramatically slow the region’s growth, and to temporarily reverse it in some cases. As the war went on, Hill Country settlers were forced to rely upon home production of food and other goods, supplemented by both private and government efforts to provide relief. Economic problems fed dissatisfaction with Confederate and state policies, and drove some Texans to ignore or evade restrictions on trade across the Mexican border in order to obtain essential goods.<sup>3</sup>

Another major issue facing the Hill Country home front was the problem of frontier defense. Among the Confederate states, Indian raiding was a problem unique to the Texas frontier. For a variety of reasons, Texas’s frontier defense efforts never achieved significant success against Native American raiders. Raids continued throughout the Civil War, resulting in dozens of deaths and the loss of large quantities of livestock. Population declined in some parts of the region as settlers left in search of safer areas. Meanwhile, Confederate and state authorities attempted to require military service from men in the region, regardless of the dangers at home. Hill Country settlers, particularly those with Unionist proclivities, demanded that they be allowed to carry out their military service at

home in order to combat these raids. Ironically, petitioners from the Hill Country wielded secessionist rhetoric about the masculine defense of hearth and home as a powerful weapon against military conscription, rather than as a discourse aimed at rousing support for Confederate service. These arguments proved remarkably effective, but they also opened those who resisted Confederate policies to charges of disaffection and disloyalty.

Governor Lubbock and district commander General Hebert still had plenty to worry about following the suppression of Unionist threats in the Hill Country and North Texas in the late summer and fall of 1862. The long-anticipated Union invasion via the Texas coast seemed to be at hand when a federal combined Army-Navy force seized Galveston in early October 1862. Simultaneously, the threat of German Texan unrest reared its head again. Governor Lubbock had been receiving warnings about Unionist activity in the lower Brazos and Colorado River region since the spring of 1862. The Union seizure of Texas's largest city and main port encouraged German Texan Unionists in these counties to organize themselves in anticipation of aiding the Union forces who were expected to strike into the states interior. By late December, hundreds of men were reportedly meeting in Austin, Colorado, and Fayette counties to denounce the Confederacy and conscription, and to organize in preparation for open resistance to the constituted government.<sup>4</sup>

Lubbock and the Confederate Army responded by declaring martial law and sending military forces into the three counties in question. Illegal Unionist organizations were ordered to "immediately disperse and disband" and Lubbock directed the arrest of those who were in rebellion, disobeying the law, or "guilty of exciting rebellion against the law."

Confederate troops quickly detained most of the Unionist leadership in the rebellious areas. The Unionist uprising quickly fizzled following the military expedition, combined with a personal visit from the governor, and the Confederate recapture of Galveston on New Year's Day 1863. By the end of January the rebellion was over and secessionist leaders could refocus on the problem of defense from external threats.<sup>5</sup>

The apparent end of organized Unionist resistance meant that state authorities re-prioritized the problem of Indian defense along the Hill Country frontier. With the exception of a large raid through the southern Hill Country in October 1861, Indian depredations had declined significantly during the year following secession. A deadly raid near Boerne in January 1862 signaled the potential reescalation of the longstanding conflict between native peoples and Hill Country settlers. The San Antonio *Herald* reported five killed in the raid by a party of ten Indians who did not “appear to wish to steal, but to murder.” Two of the victims were shepherds for prominent Hill Country farmer George W. Kendall. In a letter to the *Herald*, Kendall expressed his shock that “such a sanguinary raid as the present” would take place only thirty-five miles from San Antonio, in an area formerly believed to be safe. Kendall called for an expedition to be mounted to drive off or wipe out the Southern Plains tribes, for “so long as an Indian is left this side of the Arkansas, so long will there be insecurity and stealing.” Many on the frontier were hopeful that “the new frontier bill will give us better protection,” and Kendall believed “the Governor cannot carry its requisitions into force a moment too soon.”<sup>6</sup>

The bill Kendall referred to was for the creation of what became known as the Frontier Regiment. As discussed in Chapter Three, the organization of the regiment was mired in controversy due to attempts by Hill Country Unionists to gain control of the three companies raised in the region in hopes of assisting a possible Union invasion and avoiding military service away from the frontier. These efforts eventually culminated in the creation and subsequent destruction of the Union Loyal League. Even as Confederate and state troops were kept busy suppressing Unionist activity in 1862, the Hill Country was struck by Indian raids.

Following the January raid in Kendall County, Indians were reported in the northern and central Hill Country. Approximately fifty warriors entered the line of settlement west of Fort Mason, killing Henry and Nancy Parks and their grandson Billy at their homestead on the Little Saline Creek in southeastern Menard County on April 2, 1862. The raiding party continued into Mason County, forcing settlers to seek shelter in their houses and “taking all the horses as they went.” On the same day the Parks family was killed, a Frontier Regiment patrol from San Saba County had a fight with a party of Indians eight miles north of Fort Mason, resulting in the severe wounding of Captain Newton McMillan. McMillan reported several soldiers wounded and believed his men had killed or wounded five Indians. On April 3, a patrol from the Frontier Regiment chased some of the Indians into western Gillespie County, where they stole two mules, scattered, and escaped. On the following day Heinrich Grobe and a Mr. Berg were killed near Fredericksburg by Indians who were likely associated with the same raiding party. J.M. Watson also reported Indians

stealing and killing horses and chasing citizens in Blanco County on April 4, after which they departed “in a northwesterly direction, passing through the Perdinales country, where they killed one German, shot a negro, and stole a number of horses.” Other correspondents with Governor Lubbock confirmed the eventual death of the enslaved boy. On April 9 a boy from Lampasas named James Gracey was killed in northern Burnet County. Between the January and April raids, twelve people had died at the hands of Indian raiders in the Hill Country.<sup>7</sup>

Just as in the pre-war period, Indian raiding was driven by a variety of factors that often had little correlation with static frontier defense strategies. By the eve of the Civil War the Comanches and Kiowas faced an existential crisis as a result of drought, the destruction of the buffalo herds, and disease. The decline in raiding by the Plains tribes during 1861 resulted from these conditions as well as the signing of a treaty with the Confederate government at Fort Cobb in Indian Territory. Deaths during that year were nearly all concentrated in Medina and Uvalde counties and were probably perpetrated by Lipan Apaches based in the northern Mexican state of Coahuila. The raids in early 1862 were carried out by unidentified groups of Indians, but George W. Kendall’s suggestion that they were the fault of “the prairie tribes,” that the country “this side of the Arkansas” must be cleared of Indians, and the route taken by the raiders indicates that they were most likely Comanches or Kiowas.<sup>8</sup>

Several factors prompted the renewal of raiding. The social and economic dynamics of Plains Indian societies made it difficult to halt all raiding permanently. Young warriors

striving to achieve wealth and prestige depended on horse stealing and demonstrations of combat prowess to climb the social ladder. Another factor was the reality that not all bands of the Comanche nation were signatories to the Fort Cobb treaty, and there was internal disagreement between Comanche leaders over what course to pursue toward Texas, the Confederacy, and the United States. Yet the raids of January and April were merely a burst of destructive raiding rather than the beginning of systematic warfare on the Texas frontier. Few casualty-producing raids were reported in the Hill Country during the summer and fall of 1862.<sup>9</sup>

Texas state troops were quick to take credit for the reduction in depredations during the second year of the war. In October 1862, Adjutant General Jeremiah Y. Dashiell reported to General Hebert that since March 15 the Frontier Regiment had killed twenty-one Indians and recovered 200 stolen horses along its entire line of defense. The regiment had therefore “realized the most sanguine expectations of the Legislature, and justified the wishes of the Governor.” He opined that “this mode of defense is superior to every other yet tried.” Dashiell’s report – intended as an argument for the Confederate government to pick up the tab for the support of the Frontier Regiment – was overly optimistic in its assessment of the Frontier Regiment’s effectiveness.<sup>10</sup>

In truth, the decline in Indian raids had little to do with the performance of the Frontier Regiment. A far more powerful deterrent to increased raiding was the outbreak of smallpox on the Southern Plains. The epidemic began in 1861 and was raging through the encampments the next winter. “A large number” of deaths – perhaps hundreds according

to one historian – were reported among the Kiowas and Comanches near Fort Wise, Colorado in March 1862. The situation was exacerbated by extremely cold weather in the winter of 1862. Therefore, weather conditions and disease worked hand in hand to minimize raiding by the Plains tribes. As in 1861, most raiding remained concentrated in the southern Hill Country and can be attributed to Lipan Apaches and the various fragmentary immigrant tribes residing in northern Mexico. Following the April raid, approximately six victims of Indian raids were reported during the rest of 1862.<sup>11</sup>

In the Hill Country sector, the Frontier Regiment could boast of a handful of successes against Indian incursions. Captain de Montel's company at Camp Verde reported several pursuits and fights with Indians in the southern Hill Country in 1862. Nine horses were recovered after a pursuit of two Indians in April 1862. In late August, a patrol under Lieutenant Benjamin F. Patton had a fight with a party of nine or ten Indians, "killing & scalping 3 & badly wounding all the rest except one recovering 37 horses" in addition to bows, arrows, shields, and other materiel. On February 15, 1863, Captain James Hunter's company pursued a group of eleven raiders in western Gillespie County. His men reported "killing and scalping" three Indians but were prevented from killing more due to the "utterly worthless" ammunition they were forced to use. Two soldiers and two horses were also reportedly wounded in the engagement.<sup>12</sup>

On August 11 de Montel reported that "Indians have been very troublesome" and "killed several men on the Hondo & Atascosa" settlements south of the Hill Country. An officer in his company came across twenty Indians "who had only a few horses" but couldn't fight



them due to lack of ammunition. This encounter and the Gillespie County skirmish in February 1863 revealed a persistent problem that plagued the state's frontier defense efforts: the total inadequacy of the Frontier Regiment's logistical system. The most essential items required for combat service - gun powder, percussion caps, and lead - were constantly in short supply. When it was supplied to the regiment the powder was often of poor quality. Despite Captain McMillan's assertion that his men had fought aggressively in the running battle with Indians near Fort Mason in April 1862, regimental commander Colonel James M. Norris described the patrol as being "badly whipped" for "want of ammunition." In the same month Captain de Montel stated that his men stationed at Camp Verde had only three rounds each, the powder having been purchased by the men themselves. The problem of ammunition was not simply an initial logistical difficulty to be overcome in time, but continued for the duration of the Frontier Regiment's service in the Hill Country. In March 1863 George W. Kendall reported that a Frontier Regiment soldier had informed him that "his company had not been supplied with ammunition enough, of good quality, to shoot a rabbit." As late as March 29, 1864, a company commander in Gillespie County reported that "my Company is out of Caps ... and cannot send out a scout for want of Caps."<sup>13</sup>

Pay and clothing were also inadequate or difficult to procure. On June 12, 1863, "Rifle," a member of the Frontier Regiment and correspondent for the Austin papers, reported that the troops had received no pay for six months and the regimental paymaster had been unable to obtain any funds. The situation appears to have been worse for some parts of the

regiment. In an April 1863 report, Captain Jesse Lawhon, commanding Company B at Camp Verde, stated that his company had not been paid since their muster into the service over a year prior. The men were eventually paid sometime before the end of June. The supply of clothing seems to have been a somewhat less urgent concern. The law establishing the Frontier Regiment required the men to furnish their own weapons, horses, and accoutrements. Since they were serving near their homes, it was expected that the men could be supplied with clothing by their families. This of course meant that households with members in the frontier service had to either gain access to commercially manufactured cloth - an item in great shortage due to the Union naval blockade - or weave their own at home. The results were predictable. Lieutenant Colonel McCord informed the state Adjutant General in October 1862 that the regiment had as yet “received no money, tents or clothing.” By August 30, 1863, Major William J.D. Alexander reported, “a great many of the men have not clothing to hide their nakedness and are barefoot.”<sup>14</sup>

Rations and fodder for horses were of secondary importance only to ammunition in carrying out the mission of frontier defense. The Frontier Regiment was never able to replicate the success of the United States Army in procuring rations and fodder from local sources in the Hill Country. This failure was mostly a function of the Confederacy’s monetary instability. As feared by Confederate authorities who proclaimed martial law in the spring of 1862, Confederate paper currency rapidly depreciated and many farmers and ranchers were leery of accepting it as payment. In the summer of 1862 regimental quartermaster Captain E.D. Lane attempted to establish supply contracts for the regiment

through local farmers near each company post, but was forced to reject all but two bids for being “extravagantly high.” Lane noted that near the Mexican border, where specie was still plentiful, “nothing can be had I am confident for Confederate money.” By October inflation caused some contractors to refuse to continue supplying Frontier Regiment posts. The contractor for Camp Verde told the post’s commissary officer that “beef is rising so rapidly that he is bound to loose money” and that the price of beef had increased from 50 to 75 percent since the contract was established. In the same month Colonel Norris implored the state to purchase and stockpile forage before the prices grew even higher.<sup>15</sup>

Logistical problems continued the next year. In August 1863, Captain Dix’s company was accused of unlawfully seizing and killing livestock in Uvalde County to provide rations for the soldiers. The accusation was dismissed by Colonel McCord, who declared that “killing a beef on the prairie ... cannot be avoided when no one can be induced to take a contract.” Later the same month Major Alexander complained that “neither forage nor commissary supplies can be bought in this country for our currency.” By the fall of 1863 the Frontier Regiment was forced to seize beef from local residents to furnish its troops with adequate rations. The Frontier Regiment’s continuous struggle to stay supplied and able to carry out its duties makes it clear that the Confederacy’s financial problems had a direct impact on Texas’s efforts to defend its frontier.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to supply problems, the Frontier Regiment’s effectiveness was hampered by the system of daily patrols mandated by the legislation that created the unit. The legislation creating the unit required that posts be established about twenty-five miles apart and that

the ground between posts be traversed by patrols on a daily basis. To accomplish this mandate the regiment was forced to occupy a series of eighteen detachment-sized posts between the Red River and the Rio Grande. Frontier Regiment correspondent “Rifle” called the system of daily patrols “one of the greatest drawbacks on our usefulness, having served but to break down our horses and depress the spirits of the men.” Each post contained half a company or less, and was required to maintain security, slaughter and butcher beef on the hoof for rations, and do other necessary camp chores, all while sending out daily patrols. The result was a substantial drain on the regiment’s effective manpower. When combined with the difficulty of obtaining adequate forage, the constant patrolling wore down the regiment’s mounts and made them ineffective in pursuing Indians discovered in the settlements.<sup>17</sup>

After the regiment was reorganized in the winter of 1862-1863, the officers of the regiment were polled on their opinion of the “patrol system.” They universally asked that it be discontinued. Major Alexander and other officers at Camp Colorado wrote that the system compelled troops to travel in groups that were too small to be effective in combat, forced the men to travel too fast over their designated routes, and consequently wore down both soldiers and mounts. “Rifle” noted that the hard service required by constant patrolling meant that soldiers were rarely riding well-rest mounts when they encountered hostile Indians. Consequently, “he can almost invariably escape.” In spite of all the effort expended through daily patrols, Major Alexander noted that no Indians had been killed by them. As a result of these problems, in May 1863 the daily patrol system was ended.<sup>18</sup>

The issues plaguing the state's frontier defense measures were thrown into relief by a resurgence of Indian raiding in early 1863. By this time the smallpox epidemic had ended, the Confederate Fort Cobb agency had been destroyed by a coalition of pro-Union Indians, and representatives of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches were preparing to sign a treaty with the United States government. In addition, Texas had received a brief respite from the continuing drought. Abundant rainfall was reported all over the state during the winter and spring of 1863. George W. Kendall summed up the weather situation as it pertained to a possible Union invasion, claiming that "from the Sabine to the Nueces we now have a Gibraltar of mud." The wet winter and spring also meant tall grass and water for Indian raiding parties. On January 1, 1863, militia Captain W. Charles Lewis told Adjutant General Dashiell that the Mason County militia had been unable to muster because Indians had constantly been in the area for the past three weeks. He reported thirty head of horses stolen. Between January 31 and March 30, 1863, as many as seventeen lives were lost to Indian raids, all but one of which was reported in the counties of Burnet, Gillespie, and Mason. Gillespie County was hardest hit, losing seven residents to attacks in the county from January 31 through the month of February. Three Fredericksburg men were also killed in February while traveling in Mason County, making a total of ten casualties among Gillespie County residents.<sup>19</sup>

The apparent inability of the Frontier Regiment to stop Indian raids aroused a litany of complaints along the frontier. Even in the early months of the unit's existence frontier residents had questioned its effectiveness. After the April 1862 raids J.M. Watson of

Blanco County declared of the regiment that “if they don’t catch them, I think they ought to be disbanded, or sent off somewhere to fight the Yankees, and not be lazying around, and running the State to an expense for nothing.” Now things seemed to be much worse. In June 1863 “Rifle” noted that “some of our very good friends in the settlements, who will go into no kind of service themselves” were “continually grumbling about this Regiment.” By September 1863 a correspondent to the *Austin State Gazette* claimed that “a whole tier of the frontier counties is now depopulated,” “the highways and byways are strewn with the wreck and debris of a ruined and retreating country,” and “the best farms have been laid waste” by Indian attacks. Meanwhile, according to another writer from Blanco County, the regiment was employed “in hauling cotton, making dancing parties, visiting their friends and relatives, &c. &c.” A petition from Bandera County also questioned the efficacy of the regiment. “Troops stationed miles away are powerless to prevent such atrocities, they know it only when the deed is done, our only defense lays in ourselves and each other.”<sup>20</sup>

The officers of the Frontier Regiment defended their unit’s record. According to an updated report by Colonel Norris on the regiment’s service from April 1862 through January 1863, the regiment had recaptured an additional 109 horses since his last report, though no more Indians had been killed. “Rifle” also defended his regiment, arguing that any defects in the unit’s performance were a result of the lack of adequate funding and supplies that they received. “Keep us but properly supplied (we ask for no luxuries),” he wrote, “and we can’t fail to do good service.” “Rifle” maintained that criticisms of the

regiment were “simply laughable to those acquainted with the facts.” He chided citizens of the frontier counties who were “tortured by thought of the conscription, and refuse to sell your beeves to the State or the Confederacy, at a reasonable price.”<sup>21</sup>

However prickly they were about the effectiveness of their service, the leadership of the Frontier Regiment knew that their defensive strategy was ineffective in curbing Indian raids. George W. Kendall’s call for the Plains tribes to be “entirely driven off or wiped out” summarized the consensus view on Indian relations in 1860s Texas. In furtherance of this goal, the abiding desire of the state’s frontier defense forces was to mount offensive expeditions against the Plains tribes. As early as May 1862, Frontier Regiment officers were urging offensive operations “to attack the Indians in their main camps where they keep their families and horses.” Under the assumption that an end to raiding would be achieved through inflicting casualties on native peoples, this strategy had proven successful in the prewar period. The two expeditions into Indian Territory in 1858 had inflicted heavy losses on the Comanches and Kiowas. Though Indian raiding actually accelerated after the expeditions, it was clear that the best way to kill Indians was to seek them out and attack them in their camps.<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately for Texas’s military leaders, efforts to carry out such a campaign were repeatedly frustrated by the regiment’s logistical problems. After the reorganization of the regiment in early 1863 and the end of the patrol system, Colonel James McCord made plans for a three-month expedition to take place in the fall. In early May 1863 “Rifle” optimistically informed the *Texas Almanac* that “strong and well appointed expeditions to

the homes of the Indians themselves will ... be the programme of future operations.” Three long-range scouts were reportedly sent out early that month to reconnoiter the upper reaches of the Canadian and Red rivers, the Brazos and Colorado rivers, and the Horsehead Crossing of the Pecos River. None of the expeditions seem to have resulted in victories over Indians. Captain James Hunter of Gillespie County led the expedition to the Pecos River. According to one of Hunter’s subordinates, the mission encountered no Indians and ended in a near-mutiny over lack of water. McCord’s plan for a major offensive was ultimately stymied by logistical problems and fears of possible Union invasions and Indian raids in the absence of the regiment.<sup>23</sup>

By June 24, 1863, “Rifle” was forced to concede that the *Austin State Gazette*’s readers were “greatly mistaken in supposing that it is a common occurrence for large scouts to go hundreds of miles above the line in search of the Indians’ homes.” He continued, “It is a rare thing for a scout to go even 50 or 75 miles above the line, for then, they are at the foot of the plains, and beyond lies a desert wilderness, destitute of wood, grass, and water.” Additional expeditions were later proposed and small ones were occasionally carried out throughout the war, but Texas’s frontier troops were effectively compelled to maintain a defensive, reactionary posture against an enemy that could rapidly infiltrate the state’s shallow western security perimeter to plunder and kill. The Hill Country would remain vulnerable to Indian raids throughout the war.<sup>24</sup>



The Hill Country home front also faced economic problems imposed by the Union blockade, weather conditions, rapidly deteriorating Confederate finances, and the Confederate war effort's constant demand for food and raw materials. These forces took their toll throughout the wartime South, but Texas as a whole, and the Hill Country specifically, occupied a unique economic position during the Civil War. Shortages of basic foodstuffs were largely avoided due to the relative self-sufficiency of Hill Country yeoman farmers and stock raisers, but the region lacked textiles and other manufactured goods due to its isolation from the Rio Grande cotton trade. It is difficult to accurately assess the impact on the Hill Country's economy in comparison to other regions in Texas, but the evidence suggests that living conditions in the Hill Country deteriorated over time and were in some ways worse than other areas of the state.

The Union naval blockade of Texas was initially established when the USS *South Carolina* took position off Galveston on July 2, 1861, and it grew in strength and effectiveness over time. The blockade restricted the flow of trade but Texas was again unique in that the Rio Grande was the South's only international border. Mexico provided an outlet for cotton and cattle and a means to obtain war materiel and consumer goods without the obstacle of the naval blockade. Private trade with Mexico also provided an infusion of specie into the Texas economy. The depreciation of Confederate paper notes posed a major problem for government purchasers, but the abundance of hard money circulating in Texas shielded many civilians from the wartime financial problems experienced in other parts of the Confederacy. A study of wartime Houston concludes that

residents of that city “lived in a reasonable degree of comfort somewhere in between” great hardships and immense profits. In March 1864, B.F. Dye reported that “every person” in San Antonio “has plenty of specie,” but “where they get it no body knows.” Dye also found that plenty of consumer goods were available in town but that they were sold “mostly for specie,” which was exchanged at a rate of sixteen or eighteen Confederate dollars to one gold dollar.<sup>25</sup>

Texas’s special situation with respect to the blockade was not enough to prevent all shortages of manufactured goods. This problem was especially acute on the frontier, where settlers produced virtually no cotton and were therefore shut out of that lucrative trade. State and Confederate contracts were unable to replicate the prewar contracting economy due to the Confederacy’s monetary crisis. Lack of trade with Mexico and the payment of government contracts in paper money meant a lack of specie in the Hill Country. According to one Mason County resident, in contrast to economically integrated towns like San Antonio and Houston, in the Hill Country “a person does not see gold or silver any more.” Confederate money was “almost completely worthless,” and Burnet County German immigrant Otilie Fuchs Goeth recalled that “there was practically nothing left to buy” anyway. The result was that Hill Country settlers were largely forced to subsist during the war on what they could produce on their homesteads. The barter economy also became important for many cash-poor settlers.<sup>26</sup>

Basic subsistence agriculture was complicated by the ongoing drought. Otilie Goeth’s sister-in-law, Louise Romberg Fuchs, remembered that the drought caused the acorn crop

to fail, decimating her family's hog herd. The Fuchs's also lost much of their cattle herd during the war. George W. Kendall described the summer of 1863 as particularly hot and dry. On September 17, 1863, Llano County resident Sophia Wight told her soldier husband of "hard times" and in November she declared that her household would have bread "by fare menes or foul." Rainfall improved somewhat in the fall of 1863. Later in November Sophia Wight informed her husband that the family had "had no flower since you left but we have the best of meal and the best of mutton and beef." Unlike the Fuchs's in neighboring Burnet County, "our hogs is in order." In spite of Wight's optimism about her animal stock, by the spring of 1864 dry weather prevailed again. In addition to the drought, exceptionally cold weather in the winter of 1863-1864 and spring of 1864 retarded the growth of grasses. "The grass and every thing is verry backward," wrote Wight in March 1864. "We have no rain yet and a grate many cattle is dieing." San Antonio correspondent B.F. Dye, also writing in March 1864, declared that "from here to the Guadalupe" there was "no more grass than there is on the Plaza the stock are all dying it is the same way from here to the Nueces." According to George W. Kendall, "A more backward season few of the oldest inhabitants have experienced in this section, and, I believe, all over Texas."<sup>27</sup>

Nonetheless, Hill Country settlers were able to avoid the specter of hunger by a combination of subsistence agriculture, hunting wild game, and foraging for wild fruits, nuts, and honey. These practices had already been followed by the majority of Hill Country residents prior to the war and posed little disruption to their way of life during the war

years. Shortages of foodstuffs were mostly confined to items that were not produced locally, such as salt, sugar, tobacco, and especially coffee. Mason County rancher Franz Kettner informed his parents in October 1863 that his family had thus far experienced little difference in food supplies during the war, and reported “an abundance” of butter, eggs, cheese, meat, and vegetables. Emma Altgelt of Comfort also reported having “vegetables of all kinds” as well as plenty of meat, milk, butter, and tallow from her cattle. Even in the midst of the drought, skillful animal husbandry could yield increased sheep and cattle herds. Looking back on the wartime subsistence economy from a distance of twenty years, John W. Speer asserted that “we got along better than one could realize or believe now.”<sup>28</sup>

Hill Country homesteads were generally adept at maintaining an adequate supply of food, but manufactured goods – especially textiles – became very scarce. Cloth shortages are a recurring theme in wartime accounts from the Hill Country. In contrast to foodstuffs, Franz Kettner told his parents, “we only possess the bare necessities of clothing.” In order to provide clothing for his family Kettner was forced to trade two four-year-old oxen for twenty-five yards of cotton cloth. Scarce cloth was dedicated to providing dresses for Franz Kettner’s wife and daughters, while he and his son were forced to wear buckskin clothing for most of the war. Emma Altgelt also remembered having to clothe her sons in buckskin clothing. Many settlers turned to spinning and weaving, in the words of Otilie Goeth, “in order to not go about in rags.” John W. Speer remembered that “the spinning wheels and looms were kept busy” during the war. The emerging Hill Country sheep ranching industry provided a local source for textiles when cotton was in short supply. Commercial cloth

shortages made homespun material a valuable barter commodity. In February 1864 Sophia Wight informed her husband that she spent much of her time spinning and weaving, and that she planned to trade a blanket she had woven for “two cows and calves.”<sup>29</sup>

In a situation of high demand and constricted supply, some Hill Country residents turned to illicit means to obtain the goods they needed. According to Franz Kettner, “the only goods we see are those smuggled from Mexico.” Sometimes men on wagon freighting or cattle driving trips to Mexico served as smugglers on the return trip. Nueces battle survivor August Hoffmann was one such smuggler. After hearing that they would be unmolested if they agreed to haul cotton for the Confederacy, Hoffmann and several other Gillespie County Unionists came out of hiding and volunteered for wagon freighting assignments. Upon their arrival at the Rio Grande with a load of cotton in July 1863, Hoffmann and his companions paid \$200 to a woman in Brownsville, “for much had to be smuggled in from Matamoros like shoes, tobacco, coffee, dry goods.” On the return trip from a Confederate government cattle drive to Mexico in the fall of 1864, Hoffmann disguised Mexican cloth he had purchased as a saddle blanket to avoid paying duty on it.<sup>30</sup>

Cottage industry, subsistence agriculture, and smuggling could only do so much, however, in the face of drought, currency inflation, and diminishing markets. County courts were traditionally charged with providing assistance to “indigent persons” in their jurisdiction and were enabled by a January 1, 1862 act of the legislature to collect a special “war tax” of twenty-five cents per hundred dollars assessed, in part to support the many families whose breadwinners were now in uniform. By the following year the state

government was forced to attempt to provide direct state funding for the needy and families of soldiers. On March 5, 1863, the legislature appropriated \$600,000 for support of widows, families, and dependents of Texas soldiers and militiamen. County courts were given the task of administering this public assistance and were allowed to raise taxes again to help support families in their charge, this time to seventy-five cents per hundred dollars. On December 15, 1863, the legislature earmarked an additional \$1,000,000 per year for 1864 and 1865 for the same purpose. This was paired with yet another tax measure enabling counties to raise revenue, not to exceed one dollar per hundred dollars assessed. The law also required an enumeration of indigent persons who were entitled to relief under the act, defined as those who were “destitute of means for a comfortable support.” With seven of ten counties reporting in early 1864, at least 676 persons in the Hill Country were deemed eligible for public assistance, a number amounting to 9 percent of these counties’ white population in 1860.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to offering financial assistance, the state government tried to mitigate cloth shortages. The state penitentiary at Huntsville was the most important textile mill in Civil War Texas and the largest manufacturer of fabric in the entire Confederate Trans-Mississippi. During the war cotton “penitentiary cloth” proved to be a vital source of textiles for Texas soldiers and civilians alike. Soldiers’ families were the second priority in distribution of this cloth by October 1862. That fall the state Military Board also began to purchase and distribute cotton and wool cards to support home production of cloth. On November 15, 1864, the legislature directed that 600,000 yards of inmate-produced cloth

as well as wool and cotton cards be provided to the indigent families of the state. The state's efforts to provide relief for soldiers' families had some success. Sophia Wight reported that she received cotton goods through Llano County in the fall of 1863 as a result of these policies. County courts were kept busy distributing cotton and wool cards throughout the war.<sup>32</sup>

However, Texas's first foray into state-operated public assistance was not enough to relieve the strain placed upon women and families by the war. Local efforts attempted to pick up the slack. Wight, who appeared on the Llano County indigent families roll in 1864, noted in November 1863 that unmarked yearling stock in the county were to be sold and the money appropriated for soldiers' families. A mutual aid society was incorporated in Comal County in May 1864. Its stated goal was to provide "necessaries" for its members and families and dependents of Confederate service members or those who had died in Confederate service at a price markup not to exceed 25 percent.<sup>33</sup>

Less formal measures took place at the neighborhood and family level. Wealthier individuals often took on the responsibility of caring for the families of men who were away in the army. In September 1863 Samuel F. Christian said that he looked after two nearby families, and in the rest of Bandera County every second or third family was left to the care of one man. Kinship networks were another source of vital support for women left alone on Hill Country homesteads. For example, while Levi L. Wight was serving in the First Texas Cavalry Regiment, his brother Lehi served in the local militia and cared for his wife and children. Neighborhoods also pooled resources to purchase desperately needed

supplies, as in October 1864 when forty Gillespie County men contributed cattle to form a herd of 800 head. They were then driven to Mexico “to exchange for family supplies &c.” in defiance of repeated Confederate attempts that year to halt unauthorized beef exports. About thirty Burnet County ranchers attempted a similar cattle drive in the fall of 1864, only to have their cattle confiscated by the commander of the Confederate post at Eagle Pass.<sup>34</sup>

Even as the Hill Country suffered from drought and the collapsing economy, it was expected to support the larger Confederate war effort. Hampered in obtaining supplies for its military forces due to the plummeting value of the Confederate dollar, the Confederate Congress began to enact confiscatory measures. An impressment act was passed on March 26, 1863, which allowed Confederate authorities to seize food, fuel, slaves, and other commodities for use by the military in exchange for a preset price list that often hovered at 50 percent or less of market value. The passage of a Confederate tax act on April 24, 1863 contributed to the steadily increasing tax burden for farmers. The law included a tax-in-kind provision that mandated that 10 percent of listed agricultural produce and hogs raised for slaughter be turned over to Confederate tax agents. Sales of cattle and agricultural produce were to be taxed as income and other livestock were taxed as property. Between 1863 and 1865, the tax-in-kind generated an estimated \$62 million for the Confederacy. James P. Newcomb’s prediction of a “Republic of *Taxes*” had come to fruition.<sup>35</sup>

These policies were deeply resented by Southern farmers. In January 1864, German Texans in Comal County were said to be “decidedly opposed to selling any beeves to the



Confederacy.” Mason County rancher Franz Kettner complained to his parents in 1865 that “taxes were terribly high” during the war. “I am convinced that if the swindle had lasted half a year longer, taxes would have been demanded from all the children who were born.” Over two hundred Burnet County taxpayers were listed as being delinquent on their tax-in-kind payment by June 1864. Despite entrenched opposition, the laws seem to have been effective in extracting agricultural produce from the Hill Country. In November 1863 Second Lieutenant J.M. Hays estimated that 1500 to 2000 bushels of corn would be collected in Gillespie County as a result of the tax and requested that it remain in the county to support the Frontier Regiment troops stationed there. For 1863, 6,483 pounds of bacon, 16 bushels of potatoes, more than 813 bushels of wheat, 429 bushels of corn, 5 ½ bushels of rye, 7 bushels of oats, 1,172 pounds of wool, and 80 bushels of hay were collected in Burnet County alone. In February 1864, General Magruder ordered that cattle and hogs being taken into Mexico be impressed for the use of Confederate forces who were stationed near San Antonio to oppose Union incursions from the Rio Grande Valley. Horses were seized in Comal County to support the army during the same month.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to Indian raids and economic problems, Hill Country communities suffered from the absence, and sometimes death, of military-age men who were serving in both the Confederate and Union armies. A recent revision of Civil War casualty figures estimates that between 650,000 and 850,000 Americans died as a result of the war. The Hill Country probably contributed less than 1,000 men to the Confederate army, not including those who

served in the Frontier Regiment or the state militia. A smaller number of men from the region also served in the Union army during the war. Few casualties can be positively documented among these men. Nonetheless, Hill Country men were counted among the staggering human losses incurred by the Civil War. Each death was especially significant for communities in this sparsely populated region, and each loss of a male householder threatened surviving family members with poverty.<sup>37</sup>

Most Hill Country soldiers were fortunate in that their commands remained in Texas for much of the war. Troops in the First, Thirty-third, and Thirty-sixth Texas Cavalry Regiments and the Third Texas Infantry Regiment saw little action until the Union offensives in the Trans-Mississippi in the spring of 1864. Soldiers from Blanco, Burnet, Comal, and Llano counties in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Texas Infantry Regiments and the Seventh and Fifteenth Texas Cavalry Regiments were not as fortunate. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Texas Infantry Regiments were brigaded together and fought in several campaigns in Louisiana and Arkansas in 1863 and 1864. Walker's Texas Division, their parent organization, incurred a casualty rate of 36.2 percent – 1,447 of approximately 4,000 men present at the commencement of the campaign – during the 1864 Red River campaign. The Seventh Texas Cavalry Regiment, containing Captain August Hoffmann's Comal County company, fought in General Sibley's New Mexico campaign in 1862, a disastrous attempt to fulfill Confederate dreams of Southwestern empire. They then went on to see action at the battle of Galveston and in Louisiana in 1863 and 1864.<sup>38</sup>

Company A, Fifteenth Texas Cavalry Regiment contained about twenty soldiers from Blanco County as well as a smattering of other Hill Country volunteers. This regiment went through the worst and most extensive service of any unit with a significant number of Hill Country soldiers. The regiment's first combat was at Batesville, Arkansas on July 8, 1862, where Regimental Quartermaster Captain Thomas J. Johnson of Blanco County became the unit's first casualty. The regiment was dismounted two weeks later and served as infantry for the rest of the war. In the fall of 1862 they were stationed in the swampy river bottoms of eastern Arkansas, where around one hundred men succumbed to disease. Most of the regiment served in the defense of Arkansas Post and were eventually captured as part of the capitulation of the Confederate garrison on January 11, 1863. About one hundred more men subsequently died over a period of two months in Union prison camps prior to being exchanged. After being exchanged, the remnants of the regiment were consolidated with other units that had been captured at Arkansas Post and served the rest of the war in the Confederate Army of Tennessee, fighting at Chickamauga, Chattanooga, in the Atlanta Campaign of 1864, and in Hood's Middle Tennessee campaign in the fall of 1864. When the unit surrendered in North Carolina in 1865, only forty-three men were present.<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps 200 Hill Country men eventually served in Union regiments. Most were members of Companies A and C, First Texas Cavalry Regiment (US). Company A was commanded by Ohio native Captain Phillip G. Temple and predominantly composed of Anglo soldiers. German Texans generally served in Company C under Captain Adolf

Zoeller of Kendall County. Phillip Braubach of Gillespie County, who had escaped Confederate imprisonment and fled across the Rio Grande with Jacob Kuechler's group in October 1862, commanded Company H. Another survivor of the Rio Grande crossing, Henry D. Bonnet, commanded Company G. A smaller number of Hill Country Unionists joined the Second Texas Cavalry Regiment (US), a unit raised in the spring of 1865. Both units served in Louisiana and Texas and never took part in major fighting. Ironically, during a skirmish south of Alexandria, Louisiana in the spring of 1864, the men of the First Texas Cavalry (US) found themselves engaged in combat with fellow Hill Country Texans in the First Texas Cavalry (CSA).<sup>40</sup>

Overall, Hill Country soldiers largely escaped the devastation wrought by the American Civil War's epidemiological crisis and the meat grinder of combat on the main military fronts. A partial survey of service records, published casualty lists, and other government documents can positively account for less than thirty military deaths among Hill Country soldiers. Unfortunately, incomplete service records, unavailable muster rolls, and the absence of some individuals from census and other government records make accurate comparisons of casualty rates to other parts of Texas and the Confederacy difficult. For the Hill Country, the loss of military-age men on distant battlefields and in disease-ravaged camps was significant less as a measure of sheer fatality numbers, and more as a series of small disasters for struggling families in a war that killed, maimed, and emotionally scarred individuals and communities.<sup>41</sup>

The absence of military-age men also contributed to the economic difficulties in the Hill Country. Male labor was critical in an agricultural society that was organized around animal herding, grain growing, and free labor. George W. Kendall reported that he fought a constant battle with sheep scab disease. Labor shortages meant that Kendall had to work feverishly to preserve his flocks, a process that required rounding up the sheep to “dip” them in a solution that prevented the disease. With ample labor forming a critical aspect of their operations, Kendall and other sheep ranchers fought conscription of their herders at every turn. Samuel F. Christian of Bandera informed the state Adjutant General that his herd of 5,000 “fine sheep” had been deprived of their five shepherds due to conscription, even though he was entitled to ten shepherds under the conscription exemptions put in place in October 1862. As of September 1863 Christian was employing two men discharged from the Frontier Regiment on account of poor health. Christian feared that they would be conscripted as well, and warned that “if they are to be taken I must abandon sheep husbandry on the best terms I can.” He concluded that if the draft was enforced generally, “we must abandon this settlement.” Cattle ranchers and farmers also lacked manpower to aid in periodic round-ups and the harvesting of crops. For the small ranchers that predominated in the Texas Hill Country, the Confederacy’s conscription exemption of one herder per 500 head of cattle gave little relief. A survey of Blanco, Burnet, and Gillespie counties reveals only twenty-eight ranchers who qualified for the exemption when it was passed in 1862, and who accounted for less than a quarter of the 108,706 cattle in these counties.<sup>42</sup>

Just as it had motivated the ULL to take up arms against the Confederacy, conscription and militia service continued to arouse dissent and open resistance to the government more than any other issue. Unionists tended to be in the forefront of these protests, but following the brutal suppression of the ULL they chose to push back against the state and national governments through less confrontational means. Instead of armed rebellion, they relied upon the skillful deployment of highly-charged rhetoric and the political influence of prominent Unionists and sympathetic allies in state and local government and the militia service. Hill Country Texans protested military service away from the frontier on several bases. The most obvious – and the most politically charged – was the issue of defense against Indian raids.

As early as November 22, 1862, Brigadier General Robert Bechem, commander of the militia brigade that encompassed most of the Hill Country, received reports that “these regions are almost depopulated ... and in some sections of the West the few men left were at the mercy of Indians.” During the militia call-up in the summer of 1863, state Senator Erastus Reed pleaded to the governor for an exemption for Gillespie and Kendall counties. Reed said that the Frontier Regiment did “excellent service” but “it is impossible ... to protect a frontier of several hundred miles if we are left without a few men at home.” The frontier citizens’ exposure to Indian attacks made it “a hard case to take them away.” Militia Major H.J. Richarz, who had been arrested and sent before the military commission at San Antonio in 1862, wrote from Castroville to echo the senator’s remarks. Richarz pointed out that since the militia were required to furnish their own weapons, every man who left home

potentially left a literally unarmed and defenseless family behind. The militia call-up was tantamount to demanding that Medina County men “abandon their families to the mercy of the Savages.” In September a group of Bandera County citizens said that “every man now taken from our county would leave a point exposed, and were any number taken a short time only would lapse before every house both in the settlement and about it would be in ashes.”<sup>43</sup>

As time went on, new problems were added to the list of security issues that required men to stay home. Brigadier General Robert Bechem believed the militiamen could not leave their homes due to the threat from Indians as well as “lawless bands & thieves coming from the other side of the Rio Grande, stealing cattle.” Louis Schuetze, militia enrolling officer for Gillespie County, made the highly charged claim that property was being endangered by “runaway negroes” and said that citizens were threatened with “wanton murder.” Although it is difficult to evaluate the veracity of this claim, some escaped slaves are known to have used the Hill Country as a route to freedom during the war, just as they had during the antebellum period. Future Republican state senator Matthew Gaines attempted to escape enslavement by this route in 1863, but he was captured near Fort McKavett and forced to labor near Fredericksburg for the duration of the war. Schuetze requested that residents of Gillespie, Llano, and Mason counties be allowed to organize a volunteer militia company to remain on the frontier to protect their communities and property from these threats.<sup>44</sup>

Petitioners also employed economic arguments laced with the language of class to make the case that Hill Country men must be allowed to remain at home. Senator Reed reminded Lubbock that his district was one “where there are no negroes to make and gather the crop.” “The most of them work hard for their living,” Major Richarz said, “and have made no crop for three years.” Former state Senator and Fredericksburg Unionist Almon O. Cooley complained that the militia draft in 1863 constituted “nearly (if not fully or even above) one half of the entire outdoor working and producing portion of that population of Gillespie – as not more than 3 or 4 field negroes are owned within its limits.” Cooley emphasized that the men in question were “mostly farmers or stockraisers on a small scale, compelled to depend alone on their yearly labor for ... food for themselves and families.” He insisted that most of the men were married with families, and that “too few now remain to provide food and far too few to protect the lives of the women & children against the scalping knife.”<sup>45</sup>

One of the central promises made by secessionists had been that the new Confederacy would protect the property and families of Southern men. In Texas, this had included explicit arguments that the frontier would be better defended if the state departed the Union. The protection of property and families was bound up in a gendered and racialized ideology that motivated many yeomen farmers across the South to support the Confederacy. According to historian Stephanie McCurry, white Southern yeoman householders were “masters of small worlds” who exercised “the virtually unlimited right of an independent man to mastery over his own household and the property that lay within its boundaries.”



This sense of mastery and the politics that were wed to it had grown out of the experience of Southern slavery. Though slavery was rare in the Hill Country, the ideological connection between property and masculinity that thrived in places like the South Carolina Lowcountry was translated to the Texas frontier settlements, where white property holders exercised a similar mastery over their homesteads. In other parts of the South, white yeomen gave political support to the planter elite partially from the fear of slave revolt, which they saw as a looming threat to their social and material status. Slave uprisings were not a major concern on the Texas frontier, but Indian raids posed a similarly tangible, “savage” threat to white male property holders. Given this reality, the state was expected to defend its citizens from the dangers of attack by Indians, or to at least allow white male householders to protect their families and property. As the war continued, the economic and military policies of the state and national governments seemed to give the lie to this promise of protection, and in many cases appeared to actively work against the interests of small farmers and ranchers.<sup>46</sup>

Hill Country Texans turned this discourse of property and masculinity back on the secessionist leadership through letters, petitions, and the simple refusal to comply with conscription and other policies that they found detrimental to their interests as property holders and heads of families. Governors Lubbock and Pendleton Murrah appear to have eventually come to terms with the fact that majority sentiment in the Hill Country remained obstinately opposed to Confederate policies. Instead of waging a Sisiphean effort to enforce the conscription law in the frontier counties, Murrah in particular sought to achieve

a semblance of state authority that would enable him to balance the state's priorities of Indian defense with the repulse of Union invasions.

Beginning in 1862, Texas's governors waged a prolonged fight against Confederate conscription. In December 1863, the state legislature effectively nullified the conscription law in all or part of fifty-nine counties defined as being on the frontier. This ignited a struggle over state rights, Confederate demands for manpower, and control of the state's militia. Finally, the Confederate government relented. On April 26, 1864, Jefferson Davis directed that men in the counties in question be enrolled by Confederate conscription officers, but then detailed for frontier service. This effectively ended the Confederate draft in the Hill Country, though frontier citizens remained fearful that conscription would be renewed or that they would be ordered away as part of the militia. The final eighteen months of the war were remarkable for "the complete abrogation of the Confederate conscription laws ... over a region of Texas the size of the state of North Carolina." Though Hill Country men were still liable to being called up for state militia service away from their homes, frontier Texans and their political allies had molded policy at the national level by employing the powerful rhetoric that induced many Southerners to march off to war as a means to avoid the same fate.<sup>47</sup>

Ironically, Confederate conscription ended in the Hill Country at the same time that Indian raiding once again ebbed. An uptick in raiding in the fall of 1863 was followed by another decline the following year. No more than five deaths from Indian raids were recorded in 1864, with only one fatality between January and the fall months. Raids

certainly continued to occur throughout the region. In February and March, Indians were reported stealing horses in Llano and Gillespie counties. A militiaman named Reuben C. Smith became the lone fatality in the first half of 1864 when he was killed by a raiding party in Medina County in April. The following month Comanches were blamed for attacks on the San Antonio-Eagle Pass road, and Burnet County reported “Indians plenty” in June. Other horse-stealing raids took place in Uvalde County in August and in Kendall County in November. Though it was widespread and cost settlers the loss of hundreds of horses, this level of raiding still seems to have represented a noticeable decline from previous years, and it was overshadowed by the emergence of a vicious local conflict between Hill Country settlers. In spite of all the insistent rhetoric about Indian raids, when he assumed command of the Hill Country in June 1864, state militia Brigadier General J.D. McAdoo found Indians “the least talked of, the least thought of, and the least dreaded of all the evils that threatened and afflicted the Frontier.”<sup>48</sup>

As in 1861-1863, the severity of raiding in 1864 had little to do with the efforts of the Frontier Regiment. Cold and dry weather over the winter of 1863-1864 exacerbated disease and shortages of forage, and limited the mobility of raiding parties. Developments on the political front also drew Comanche and Kiowa attention away from the Texas settlements. The United States Congress had failed to ratify the 1863 treaty, depriving the tribes of the annual \$25,000 of trade goods they had been promised under its terms. Desperate for food and supplies, the Southern Plains tribes retaliated by attacking New Mexico-bound Union supply trains along the Santa Fe Trail in 1864. With the exception of a large raid on Elm

Creek in Young County, Texas, in October 1864, the Comanches and Kiowas concentrated their raiding activity on this crucial Union supply route for most of the year, resulting in as many as fifty white deaths. In November 1864, Union forces led by Kit Carson launched a counterattack into the Texas Panhandle that culminated in the destruction of a Kiowa village and a battle at an abandoned trading post known as Adobe Walls. Pressure from Union forces in late 1864 eventually forced the Comanches and Kiowas to once again look south into Texas for raiding opportunities.<sup>49</sup>

Deaths from Indian raids also declined due to defensive measures taken by some settlers. Some settlers simply chose to leave the frontier and move to more populated areas. On October 30, 1863, Sophia Wight wrote her husband about the conditions in her neighborhood, saying that “every body is leaveing now and we will have the country all to our selves if we want it.” Wight later moved with her children from Llano to Burnet County after a series of Indian attacks resulted in three deaths near her homestead. Other settlers banded together for mutual defense, a practice referred to as “forting up.” Wight noted that a neighboring family with a son in the Frontier Regiment had moved to Camp Verde. On the far western edge of the Hill Country at Fort McKavett, several families took shelter in the abandoned Army post and lived there for the duration of the war. Other settlers lived together for defensive purposes not due to Indian raids, but for protection from deserters, renegades, and vigilantes, a measure necessitated by the Hill Country’s worsening internal conflict. The result was that by 1864 the Hill Country settlements were in a vigilant

defensive posture, making it more difficult for Indian raiding parties to locate isolated and vulnerable individuals and homesteads.<sup>50</sup>

The respite from Indian depredations was short lived. With the Plains tribes facing pressure from Union military campaigns in the Arkansas River Valley, raiding resumed a more typical pattern in Texas during the fall and winter of 1864-1865. August Hoffmann recalled danger from Indians on his return to Texas from a trip to Mexico in the fall of 1864, though the perpetrators were probably Mexico-based Lipans. “First a sheep herder on the Sabinal, a Negro boy, killed and here a man named Vogt attacked,” Hoffmann remembered. A series of deadly attacks took place in December 1864 and January 1865, perhaps all carried out by the same raiding party. On December 15, General McAdoo reported a group of 100 Indians between Fredericksburg and the headwaters of the Medina River. They were believed to be responsible for the murders of Alwinda McDonald and Elizabeth F. Joy in western Gillespie County. “Old man Jackson” was killed in Llano County two days before McAdoo made his report. At the same time, horses were reportedly stolen from Burnet and Bandera counties. A pursuit by militia in Bandera recovered twenty-two horses, but the Indians escaped with “a considerable number of mules, supposed to have been captured from some wagon train.”<sup>51</sup>

The inability of the militia to pursue raiding parties too far beyond the settlements allowed the Indians to remain within striking distance and to launch a continuing series of raids. On January 3 August Hoffmann and two others narrowly escaped becoming victims when they were chased by Indians who were driving a herd of stolen horses near

Fredericksburg. About four days later, George W. Todd was traveling near Fort Mason with his wife Dizenia, daughter Alice, and a slave girl. As they approached what is now known as Todd Mountain, they were attacked by Comanches. George Todd survived by fleeing, but the slave girl was killed, Dizenia was severely wounded, and Alice Todd was taken captive. Dizenia died of her wounds several weeks later. A search party followed the Indians for 300 miles until forced to turn back by a snowstorm that obscured the trail. Alice Todd was never heard from again. Martha Youngblood was wounded, her daughter was wounded and scalped, and her six-year-old son was killed in the northwest corner of Blanco County on January 8. Youngblood, noted as “a good shot,” managed to drive off her attackers with two pistols despite her wounds. The large number of Indians encountered during this time and their infiltration and egress routes indicated that the Comanches and Kiowas were once again active in western Texas.<sup>52</sup>

Depredations began to take place deeper into the settlements than before. Until the last year of the Civil War, Comal County had not faced an Indian raid since 1856. On January 26, Christian Arzt reported Indians in the county stealing horses, followed by a skirmish between the raiding party and some militia only sixteen miles from New Braunfels. Another correspondent corroborated Arzt’s account, saying that “it is my conviction ... that New Braunfels becomes the Indian frontier, & that Blanco & the upper part of Comal Cy. has to be given up to the Indians.” Families were said to be moving from Blanco County “to the lower settlements” to escape Indian raids, with fifteen of these families said to be in the neighborhood of New Braunfels. On February 8, Indians killed nineteen-year-

old Emma Metzger near Fredericksburg, captured her younger sister Anna, and passed in close proximity to the town cemetery and mill with stolen horses, “which shows they were very bold.” Petitioners from Comal and Kendall County requested that orders for the local militia, which had recently been instructed to move to Houston, be countermanded so they could remain in the Hill Country to defend against attacks.<sup>53</sup>

General McAdoo said in February 1865 that Indian depredations had taken place over the past several months “with unusual energy, and in unusual numbers,” but no Indian attacks were recorded in the Hill Country counties following the killing and kidnapping of the Metzger sisters. Conditions elsewhere in the state may have been worse. A report from the northwest Texas frontier claimed that “the Indians at this time are worse ... than they have ever been before, and settlers are moving down all the time, leaving their settlements and stock behind them.” Confidence in the frontier defense system was not bolstered by a military debacle that took place fifty miles northwest of Fort McKavett in what is now Tom Green County in January 1865. Known as the battle of Dove Creek, a combined force of militia from the northwest frontier counties and Confederate soldiers attacked a party of peaceful Kickapoo Indians that were on their way to Mexico to resettle. The militia was repulsed with heavy casualties by the well-armed Kickapoos, who continued on to Mexico after the battle and subsequently launched a campaign of retaliation that would plague the Rio Grande frontier for years afterward. Although initially reported as a great victory against the Indians, the demoralizing truth soon came to light.<sup>54</sup>

The apparent increase in Indian attacks spurred authorities to attempt major offensive action against the hostile tribes for the first time since the summer of 1863. In February 1865, militia from the northwest frontier counties launched what was intended to be a major expedition into the Wichita Mountains of Indian Territory. The troops found no Indians and returned home after ten days. State forces in the Hill Country also planned a winter offensive against the Indian winter encampments in far western Texas but their plans were stymied by familiar problems. General McAdoo explained that an expedition such as the one proposed would require large numbers of men, horses, pack mules, and supplies. McAdoo was forced to conclude that the plan was “impracticable, with the means at my command.” The weather, once again, posed an obstacle to any offensive action. The fifteen-year drought began to break in early 1865 as abundant rainfall was reported throughout Texas. This helpful development was mitigated by extremely cold weather, which “killed the grass to the ground.” McAdoo proposed postponing the expedition until April or May. No such expedition took place prior to the end of the war.<sup>55</sup>

The state’s inability to stabilize the security situation and the economy on the frontier took a noticeable toll on the population and agricultural wealth of the Hill Country over time. The effects of the war, the ongoing drought, and continued Indian depredations had not seemed to affect the Hill Country at first. The region continued to grow through the first year of the war, though growth was slower than during the prewar period. Between 1860 and 1862, county tax rolls document a 17 percent increase in taxpayers in the region as a whole. Some counties continued to boom despite the onset of war. For example,



Uvalde County grew from 130 taxpayers in 1860 to 302 in 1862. One historian estimates that Blanco County added 200 settlers over the same time period. Livestock herds grew even faster than settlement. Every county in the Hill Country saw its horse and cattle herds increase between 1860 and 1862, in many cases dramatically so. Horse herds increased by nearly 74 percent, from 6,217 in 1860 to 10,808 in 1862. Cattle increased from 131,193 to 249,338 over the same period of time. A similar situation held for sheep, with nine of ten counties reporting gains in their sheep herds.<sup>56</sup>

Over the final three years of the war, however, growth slowed dramatically and even reversed in many cases. Seven of ten Hill Country counties lost taxpayers between 1862 and 1865. The northern and central Hill Country counties of Llano, Burnet, Blanco, Gillespie, and Kerr were especially hard hit. All five counties lost population between 1862 and 1865. Burnet, Gillespie, and Llano saw their tax rolls decline below even prewar levels. Combined, Llano, Burnet, Blanco and Gillespie suffered the loss of more than 16 percent of their taxpayers between 1862 and the spring of 1865. After 1862 livestock numbers were not recorded in the aforementioned counties until a period between December 1865 and March 1866, but tax records show that in the years after 1862, horse herds in these counties declined over 25 percent and cattle decreased by more than 18 percent. For unknown reasons, Kerr and Blanco counties chose to continue documenting livestock numbers in 1863. These records reveal that Blanco County suffered tremendous declines in its livestock herds, losing over 600 horses and nearly 13,000 cattle over the last two years of the war. In the southern Hill Country, Medina and Uvalde counties also appear to have lost

taxpayers between 1862 and the end of the war. The worsening economic situation paralleled the slow collapse of the Confederacy by other measures as well. In February 1864, Burnet County reported 149 persons eligible for the state's program of support for indigent families. One year later, the county's list had grown to 251 eligible individuals even as its taxpaying population declined.<sup>57</sup>

Incredibly, some parts of the Hill Country seem to have passed through the war relatively unscathed. Three of the region's counties gained taxpayers between 1862 and 1865, and of the seven that retained their original boundaries between 1860 and 1865, four still counted more taxpayers when the war was over than in 1860. This was mirrored by growing animal herds. Mason County's taxpaying population increased from 110 in 1860 to 197 in June 1865, its horse herd more than doubled between 1862 and 1865, and its cattle population exploded from 21,550 to 48,631 over the same time. In contrast, during the same years Mason's eastern neighbor, Llano County, lost nearly 48 percent of its taxpayer population, over 60 percent of its horses, and more than 9 percent of its cattle. Although the available data does not reflect the exact situation at the end of the war, the best evidence suggests that outside of Burnet, Blanco, Gillespie, Kerr, and Llano counties, the Hill Country was more populous and had far greater livestock herds in 1865 than prior to secession.<sup>58</sup>

The severity and ramifications of Indian raiding during the Civil War have been a subject of debate among historians for decades, yet no consensus has been reached. Among the first scholars to examine the subject, Carl C. Rister and Stephen B. Oates described a

Texas frontier that was pushed back by Indian raiding from 1861-1865. T.R. Fehrenbach, a popular historian who was perhaps the single most important architect of Texas historical memory in the second half of the twentieth century, concurred with the idea that the Texas frontier collapsed during the Civil War. According to Fehrenbach, thousands of settlers left the frontier due to relentless Indian attacks and ineffective frontier defense, and the line of white settlement retreated up to two hundred miles to the east. In contrast, writing a few years after Rister in 1928, W.C. Holden argued that “on the whole, the Texas frontier held its own during the Civil War.” Later studies aligned more with Holden’s version, arguing that Texas’s frontier defense during the Civil War was “equal to that of antebellum days and superior to that of the immediate post-war years,” or even that it “surpassed those [efforts] of the antebellum and postwar Federal frontier forces.” Randolph B. Campbell’s history of the Lone Star State attempts to strike a balance between these interpretations, acknowledging that the frontier receded “fifty miles or more” but also arguing that the problems of frontier defense were not unique to the Confederate years. Two recent works have come to very different conclusions regarding the Texas frontier and Indian warfare. Gary C. Anderson’s 2005 study argues that “the Plains tribes were so decimated by the drought that few could mount raids into Texas” and blames white criminal gangs and weather conditions for most of the destruction experienced during the war. Without offering any evidence for his figures, Anderson claims that although the popularly accepted figure of Texas’s Indian warfare casualties during 1861-1865 is around four hundred, “the number is closer to forty.” Anderson concludes that “it is fundamentally a myth that Indians

overran the frontier areas of northwestern Texas between 1860 and 1865.” In contrast, the most recent study of western Texas during the Civil War finds that “during the war, the frontier line collapsed not just once but twice” and that “by the end of the war, widespread raiding and lawlessness depopulated much of West Texas.”<sup>59</sup>

Most research on this topic has focused on the northwest Texas frontier and ignored other parts of the state. This obscures the fact that settlers in different parts of the 500 mile-long western frontier dealt with different threats. The deadliest raiding of the war, in fact, was not the famed October 1864 Elm Creek raid in northwest Texas, but a series of attacks that killed sixteen settlers in the Hill Country over a span of approximately three to four weeks in early 1863. Another especially costly raid took place three years earlier in the area south and west of San Antonio, including the Hill Country counties of Medina and Uvalde. Unfortunately for the Hill Country settlements, the region was located close enough to the Mexican border to be raided by the Lipan and other groups while also remaining within striking distance of the Plains tribes. In total, at least fifty-seven Texans died in Indian attacks along the Hill Country frontier over the course of the war. A cluster of counties in the northern and central Hill Country – Burnet, Blanco, Gillespie, and Llano – were especially hard hit by raiding during this period. These four counties accounted for as many as twenty-nine casualties from Indian attacks, slightly more than half of those suffered by the entire region, in addition to the losses of stock documented in correspondence and tax rolls. Beyond the sheer number of attacks, the seemingly random

nature of Indian attacks inspired genuine terror in Texas frontier communities. Clearly, the idea that the Texas frontier was barely touched by raiding is inaccurate.<sup>60</sup>

Yet the opposite claim – that the frontier collapsed and faced wholesale depopulation – also seems exaggerated. This idea was constantly trumpeted by frontier citizens who opposed conscription and supported home defense, and many historians appear to have taken these claims at face value to argue that frontier defense was inadequate during the Civil War. This argument misses the point and places too much stock in the ability of Texas frontier forces to greatly affect the security situation on the frontier. Indian raiding ebbed and flowed according to political, climatic, and epidemiological conditions that were largely out of the hands of Texas's military forces, which were always too poorly supplied and too thinly spread to achieve much success against hostile native groups. Even had Texans been willing to make peace with the various Indian tribes – and they were not – they would have faced great difficulty in maintaining annuity payments and fending off Union efforts to curry favor with the same native polities. Given the political realities of 1860s Texas, the only acceptable solution to the problem of raiding was to launch offensive campaigns against Indian villages, a tactic that would finally bring the Texas Indian wars to a close in the 1870s. This was never accomplished during the Civil War due to the financial and logistical weakness of the state and Confederate governments.

Even with these problems, the frontier did not truly retreat in most of the Hill Country. As county tax rolls demonstrate, over the course of the Civil War half of the region's counties gained population and livestock, the basis of the region's ranching economy.

Indian raiding also appears to have been episodic rather than constant. For instance, Kendall County suffered five deaths in a single attack in January 1862. The county did not record another death from Indian attacks between 1861 and 1865. Farther to the west, no deaths are documented in Kerr County during the Civil War. It is also difficult to disaggregate the effects of Indian depredations from the destruction caused by the Hill Country's internal civil war. The five counties that saw the worst raiding and the largest losses of life and property were also the counties that witnessed the worst of the political violence that gripped the region from 1862 to 1864. Other areas, often immediately bordering on these counties, continued to grow despite Indian attacks. The reality is that the Indians who harassed the Texas frontier suffered far greater losses during the war than their settler foes. Already facing an ecological and demographic crisis when the war began, the Comanche population plummeted from an estimated 9,000 individuals to as few as 5,000 by 1865, mostly as a result of disease but also from attrition through violence. The Lipan Apaches, who conducted many of the raids in the southern Hill Country, are estimated to have fielded no more than fifty to one hundred warriors during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Though they were a tenacious foe to the white settlers, native peoples were simply not militarily capable of forcing large scale abandonment of the frontier during the Civil War.<sup>61</sup>

Perhaps most surprisingly, many Texans moved farther west rather than retreating to the east during this period. When Sophia Wight described her neighbors leaving her neighborhood in Llano County in October 1863, she stated that they were moving "higher

up in the country.” One neighbor had gone to live on Devil’s River, at least forty miles northwest of Fredericksburg in Kimble County. Other Texans lived even farther west. A.J. Nixon was living on the North Llano River, over sixty miles west of Fredericksburg, until he relocated in early 1864, a move he attributed to the threat of Unionist guerilla activity rather than Indian attacks. The families that lived on the far western edge of the Hill Country at Fort McKavett remained there throughout the war and were apparently unmolested. R.F. Tankersley established a ranch fifty miles west of Fort McKavett in 1864, where he hosted the Kickapoos before they were attacked by the state militia at Dove Creek in January 1865. Even on the northwestern frontier, traditionally considered to be the region worst affected by Indian attacks, Texas ranchers such as John Chisum maintained holdings far to the west of the main line of settlement during the war. Large groups of deserters and Texas refugees congregated around the headwaters of the Concho River near present-day San Angelo before commencing overland trips to Union-held El Paso. These are not the type of decisions that would have been made in the face of unrelenting warfare with hostile Indians.<sup>62</sup>

The Hill Country’s economic difficulties and the threat from Indian raids were real problems, but thousands of Texans were willing to take a calculated risk and either remain on or move to the frontier to escape Confederate conscription. In spring 1864, when the Frontier Regiment was mustered into the Confederate army and the defense of the Texas frontier was turned over to the state militia, two thousand men were expected to be enrolled into the new frontier defense organization from the frontier counties. Twice as many

actually reported for militia service. In response to this phenomenon and the growth of deserter and refugee camps in western Texas, Governor Murrah was forced to issue a proclamation on May 24, 1864 banning further migration to the unorganized counties of the frontier. Murrah's efforts were unavailing. By October 1864, the commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department declared the frontier counties "a grand city of refuge where thousands of able-bodied men have flocked to escape service in the Confederate Army." In the Hill Country, overheated rhetoric about the condition of the frontier served to protect Texans from a far worse fate: service on the killing fields of the American Civil War.<sup>63</sup>

If Indian raids and economic problems opened rifts between frontier Texans and distant governments, they also helped exacerbate conflicts within Hill Country communities. Calls for home defense were increasingly seen by secessionists as attempts to avoid service to the Confederacy. Economic problems only aggravated the tensions that had continued to simmer since the destruction of the Union Loyal League in 1862. Secessionists viewed their Unionist neighbors as dangerous traitors, and were angered that such men could be allowed to hold property, even to prosper in some cases, while simultaneously failing to support the Confederacy and threatening their own households. These tensions eventually exploded in a conflict that would define the Hill Country's Civil War experience far more so than shortages of consumer goods and sporadic Indian raids.

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 141.



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<sup>2</sup> Leonard Passmore, "Memoirs of Lafe McDonald," *Frontier Times* 6 (January 1929): 150-151; Appendix A, Indian Raiding Deaths during the Civil War; quotes: Gillespie County Commissioners Court Minutes, Vol. A, 324, TSLA; Caroline Ohlenburger's husband Ferdinand enlisted in the First Texas Cavalry Regiment (US), on February 29, 1864, where he rose to the rank of Sergeant Major. At Ohlenburger's request, he was appointed in May 1865 as a Lieutenant in the First U.S. Colored Cavalry Regiment. Anna Hahn's husband Conrad served in Capt. Frank van der Stucken's Company E, First Texas Cavalry (CS). Ferdinand and Caroline Ohlenburger, Eighth Census, Gillespie County, Texas; Ferdinand Ohlenburger, First Texas Cavalry (US), CSR, RG 94, NARA; Ferdinand Ohlenburger, First U.S. Colored Cavalry, CSR, RG 94, NARA; Conrad and Regina Hahne, Twelfth Census of the United States, Gillespie County Texas; Marriage of Conrad Hahn and Anne Regina Walch, April 17, 1860, *Texas, Select County Marriage Index, 1837-1977*, accessed January 15, 2016, <http://www.ancestry.com>, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014; Conrad Hahn, First Texas Cavalry Regiment (CS), CSR, RG 109, NARA.

<sup>3</sup> Quote: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 116.

<sup>4</sup> Edward T. Cotham, *Battle on the Bay: The Civil War Struggle for Galveston* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 62-66; Claude Elliott, "Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865," *SHQ* 50 (April 1947): 472-474.

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that Confederate forces did not carry out summary executions of suspected Unionists in these counties. Instead, they were delivered to the civil authorities for trial since the alleged offenses took place before the declaration of martial law. This reinforces the point that the Confederate military's suppression of Unionists in Central Texas by and large followed the laws of war as they were understood at the time. Elliott, "Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865," 472-474; quote: Proclamation of Francis R. Lubbock, January 1, 1863, Box 2014/092-4, FRL, TSLA.

<sup>6</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 88-93; George W. Kendall, "Indian Depredations," *San Antonio Herald*, January 23, 1862.

<sup>7</sup> "Taking all:" *San Antonio Herald*, April 19, 1862; O.C. Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble* (Houston: The Anson Jones Press, 1937), 119; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 101; Parks monument, Little Saline Cemetery, Menard County, Texas; Capt. N.D. McMillin to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, April 17, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; "in a northwesterly:" J.M. Watson, *Austin Weekly Texas State Gazette*, April 26, 1862; Appendix A.

<sup>8</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 292-313; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 259-326, 331-332, 334-335; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 89-91; quote: *San Antonio Herald*, April 19, 1862. Kendall's reference to "the Arkansas" meant the Arkansas River, which lay on the northern margin of *Comanchería*. Michno attributes the October 1861 raiding deaths to Comanches, though contemporary accounts did not. The location of the raid, the route taken by the raiders, and a witness's statement that they were accompanied by at least one Mexican indicate that they were probably Lipans. *San Antonio Herald*, "Indian News," November 2, 1861.

<sup>9</sup> I have chosen to approximate the relative severity of raiding by tallying civilian casualties. This method can only give an indication of the amount, timing, and location of raiding activity, but cannot fully measure the impact of raiding. For instance, Blanco County is known to have lost large numbers of livestock over the course of the war, yet suffered only one recorded fatality from Indian attacks. A full survey of federal Indian depredation claims records would be required to provide the most accurate picture of raiding patterns. Civilian casualties were usually widely reported and can be verified for accuracy through a variety of sources. See Appendix A for an explanation of sources. DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 115, 117; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 334-335.

<sup>10</sup> Col. J.Y. Dashiell to Brig. Gen. P.O. Hebert, October 1, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 855.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 335-336; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 313; William C. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 185-186; Appendix A.

<sup>12</sup> Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, May 14, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; Capt. Charles

de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, August 11, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; “killing & scalping:” Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, September 1, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; “killing ... worthless:” Col. James M. Norris to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, March 1, 1863, Box 401-385, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>13</sup> “Indians ... horses:” Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, August 11, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; “badly ... ammunition:” Col. James M. Norris to Francis R. Lubbock, April 19, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, April 13, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; “his company:” George W. Kendall, *Austin Texas Almanac-Extra*, March 7, 1863; “my Company:” March 29, 1864 entry, Camp Davis Record Book, J. Marvin Hunter Papers, CAH. For more examples of problems with ammunition see Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. James M. Norris, April 20, 1862, Box 401-383; Col. James M. Norris to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, August 2, 1862, Box 401-384; Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, October 9, 1862, Box 401-384; Maj. W.J.D. Alexander to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, July 30, 1863, Box 401-385; Capt. M.B. Loyd to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, October 16, 1863, Box 401-386, all in TAG, TSLA; “Frontier Correspondence,” *Austin Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac-Extra*, June 4, 1863.

<sup>14</sup> *Austin State Gazette*, June 24, 1863; Capt. Jesse Lawhon’s Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1418, TAG, TSLA; Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 453; “received no:” Lt. Col. James McCord to Dashiell, October 16, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG; “a great many:” Major W.J.D. Alexander to Col. J.E. McCord, August 30, 1863, Box 401-385, TAG, TSLA. For more on clothing shortages see the *Austin State Gazette*, August 5, 1863, and September 23, 1863.

<sup>15</sup> “extravagantly ... money:” Capt. E.D. Lane to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, July 25, 1862, Box 401-384; “beef is:” First Lieut. Thomas McCale to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, October 13, 1862, Box 401-384; and Col. James M. Norris to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, October 14, 1862, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>16</sup> “killing a beef:” Col. J.E. McCord to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, August 11, 1863, Box 401-385; “neither forage:” Major W.J.D. Alexander to Col. J.E. McCord, August 30, 1863, Box 401-385; Maj. W.J.D. Alexander to Col. J.E. McCord, Oct. 1, 1863, Box 401-386; First Lieut. Thomas McCale to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, November 5, 1863, Box 401-386; Second Lieut. J.M. Hays to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, November 16, 1863, Box 401-386, all in TAG, TSLA.

<sup>17</sup> Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 453; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 45-46; quote: *Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac-Extra*, June 4, 1863.

<sup>18</sup> Quote: *Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac-Extra*, June 4, 1863; Maj. W.J.D. Alexander et al. to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, April 4, 1863, Box 401-385, TAG, TSLA; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 53.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 336-337, 339; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 313; Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*, 288-289; *Documents relating to the negotiation of an unratified treaty of April 6, 1863, with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians*, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, accessed November 26, 2015, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.Unrat1863no31>; quote: George W. Kendall, *Austin Texas Almanac-Extra*, March 7, 1863; *Dallas Herald*, January 28, 1863; George W. Kendall, *Austin State Gazette*, March 4, 1863; *Houston Weekly Telegraph*, March 4, 1863; *The Bellville Countryman*, February 14, 1863, *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, May 4, 1863; Capt. W. Charles Lewis to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, January 1, 1863, Box 401-384, TAG, TSLA; Michno, *The Settler’s War*, 131-132; *Austin Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac*, Feb. 27, 1863; *San Antonio Semi-Weekly News*, February 12, 1863; *Austin Texas Almanac-Extra*, April 4, 1863; Appendix A.

<sup>20</sup> “if they don’t:” J.M. Watson, *Austin Weekly Texas State Gazette*, April 26, 1862; “some of our ... Regiment:” *Austin Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 30, 1863; “the highways ... &c:” *Austin State Gazette*, September 23, 1863; “troops stationed:” Resolution of Bandera County citizens, September 17, 1863, Box 401-828, 31<sup>st</sup> Brigade, Texas State Troops Records, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>21</sup> *Austin Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac-Extra*, June 4, 1863; quotes: *Austin State Gazette*, September 23, 1863.

<sup>22</sup> On Anglo Texan views on Indian relations, see Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 7-9; first quote: Kendall, “Indian Depredations,” *San Antonio Herald*, January 23, 1862; second quote: Capt. Charles de Montel to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, May 31, 1862, Box 401-383, TAG, TSLA; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 14-15.

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<sup>23</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 54-55; quote: Austin *Tri-Weekly Texas Almanac-Extra*, June 4, 1863; William Banta and J.W. Caldwell, Jr., revised by L.G. Park, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier* (Council Hill, Okla.: 1933), 106-111

<sup>24</sup> Quote: Austin *State Gazette*, August 5, 1863. For examples of proposed later expedition against Indians, see Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 54-55, and Brig. Gen. McAdoo to Col. Burke, Dec. 24, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>25</sup> Wright, *Texas in the War*, 200; quote: Paul A. Levensgood, "In the Absence of Scarcity: The Civil War Prosperity of Houston, Texas," *SHQ* 101 (April 1998): 425; B.F. Dye to Capt. Lewis A. Maverick, March 4, 1864, Maverick Family Papers (hereafter MFP), CAH. Arkansas' border with Indian Territory exposed that state to attacks by pro-Union Indian guerillas, but Texas was unique in that it was subject to raiding by independent Indian groups based in Mexico and on the South Plains. Carolyn Y. Kent, "Indian Soldiers (Civil War)," *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*, accessed on December 2, 2015, <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=6392>, Central Arkansas Library System.

<sup>26</sup> "a person ... worthless:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 100; "there was:" Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 78. For an excellent account of a housewife's experience of day to day life in the Civil War Hill Country, see Altgelt, *Observations and Recollections*, 30-31, 37-42.

<sup>27</sup> Fuchs, *Reminiscences*, 34; George W. Kendall, "Sheep Raising in Texas - No. VI," in *The Texas Almanac for 1864* (Austin: D. Richardson & Co., 1863), 37; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 129, 131-133, 138, 151; B.F. Dye to Capt. Lewis A. Maverick, March 4, 1864, MFP, CAH; George W. Kendall, "Sheep Raising in Texas - No. VII," in *The Texas Almanac for 1865* (Austin: D. Richardson & Co., 1864), 40.

<sup>28</sup> Fuchs, *Reminiscences*, 34-35; Guenther, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 78; Kendall, "Sheep Raising in Texas - No. VII," 40; J. Evetts Haley, "A Survey of Texas Cattle Drives to the North, 1866-1895," (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1925): 85-102, 107-108; "an abundance:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 100, 101; "vegetables:" Altgelt, *Observations and Recollections*, 37-38, 39-40; "we got along" and on coffee and other shortages, Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 32-33.

<sup>29</sup> "we only:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 99, 117; Altgelt, *Observations and Recollections*, 40; "in order:" Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 78; "the spinning wheels:" Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 32; "two cows:" Wight, *Reminiscences*, 150. On spinning and weaving see also Altgelt, *Observations and Recollections*, 30-31, 40. Louise Fuchs moved east to Fayette County at some point during the war, but she also recalled spinning and weaving as well as the use of buckskin for men's clothing. Fuchs, *Reminiscences*, 37.

<sup>30</sup> "the only:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 99; "for much:" Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 499, 502.

<sup>31</sup> Vicki Betts, "'A Sacred Charge Upon Our Hands:' Assisting the Families of Confederate Soldiers in Texas, 1861-1865," in Kenneth W. Howell, *The Seventh Star of the Confederacy: Texas During the Civil War* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2009), 249; Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 601, 617-618, 675-676, 682-683; Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 473-477. This count does not include Comal County, which reported 177 indigent persons. For various reasons returns were not compiled for Blanco, Medina, and Mason, which also included the administratively attached county of Menard. Mearse, *Confederate Indigent Families Lists of Texas*, 69-70, 160, 245, 397.

<sup>32</sup> Betts, "'A Sacred Charge Upon Our Hands,'" 253, 255; Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, 65-66, 261; Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 816-818, 850; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 132; Gillespie County Commissioners Court Records, Vol. A, 295, 300, 303, 314, TSLA.

<sup>33</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 132; Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 794-795.

<sup>34</sup> Samuel F. Christian to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, September 22, 1863, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; "to exchange:" Maj. James M. Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, March 20, 1865, Box 2014/022-4, PM, TSLA; Col. J.S. Ford to Col. Benavides, Capt. Ware, and Capt. Giddings, February 4, 1864, TCM 94.1.306a, Ford Papers, Haley Library (FP, HL), Midland, Texas; Ely, "Gone from Texas and Trading with the Enemy,"

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461; Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Pendleton Murrah, Box 2014/022-4, December 24, 1864, PM, TSLA.

<sup>35</sup> *Tax and Assessment Acts, and Amendments: The Tax Act of 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1863, As Amended* (Richmond: s.n., 1864), *Documenting the American South*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/taxasses/taxasses.html>; Mary DeCredico, "Confederate Impressment during the Civil War," *The Encyclopedia of Virginia*, accessed January 6, 2016, [http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/confederate\\_impressment\\_during\\_the\\_civil\\_war](http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/confederate_impressment_during_the_civil_war); San Antonio *Tri-Weekly Alamo Express*, March 4, 1861.

<sup>36</sup> "decidedly opposed:" Terry O'Neil to Col. J.S. Ford, Jan. 31, 1864, TCM 94.1.0182, FP, HL; "taxes ... born:" Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 116; Confederate Tax-in-Kind Records, Burnet and Lampasas County, Texas, Box 401-855, TAG, TSLA; Second Lieut. J.M. Hays to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, November 16, 1863, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Col. J.S. Ford to Col. Benavides, Capt. Ware, and Capt. Giddings, Feb. 4, 1864, TCM 94.1.306a, FP, HL; Capt. C.W. Merritt to Col. J.S. Ford, Feb. 11, 1864, TCM 94.1.0707, FP, HL.

<sup>37</sup> J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57 (December 2011): 307-348. A complete tally of men in Confederate service from the eleven counties examined in this study is not possible at this time for several reasons. One major problem is that Confederate muster rolls are not currently available for viewing at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. The number presented here is calculated by accounting for approximately 250 men from Comal County, 100 each from Burnet, Llano, and Blanco counties, 150 total from Mason, Gillespie, Kendall, Kerr, and the administratively attached counties of Menard and Kimble, and 150 total from Bandera, Uvalde, and Medina counties. These estimates are derived from local and unit histories and a variety of primary sources, including several muster rolls that are preserved at the Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas. Approximately 350 more Hill Country men served in three companies in the Frontier Regiment, which was transferred to Confederate service in the spring of 1864. Some sources claim as many as 450 or 500 men in Confederate service from Comal County, but this seems to include those that served in state militia units. Comal County units also tended to include men from Guadalupe County. Woodall, "German Confederates from Comal County," 51. For other sources on Confederates from the Hill Country, see Oscar Haas, *History of New Braunfels and Comal County, Texas, 1844-1946* (Austin: Steck Co., 1968), 160-163, 170; Bennett, Kerr County, 138-139; Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 206-208; Mearse, *Confederate Indigent Families*, 245, 397; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 96; Capt. W.C. Adams' Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1217, TSLA; Capt. C.C. Arnett's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1167; Capt. Seth Mabry's Company, Civil War Muster Roll #1401; "List of men now in the State & Confederate Service from Blanco County Precinct No. 1," March 23, 1862, Civil War Muster Roll #904, all in TAG, TSLA.

<sup>38</sup> Bradley Folsom, "Sixteenth Texas Infantry," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qks16>, Texas State Historical Association; Bruce Bumbalough, "Seventeenth Texas Infantry," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 11, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qks12>, Texas State Historical Association; Richard Lowe, *Walker's Texas Division C.S.A.: Greyhounds of the Trans-Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 91-96, 263.

<sup>39</sup> Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 35; CSR; Tim Bell, "Fifteenth Texas Cavalry," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 11, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qkf08>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>40</sup> Army of the United States Military Rolls, Map Case 401-796, TAG, TSLA; San Antonio *Herald*, October 11, 1862; Julius Schlickum to Father, December 21, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 198-201; Bonnet Family File, Archives, Patrick Heath Public Library, Boerne, Texas; McGowen, *Horse Sweat and Powder Smoke*, 61. Phillip G. Temple moved to Gillespie County after the Civil War. Frank W. Kiel et al., "Wir waren unser 20 Mann gegen 150" ("We Were 20 Men against 150") The Battle of Las Rucias: A Civil War Letter from a German-Texan Soldier in the 1864 Union Invasion of the Lower Rio Grande Valley," *SHQ* 105 (January 2002): 468n7.

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<sup>41</sup> An accurate tally of Civil War casualties is made difficult by the same problems mentioned in note 37. In addition, many service records for Texas soldiers end in early 1864, just before the beginning of the spring 1864 campaigns in which many would see their first heavy combat. This is a question that requires further study.

<sup>42</sup> Kendall, "Sheep Raising in Texas - No. VII," 40; Samuel F. Christian to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, Sep. 22, 1863, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America*, 79; County Tax Rolls, Blanco, Burnet, and Gillespie County, 1862, TSLA. Twenty-seven of the twenty-eight ranchers who qualified for the exemption were Anglos. The largest cattle herd was owned by R.J. Townes of Burnet County, who accounted for 4,500 cattle. The other Twenty-seven ranchers collectively owned 20,318 cattle.

<sup>43</sup> Brig. Gen. Bechem to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, November 22, 1862, Box 401-828, TAG, TSLA; Sen. Erastus Reed to Francis R. Lubbock, July 12, 1863, Box 2014/092-4, FRL, TSLA; Maj. H.J. Richarz to Brig. Gen. Bechem, July 25, 1863, Box 401-828, TAG, TSLA; Petition of Bandera County citizens, September 17, 1863, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>44</sup> Brig. Gen. Bechem to Col. J.Y. Dashiell, September 28, 1863, Box 401-828, TAG, TSLA; Louis Schuetze to Brig. Gen. Bechem, August 10, 1863, Box 401-828, TAG, TSLA; Merline Pitre, "Gaines, Matthew," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fga05>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>45</sup> Erastus Reed to Gov. Lubbock, July 12, 1863, Box 2014/092-4, FRL, TSLA; Maj. H.J. Richarz to Brig. Gen. Bechem, July 25, 1863, Box 401-828, TAG, TSLA; A.O. Cooley to Pendleton Murrah, January 16, 1864, Box 2014/022-1, PM, TSLA.

<sup>46</sup> Quote: McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 6. On concepts of gender and support for the Confederacy, see McCurry, 277-304, and Lee Ann Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995).

<sup>47</sup> For quote and on the conflict between Richmond and Austin over the issue of conscription, see Smith, "Conscription and Conflict on the Texas Frontier, 1863-1865," 250, 251-261; also see *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 833-834.

<sup>48</sup> Camp Davis Record Book, March 29, 1864, J. Marvin Hunter Papers, CAH; "Indians plenty:" Austin *Weekly State Gazette*, June 29, 1864; "the least talked of:" Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. D.B. Culbertson, September 15, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>49</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 339-341; Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*, 288-290, 302-304.

<sup>50</sup> Quote: Wight, *Reminiscences*, 132, 141-142; Sullivan, *Fort McKavett*, 25; Petition of citizens of Gillespie, Kerr, and Kimble, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115.

<sup>51</sup> "First a sheep:" Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 502; Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. John Burns, December 15, 1864, Box 401-830, TAG, TSLA; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 202; Alwinda McDonald and Elizabeth F. Joy headstones, Spring Creek Cemetery, Gillespie County, Texas; "Old man Jackson:" Wight, *Reminiscences*, 170; "a considerable number:" Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, December 24, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>52</sup> Indian captive Adolph Korn claimed to have seen Alice Todd with a group of Comanches in the early 1870s. Scott Zesch, "The Two Captivities of Adolph Korn," *SHQ* 104 (April 2001): 517. Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 502-503; "a good shot:" Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, February 7, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 118; Horace Cone to Brig. Gen. J.B. Robertson, February 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>53</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 262-263; Capt. Christian Arzt to Maj. Jacob Schmitz, January 26, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; "it is my conviction . . . lower settlements:" Otto Wuppermann to Maj. Jacob Schmitz, February 2, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Horace Cone to Brig. Gen. J.B. Robertson, February 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; "which shows:" Houston *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, March 2, 1865; Niell Robison to Maj. Jacob Schmitz, February 3, 1865, Box 401-387; Capt. Eduard Loess to Maj.

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Jacob Schmitz, February 3, 1865, both in Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>54</sup> “with unusual:” Brig. Gen. McAdoo to Col. Burke, February 8, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; “the Indians:” *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, March 21, 1865; Elmer Kelton, “Battle of Dove Creek,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed January 8, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btd01>, Texas State Historical Association; Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 151-155.

<sup>55</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 136-138; “impracticable ... the ground:” Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, February 8, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA. On increased rain, see Horace Cone to Brig. Gen. J.B. Robertson, February 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA, and the *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, March 3, 1865 and March 10, 1865.

<sup>56</sup> Figures for the following discussion do not include Comal County. Comal County was much more integrated into the Texas cotton trade than the other Hill Country counties and was not troubled by Indian raiding to nearly the same extent as the counties to the west. Its economic and security situation during the Civil War is therefore unlike the other ten counties discussed. Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 195; County Tax Rolls, 1860-1865, TSLA.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*; Mearse, *Confederate Indigent Families*, 69-70. With the exception of Blanco and Kerr counties, livestock were not enumerated from 1863 through the end of the war. Livestock numbers for tax year 1865 were actually calculated between December 1865 and March 1866, depending on the county. In some counties, this resulted in two versions of the tax rolls, enumerated at different times. Taxpayers were enumerated in May and June 1865 by Burnet, Llano, Mason, Blanco, and Gillespie counties and were recorded again between December 1865 and March 1866. Kerr, Kendall, Medina, Uvalde, and Bandera counties did not file a tax return in spring 1865, but compiled their tax rolls between December 1865 and March 1866 only. As a result of these discrepancies, tax rolls can give only an indication of population and livestock numbers in the Hill Country at the moment of Confederate collapse in May 1865. Four of the five counties who submitted tax returns in May and June 1865 gained taxpayers when they made a second return between December and March 1866. It should also be noted that Kerr and Blanco County were partitioned in 1862 to form the new county of Kendall.

<sup>58</sup> County Tax Rolls, 1860-1865, TSLA.

<sup>59</sup> T.R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), 369, 523; Stephen B. Oates, “Texas Under the Secessionists,” *SHQ* 67 (October 1963): 181-184; Carl C. Rister “Fort Griffin,” *WTHAYB* 1 (1925): 16; W.C. Holden, “Frontier Defense in Texas during the Civil War,” *WTHAYB* 4 (1928): 31; “equal to:” Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 172; “surpassed:” Jeffrey M. Roth, “Civil War Frontier Defense Challenges in Northwest Texas,” *Military History of the West* 30 (Spring 2000): 21; Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 264; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 328, 449n2; “during the war ... West Texas:” Ely, *Where the West Begins*, 38, 73.

<sup>60</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 88-93; Appendix A. Writing from Mason County in December 1865, Franz Kettner estimated that “at least 30 or 40 people in 2 or 3 counties were murdered by the Indians.” This number is roughly on par with the casualties that are documented in the neighboring counties of Burnet, Blanco, Llano, and Gillespie. Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 118.

<sup>61</sup> Appendix A; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 303, 313; Thomas A. Britten, *The Lipan Apaches: People of Wind and Lightning* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 219.

<sup>62</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 132; Statement of A.J. Nixon, Sr., March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Sullivan, *Fort McKavett*, 25; Marvin E. Schultz, “Tankersley, Annie Ellen Allen,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed January 15, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fta32>, Texas State Historical Association; U.S. Congress, Senate, “Affairs of the Mexican Kickapoo Indians,” Senate Document No. 215, 60<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 1886; Ely, *Where the West Begins*, 58-69.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 99; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 80-81; “a grand city:” Gen. E.K.

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Smith to Maj. C.S. West, October 7, 1864, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 41, Part 3, 987.

## **Chapter Five:**

### **Political Violence and Confederate Collapse**

“A fierce political battle is raging among the citizens.”  
– Carl Hilmar Guenther, March 26, 1864<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1863, Gillespie County Chief Justice Anton Maier oversaw the distribution of cotton cards to needy families in the county. Cards were tools used in the processing of cotton fibers, and their distribution was intended to mitigate the effects of the Union blockade by facilitating home production of cloth. According to Maier, soldier’s families were given priority for receipt of the county’s cotton card allotment. The first set was distributed without incident. When the second shipment of cards arrived from Austin, First Lieutenant William Banta, an officer in a locally stationed company of the Frontier Regiment, accused Maier of giving him a pair of wool cards rather than cotton cards and of selling cards to non-military households. Maier later recorded that he gave Banta a second pair of cards “to get rid of that fellow.” On July 10, soldiers from the Frontier Regiment returned, barged into Maier’s house, and forcibly took cards. Sergeant W. Sinclair Colbath helped himself to two pairs. When Maier and his elderly father-in-law tried to stop Colbath, a fellow soldier urged Colbath to “knock the old man down ... and let us hang him up.” Maier retreated as Colbath raised his fist and placed a hand on his holstered pistol. After plundering the county’s supply of cotton cards, the troops departed. Maier complained that as a result of the troops’ actions, only eleven of the sixty-three pairs



of cotton cards on hand had gone to German Texan families in a county that was overwhelmingly populated by German immigrants.<sup>2</sup>

This confrontation illustrates the potential for continuing violence between different groups living and working side by side in the Texas Hill Country. As discussed in Chapter Four, by late 1862 state and Confederate leaders believed Hill Country Unionists to be pacified, if not fully loyal in sentiment, and refocused on frontier defense rather than suppression of dissent as the top security priority for the region. Prior to secession and through the first year of the Civil War, frontier defense had been a unifying political issue for Hill Country settlers.

The détente that Hill Country secessionists and Unionists might have achieved through the politics of frontier defense collapsed under the weight of the binary choices imposed by the ongoing war. Even with Confederate conscription effectively suspended after December 1863, Hill Country men were liable for state militia service far from the frontier, and those who were already in Confederate service were rarely allowed to return home to tend to their families. Fears of military service on distant fronts, economic desperation, and opposition to various Confederate policies fueled continued resistance and disaffection toward the Confederacy.

If Governor Lubbock and the Confederate chain of command were focused on other threats after the fall of 1862, local secessionists felt increasingly threatened by their Unionist neighbors and became determined to stamp out anti-Confederate dissent. The violent struggle between Hill Country Unionists and secessionists never completely ceased

following the destruction of the Union Loyal League, but by early 1864, what had seemed to be a cleanup operation in the wake of the Nueces River battle evolved into something resembling a guerilla war. Although Indian raids garnered political attention and newsprint, for many Hill Country Texans the greatest threat to life and property during the Civil War was posed by their own neighbors.<sup>3</sup>

At a space of over 150 years it is sometimes difficult to parse the motivations behind the violence that plagued the Hill Country from 1863 to 1865. The death of Louis Schuetze provides a case in point. Schuetze was taken from his Fredericksburg home and hanged by a group of men on the evening of February 24, 1864. At first blush, this event seems to be part of a series of violent incidents in the region that added up to an undifferentiated pattern of chaos that took hold as the Confederacy entered its death throes in the last year of the American Civil War. Schuetze was a German immigrant and a state militia officer, and the men who carried out his murder were also accused of robbing his home. These facts would seem to lend credibility to an interpretation that emphasizes the criminality of those who were accused of perpetrating the Hill Country's post-1862 violence. Given the backdrop of the Confederate crackdown in 1862, and influenced by the post-war writings of various German Texan and Anglo authors, most historians have assumed that the violent deaths of Louis Schuetze and more than two dozen other men was the product of some combination of ethnic hatred, secessionist paranoia, criminality, and disorder on Confederate Texas's western frontier.

In fact, a careful examination of court records, correspondence, post-war memoirs, and socioeconomic data on the participants in the Hill Country's internal civil war reveals that it was a conflict marked by political violence, part of a local civil war for control of scarce resources and the apparatus of local government and military forces. Ethnic and class differences and the potential for ill-gotten gain all played a role in the violence, but it was primarily targeted at specific individuals based upon accusations of their roles in supporting anti-Confederate activities, or real or threatened attacks on secessionist Hill Country settlers and their property. Rather than simply being gripped by paranoia, the Hill Country's secessionist minority responded to the danger posed by Unionist "renegades" and "bushwhackers" by waging a local vigilante campaign against those whom they believed to be their enemies.

Ethnic difference may have added to their suspicions about certain individuals, but it was never the primary motivation for secessionist vigilante violence in the Hill Country. The Confederate assault on the ULL in 1862 had been extremely bloody, but the violence was directed at those who were believed to be taking up arms against the Confederacy or actively resisting martial law. After 1862, violence toward Hill Country Unionists remained targeted rather than indiscriminate, but instead of being carried out by military forces from elsewhere in the state, their own neighbors perpetrated the campaign of murder and intimidation during this second phase of the region's internal civil war. Multiple sources of internal and external pressure opened ever widening divisions in the communities of the Texas Hill Country as the war continued. The American Civil War split

the Hill Country along the lines of political loyalties, and, like many communities throughout the Border States and the struggling Confederacy, the result was an explosion of violence.

Disaffection and desertion continued to be major problems in Texas in the aftermath of the Nueces River battle, the Great Hanging at Gainesville, and the abortive Unionist uprising in the eastern German belt. On January 2, 1863, District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona commander Major General John B. Magruder declared that all men liable for Texas militia service who failed to report were deserters who would “not escape the penalty for their crime, which is second only to that of TREASON.” He ordered local defense forces to “proceed at once to arrest all deserters within the limits of their respective counties.” Many Hill Country Texans defied Magruder’s declaration and stubbornly refused to comply with orders for militia service away from their communities. On June 8, 1863, Governor Lubbock issued a call for fifty percent of the Texas militia to muster in order to repel yet another anticipated Union invasion along the coast. In Gillespie County only about forty men reported for duty in response to the Governor’s orders, a number that represented a mere 13 percent of the county’s available militia force.<sup>4</sup>

Union victories in the Mississippi River Valley helped to drive the problem of desertion and plummeting morale in the Trans-Mississippi Confederacy in 1863. On January 11, 1863, around 5,000 Confederates garrisoning Fort Hindman, Arkansas, surrendered to a vastly superior Union force. Most of the Confederate garrison was composed of Texas

soldiers, including several units with a number of Hill Country men in the ranks. Vicksburg, Mississippi, capitulated to the Union army on July 4, 1863, and Port Hudson, Louisiana, surrendered five days later, leaving the Mississippi River in Union hands. These military disasters combined with the news of Robert E. Lee's near-simultaneous repulse at Gettysburg to deal a severe blow to morale in the Confederate Trans-Mississippi, and deserters and conscription evaders began to congregate in the Hill Country, either seeking remote places to wait out the war or passing through the area en route to safety in Mexico, El Paso, or points further west.<sup>5</sup>

Confederate and state officials employed state troops to enforce the draft and capture deserters. Mounted militiamen were dispatched to Medina County in June 1863 for this purpose. After surrounding Castroville, they captured twenty of 160 men liable for conscription, the rest taking advantage of advanced warning to escape. Eighteen of the twenty conscripts quickly deserted, taking several weapons and horses with them. In November 1863 Colonel John S. "Rip" Ford led an expedition to sweep the rugged canyon country west of Austin in search of "jayhawkers, deserters, and men of conscript age." Subordinate commanders were ordered to "arrest all such, and should it be necessary [to] use force they will do so." The expedition allegedly "was successful," but the problem of desertion and conscription evasion continued unabated in the region.<sup>6</sup>

Confederate troops from all over the Trans-Mississippi theater deserted in large numbers for a variety of reasons, not all of which indicated disaffection with the Confederate cause per se. Units containing Hill Country soldiers followed the general

trend. Desertions from the Fifteenth Texas Cavalry and Seventeenth Texas Infantry reveal that specific issues such as poor living conditions, bad leadership, an unwillingness to submit to military discipline, and opposition to service outside of Texas often motivated deserters. After being dismounted and converted to infantry in Arkansas in the summer of 1863, the Fifteenth Texas Cavalry lost 160 men due to desertions, resignations, and discharges. For the Seventeenth Texas Infantry, boredom, lack of pay, and the threat of service across the Mississippi River spurred desertions at different periods in the unit's history. Colonel Peter C. Woods of the Thirty-sixth Texas Cavalry Regiment, which contained a German Texan company from Comal County as well as a smattering of other Hill Country soldiers, reported on February 1, 1864, that 155 of his men had deserted in one night from their post in East Texas. According to Woods, the deserters were angered by "General Order No. 15," an order whose text has not been located. He informed Colonel James Duff that "they all live West" and requested Duff to "have guards on the alert for them." The same regiment reported another sixteen deserters on February 29, 1864. The next month, seventy men from the regiment were said to be encamped on the Frio River west of San Antonio, while a few had fled to Mexico or joined the Union army. Certainly some deserters opposed the Confederacy on principle, but the mass desertions in Wood's regiment were triggered by a specific order that the troops found intolerable.<sup>7</sup>

The motivating factors behind desertion were of secondary concern to authorities who were struggling to maintain some semblance of order and control in western Texas. As

early as January 1862, the state legislature had enacted an anti-sedition law that threatened three to five years of prison for those who “shall maliciously and advisedly discourage the people from enlisting in the service of this State or Confederate State.” In March 1863, legislation was passed declaring that Texas residents who avoided military service or who aided the United States government were to be disfranchised, forbidden to hold property in the state, and subject to imprisonment for two to five years. Further sedition laws clarified that anyone encouraging desertion or disaffection “by means of any verbal, written, or printed statement,” harboring deserters, or communicating with the enemy were guilty of disloyalty to the state. The effect of this legislation was to criminalize a broad range of behaviors. In a state with an underdeveloped criminal justice system and a tradition of mob violence, the enforcement of these laws had the potential to be rife with abuse.<sup>8</sup>

By July 1863 the Frontier Regiment had received little or no official guidance on exactly how to deal with the deserters and draft evaders who traversed the region in increasing numbers. In most cases the preferred course of action for Confederate or state forces was to simply arrest these individuals and turn them over to civil authorities or enrolling officers, after which they would either be returned to their commands or face a civil trial. In other cases, the relative autonomy exercised by officers stationed in remote areas could lead to horrific violence.

On July 23, 1863, Major William J.D. Alexander, tasked with defending the southern half of the Frontier Regiment’s sector, learned of a party of “bushwhackers” who had

recently passed through Bandera. The so-called bushwhackers were nine men from Burnet, Williamson, and Lampasas counties, located along the northeastern edge of the Hill Country. All but one were of military age. They were deserters from either militia or Confederate service, and planned to go to Mexico, “saying they were leaving the country because they did not care to become involved in the strife between the states.”<sup>9</sup>

Major Alexander quickly set off in pursuit of the deserters with twenty-five men from Company B, Frontier Regiment, stationed at Camp Verde. The deserters were eventually captured in Medina County and brought back to the vicinity of Bandera, where the patrol and their prisoners camped for the night prior to continuing on to Camp Verde. In camp that night, some of the soldiers began to argue that the prisoners should simply be killed. Ten of the men in the patrol disagreed and left the camp. The rest, including Major Alexander, remained. One by one, the deserters were hung with a horsehair rope. The last man allegedly begged not to be hanged, and was instead shot to death. The underage boy was released and sent home, where he delivered the news of the deaths of his relatives and neighbors. The victims’ bodies were discovered and buried in a mass grave by local residents the next day.<sup>10</sup>

Alarmed by lingering Unionist resistance, the appearance of large, well-armed deserter bands, and the events of the previous year, Hill Country secessionists were anxious to root out dissenters within their communities. In February 1863, Heinrich and Jakob Itz were arrested in Gillespie County by unknown members of either the militia or the Frontier Regiment. Their brother Karl was a ULL survivor who had returned to the Hill Country



after the Nueces River battle and remained in hiding. Heinrich and Jacob were interrogated, probably about Karl's whereabouts, and the troops then "told them to run away and shot them." At the time of their arrest they had been molding bullets, apparently enough evidence of bushwhacking to justify their murder. Their bodies were left on the outskirts of Fredericksburg. Another murder occurred on July 27, 1863, when sixty-three-year-old farmer Peter Pletz was killed in his peach orchard by two members of the Frontier Regiment after he caught them stealing fruit. The identities of the perpetrators were apparently known within the community, but they escaped punishment. Although the Pletz murder did not have an apparent military or political motive, it was seen by German Texans as an example of the willingness of Anglo secessionists to casually employ violence against their community.<sup>11</sup>

Secessionists were particularly vigorous in Burnet County, where vigilantes killed a number of northern-born men who were known or suspected Unionists. When he fled to California in 1861, Noah Smithwick left his property in the hands of his nephew, John R. Hubbard, an Illinois native and fellow Unionist. Hubbard's decision to remain in Texas "cost him his life" at the hands of Burnet County secessionists. At some point, Hubbard decided to follow his uncle's example and flee the state. He was "waylaid and shot down, his body being riddled with bullets." His corpse was thrown into a deep pool on Cow Creek in southeastern Burnet County. Word appears to have spread that Unionists were being targeted by pro-Confederate vigilantes. Taking heed of this danger, John R. Scott departed for Mexico. Scott was the first chief justice of Burnet County and one of the wealthiest

men in the county. He traveled with another Unionist named McMasters. Even Scott's status as a wealthy and prominent community member could not save his life or that of his companion. Both men were captured at a ford on the Colorado River, robbed, and killed. Their bodies were thrown into a sinkhole known as Dead Man's Hole a few miles south of present-day Marble Falls. Around the same time German immigrant Adolf Hoppe and Ohio native Henry Flaughter were detained by vigilantes while cutting cedar posts. They were killed and their bodies were also deposited in Dead Man's Hole. B.P. Stephens, an Ohio-born saddle-tree maker, was another known victim of the vigilantes in Burnet County. Even though his son had enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1861, Stephens was assassinated. His wife blamed Dr. Thomas Moore, a Burnet County slaveholder and secessionist, for orchestrating the killing of "those he wishes put out of the way."<sup>12</sup>

Other Unionists faced intimidation or received ominous warnings from secessionist neighbors. John Townsend, "one of the fanatic Southern Fire Eaters" in Burnet County, warned his former friend and hunting partner Conrad Fuchs that he could not save him any longer due to his suspect loyalties. Fuchs joined the state militia and survived the war. In Mason County, German immigrant farmer and rancher Ernst Jordan was informed by an Anglo secessionist that "if you were not a friend of mine, you would be the next" as he showed Jordan the notches on his pistol grip, indicating that he had killed several men already. Outspoken Blanco County Unionist James W. Nichols was warned to "leave the county in ten days or abide the consequences." He refused, informing local secessionists that "if they want to hang me they can find me right here at the end of two [dou]ble barrel

shotguns.” For the rest of the war, Nichols was persecuted by the Blanco County secessionist “ring click” through spurious charges of livestock theft that he believed were intended to bankrupt him through legal fees.<sup>13</sup>

Nichols’ Unionist neighbors also faced intimidation and destruction of property. A neighbor by the name of Starr was believed to keep three son-in-laws that were of military age hidden along a creek near Nichol’s house. Local secessionists interrogated Starr’s sons in an attempt to locate their father, and even threatened to hang his wife, who was more than seventy years old. When they couldn’t extract the information they desired from Starr’s wife or sons, they pillaged the house, pouring ten or twelve sacks of wheat on the ground, destroying a bolt of homemade cloth, and stealing clothing and an assortment of blankets, quilts, and coverlets along with a small amount of money and some brass jewelry. Given the shortage of textiles in the Hill Country, the items they stole were of high value and would have represented a heavy financial blow to the Starr family. According to Nichols, Starr was eventually captured and jailed in San Antonio, making the family’s situation even worse. In his memoirs, Nichols remained understandably bitter over the actions of what he called the “rotten harted, thieving, savage set of hypocritical, fraudulent, purgered and polluted set, ring click, secesh, kid glove, paper collar, brass stud, mooving mass of corruption” that persecuted Blanco County Unionists during the war.<sup>14</sup>

Despite their best efforts, in late 1863 Hill Country secessionists saw their position growing more precarious by the day. On November 3, a Union force under General

Nathaniel Banks captured Brownsville, Texas, in an effort to interdict the lucrative cotton trade flowing through that city to Matamoros, Mexico. Texans throughout the south and central portions of the state braced for a potential Union invasion force striking north toward San Antonio. The Union army never launched a campaign into the Texas interior, but their seizure of the lower reaches of the Rio Grande Valley forced the cotton trade to be rerouted nearly 300 miles upriver to the Eagle Pass-Piedras Negras crossing. More importantly for the Hill Country, the threat of a Union invasion from the south stoked fresh fears among secessionists who viewed their Unionist neighbors with suspicion.<sup>15</sup>

Colonel John S. “Rip” Ford was tasked with repulsing the Union invasion, and he ordered the militia in western Texas to assemble in San Antonio. In attempting to raise troops, Ford employed the language of home defense, arguing that in rallying to the Confederate colors the people of the frontier would “be defending their own homes.” Ford’s call to repulse the “mongrel force of Abolitionists, negroes, plundering Mexicans, and perfidious renegades” along the Rio Grande was answered with a barrage of letters stating that the Hill Country was in danger from “jayhawkers” and Indians and that the militia could not leave the frontier. Some militiamen, such as a Captain Hartung of Medina County, responded to Ford’s order by deserting to Mexico. Ford eventually relented and the Hill Country militia units remained at home. Union intelligence reported only 500 troops under his command by February 1864. Secessionists in the region were surely aware of the minimal Confederate force standing between them and the Union army. The

lukewarm response accorded to Colonel Ford's pleas for help to "the people of the West" reinforced fears that most Hill Country settlers were traitorous.<sup>16</sup>

Though they failed to launch a full-scale invasion from their toehold on the Rio Grande, the Union army directly sponsored some clandestine operations in Texas. John W. Sansom, the guide for the ill-fated ULL members fleeing to Mexico in 1862, returned to Texas in January 1864 under orders to recruit Unionists for his regiment, the First Texas Cavalry (US). Beginning on January 25, Sansom and John C. Weaver of Lampasas County traveled through the Hill Country recruiting men for the Union army. Sansom was discovered on March 20 while recruiting in Blanco and Kendall counties and was pursued by Confederates "off and on" until reaching the Rio Grande with forty-eight recruits on April 2, 1864. After resting for a few weeks, Sansom reentered Texas in May, this time alone. After this trip, he returned to Union lines with thirty-six volunteers, including his father. The fact that the Union army could conduct recruiting operations hundreds of miles behind Confederate lines underscores the incredible fragility of Confederate control in western Texas, and must have been extremely disconcerting to secessionists in the area when they became aware of these activities.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the threat posed by Union army operations, Hill Country secessionists were certain that the Union military presence emboldened Texas Unionists. They were most disturbed by the activities of armed bands of Unionists – described variously as "renegades," "bushwhackers," or "jayhawkers" – based either in the Hill Country itself or

in Mexico. In late 1863, two “southern” men – a Mr. Wood and Mr. Hines – were waylaid and killed. Wood “was killed ... with arrows to make believe it was Indians,” but Unionist bushwhackers were believed to be responsible. Just before the New Year, Union General Napoleon J.T. Dana reported, “the refugees have become Bolder and more defiant in Northwestern Texas, and the road from San Antonio to Eagle Pass is not considered altogether safe. In fact some raids are reported to have been committed on Trains.”<sup>18</sup>

By early 1864 the Frontier Regiment and local militia found themselves engaged in violent confrontations with bushwhackers and deserters. Northern Blanco County was the home to several Unionists by the names of Snow and Lundy who were suspected of harboring deserters and attacking secessionists. The neighborhood was considered “verry unsafe,” and Chief Justice S.B. Gray reported that the danger “on account of Jayhawkers & indians” prevented him from completing the county’s roll of indigent families. In response to a request for help from Blanco County authorities, militia from Burnet County under Danish immigrant Captain Christian Dorbandt went in search of the Snow-Lundy gang. Although an informant was apparently too afraid to meet with them and lead them to the gang’s hiding place, the patrol discovered their targets at a cabin making preparations for some kind of nighttime expedition. The militia forced their way into the cabin and a gunfight erupted. In the ensuing shootout, John Townsend shot and killed both Moses M. Snow and Matthias R. Lundy, the latter a deserter from the Frontier Regiment stationed at Camp Verde. Lundy’s father was reportedly captured and sent to San Antonio for trial. He may have subsequently been hanged by Confederate authorities.<sup>19</sup>

A few days later, pro-Confederate local resident Mike Burcher was shot and killed in the same neighborhood. “Young Snow” and three others were believed to have assassinated Burcher in retaliation for his suspected role in informing against their compatriots. Shortly thereafter an individual known as “Krider,” described as “one of these Renegades [and] a spy,” was captured while on his way to Fredericksburg to purchase ammunition for the group. On January 22, 1864, Krider was forced to lead a patrol from Captain Hunter’s company of the Frontier Regiment to his comrades. In the ensuing skirmish, “young Snow” and Ben Watson were killed, while a third bushwhacker was wounded but escaped. Two Frontier Regiment soldiers were also killed. A horse and pistol belonging to “Mr. Woods” were recovered, confirming suspicions that he had died at the hands of bushwhackers rather than Indians.<sup>20</sup>

Other secessionists were attacked or lost property. On February 29, 1864, Confederate Captain Frank van der Stucken wrote from his camp in southeast Texas to request a forty-five day furlough. Explaining to a superior officer that he lived in Fredericksburg, van der Stucken wrote that he had recently learned that his farm, “a valuable place with all its houses pens and pastures, were burned, by renegades infesting that county en masse.” He had also learned that his brother, who had been discharged from Confederate service the previous summer and lived forty-five miles above Fredericksburg, had been “waylaid [and] shot at several times,” but escaped harm. Van der Stucken said that his family was “threatened to be burnt out of their home” and was begging him to move them to a safer location. He explained that the enmity of the Unionist bushwhackers dated back to the 1862

crackdown: “I was an active party with my Company in the breaking up and arrest of the Buschwackers, in that portion of the country, and they will have nothing undone to ruin me.” Carl Wahrmond, a Sergeant in the same company, also requested a furlough to move his family out of danger from “bushwhackers and other disloyal men” who had driven his neighbors off. The family’s nearest neighbor was now eight miles away, and consequently Wahrmond’s wife and children were living in “the seat of danger.”<sup>21</sup>

During the same month, “a band of robbers, who had been joined by some of the disloyal citizens” in western Gillespie County reportedly threatened to “burn up all the houses in the upper Llano settlements,” to “burn down to Bear Creek” approximately eight miles southwest of Fredericksburg, and to attack Kimble County resident Andrew J. Nixon and his sons as they returned home from the nearest mill. Shortly thereafter, two of Nixon’s sons were shot at and slightly wounded, and Nixon’s fences were set on fire. Mrs. August Frady reported being robbed by bushwhackers at her house on Bear Creek, though they were considerate enough to leave her “with blankets enough to keep me warm.” Around the same time a man named Jonathan Edwards was shot and wounded by bushwhackers at prominent pro-Confederate Thomas C. Doss’s mill in northwest Gillespie County, and Doss’s home was burned. Horses were reportedly stolen by Unionist bushwhackers near Kerrville. Kimble and Gillespie County residents complained that the threat of “Jayhawkers and disloyal men who infest our frontier” meant that they could not safely round up their cattle, even in parties of five or six men. They asserted that “nearly all the vacant houses and cowpens” in the area had been burned.<sup>22</sup>



Threats against pro-Confederates were widely reported in addition to outright violence and destruction of property. Secessionist Robert A. Gibson, a Gillespie County free range cattleman and Tennessee native, was notified by the “notorious” Unionist “Tirknett and his party ... that they will follow me ten miles into hell or have me.” According to Gibson, “the bushwhackers have oposed me so and stold my property and kep me mooving from plase to plase that I am prety well run thru.” In Kendall County, Fritz Schladoer claimed that the local minute men were “strong union men in the mane” who would not assist in finding and arresting bushwhackers and deserters. Schladoer named six men from Comfort and Sisterdale who “say they will assist in burning out all Secession men and families that is left when the frontier Reg’t is moved.”<sup>23</sup>

On March 29, 1864, Captain Banta reported chilling information from a settler living between Fredericksburg and Kerrville.

Wm. White of Wolf Creek sent me a note yesterday stating that twenty Bushwackers passed his Sheep herder the day before. Teurknett a Bushwakker talked with a Citizen a few nights since and told the citizen that he was just from Mexico and that 400 Renegades would be in here as soon as the grass rises to plunder the country, and that they contemplate waiting until this Co starts to move and then attack us on the road and try to take the Government and other property.<sup>24</sup>

The impending removal of the Frontier Regiment only heightened the fears of Confederate supporters in the Hill Country. The December 1861 legislation creating the unit provided that it should be accepted into Confederate service while simultaneously remaining dedicated to frontier defense. Texas’s efforts to have the national government pay for the state’s own frontier defense measures predated the Civil War, and proved no

less contentious under the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis rejected the notion that the state could dictate the terms on which a Confederate regiment could serve, and the Frontier Regiment became the subject of a protracted struggle between Austin and Richmond. Finally, in late 1863 preparations were made for the regiment to be accepted into Confederate service, relieving the state from the burden of funding it. The regiment was formally transferred to Confederate service on March 1, 1864.<sup>25</sup>

Confirming Texans' fears about Confederate control of the unit, shortly after the regiment's transfer General Magruder ordered most of the unit to move to East Texas, while a smaller portion concentrated along the upper Rio Grande between Eagle Pass and Brownsville. Anticipating these orders, the legislature created Texas's final frontier defense force, known as the Frontier Organization. Essentially, the Frontier Organization was simply composed of the local military-age males in each county organized into companies, including those men who were subject to the Confederate draft but who had been detailed for frontier defense in accordance with President Davis's recent guidance on conscription in the Texas frontier counties. The frontier was divided into three districts, with a Major of Texas State Troops in command of each. Captain James M. Hunter, formerly of the Frontier Regiment, was promoted and placed in charge of the Third Frontier District, which encompassed all of the Hill Country counties except for Mason. Mason County was included in the Second Frontier District, under the command of former Confederate officer and Austrian immigrant Major George Bernard Erath.<sup>26</sup>

Hill Country secessionists were under no illusions that they would be effectively defended by the Frontier Organization. A group of petitioners from Gillespie County expressed “full confidence in the Confederate Soldiers in this vicinity” but avowed none “in the ability of the minute men in this section, to give anything like adequate protection to the people of this part of the frontier.” Like Fritz Schladoer in Kendall County, they knew that the majority of their neighbors who would form the Frontier Organization were Unionist in sentiment, and they anticipated increasing depredations against supporters of the Confederacy. As a result of Unionist threats, they “concluded to move further down the country, and Fort up, in order to protect ourselves against the enemies of the country.” If the Frontier Regiment left they planned to move along with it, abandoning the frontier entirely for want of protection for loyal Confederates.<sup>27</sup>

In early 1864, then, Hill Country secessionists were confronted with a host of problems that seemed to grow worse by the day: a potential invasion by the Union Army or Unionist “renegades;” Confederate forces too weak to prevent Union recruiting operations deep inside the state; growing bands of deserters and criminals along the frontier; the imminent transfer of the only military force they placed any faith in; and a spate of real and threatened violence directed at their property and persons. Their response was driven both by real threats and by deep-seated cultural fears surrounding the collapse of social order. Prior to secession, violence in the Hill Country had been almost completely confined to the war of attrition between white settlers and Indians. Now, facing escalating political violence and

growing threats to their homesteads and property, local secessionists embarked on a campaign that exhibited all of the hallmarks of nineteenth-century American vigilantism. German Texans would refer to these vigilantes as *die Hängerbande*, literally “the hanging band.”

On February 1, 1864, sixteen-year-old John S.C. Turknett was captured by fellow Kerr Countians James and Joseph Glenn and William and A.J. Paul. John’s father was the “notorious” Unionist bushwhacker Philip B. Turknett. The Turknett’s were stock raisers who had moved to Kerr County sometime after the summer of 1860. They were also related to the Unionist Henderson family whose patriarch Seabird Henderson had been hanged on Spring Creek in August 1862 during the crackdown on the ULL. After his capture, John Turknett was interrogated about his father’s whereabouts, and according to some sources he was tortured. He was then killed, with sources differing as to whether he was beaten to death, drowned, or hanged.<sup>28</sup>

The vigilantes interrogated several other individuals to gather intelligence on bushwhacker activities. On or about February 21, Richard Joy and his younger brother William were detained at their home on the James River in Kimble County. The vigilantes placed nooses around the men’s necks, accused them of disloyalty, and demanded to know where Joy’s older brother John and father William Wiley Joy were. The troops swore that the other Joys would hang too. According to William Joy, “Finding they could get nothing out of me ... they made me swear that I would never tell any thing about what they had

done.” Stock raiser Henry Hudson was also interrogated, and Llano County farmer John Larremore was allegedly offered payment to betray Philip Turknnett and John Joy.<sup>29</sup>

A few days later the vigilantes went into action again. When Krider was captured attempting to purchase ammunition in Fredericksburg, troops in the Frontier Regiment discovered that his contact for the ammunition was Louis Schuetze. Schuetze was a Fredericksburg school teacher and served as a justice of the peace, as county militia enrolling officer, and as the captain of a militia unit. In addition to supplying ammunition to Unionist bushwhackers, Schuetze was accused by secessionists of failing in his duty to turn out the militia during the Governor’s call the previous year, and of demanding payment in specie as a bribe from those who wanted to avoid activation for militia service. According to secessionist Thomas C. Doss, “there being some observing men in the county this and other convicting evidence obtained from various sources created some excitement in this & adjoining counties,” and Schuetze became a *Hängerbande* target.<sup>30</sup>

On the evening of February 24, 1864, a group of fifteen to twenty *Hängerbande* members rendezvoused at the *Vereinskirche* in Fredericksburg. The group was led by vigilante leaders James P. Waldrip, John C. Caldwell, and William Paul. They rode to Schuetze’s house and called for him to come out. Schuetze refused, ran to another part of the house, and began to call for help through an open window. A vigilante fired a shot through the window, causing Schuetze to huddle on the floor with his nineteen-year-old daughter Louise. The vigilantes then forced their way into the house and searched it until they found their intended victim. They struck him on the head with the butt of a gun and

dragged him outside, as Schuetze pleaded for the men to “think of my wife and children!” Louise was restrained by two of the Gibson sons as her father was forced out of the house. The last words she heard from him were, “Louise, they will hang me!” The vigilantes allegedly stole several weapons, around \$400 in Confederate money, and a number of other items before leaving the house. Several Fredericksburg residents heard the commotion and started toward Schuetze’s house, but were deterred by the large body of men assembled outside of it, some of whom threatened to kill anyone who interfered. They ran to the church and began ringing the bell as a signal of alarm, but were too late to prevent the vigilantes from departing with their neighbor. A search party later found Schuetze’s body hanging from a live oak tree three miles northeast of town near Palo Alto Creek. An inquest determined that he had been dragged through a field and had then hanged for several hours before succumbing at the end of a poorly tied noose.<sup>31</sup>

A few days later, the vigilantes learned that well-to-do farmer and rancher Warren Cass had returned to Gillespie County from Mexico. Cass lived in the Cherry Spring neighborhood and was a native of New York. He was known to the *Hängerbande* as a Unionist and was suspected of being a bushwhacker along with the Joys and Philip Turknnett, or at least of aiding Unionist “renegades” in Mexico by selling cattle to them in defiance of the Confederacy’s reverse blockade. Upon his return, Cass was arrested by militiamen William S. Dixon and William A. Isbell for being absent without leave from Captain Charles Human’s militia company. Cass was found to have at least one letter in his possession that seemed to incriminate Gillespie County Unionists. When Captain Banta

learned of Cass's detention, he traveled to Thomas Doss's ranch, where Cass was being held, and interrogated him about bushwhacker activities. The vigilantes learned from a series of interrogations that Louis Nelson, the son of 1862 Spring Creek hanging victim Hiram Nelson, Sr., supposedly had a squad of ten men that planned to come into the Hill Country to steal from "a list of secessionists." Cass stated that another party under a deserter from Louisiana named "Dr. Dudley" was coming "in upon the Llano & San Saba" with "a list of secessionists as long as his arm." Dudley intended to gather reinforcements and "sweep through the frontier country & kill all the men on his list & take their property." Cass also named men who wanted to join the bushwhackers or who were already involved in bushwhacking activities.<sup>32</sup>

Banta and a squad of vigilantes took Cass into custody. They traveled two miles toward Camp Davis but then turned off the road. According to William Isbell, Cass realized what was happening, exclaiming "My God you have just brought me out here to hang me." Cass offered the men money if they would spare his life. Asked if he had anything else to say "he said he could say a good deal more about Wiley Joy but My God said he how can I hang that old grey headed man then some one hallowed 'Pull him up' and he was pulled up and left hanging." Upon returning to camp, the vigilantes divided Cass's money and auctioned off his property, including a saddle, a set of spurs, a pistol, and a blanket. The vigilantes "thought it perfectly right that those who did the labor should have what the man had." On the night of March 12, troops from Camp Davis paid a visit to the newly widowed Sarah Jane Cass. They claimed to be friends of her husband, who she had just learned was

dead after his disappearance eight days prior. One man lured her outside, claiming that her husband was not dead but was afraid to come inside the house, then left her in the woods in the dark. Cass ran back to her house and discovered that a trunk containing \$600 in silver had been taken. She later visited Camp Davis and recognized three of the four men who had robbed her, but Captain Banta would not tell her who they were.<sup>33</sup>

At some point around the time of the killings of Schuetze and Cass, the vigilante movement seems to have coalesced into an organized campaign. Where local secessionists had heretofore engaged in a sporadic series of actions against accused Unionists, they now allegedly organized into a secret society known as the “Soldiers’ Friends.” Captain William Banta of the Frontier Regiment was accused of taking a leading role in organizing and coordinating the operations of the vigilante group. At a meeting in early March, Banta allegedly announced that “there would be no more hanging be done in this country except he knew about it beforehand.” A witness later testified that “in my own estimation ... Capt Banta knew all what was going on in this country, in regard to this murder and robbery.” Banta was said to have threatened that “there was about a thousand men below, that were coming up and hanging everything that was disloyall.”<sup>34</sup>

The hanging of Louis Schuetze and the other recent killings shocked many in the Hill Country. Schuetze’s death was particularly consequential, as his brother Julius was the personal tutor to Governor Pendleton Murrah’s children. As soon as he learned of his brother’s death, Julius Schuetze traveled from Austin to Fredericksburg, where he found



the civil authorities terrified. Nonetheless, at Schuetze's urging, an investigation was launched and he pressed Major Hunter to use the troops at his disposal to enforce the law and bring his brother's murderers to justice. Hunter hesitated, fearing that some of the troops he might call upon to aid the civil authorities were unreliable and "the officials might possibly be shot from the rear." Hunter also hesitated to interpose martial authority into a local criminal matter. On March 7, Schuetze departed Fredericksburg to inform Governor Murrah of the situation in Gillespie County. He was reportedly threatened by vigilantes and followed on his way to Austin. He arrived safely after taking an alternate route south through San Antonio, and later learned that the vigilantes had planned to ambush him en route. On March 9, Major Hunter also departed for Austin to apprise Governor Murrah of the situation and to seek sanction for military intervention.<sup>35</sup>

James Hunter was known as a Unionist sympathizer. His brother John had come to Gillespie County from Tennessee as early as 1847 and was a signer of the county's petition for incorporation by the legislature. James and another brother, Alf, followed in the early 1850s. John and James worked as partners in a mercantile business in Fredericksburg. All three brothers were married to German Texan wives. Hunter's close ties to the German immigrant community and his apparent lack of vigor in hunting down bushwhackers made him an object of suspicion among local secessionists. When the contents of Warren Cass's incriminating letters were shown to him, Hunter was alleged to have "said it was of no value." Now, the vigilantes believed that Hunter, Fredericksburg Unionist lawyer and state

Senator Almon O. Cooley, and perhaps Charles Nimitz had written a letter to the Governor asking for help in stopping the recent outbreak of violence.<sup>36</sup>

Anticipating that Major Hunter and Unionist militiamen would eventually rally to oppose them, Captain Banta and other vigilante leaders decided that “they would go right into action” to “clean up the country” before Hunter could marshal his forces against them. A targeted raid was organized, aimed at killing the Unionists and bushwhackers who had been identified through their intelligence gathering efforts. On the same night that Hunter departed for Austin, dozens of vigilantes from multiple counties assembled at Thomas C. Doss’s ranch in northwestern Gillespie County. They traveled to the South Grape Creek settlement, a few miles southeast of Fredericksburg. The vigilantes struck the north end of the settlement first.<sup>37</sup>

The vigilantes’ first victim was Peter Burg. Burg was a farmer and a Sergeant in the virtually all-German militia company that Louis Schuetze had commanded prior to his death. Burg’s son Joseph witnessed his death in front of the family’s home.<sup>38</sup>

My father was in the yard; they told him he was a prisoner. He begged not to be taken away as his wife was just buried two days before that & he had no one to take care of his little children. One of the men told me to get my father's horse as every body had to go to the war now & my father had to go too. After I had saddled the horse they let him out of the yard & commanded my father to mount. He did & they told him to ride on ahead & as soon as he started they shot him. ... The man who shot him first shot him in the body. ... After he was shot the first time he fell off his horse & went about ten steps & they shot him in the head. He did not speak & died in a few moments. ... I am fourteen years old. My father left 7 children. I am the oldest.<sup>39</sup>

The vigilantes also arrested Heinrich Kirchner, a private in Schuetze's company and Burg's brother-in-law. Other vigilantes went to neighboring farms, arresting Wilhelm Feller and Johann Blanck. Feller and Blanck's spouses reported that their houses were also robbed. Feller was the second-in-command in Schuetze's militia company and a justice of the peace. Blanck had been implicated in receiving correspondence from Mexico through the letters found on Warren Cass, and he was believed to be in touch with the Unionist "renegades" that threatened the Hill Country from across the Rio Grande. Blanck was also a Sergeant in Schuetze's militia company. Other South Grape Creek residents were detained, disarmed, and interrogated, but were released.<sup>40</sup>

As word of what was taking place spread, the farmers of the South Grape Creek settlement began to arm themselves and organize for protection. The vigilantes apparently intended to kill more men but were deterred by the forewarning of their intended victims. A group of vigilantes went to the house of Barbara Petsch, whose husband Joseph had fled upon being informed of the raid. They demanded water, then entered the house with guns drawn and cocked. According to Petsch, the men stole powder and shot, a pair of pants, a young horse and several sacks of corn, then departed. Martin Pehl's house was also visited. Pehl had also fled, and the vigilantes may have settled for robbing his family of provisions and valuables. Petsch, Pehl, and either Jacob or Wilhelm Luckenbach appear to have been intended as additional targets for the vigilantes. With the settlement warned of their approach, the *Hangerbande* decided to end the night's grisly work and search for the others later. After they departed, the South Grape Creek settlers formed a search party to look for

the missing men. Due to dark and stormy weather, Kirchner, Feller, and Blanck were not found until the next day. All three were discovered hanging from a single tree a few hundred yards from Blanck's house. In addition to the seven orphans left behind by Burg, Feller left a wife and seven children, Blanck left a wife and three children, and Kirchner left a wife and at least two children.<sup>41</sup>

On March 17, Major Hunter returned to Fredericksburg and learned of the hanging of Warren Cass and the South Grape Creek killings. Hunter set out to gather militiamen to offer protection to the civil authorities while they investigated the murders. As many as 200 militiamen from Mason, Gillespie, and Kendall counties assembled at Fredericksburg. At first Hunter attempted no arrests, finding that the accused vigilantes "believe themselves strong enough to resist any force that I have now at my command" and confident that they could escape prosecution "by the power of combination" and the slow pace of the civil courts. Hunter found the local authorities "very unwilling to act at all" and the citizens gripped by a "general feeling of terror." Witnesses were unwilling to testify "for fear of violence to their persons." Charles Feller, brother of the murdered Wilhelm Feller, was the only justice of the peace who remained in the county. The deceased Louis Schuetze and Wilhelm Feller had been justices of the peace, and the others had now resigned or fled the county. Other civilians had also fled. Hunter reported that he had been followed as he traveled to gather militiamen, and that the individual following him had attempted to discourage cooperation with his investigation. He also found members of the Burnet County militia unwilling to cooperate. One of their officers told him "that he would not put

his hands to arrest a southern man for hanging a tory and that he had understood that the men were hung for disloyalty.” In spite of these difficulties, Hunter managed to develop enough evidence to serve as “the base of further actions on the part of the civil authorities.”<sup>42</sup>

During March and April, a tense standoff prevailed between Hunter and the vigilantes. Militiamen under Hunter’s command guarded Fredericksburg while the investigation and proceedings of the grand juries took place. The *Hängerbande* continued to make threats against Cooley, Hunter, and others even as indictments were handed down. Upon learning that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, James P. Waldrip threatened to kill Chief Justice Maier. According to a witness, “[Waldrip] swore he would fill him full of buckshot & got on his horse & started toward Meyer’s house – as he rode up to it Meyer shut the door & he then rode up town ... He also said that they need not make so much fuss about Schutze for there were six more men in this town whose lives he intended to take.” Franz Kettner reported that he and a dozen other Mason County Unionists were also threatened. In response, he and his neighbors “forted up” in a camp guarded by the county militia under the command of Captain Hermann R. von Biberstein. Despite these threats, no further attacks were carried out.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the armed stalemate, a war of words was underway. Vigilante leaders and sympathizers attempted to convince Governor Murrah that they were loyal Confederates and should not be treated as criminals for their actions. Burnet County enrolling officer W.H. Holland suggested that “your excellency is not fully apprised of the state of affairs

on the frontier.” He went on to describe his activities during the past few months, during which time he had been “arresting deserters and breaking up bands of bushwhackers, not only in Burnet, but in adjoining counties.” Holland expressed the fears motivating secessionist vigilantes, arguing that the frontier was full of disloyal citizens and was in danger of being overrun by jayhawkers and renegades from Mexico, who he believed were threatening an imminent invasion supported by “Yankee bayonets.” Other correspondents echoed Holland’s statements, recounting attacks on secessionists and threats made against pro-Confederate citizens.<sup>44</sup>

Murrah’s petitioners either dismissed allegations of robbery as fabrications or portrayed them as an unfortunate excess that should not overshadow the good achieved by the vigilante actions. In their telling, it was the vigilantes who were on the side of law and order. William C. Doss insisted that “I do not believe there was one loyal man engaged in said hanging who is not as much opposed to robbing as you can be.” The secessionists assured the governor that the vigilantes’ intentions were merely to protect themselves and “a government which they [Unionists] were doing their best to destroy.” Ultimately, the secessionists argued, the men who had been killed were Unionist renegades who aided and abetted deserters and bushwhackers, and who were working in concert with “Jack Hamilton” and other Unionists across the Rio Grande. Doss informed Murrah that “the most of the loyal men with whom I have conversed ... say the hanging had a good and salutary effect on the union and wavering men in this community.” If the perpetrators of the hangings were arrested, Doss warned, “it will require an armed force to keep down the

unionists & abolitionists in the future.” A group of petitioners bluntly stated that the hanged men “were Tories & deserved their fate.” As for the vigilantes, Captain Banta described them as “the men Military, and Civil, who have been engaged in ridding the Country of its enemies and their friends.” Members and supporters of the “Soldier’s Friends” disavowed support for theft, which they agreed was an allegation that should be investigated, yet unflinchingly took responsibility for the hangings, which they saw as a patriotic duty and an act of self-defense.<sup>45</sup>

Murrah was unconvinced and persisted in his efforts to reestablish law and order in the Hill Country. In early May Major Hunter finally began to make arrests. Six of the indicted men were immediately arrested on charges of murder and robbery, all of whom were members of the Frontier Regiment or the state militia. Captain Banta was among those taken into custody. Others fled to Mexico, pursued by Unionist militiamen. Franz Kettner, who trailed the fugitives for over a hundred miles with a fifty-man patrol, recalled that “we found one and one was immediately shot.” By May 9, nine of the vigilantes who had escaped across the Rio Grande had been taken into custody by Mexican authorities at Piedras Negras. State authorities immediately began the extradition process. Approximately forty other vigilantes remained at large and were believed to have escaped to Mexico.<sup>46</sup>

Eventually seven alleged *Hängerbande* members were imprisoned in the Fredericksburg jail: Captain William Banta, J.W. Caldwell, Hans Roberts, William Dixon, William Isbell, Richard Moebus, and William Hams. Other than Banta, all of the alleged

vigilantes were members of the Kerr or Gillespie County militia under the Frontier Organization. The men immediately filed writs of habeas corpus claiming false imprisonment and attempted to be removed to the friendlier confines of Burnet County. Their pleas fell on receptive ears, and Seventeenth District Court Judge A.S. Walker ordered their removal. The prisoners were scheduled to be moved on May 26, 1864.<sup>47</sup>

The news that the prisoners would be moved to a pro-Confederate jurisdiction prompted local Unionists to ensure that they were “taken care of by the people.” Around midnight on the evening of May 24, approximately sixty armed men descended on the Fredericksburg jail, brushing aside the guards. They rushed into the jailhouse and began firing into the two rooms where the prisoners were held. The prisoners frantically tried to grab or push away pistols that were pointed into the jail cells and fired at point blank range. One of the prisoners, Hans Roberts, attempted to fight his way out of the jail with a small knife and was killed instantly. After what must have seemed like an eternity, Sheriff Julius Splittgerber, “a true Southern man and a good man” according to Banta’s memoirs, appeared with a group of citizens and scattered the Unionist mob. Incredibly, only Roberts was killed outright, although William Isbell and William Dixon died from wounds shortly after the attack. Banta was shot through both legs and Richard Moebus was wounded in the arm. Caldwell and William Hams escaped unscathed, “as black as negroes in the face from powder burns, and their clothing shot full of holes.” Banta attributed their escape to “Providence, the darkness, and the powder smoke.” In the aftermath of the jail attack, local residents Jacob Luckenbach and Joseph Petsch – who had been targets of the *Hängerbande*



during the South Grape Creek raid – were charged with murder. Trial records are incomplete, but neither appears to have been convicted.<sup>48</sup>

Supporters of the prisoners were incensed at Major Hunter for the arrests of the accused *Hängerbande* members and his apparent failure to prevent the attack on the prisoners at Fredericksburg. On May 2, William Doss alleged that “there are men now in [Hunter’s] camp who have been lying out for some three or four months,” one of whom was known to have said “he wished the Confederacy in h–l and he would fight and die before he would go into the army.” Doss complained that this Unionist was now charged with guarding “loyal Southern men.” Moreover, the mustering of the militia to arrest the vigilantes made it difficult for the men of the county to raise a corn crop, and Doss claimed that with these men occupied by their military duties, “large droves of cattle” had been driven toward the Rio Grande by “Renegades, Bushwhackers, and deserters.” Much like his Unionist foes who resisted militia service away from the frontier, Doss employed the language of economic necessity for political ends. In this case, secessionists sought to avoid prosecution for the vigilantes by arguing that their actions were justified and that the arrest of the participants in the “Soldiers’ Friends” organization would have ruinous consequences for the frontier’s security and economy.<sup>49</sup>

Following the Fredericksburg jail attack, secessionists Thomas Moore, T.C. Doss, W.H. Holland, and Thomas H. Shugart wrote to Governor Murrah at the behest of “a large number of citizens” of the Hill Country. The petitioners were barely able to conceal their anger. After vowing their loyalty to the Confederacy, they contrasted it with the treachery

of their Unionist neighbors: “There is another class of citizen (most numerous among the German population) who are, and ever have been considered disloyal.” They asserted that “but for the robbery which was incidental to the hanging, those who committed the act would have been sustained to the utmost.” They claimed to have supported the civil authorities in their investigation of the alleged robberies, “provided the parties accused could be protected from violence.” Major Hunter was inveighed against for exceeding his authority and trampling on the civil rights of loyal Confederate citizens. Hunter was criticized for failing to ensure the prisoners’ safety despite repeated warnings, for doing nothing to stop the attack as it was taking place, and for declining to visit the wounded prisoners after the attack. The petitioners concluded by claiming that Hunter was “leagued with a tory party to wage war on southern men” and that he had deliberately allowed the prisoners to be slaughtered. They requested that Hunter be removed, “as the only means of restoring quiet to our distracted District.” Hunter’s brother Alf, a Captain in the Mason County militia, was also accused of being a ringleader in the Fredericksburg jail attack. From the perspective of Confederate sympathizers in the Hill Country, “Jim Hunter and his gang” “seem to be dertermined to get every good man they can.” Local secessionists’ exasperation only intensified when a militia patrol shot and killed an “old man” named William Munroe Nixon, whom they mistook for fugitive *Hängerbande* leader James P. Waldrip. Hunter claimed that Nixon was a deserter, but secessionists said that he was simply a laborer staying on John W. Caldwell’s ranch.<sup>50</sup>

With the situation in the region apparently out of control, state and local authorities struggled to maintain some semblance of order in the Hill Country. Even as he attempted to gain control of the situation around Fredericksburg, Major Hunter had to contend with mounting chaos throughout the Third Frontier District. At some point after March 1864, property-less laborer Valentine “Dave” Pearl killed Corporal James Owens of the Burnet County militia. Owens was the son of wealthy physician William M. Owens of Round Rock, Texas. Burnet County historian M.G. Bowden euphemistically explains Owens’ death as resulting from his having “requested” that Pearl “enroll in the army,” indicating that Pearl was probably a conscript or deserter. After Owens’ death, a local citizen and a detachment of troops from Fort Mason captured Pearl. Pearl was in turn lynched. Meanwhile, Indian raids continued even as the Hill Country’s local conflict escalated. Frontier defense forces found it difficult to respond to the multiplicity of security threats. Captain James E. Bourland of Llano County reported that he had “endeavored to keep out ¼ of my company hunting Indians, but it has so happened that I have had to detail my men twice ... for 3 or 4 days at a time to look after some deserters that were in San Saba County.” On the southern end of Hunter’s sector, Captain R.H. Williams described the area between the Frio and the Nueces River as “becoming inflicted by Bands of deserters, who are generally well armed & mounted.” Williams’ small patrols were too weak to arrest groups of deserters numbering up to twenty-five men. Williams predicted that without reinforcements, “the Frontier will be in the hands of Renegades and deserters.”<sup>51</sup>

Hunter's men achieved some small successes. Between February and May, militiamen from Llano County captured 25 deserters, and those in Blanco County seized horses and supplies from a bushwhacker camp that they had discovered. Several fights with Indians were also reported, with at least three Indians killed, others wounded, and over fifty stolen horses recovered by militia patrols. Nonetheless, the futility of their efforts was put on display when twenty-two of the deserters that had been captured by the Llano County militia made a mass escape. The escapees reportedly made off with all the arms and horses that had been taken from them, as well as with five additional deserters from the Frontier Regiment company to whom they had been turned over.<sup>52</sup>

Violent incidents continued into the summer of 1864. In mid-June 1864, Unionist Phillip B. Turknett returned to the Hill Country from Mexico. Several witnesses testified that Turknett had vowed to kill Jonas Harrison, a member of the Kerr County militia, because "the damned son-of-a-bitch ... has stolen my horses." On the night prior to his death, Turknett allegedly torn down Harrison's fences and turned his stock loose into his fields in an attempt to draw Harrison out of his home. Harrison, however, had been warned of Turknett's plans and he appealed to the local militia detachment for protection. The next day, Harrison killed Turknett near the Kerr-Gillespie county line. In the same month, Fredericksburg residents Eugene Frantzen and Louis Martin were robbed and killed at the Nueces River while freighting cotton to the Mexican border. Their killers were allegedly "Confederate bandits."<sup>53</sup>

A new problem also appeared for the first time: large-scale cattle rustling. Citizens in Uvalde County complained of rustling by “thieving Mexicans and Renegades.”<sup>54</sup>

Within the last three or four months some 4000 or 5000 head of cattle have been driven into Mexico by said thieves & Robbers a few hundred of which have been returned to their owners by the Mexican authorities and within the last week the country has been overrun with Indians stealing horses. While at the same time Bands of Deserters and Renegades are continually Passing through this section of country from Arkansas, Louisiana and the Interior of this State. Driving horses and cattle from here. This being their general rout by which most of the Deserters & renegades make their way into Mexico.<sup>55</sup>

As reports of lawlessness and violence continued to reach his office, Governor Murrah decided to make a change in leadership along the frontier. He suspended Major Hunter, and placed Brigadier General John D. McAdoo of the state militia in command of the Second and Third Frontier Districts on June 20, 1864. McAdoo was a lawyer and planter from Washington-on-the-Brazos, and had served both as a candidate for state attorney general on the 1860 “Constitution and Union” ticket and as a Confederate officer. After the war, McAdoo served as an associate justice on the Texas Supreme Court under radical Republican Edmund J. Davis. With his background and politics, McAdoo was well positioned to take a neutral stance toward the political factions within the Hill Country.<sup>56</sup>

Upon arriving in Fredericksburg on June 23, McAdoo found “the people divided into hostile parties, criminating and recriminating each other; the civil law practically suspended; the hand of violence busy and unchecked, and indeed a bloody internecine war alarmingly imminent.” McAdoo issued a proclamation declaring himself “the friend of no man” and assuring the people of the Hill Country that his intent was “to deal fairly and

justly to all.” McAdoo visited Llano, Burnet, and Blanco counties, where he urged mass meetings of citizens to support the Confederate cause and to uphold the laws and civil authorities despite “all grievances and outrages.” McAdoo was reportedly well-received, and he asserted on September 15 that “lawless butcheries and armed terrorism” had come to an end, deserter bands had been captured or driven from the region, and that “there is much less talk of disloyalty than before.”<sup>57</sup>

McAdoo’s impartiality and detachment from the local political conflict in the Hill Country, as well as the arrest, killing, or flight of several *Hängerbande* members, enabled civil authorities to reassert a degree of control over the region. Local secessionists expressed their satisfaction with McAdoo. T.C. Doss informed Governor Murrah that “since the Gin has taken command, thar has been quite a change among all classes.” Although “the Germans ... together with some few Americans that is of thar way of thinking” were “very much dissatisfied at the removal of Maj Hunter,” Doss believed that “the course the Gen is taken does not affect peace here it will be out of the power of any other man to accomplish it.” Hermann R. von Biberstein recalled McAdoo’s command as “the period of relative quiet under the moderate rule of General McAdoo to the end of the war, interrupted only by occasional Indian atrocities.”<sup>58</sup>

Even as local authorities worked to reestablish a basic level of law and order, the Confederacy’s hold on the region virtually evaporated. The problems of Indian raids and deserters continued unabated. As late as mid-April 1865, the state militia launched an

expedition from Camp Verde to arrest deserters rumored to be between the upper San Saba and Concho rivers, killing two and capturing several others. Although local violence had waned, many residents were disaffected with the Confederate cause and continued to suffer under Confederate policies. In the Hill Country, and all along the Texas frontier, some ranchers began to illegally drive cattle to Mexico and even to trade directly with the Union army at El Paso. Gillespie County rancher James Peril was one of those who chose to defy the Confederate embargo on cattle exports. Peril drove a cattle herd west to Presidio del Norte, Chihuahua in 1864. In 1865, he further defied Confederate authority when he traveled to New Orleans and enlisted with his son in the Union army. Even Major James Hunter was accused of trading cattle illegally and selling them to Union purchasing agents. Under investigation, Hunter tendered his resignation in January 1865 and he was replaced as Third Frontier District commander by Major John Henry Brown. Governor Murrah finally realized that nothing could be done to stop frontier Texans from selling their cattle out of the state for desperately needed money and supplies. Murrah wrote to General Magruder in April 1865 to argue that unlike cotton planters, frontier stock raisers were without markets other than Mexico, and that trade across the Rio Grande was necessary for them to acquire basic supplies. It is unknown whether Confederate policies were altered prior to the surrender of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi.<sup>59</sup>

By the spring of 1865, the Confederacy's demise was imminent and the Hill Country seemed to be tipping back toward chaos. In late March 1865, members of the locally prominent Owens family killed Uvalde County Sheriff John Q. Dougherty. Dougherty had

arrested W.B. Owens on a murder charge. A group of family members and friends then rescued Owens from jail, and the escaping jail breakers killed Sheriff Dougherty as he attempted to pursue them. The local militia commander appealed to district commander Major Brown, who had perhaps learned from his predecessor's problems as he decided to "act upon the matter, if at all, with prudence & discretion." Around the same time, citizens in Mason County held a mass meeting, where Seventeenth District Judge A.S. Walker and Sixty-seventh District Representative James E. Ranck urged "the importance of upholding and sustaining the laws of the country as the best means of security to life and property." The meeting was organized because "there has existed for a long time, in a portion of this frontier country, an organized band of 'lawless white men' who have murdered and robbed" and who had thus far escaped justice. They declared that "we will no longer submit to having our men murdered and their families robbed by any band of murderers, under any pretext whatever." The assembled citizens agreed to a series of resolutions that pledged their support for upholding the law and civil authorities, and vowed to defend one another.<sup>60</sup>

Anticipating the chaos that would follow the looming collapse of constituted government in Texas, Union General Edward R.S. Canby ordered Captain John Sansom to return once again to the Hill Country ahead of the main Union military force. Sansom's clandestine mission had apparently been planned by Canby and Colonel Edmund J. Davis as early as January 1865. Sansom arrived at his home in Kendall County on March 23 and began organizing secret "Loyal Home Guard" units in Kendall, Blanco, and Comal



counties. Sansom also reported back to his headquarters on the demoralized state of Confederate troops and militia in western Texas, who he found determined to remain “as far west as [they] could to keep from the Army in the east where the war was fierces.” The local units organized by Sansom mustered several hundred men, some of whom were Confederate officers and soldiers, and were charged with keeping the peace amidst the Confederate implosion. In early April, state troops under Captain John Rabb and Lieutenant Ben Thompson learned of Sansom’s presence in the Hill Country. They robbed and ransacked his house while searching for him. Shortly thereafter, Rabb and Thompson rode into an ambush set by Sansom and his followers near his home. Surrounding the two officers, Sansom informed them that he would not be taken prisoner and would let them depart in peace so long as they promised to leave him alone. He was allowed to operate unmolested for the remaining weeks of the Confederacy’s life. The United States flag was raised over Sansom’s home on Curry’s Creek as early as April 8, 1865. Confederate authority was nonexistent on the Texas frontier beyond mid-April 1865, approximately a month before it evaporated in the rest of the state.<sup>61</sup>

The Confederate Trans-Mississippi began to completely disintegrate after news of Lee’s surrender reached the department in late April. By mid-May, in an event known in Texas as “the breakup,” Confederate soldiers deserted in mass, often plundering both government and private property as they made their way home. With no army left in the field and no point in further resistance, representatives of the Trans-Mississippi Department surrendered on May 26, a surrender formalized by General Edmund Kirby Smith on June

2. By this time, the entire region was in turmoil. Communities throughout Texas suffered from looting and destruction that was carried out by soldiers and citizens alike. The state treasury in Austin was raided by a party of soldiers on June 11, allegedly led by the same Captain Rabb whom John Sansom had confronted on Curry's Creek. They plundered the vault of approximately \$17,000 of its \$27,000 in gold before being driven off by a group of armed citizens. Other Confederates fled to Mexico, including Governor Murrah, General Smith, Major John Henry Brown, several other high-ranking Confederate officers, and several hundred members of General Joseph Shelby's "Iron Brigade" of Missourians. The United States flag was raised over New Braunfels on June 19, 1865, the same day that General Gordon Grainger arrived 200 miles to the east in Galveston and proclaimed the end of slavery in Texas. It would take until July 25 for Union troops to arrive in Austin. In the meantime, Sansom's "Loyal Home Guard" and other informal units in the Hill Country appear to have successfully protected the people and property of the region, even as disgruntled ex-Confederates passed through on their way to Mexico. The Hill Country's nightmarish civil war was finally at an end.<sup>62</sup>

That violence occurred between Unionists and secessionists on the home front is unsurprising. A rich literature examines the many local conflicts between pro-Confederates and dissenters throughout the wartime South, yet it must be remembered that Hill Country Texans of all political stripes, ethnicities, and economic statuses had been united during the prewar period by their desire to end the threat posed by Indian raids. The Indian threat

continued to be a force for cooperation in many ways during the Civil War, as Hill Country settlers formed impromptu armed groups to recover stolen horses, served together in local defense units, and argued to legislators, officials, and military officers that their men must be allowed to remain at home. As the war continued, they increasingly jettisoned the uneasy truce that had prevailed prior to 1862 and began killing one another in a vicious local war, much like their fellow Americans in communities from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. This requires some explanation.

A number of reasons have been offered to account for continuing violence in the Hill Country after the Nueces River battle. Some witnesses and contemporaries tended to characterize the violent actions of pro-Confederate partisans as purely criminal, focusing on theft as a motive and portraying the deaths of Unionists as wanton murders. This is especially true for the murders that took place in the winter and spring of 1864 in Gillespie County at the hands of the *Hängerbande*. Testimony from both victims and participants in the vigilante actions makes it clear that the victims of pro-Confederate vigilantes were typically robbed as well as killed. Some claimed that the vigilantes had even more grandiose plans for criminal activity. For instance, John Larremore testified that Captain Banta and his followers had plans to go into a “cattle stealing business” in Uvalde County, believing that they could make \$50,000 in this way. Richard Joy agreed that the vigilantes “intended to hang the men that had money & rob them.” According to Unionist sympathizers and many later authors, the victims of violence in 1863 and 1864 were simply

innocent victims of an organized criminal gang masquerading as honorable pro-Confederate partisans.<sup>63</sup>

Historian Joe Baulch emphasizes criminality and feuding in his examination of the post-1862 Hill Country. Baulch points out that in 1854 members of the Doss family had been charged with the “attempted murder” of Warren Cass (the specific charge was assault with intent to kill). He also alleges that the victims of the South Grape Creek raid “had been involved in a land dispute” with local Confederate loyalists. County records reveal that John E. Doss was found guilty of assaulting Warren Cass in the fall of 1855. Doss was charged with assault in another incident in 1858. The Doss’s apparently had a penchant for violence. Describing the 1863 murder of Peter Pletz, John Z. Leyendecker’s father described one of the suspected murderers, Samuel Doss, as “the son of John Doss who died this spring, a lad of 16-17 years, miserable, wild as his father was.” Other records lend some credence to the notion that long-simmering feuds boiled to the surface in 1863 and 1864. According to accused *Hängerbande* member Hans Roberts, in the fall of 1863 R.A. Gibson, his two sons, and Dan Banta (probably a relative of Captain William Banta) had an armed confrontation with eventual vigilante victim Peter Burg at his home on South Grape Creek. Two weeks later Burg was again confronted in Fredericksburg by Dan Banta, who offered to fight him. Roberts also testified that R.A. Gibson had sold horses to him that belonged to another eventual victim of the *Hängerbande*, Wilhelm Feller, “at a time when Feller had gone to New Braunfels.” Feller said that Gibson had no right to do so. Another Gillespie County secessionist, A.J. Nixon, described three targets of the vigilantes

as “all political enemies of mine.” The exact nature of these disputes is unclear, but they reveal long-standing tensions between some members of the *Hängerbande* and their victims.<sup>64</sup>

Related to the emphasis on criminality is the charge leveled by Nueces River survivor August Hoffmann that the vigilantes – especially those in James P. Waldrip’s militia squad – were “almost only English speakers and of the kind that are called squatters,” an accusation fraught with class and cultural overtones. Hoffmann’s statement was at least partially correct. As discussed in Chapter One, Anglo settlements in the Hill Country had large numbers, even majorities in some cases, of landless stock raisers in their populations. Sixteen of the twenty-eight vigilantes that can be identified through census or tax records were free range stock raisers who owned no real estate. The history of the Upland South and the American West in the nineteenth century is replete with friction between free range grazers and farmers, and the Hill Country was no different. German Texans’ particular attitudes about land, fencing, and property rights could become a flash point for problems between stock raisers and farmers. The conflict known as the Mason County or “Hoo-Doo” War would be fought in the Hill Country in the mid-1870s along this same axis of conflict. The arguments between R.A. Gibson and Peter Burg and Wilhelm Feller may have arisen from this tension. Burg and Feller were yeoman farmers, while Gibson was a free-range stock raiser with no real property. From the viewpoint of Hoffmann and others, Anglo cattlemen were squatters and outlaws who used the outbreak of the Civil War to murder and steal from respectable German family farmers.<sup>65</sup>

Hoffmann's statement also highlights the division between German and Anglo settlers during the Civil War. Ethnic tensions have long been characterized as root causes of violence in the Hill Country. At face value, the ethnic makeup of the accused *Hängerbande* members supports this conclusion. Of the forty-six vigilantes named in court records and correspondence only one, Richard Moebus, was German. German Texans believed that Anglo authorities cared little about crimes committed against Germans. Peter Pletz's murder in July 1863 apparently yielded no indictments, even though the identities of the murderers were known. One of the accused, Samuel Tanner, was later indicted for participating in the murder of Louis Schuetze and the South Grape Creek raid in 1864. Unionist Hermann Lungkwitz justified the application of *Linchjustiz* at the Fredericksburg jail as a reaction against what he viewed as official indifference toward the murder of Germans. Pro-Confederate partisans in the Hill Country agreed that there was a definite ethnic division in the region, and consistently identified the German Texan community in broad strokes as Unionist, abolitionist, and disloyal. Many writers have followed suit and tended to cast the conflict in ethnic terms, while portraying the German community as innocent victims of Anglo aggression.<sup>66</sup>

Criminality, class, ethnic conflict, and personal feuding all contributed to the problem of continuing violence in the Hill Country, but these factors are not sufficient to explain the forty-six violent deaths that are documented in the region between 1863 and 1865. Confederate conscription and state militia service were the primary catalysts for the actions of the Union Loyal League in 1862, and these policies continued to drive disorder and

conflict in the Hill Country for the duration of the war. The violent struggle for control of the Hill Country was therefore fueled by internal political divisions that were thrown into relief by the necessity of choosing sides and demonstrating loyalty in the fratricidal conflict. Other points of contention in Hill Country communities were magnified by the politics of loyalty and dissent.<sup>67</sup>

The argument of simple criminality obscures the political motivations behind the killings and thefts committed by bushwhackers and vigilantes. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Hill Country suffered economically during the war, especially from shortages of manufactured goods and from a lack of specie due to the reverse blockade on beef cattle exports. At the same time that economic conditions were worsening and Unionist activity was seemingly rampant, the state legislature criminalized a broad range of anti-Confederate dissent. With the growing threat from “renegades” and the Union army, Hill Country secessionists saw nothing legally or morally wrong with depriving disloyal Unionists of both their lives and property. As one affiant stated during the investigation into the *Hängerbande*, “when parties have been out & caught bushwhackers they have taken their property arms &c and kept it.” The available evidence suggests that probably only four of at least fifty homicide victims between 1863 and 1865 were the victims of purely criminal activity, although in three of the four cases the victims were Germans and the perpetrators were either Anglos associated with the *Hängerbande* or were recorded as “Confederate bandits.” To secessionist vigilantes, their victims were simply bushwhackers, outlaws who were not entitled to the rights accorded to loyal community members.<sup>68</sup>

But ethnic hatred also fails to fully explain the violence in the Hill Country. Several of the most feared Unionist “renegades” were Anglos, including Phillip Turknett and Louis Nelson. In fact, secessionist vigilantes dedicated much of their energy to threatening, capturing, and killing Anglos, such as members of the Turknett and Joy families, Warren Cass, and a number of Anglo Unionists in Blanco and Burnet counties. Of the twenty-nine men known to have been killed by secessionist vigilantes or militia forces between 1863 and 1865, only eight were German Texans. When the vigilante movement coalesced into the “Soldier’s Friends” organization in early 1864, it specifically targeted those Unionists that had been revealed through its intelligence gathering efforts as being actively engaged in communication with Unionists in Mexico and efforts to launch some sort of Union incursion into the Hill Country. Carl Barsch testified that he was detained and then released by the vigilantes during the South Grape Creek raid. Hermann Kuehne was present at Peter Burg’s house when Burg was arrested, and was left unharmed by the vigilantes. Though several of their victims were German Texans, secessionist vigilantes did not kill and rob based purely on ethnicity. Their motivations had everything to do with the political divisions that split Hill Country communities after 1862.<sup>69</sup>

Of all the contributing factors in the spate of killings, class and cultural backgrounds may have been the most significant. A detailed profile of the perpetrators and victims of violence reveals differences in wealth, property holding, and slaveholding between secessionist vigilantes and their victims. The wealthiest vigilante victim was John R. Scott of Burnet County, who reported a net worth of nearly \$8,000 in 1860. On the whole,



vigilante victims tended to be real property owners of middling wealth. The sixteen Unionist vigilante victims who were adults in 1860 and who can be located on census or tax records held property worth \$1,754 on average. Twelve of the sixteen owned real estate of some kind and none were slaveholders.<sup>70</sup>

The secessionist vigilantes did not differ greatly from their victims in terms of overall wealth, in part because Hill Country's frontier farming and grazing economy did not lend itself to dramatic socioeconomic stratification. Wealthy *Hängerbande* leaders included Thomas C. Doss, who reported \$8,800 in property in 1860, and Robert T. and William O. Burnham, who reported \$12,000 and \$14,000 respectively. Doss and the Burnhams were all slaveholders. In contrast was R.A. Gibson, a vigilante leader who was reported to be "the cause of all" the violence by one affiant. Gibson owned no real property, one horse, thirty-six cattle, and twenty-four swine in 1862; he reported \$610 in personal property in 1860. The twenty-three vigilantes who were adults in 1860 averaged \$1,328 in property, more than half were free-range stock raisers, and four were slaveholders. The secessionist vigilantes had less average wealth than their victims but they were led by men who were generally wealthier than average, mirroring the structure of most nineteenth-century American vigilante movements. Although there were clear socioeconomic differences between the secessionist vigilantes and their victims, these differences alone cannot explain the continued violence after the suppression of the Union Loyal League. The divide between Anglo stock raisers and German family farmers had existed prior to the war. Only

under the pressure-cooker atmosphere of the Civil War years did violence trace the lines of class division.<sup>71</sup>

As Americans, and especially as Texans, the Hill Country vigilantes drew on a deep reservoir of precedent for their actions. According to Richard Maxwell Brown's history of violence in America, "the main thrust of vigilantism was to re-establish, in each newly settled area, the civilized values of life, property, and law and order." The writings of vigilante members and sympathizers in 1864 certainly convey their belief that life, property, and the maintenance of law and order were at risk. There were real threats to secessionists on the Hill Country frontier in the spring of 1864, and from the vigilantes' perspective the state legislature's actions to criminalize anti-Confederate dissent put them on the side of law and order. They saw themselves as merely giving force to the law by attacking disloyal citizens, a task that local authorities had manifestly failed to execute with sufficient vigor. Though their sympathizers would later disavow the thefts that occurred, in the atmosphere of economic uncertainty that pervaded the Civil War Hill Country it seemed perfectly justified to confiscate the property of anti-Confederate traitors while eliminating them as threats to the community. In their minds, the vigilantes were committing acts of self-defense. Vigilante leader James P. Waldrip was alleged to have concluded "that if the Yankees overrun the country we can't stay here." As loyal Confederates and holders of property, real or otherwise, Hill Country secessionists were determined to stand their ground and "clean up the country." Given their cultural background, the legal and economic environment of wartime Texas, and the violence and

threats directed at Hill Country secessionists in late 1863 and early 1864, it is unsurprising that Unionists were targeted in extralegal killings.<sup>72</sup>

Writing from Burnet County in 1864, W.H. Holland declared that “our worst enemies are in our midst.” Hill Country settlers, whether Unionist or secessionist, would have surely agreed with Holland’s observation. The Hill Country’s experience of internal conflict illustrates the fact that Civil War-era American communities could be divided and driven into violence by the politics of wartime loyalty, the demands of the Union and Confederate war machines, and the ripple effects of military operations that took place hundreds of miles away. Relatively few Hill Country Texans experienced conventional military combat between 1861 and 1865, but nearly all experienced their own civil war in an immediate and sometimes deadly way. The Hill Country managed to avoid what could have become a much worse situation after 1864, but the legacy of political violence during the Civil War would not soon be forgotten. As United States flags were raised once again over Hill Country communities, most frontier citizens hoped for a swift return to civil tranquility, a renewal of prosperity, and continuing westward expansion in the post-war period. In the wake of four years of turmoil, the prospects for these hopes appeared to be very uncertain.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carl H. Guenther, March 26, 1864, trans. Regina Beckmann Hurst and Walter D. Kamphoefner, *An Immigrant Miller Picks Texas: The Letters of Carl Hilmar Guenther* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2001), 90.

<sup>2</sup> Carding was a process used to create a single mass of cotton, wool, or other fibers in preparation for further processing into thread and fabric. Hand cards were rectangular wooden paddles embedded with wire bristles. Anton Maier to Military Board, July 11, 1863, Gillespie County Historical Society Archives (GCHSA), Fredericksburg, Texas.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B, Named Casualties of Political Violence, 1862-1865.

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<sup>4</sup> “not escape ... counties:” General Order No. 28, June 8, 1863, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; A.O. Cooley to Maj. Walthersdorff, Jan. 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.957, FP, HL; Capt. E.P. Turner to Col. Ford, Jan. 26, 1864, TCM 94.1.0123, FP, HL; Maj. Walthersdorff to Col. Ford, Jan. 26, 1864, TCM 94.1.958, FP, HL; Lieut. Jas. B. McLamore to Maj. Albert Walthersdorff, Feb. 15, 1864, TCM 94.1.0174, FP, HL; T.C. Doss to Col. John S. Ford, March 15, 1864, John S. Ford Papers, TSLA; For additional sources on Unionists hiding from military patrols, see J. Marvin Hunter, “Spent Four Long Years in a Cave,” *Frontier Times* 2 (April 1925): 4-5; Hohenberger, “The Grapetown Legacy,” 8-9, Judith Dykes-Hoffmann, “German Texan Women on the Civil War Homefront,” (M.A. thesis: Southwest Texas State University, 1996), 72-73, 77-78, 82-84, 86.

<sup>5</sup> Brett J. Derbes, “Arkansas Post,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 03, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qa04>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>6</sup> *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, June 19, 1863; “jayhawkers ... successful:” “Memorandum,” November 9, 1863, John S. Ford Papers, TCM 94.1.0988, FP, HL.

<sup>7</sup> John R. Lundberg, *Granbury’s Texas Brigade: Diehard Western Confederates* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 7, 46-47; Lowe, *Walker’s Texas Division*, 68-70, 115-117, 235-240; “General Order ... for them:” Col. P.C. Woods to Col. Duff, Feb. 1, 1864, TCM 94.1.440, FP, HL; Thomas W. Cutrer, “Woods, Peter Cavanaugh,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwo16>, Texas State Historical Association; B.F. Dye to Capt. Lewis A. Maverick, Mar. 4, 1864, MFP, CAH; Oscar Haas, “Comal County in Civil War,” *New Braunfels Herald*, August 21, 1962.

<sup>8</sup> Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 483, 600-601, 614-615, 674-675, 684-685. “An act to prescribe the punishment for encouraging Desertion from the Army or Navy of the Confederate States, or the State of Texas,” December 16, 1863, made one exception to the law: “The penalties of this act shall not attach to the wife, or mother, of any officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or persons held to militia service in this State ... who shall render aid to her husband or son.” Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 685.

<sup>9</sup> “saying they:” J. Marvin Hunter, “Sentinel Oak and Lonely Grave Mark Grim Tragedy of Bandera Hills,” *San Antonio Express*, January 29, 1922.

<sup>10</sup> The Bandera hangings were the second deadliest incident of Civil War violence in the Hill Country. The primary source for this incident is a series of articles by J. Marvin Hunter that were constructed from oral histories taken from men who witnessed the aftermath of the hangings. Hunter’s accounts also appear as J. Marvin Hunter, *Pioneer History of Bandera County: Seventy-five Years of Intrepid History* (Bandera, TX: Hunter’s Publishing House, 1922), 184-187; and J. Marvin Hunter, “A Bandera County Tragedy,” *Frontier Times* 1 (August 1924): 8-11. For a more thorough discussion of this incident see Nicholas Roland, “If i git home I will take care of Num Bir one: Murder and Memory on the Hill Country Frontier,” *West Texas Historical Review* 92 (2016): 104-126.

<sup>11</sup> “told them:” Hoffman, “A German-American Pioneer Remembers,” 438; Heinrich and Jakob Itz monument, Der Stadt Friedhof Cemetery, Fredericksburg, Texas; Gillespie County Historical Society, *Pioneers in God’s Hills, A History of Fredericksburg and Gillespie County: People and Events*, Vol. 2 (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1974), 47; Indictment, Case #106, GCDC; John Leyendecker to John Z. Leyendecker, August 4, 1863, John Z. Leyendecker Papers (hereafter JZL), CAH.

<sup>12</sup> The exact dates of these incidents are unknown. Secondary sources tend to place them in 1863, but the author has discovered no primary sources that provide specific dates. “cost him” and “waylaid:” Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250, 262; Debo, *Burnet County History*, 36; Bowden, “History of Burnet County”, 75; Scott Family Vertical File, Herman Brown Free Library, Burnet, Texas; Walter Richter, “Disaster at Dead Man’s Hole,” *Frontier Times* 18 (March 1941): 259-260; Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 77; “those he wishes:” Harriet Stephens to Andrew J. Hamilton, July 1, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, Andrew J. Hamilton Records (AJH), TSLA; Family #64, Burnet County, Texas, Ninth Census; Slave Schedule, Burnet County, Texas, Ninth Census.

<sup>13</sup> “one of the fanatic:” Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 77; Fuchs, *Reminiscences*, 36;

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Conrad Fuchs, Texas Muster Roll Index Cards, TSLA; “if you were:” Gilbert J. Jordan, *Ernst and Lisette Jordan: German Pioneers in Texas* (Austin: Von-Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1971), 27; “leave the county ... ring click:” Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 169-171, 177-185.

<sup>14</sup> Quote: Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 185.

<sup>15</sup> On the Union invasion of the lower Rio Grande see Stephen A. Townsend, “The Rio Grande Expedition, 1863-1865” (Ph.D. dissertation: University of North Texas, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> “be defending ... the West:” “Circular,” December 27, 1863, TCM 94.1.0987a, FP, HL; Maj. Gen. F.J. Herron to Maj. Drake, February 4, 1864, Military Operations in Texas Papers, CAH.

<sup>17</sup> John W. Sansom, typewritten manuscript, “Memoirs in Early Texas,” 6-8, in “The Battle on the Nueces River in Kinney County, Texas, August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1862,” (1950?), Louis Lenz Collection (LLC), CAH; Oscar Haas, “Comal County in Civil War,” New Braunfels *Herald*, May 28, 1963.

<sup>18</sup> “was killed:” Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; Testimony of W.C. Doss, Case #97, GCDC; “the refugees:” Maj. Gen. Napoleon J.T. Dana to Brig. Gen. C.P. Stone, December 27, 1863, Military Operations in Texas Papers, CAH.

<sup>19</sup> Capt. Christian Dorbandt to Adjutant General, January 23, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; “very unsafe ... indians:” Mearse, *Confederate Indigent Families*, 48; Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 31-32; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; W. Holland to Capt. Walsh, Jan. 20, 1864, TCM 94.1.01226, FP, HL; 1LT Martin Casner to Capt. Charles Human, Jan. 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.0058, FP, HL; Testimony of Lydia Pruitt, August 29, 1865, Box 2014/042-3, AJH, TSLA. According to James W. Nichols, Lundy was hanged at San Pedro Springs by order of Asa Mitchell. Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 171.

<sup>20</sup> “Young Snow:” Col. Ford to Capt. E.P. Turner, Jan. 28, 1864, TCM 94.1.0912.a, FP, HL; “one of these:” Capt. Human to Maj. Albert Walthersdorff, Jan. 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.0956, FP, HL; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 164-165; “Mr. Wood:” Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; Hoffmann, “A German-American Pioneer Remembers,” 500.

<sup>21</sup> Frank v.d. Stucken, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, Record Group (RG) 109, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Emil v.d. Stucken, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA; Carl Wahrmond, First Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA.

<sup>22</sup> “a band ... Llano settlements:” Statement of A.J. Nixon, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Testimony of William A. Isbell, Testimony of Thomas McDonald, GCDC Case #97; Testimony of T.C. Doss, May 9, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; “burn down” and “with blankets:” Statement of Mrs. August Frady, February 20, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Statement of Kerrville citizens, April 1, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; “jayhawkers ... cowpens:” Petition of Gillespie, Kerr, and Kimble County citizens, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>23</sup> Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Statement of Fritz “Schleidier,” March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA. Joe Baulch claims that Schladoer’s testimony was coerced. This could be the case, but there is no primary source evidence to support this assertion. Baulch, “The Dogs of War Unleashed:” 140n23.

<sup>24</sup> Camp Davis Letter Book, March 29, 1864, J. Marvin Hunter Collection, CAH.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 42-43, 87-88, 91-92; Robert Dunnam, “Frontier Regiment,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 10, 2016, [http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qjf01\\_Texas State Historical Association](http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qjf01_Texas State Historical Association).

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *Frontier Defense*, 88-105.

<sup>27</sup> Quotes: Petition of Gillespie, Kerr, and Kimble County citizens, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Camp Davis Letter Book, March 29, 1864, J. Marvin Hunter Collection, CAH.

<sup>28</sup> Case #36, Kerr County District Court, Kerrville, Texas (hereafter KRDC); Family #414, Henderson County, Texas, Ninth Census; Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort*, 119; Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 176.

<sup>29</sup> Quote: Sworn statement of William Joy, April 2, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Testimony of John Larremore, August 26, 1865, GCDC #97.

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<sup>30</sup> Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 500; T.C. Doss to Col. Ford, March 15, 1864, John S. Ford Papers, TSLA.

<sup>31</sup> Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, June 25, 1886, trans. Winifred Schuetze Cade, *German-Texan Heritage Society (GTHS) Journal* 17 (Summer 1995): 132; Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, July 16, 1886, trans. W.M. Von-Maszewski, *GTHS Journal* 17 (Fall 1995): 228-230; Indictment, Case #95, GCDC; first quote: Sworn statement of E. Krauskopf, March 4, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; second quote: Testimony of Louise Schuetze, Case #97, GCDC; Sworn statement of William Wahrmond, March 4, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Sworn statement of Louise Schuetze, March 4, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Inquest into the death of Louis Schuetze, February 26, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>32</sup> Quotes: Testimony of Lewis A. Dickson, Case #97, GCDC; Family #375, Gillespie County, Texas, Ninth Census; Testimony of Thomas McDonald, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of William S. Dickson, Case #97, GCDC. Brothers Lewis and William Dickson differed in their testimony as to whether Dudley's intention was to kill and rob Unionists or secessionists. This contradiction is probably due to a misstatement or transcription error, but it also reflects the chaotic security situation in the Hill Country at this time.

<sup>33</sup> Quotes: Testimony of William A. Isbell, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of W.S. Dickson, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Sarah Jane Cass, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>34</sup> Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 114; "Soldiers' Friends ... beforehand:" Testimony of Amos Fairchild, April 2, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; "in my own estimation ... disloyal:" Testimony of John Larremore, August 26, 1865, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>35</sup> Quote: Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, June 25, 1886, trans. Cade, *GTHS Journal* 17: 132-137; Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, July 9, 1886, trans. Von-Maszewski, *GTHS Journal* 17: 225; Maj. James M. Hunter to Julius Schuetze, March 4, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Maj. James M. Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, March 23, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA; Supplementary Report of Scouts after Indians and Deserters, Report of Captain W.E. Jones, May 18, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>36</sup> Gillespie County Historical Society, *Pioneers in God's Hills, A History of Fredericksburg and Gillespie County: People and Events*, Vol. 1 (Austin: Eakin Publication, Inc., 1960), 61-62; J. Marvin Hunter, "Major James M. Hunter," *Frontier Times* 6 (October 1928), 1-2; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 113n15; Report of Capt. William E. Jones, "Supplementary Report of Scouts after Indians and Deserters," May 23, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; "said it was of no value:" Testimony of Lewis A. Dickson, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of John Larremore, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of John Larremore, April 2, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>37</sup> "they would go:" Testimony of John Larremore, April 2, 1864, GCDC #97; "clean up:" Testimony of Amos Fairchild, April 2, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of William S. Dickson, April 29, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, July 9, 1886, trans. Von-Maszewski, *GTHS Journal* 17: 225-226.

<sup>38</sup> Family #538, Gillespie County, Texas, Ninth Census; Peter Burg, Capt. Schuetze's Company, Texas Muster Roll Index Cards, TSLA.

<sup>39</sup> Testimony of Joseph Burg, GCDC #97.

<sup>40</sup> Testimony of Carolina Kirchner, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Clara Feller, March 29, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Katarina Blanck, May 9, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Carl Barsch, March 30, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Hermann Kuehne, March 29, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, June 18, 1886, trans. Cade, *GTHS Journal* 17: 128.

<sup>41</sup> The Luckenbach's were the father and brother, respectively, of Nueces River battle victim August Luckenbach. Joe Baulch credits fourteen-year-old Sabina Stalp (future wife of Nueces River survivor August Hoffmann) and ten-year-old Peter Petsch for riding through the Grape Creek settlement and warning settlers of the approach of the vigilantes, thereby preventing further killings. Baulch cites Hoffmann's 1925 memoirs, but this information does not appear in the published version. Baulch, "The

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Dogs of War Unleashed,” 136-137; Hoffmann, “A German-American Pioneer Remembers,” 500. Testimony of Barbara Petch, Case #97, GCDC; Schuetze, “My Experiences in Texas,” *Texas Vorwärts*, July 9, 1886, trans. Von-Maszewski, *GTHS Journal* 17: 225-228; Schuetze, “My Experiences in Texas,” *Texas Vorwärts*, June 18, 1886, trans. Cade, *GTHS Journal* 17: 128; Testimony of John Dechert, Case #97, GCDC; Don H. Biggers, *German Pioneers in Texas: A Brief History of their Hardships, Struggles and Achievements* (Fredericksburg, TX: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 1925), 76; Family #352, South Grape Creek Settlement, Gillespie County, Texas, Tenth Census of the United States (hereafter Tenth Census); Family #537, Precinct No. 5, Gillespie County, Texas, Ninth Census.

<sup>42</sup> Quotes: Maj. James M. Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, March 31, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA; Maj. James M. Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, March 23, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA; Supplementary Report of Scouts after Indians and Deserters, Report of Capt. W.E. Jones, May 18, 1864, Report of Capt. E. Krauskopf, May 18, 1864, Report of Capt. William Wahrmond, May 19, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 114; Hermann Lungkwitz to Jacob Kuechler, May 31, 1864, JKP, CAH.

<sup>43</sup> Quote: Testimony of Richard Joy, March 29, 1864, Case #104, GCDC; Testimony of A.O. Cooley, May 9, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Hans Roberts, April 29, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115.

<sup>44</sup> Quotes: W.H. Holland to Pendleton Murrah, April 18, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA; Statement of Mrs. August Frady, February 20, 1864; Petition, Citizens of Gillespie, Kerr, and Kimble Counties, March 31, 1864; Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864; Statement of A.J. Nixon, March 31, 1864; Statement of Fritz “Schleidier,” March 31, 1864; Statement of Kerrville citizens, April 1, 1864, all in Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Testimony of William A. Isbell, Testimony of Thomas McDonald, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>45</sup> “I do not . . . to destroy” and “the most . . . the future:” William C. Doss to Pendleton Murrah, May 2, 1864, Box 2014/022-3, PM, TSLA; “Jack Hamilton:” W.H. Holland to Pendleton Murrah, April 18, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA; “were Tories:” Thomas Moore, T.C. Doss, W.H. Holland, and Thomas H. Shugart to Pendleton Murrah, June 7, 1864, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; “the men:” Capt. William Banta to W.H. Holland, April 3, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>46</sup> Quote: Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115. The vigilante who was killed is identified as “Gibson” by Schuetze, who says he “was fatally shot at the Rio Grande River.” However, “Old man Gibson and his two sons” were reportedly captured at Piedras Negras by Mexican authorities. Schuetze, “My Experiences in Texas,” *Texas Vorwärts*, trans. Von-Maszewski, July 9, 1886, *GTHS Journal* 17: 225-228. Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 13, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Capt. George H. Giddings to Maj. James M. Hunter, May 9, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Hermann Lungkwitz to Jacob Kuechler, May 31, 1864, JKP, CAH.

<sup>47</sup> Jacob R. Banta, younger brother of William Banta, was originally arrested as well but was not present at the jail. The reason for Jacob Banta’s absence at the time of the attack is unknown. Family #111, Hunt County, Texas, Eighth Census; Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 13, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA. Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 25, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 192; Petition of William Isbell, May 17, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; William Banta writ of habeas corpus, A.S. Walker to Julius Splittgerber, May 20, 1864, Case #97, GCDC; J.W. Caldwell writ of habeas corpus, A.S. Walker to Julius Splittgerber, May 20, 1864, GCHSA, Fredericksburg, Texas.

<sup>48</sup> “taken care of:” Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115; “a true . . . powder smoke:” Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 187, 194; State of Texas vs. Jacob Luckenbach, GCHSA; State of Texas vs. Patch, GCHSA.

<sup>49</sup> William C. Doss to Pendleton Murrah, May 2, 1864, Box 2014/022-3, PM, TSLA.

<sup>50</sup> Thomas Moore and T.C. Doss were directly implicated in the killings of Unionists in Burnet and Gillespie counties. See note 11 and Cases #103, #104, #105, and #107, GCDC. “A large number . . . distracted District:” Thomas Moore, T.C. Doss, W.H. Holland, and Thomas H. Shugart to Pendleton Murrah, June 7, 1864, Box 401-829, TAG, TSLA; “Jim Hunter . . . old man:” Wight, *Reminiscences*, 161;

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William Greenwood to Pendleton Murrah, June 30, 1864, Box 2014/022-3, PM, TSLA; Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, June 3, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Proceedings of a court of inquiry, June 5, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>51</sup> James Owens appears on the roster of Captain John Barton's company, Burnet County militia, dated March 31, 1864. Therefore, his death must have occurred at some point after this time. Captain John Barton, Civil War Muster Roll #26, TAG, TSLA. Bowden, "History of Burnet County", 76; William M. Owens to Andrew J. Hamilton, October 15, 1865, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA; "endeavored ... deserters:" Supplementary Report of Scouts after Indians and Deserters, May 14, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>52</sup> Supplementary Report of Scouts after Indians and Deserters, May 14, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 13, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>53</sup> "the damned:" Testimony of Jonas Harrison, May 25, 1870, Case #183, GCDC; "Confederate bandits:" Gillespie County Historical Society, *Pioneers in God's Hills*, Vol. 2, 128.

<sup>54</sup> Petition, Citizens of Uvalde and adjoining counties to Pendleton Murrah, May 2, 1864, Box 2014/022-3, PM, TSLA.

<sup>55</sup> C.C. McKinney and J.M. McCormick to Pendleton Murrah, June 15, 1864, Box 2014/022-3, PM, TSLA.

<sup>56</sup> *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 1001; James M. Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, March 20, 1865, Box 2014/022-4, PM, TSLA; Smith, *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, 161; Bruce S. Allardice, "McAdoo, John David," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 15, 2016,

<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmc01>, Texas State Historical Association; Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. D.B. Culberson, September 15, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>57</sup> Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. D.B. Culberson, September 15, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>58</sup> T.C. Doss to Pendleton Murrah, July 25, 1864; Robert Penniger, *Fest-ausgabe zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum der Gründung der Stadt Friedrichsburg* (Fredericksburg, TX: 1896), trans. Charles L. Wisseman, *Fredericksburg: The First 50 Years* (Fredericksburg, TX: Fredericksburg Publishing Company, 1971), 48 (hereafter *Fredericksburg: The First 50 Years*).

<sup>59</sup> Maj. John Henry Brown to Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo, May 10, 1865, John Henry Brown Papers, CAH; J. Marvin Hunter, *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 411-412; James Peril, Second Texas Cavalry Regiment (US), 1865, CSR, RG 94, NARA; William A. Peril, Second Texas Cavalry Regiment (US), 1865, CSR, RG 94, NARA; James Hunter to Pendleton Murrah, January 19, 1865, Box 2014/022-4, PM, TSLA; Glen S. Ely, *Where the West Begins*, 61-71; Pendleton Murrah to Commander, District of Texas, April 8, 1865, Box 2014/022-4, PM, TSLA.

<sup>60</sup> Uvalde County District Court Minutes, Vol. 1, 230-231; San Antonio *Semi-Weekly News*, March 24, 1865; "act upon:" Maj. John H. Brown to Capt. W.C. Walsh, April 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; "the importance ... pretext whatever:" "Meeting at Fort Mason," *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, April 14, 1865; *The Texas Almanac for 1865*, 35, 39.

<sup>61</sup> The exact dates in Sansom's account are somewhat suspect, since he claims to have raised the U.S. flag over New Braunfels on April 18. In a letter written shortly after the event, August Schuchard says the flag was raised at New Braunfels on June 19. Even if Sansom's dating of these events is incorrect, it appears that Confederate authority had evaporated in the Hill Country weeks prior to the rest of the state. Ben Thompson, one of the men confronted by Sansom near his home, later went on to notoriety as an adventurer, lawman, and gunfighter, and died in a revenge killing in San Antonio in 1884. Tom Bicknell and Anne Beck, "Thompson, Ben," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 24, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth16>, Texas State Historical Association. Quote: John W. Sansom, *Memoirs in Early Texas*, 10, 9-15, LLC, CAH; August Schuchard to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 7, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, AJH, TSLA; Members of the Home Guard Companies of Comal County to Andrew J. Hamilton, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>62</sup> Brad R. Clampitt, "The Breakup: The Collapse of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Army in Texas, 1865," *SHQ* 108 (April 2005): 498-534; Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, 410-429; Mike Cox, "The



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Great Texas Treasury Raid,” March 31, 2015, *True West Magazine*, accessed March 24, 2016, <http://www.truewestmagazine.com/the-great-texas-treasury-raid/>; Sansom, *Memoirs in Early Texas*, 12-13, LLC, CAH.

<sup>63</sup> “cattle stealing:” Testimony of John Larremore, August 26, 1865, Case #97, GCDC; “intended to hang:” Testimony of Richard Joy, March 29, 1864, Case #104, GCDC.

<sup>64</sup> Baulch, “The Dogs of War Unleashed,” 137, 141n32; Gillespie County District Court Minutes, Book A, 141; Gillespie County District Court Minutes, Case #16, Book B, 16b-17; Indictment, Case #45, GCDC; John Leyendecker to John Z. Leyendecker, August 4, 1863, JZL, CAH; Testimony of Hans Roberts, Case #97, GCDC; Statement of A.J. Nixon, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>65</sup> Hoffmann, “A German-American Pioneer Remembers,” 500; on conflicts over enclosure and stock laws in the Upland South, see Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*; on fencing and enclosure in the Hill Country, Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*, 163-165.

<sup>66</sup> Case #106, GCDC; Case #97, GCDC; John Leyendecker to John Z. Leyendecker, August 4, 1863, JZL, CAH; Hermann Lungkwitz to Jacob Kuechler, May 31, 1864, JKP, CAH.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>68</sup> See note 8 on legislation against disloyal Texans. Quote: Testimony of Thomas McDonald, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>69</sup> Testimony of Hermann Kuehne, Case #97, GCDC; Testimony of Carl Barsch, March 30, 1864, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> “that if the Yankees:” Testimony of Richard Joy, March 29, 1864, Case #104, GCDC; “clean up:” Testimony of Amos Fairchild, April 2, 1864, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>73</sup> Quote: W.H. Holland to Pendleton Murrah, April 18, 1864, Box 2014/022-2, PM, TSLA.

## **Chapter Six:**

### **The Hill Country during Reconstruction and Beyond**

“Whoever came through with their lives can be satisfied.”  
– Franz Kettner, December 1865<sup>1</sup>

On October 28, 1868, news of an Indian raiding party spread through the Curry Creek settlement in Kendall County, Texas. After hearing about the Indians, Doctor James C. Nowlin responded by hiring two local youths to prevent the theft of his horses. Nowlin’s guards watched over the horses from the concealment of a nearby corn crib. Alerted by the barking of Nowlin’s dogs around 2 o’clock that night, the sentries spotted two figures moving furtively through the moonlight toward Nowlin’s corral. The young men quickly selected targets, took careful aim with their weapons, and fired. Hearing the shots, Nowlin emerged from his cabin with a gun and quickly strode across the yard of his homestead. A.J. Sowell described what happened next:

On coming to the spot an Indian was discovered down on his hands and knees, but not dead. Not wishing to shoot him again, the doctor picked up a hoe-handle and struck him a powerful blow on the side of the head, and he fell over. He repeated the blows until he was dead, exclaiming with each lick, ‘We will show him up! We will show him up!’<sup>2</sup>

As this account of the casual, brutal killing of a Native American graphically illustrates, violence did not disappear from the Texas Hill Country with the Confederate surrender in 1865. Violence between Native Americans and settlers actually intensified for several years after the Civil War. At the same time, cattle rustling and the depredations of criminal

gangs arose as a new threat to the lives and property of smallholding homesteaders. In the summer of 1865, much of the United States breathed a sigh of relief as the nation's deadliest war came to an end. In the Hill Country, violence remained pervasive, and simply shifted in ways that were both similar to and unique from other parts of the state and the former Confederacy. This chapter examines patterns of violence in the Hill Country during the Reconstruction period, and compares and contrasts the Hill Country with other Texas regions.

As the Civil War came to a close, white Hill Country Texans seemed to be poised to enter a new round of bloody intracommunal conflict as many Unionists eagerly looked forward to turning the tables on their defeated secessionist tormentors. Surprisingly, despite the backdrop of a vicious campaign of intimidation, assaults, murders, and destruction of property between 1862 and 1865, the Hill Country on the whole did not suffer from extreme political violence akin to that found in other Texas regions between 1865 and 1873. The remarkable lack of Reconstruction-related violence in the Hill Country is explained by several factors.

Perhaps counterintuitively, given their penchant for anti-Confederate dissent during the Civil War, the presence of large numbers of German Texans was one important factor in squelching continuing conflict in the Hill Country. The wounds caused by the war years were much more superficial for the German Texan community than for their Anglo counterparts. German Texans tended to be more concerned with achieving financial and social standing in the post-war Anglo-dominated order than with rehashing old disputes.

German Texan Confederates quickly reconciled themselves to the results of the war, and Teutonic Unionists displayed no interest in persecuting their fellow immigrants who had sided with the failed Southern bid for independence.

The racial makeup of the Hill Country settlements was another key reason for low levels of violence within these communities. African Americans were primary targets for violence and intimidation throughout most of the Lone Star State, but this was not the case in the Hill Country. Few freedmen lived in the area and they wielded little political or economic power. German Texans again played a role in low levels of violence, as they displayed little overt hostility to African Americans.

Another factor in tamping down the potential for ongoing conflict was the fact that many of the perpetrators of vigilante crimes during the war years simply left the area and moved to other parts of Texas or the American West. Because of this geographical mobility and the weakness of the criminal justice system, only a handful of the accused were ever prosecuted in Texas courts. Instead of standing their ground and waging bloody anti-Reconstruction insurgencies like those found in other parts of the state, most former Confederate vigilantes decided that conditions in the post-war Hill Country were not favorable to active resistance and emigrated to locations where they could live without fear of prosecution.

Most significantly, internal political discord was overshadowed during Reconstruction by external threats to family, property, and social order in the Hill Country. The long war of attrition between white settlers and Native Americans again took center stage as the

preeminent security issue in the region, and would not be fully resolved until after 1880. This was accompanied by the rise of criminal gangs, a situation that resulted from changing conditions along the international border with Mexico, the growth of the newly lucrative cattle trade, and a weak justice system. These external threats served to unite Hill Country Texans behind a campaign for security led by the United States Army and state and local paramilitary organizations. As they had since before the Civil War, Hill Country settlers were also frequently forced to band together informally to protect families and property. This was especially true in the eighteen months immediately following the collapse of the Confederacy, but the threat from Indian raids lasted in many places for more than a decade after the Civil War. Lingering frontier conditions and persistent challenges to security in the region aroused a collective response that was crucial to forestalling a continuation of the Hill Country's civil war.

Upon his return to Texas in July 1865, Provisional Governor Andrew J. Hamilton received a flurry of letters from ecstatic Unionists. The reestablishment of federal authority in Texas provided a moment of catharsis for many of Hamilton's correspondents. "I need not tell you of the joy with which we welcome your return to Texas," wrote Comal County resident August Schuchard. He reminded Hamilton of "how cruelly the ruling party treated our german population" and recounted the dangers faced by loyal New Braunfelsers during the war. Writing from Medina County, Enos Wooster recalled "the oath taken to be true to the Union administered by your self in the Perdenalis Cave" in 1862. Wooster described

the hardships he faced as a loyal Unionist under Confederate rule. “Since I last saw you my home has been in the mountains & the Prairies. I have learned to kill Deer & make my clothes from the hides. ... I have never sworn by or to the Southern Confederacy, the mark of the ‘Beast’ is not upon me.” Wooster believed that Hamilton’s return “causes verry many honest hearts to rejoice & Evil doers to skulk from the light of day trembling as they go.” Other Unionists from throughout the state echoed Wooster and Schuchard’s sentiments.<sup>3</sup>

With governmental power now in their hands, Texas Unionists saw an opportunity to right the wrongs that they felt they had suffered under secessionist rule. No prosecutions had taken place for any of the killings of Hill Country Unionists during the war, even with the state’s suppression of *Hängerbande* vigilantism by the summer of 1864. Those who had fled to Mexico following the 1864 crackdown by state authorities were able to escape prosecution even after their extradition, with a correspondent from Eagle Pass reporting in July 1864 that “the 8 men delivered up from the other side of the river, have been released & have [joined] the C.S. service here.” Many suspected vigilantes remained at large and untouched by the criminal justice system. As a result, the immediate concern of many Texas Unionists in the summer of 1865 was to seek justice for friends and relatives killed by secessionists during the war.<sup>4</sup>

Hill Country Unionists appealed to the new provisional government for help in dealing with former Confederate partisans, some of whom remained defiant and threatening. Harriet Stephens requested Provisional Governor Hamilton’s aid in suppressing the secessionist vigilantes in Burnet County who had “Assassinated” her husband, Ohio-born

saddle-tree maker B.P. Stephens. According to Stephens, after her husband's death her younger son was forced into the Confederate Army and subsequently died. Now her surviving son had "returned home but was compelled to leave on account of the murders of his Father they were after him." Stephens continued, "now Governor Hamilton if they can be got out of the world I think my son could then return home for to protect his Mother and sister." John C. Weaver, who had accompanied John W. Sansom on his clandestine Union recruiting expeditions into the Hill Country, wrote in regard to the 1863 mass hanging near Bandera. According to Weaver, "I have been requested by some of the Friends of the men hung that if help is needed to take those men that they would be glad to render any assistance in their power." Other petitioners asked for official aid in carrying out ongoing private efforts to arrest their former antagonists. Julius Schuetze was one such individual. Schuetze wrote to request help from the Governor for his expedition to arrest "P Waldrup" – probably James P. Waldrip – one of the *Hängerbande* ringleaders accused of murdering his brother in Fredericksburg in 1864.<sup>5</sup>

Local grand juries also issued a series of criminal indictments in district court terms in the late summer and fall of 1865. Blanco County issued a total of eighty-three indictments related to the killing of seven "bushwhackers" during the war. The fact that the killing of "bushwhackers" was considered an indictable offense illuminates the thinking of post-war grand jury members as they charged pro-Confederates. Many Hill Country Unionists refused to recognize Confederate authority as having been valid in any way. Therefore, actions taken after secession by those acting in official capacities were often treated by

Unionist juries as being equally as criminal as the actions of vigilantes operating without official sanction.<sup>6</sup>

Other counties followed Blanco's example. Kendall County indicted former Confederate officers James Duff and Richard Taylor for two killings in the aftermath of the Nueces River battle in 1862. Bandera County charged fifteen members of the Frontier Regiment, including Major W.J.D. Alexander, with murder and highway robbery for the hangings of eight Confederate deserters near Bandera in July 1863. In Gillespie County, twenty-five men were indicted for the series of killings, thefts, and unlawful detentions in that county between 1863 and 1864. A Kerr County grand jury returned indictments against six men for the murder of John S.C. Turknett in 1864, and Burnet County appears to have also charged several men with crimes committed during the war.<sup>7</sup>

By the fall of 1865, a number of those accused of wartime atrocities had been captured. On August 10, a Union army patrol returned to Austin from Burnet with nine prisoners, including prominent community members Dr. Thomas Moore and Danish immigrant Christian Dorbandt. Accused *Hängerbande* member Richard Moebus was arrested as a fugitive approximately 130 miles east of Fredericksburg in La Grange, Texas on November 2. Gillespie County Sheriff H.P. Garrison reported eight prisoners in custody in December 1865, presumably including Moebus, John Banta, John W. Caldwell, and others.<sup>8</sup>

Some Unionists were eager to bypass the notoriously slow operation of the criminal justice system in favor of private vengeance against secessionists. Colonel John L. Haynes, commanding the First Texas Cavalry (US), asked Governor Hamilton to intercede to



prevent the mustering out of his command until the following spring in order to prevent conflicts between returning Texas Unionists and their secessionist neighbors. Haynes believed “it would be very bad policy for the reason that so long as the men are restrained by proper authority there need be no fear of any man taking vengeance into his own hands for wrongs and outrages perpetrated upon himself or family. But take away the restraints and who can answer for the evil consequences?” In Haynes’s view, secessionists minds were “poisoned with hatred especially toward this command” but he believed that by “next spring when the unoccupied rebels go to work and get home influences around them, and by which time they will learn that this Regiment is restrained by lawful rule ... then we may hope that the present acerbity of feeling will calm down, and conflicts and private vengeance will be laid aside by both parties, and we may look for a peaceful return of these men to their homes.”<sup>9</sup>

Former secessionists were not ready to accept the administration of justice that was envisioned by Unionists. In August 1865, the Gillespie County Chief Justice received an ominous letter. “I have bin told that there will be a heap of mean kiled and great many men arrested by wat is known as the Hunter party,” wrote the anonymous correspondent. The letter warned that “the man that is the commencer will not be apt to see it through” and recommended that “the only way in my judgment is for the people to let it dye for evry arrest or anything that may be done will only make the mater worse.” The writer added that the actions of Unionists would cause “southern men” to leave the frontier county, which

would prevent it from being settled. More threateningly, the letter concluded that “you can not stand with your mob against all the southern people in Texas.”<sup>10</sup>

Having already survived one mob attack in 1864, imprisoned *Hängerbande* leader William Banta was fearful enough of a second attack in the fall of 1865 that he attempted to be removed from the Fredericksburg jail due to poor health. When this tactic achieved nothing, Banta wrote to Governor Hamilton and pleaded that he not “be allowed to be butchered by a mob.” Banta denied any involvement in the 1864 vigilante killings in Gillespie County, and claimed to be the victim of “false evidence” motivated by “malice and enmity.” Banta assured Hamilton that “I am now prepared to make a truly loyal citizen of the U.S. and to teach my children to love and cherish the Union as long as they live.” “So high is the tide of prejudice at this time,” warned Banta, “that it is said publicly that if the law does not inflict what they conceive to be due punishment on those implicated in these depredations, they will take the matter in their own hands and see that the country is rid of all such men.”<sup>11</sup>

At the fall term of the 1865 district court for Gillespie County, Banta again tried to be admitted to bail on account of his health. The judge denied his appeal, but he ordered Banta removed from the Fredericksburg jail until its condition was improved. Ironically, this may have placed Banta in an even less secure location. An account published in 1933 claims that Dan Caldwell, *Hängerbande* leader John W. Caldwell’s brother, led a party of armed men into Fredericksburg, surprised a group of sleeping guards, and released the prisoners to head off a potential mob attack. The prisoner escape may have also been timed to avoid

bringing their case to trial. Neither Caldwell nor Banta were ever convicted of any war-related crime, and in 1870 Banta was living in Fayette County, Texas.<sup>12</sup>

With Unionists determined to settle scores and former secessionists remaining defiant, the stage appeared to be set for continued violence in the post-war period. Indeed, violence flared in several cases. The most notable instance occurred in Fredericksburg in 1867. Notorious *Hängerbande* leader James P. Waldrip had chosen to remain in Gillespie County after the war, where he appears to have been in hiding following his indictment in the fall of 1865 on two counts of murder and four counts of assault and false imprisonment. For unknown reasons, Waldrip suddenly reappeared in Fredericksburg on March 20 or 21, 1867.

According to oral tradition, word of Waldrip's appearance quickly reached former Gillespie County sheriff and Union Army Captain Phillip Braubach, who was living in San Antonio. Braubach had a special interest in seeing Waldrip brought to justice because he was married to Louise Schuetze, the daughter of *Hängerbande* victim Louis Schuetze. Braubach is said to have left for Fredericksburg at once, traveling overnight on a fast horse to reach the town.<sup>13</sup>

Whatever brought Braubach to Fredericksburg, the result was an armed confrontation between Waldrip and Braubach on the town's Main Street on the morning of March 21. Braubach's pistol misfired several times, Waldrip fired at Braubach and missed, and Waldrip then fled on his mule to the Nimitz Hotel. While Waldrip took shelter in the boarding house, Braubach summoned Sheriff Frank Young and a posse of citizens to aid

in arresting Waldrip, for whom there was an active warrant for murder in the death of Louis Schuetze and others. As the posse approached, Waldrip attempted to escape over a fence on the Nimitz's property. He was wounded by a shot and fell off the fence. Although initial reports disagreed on whether Waldrip was attempting to surrender or was still trying to fire at the sheriff's posse as they closed in on him, a second, fatal shot rang out. Sheriff Young presented a straightforward account of a resisted arrest.<sup>14</sup>

I commandet 3 or 4 citizens of the County to aid me and went with them the same day, to make the arrest, called on the accused J.P. Waldrip, to surrender himself to my custody but he immediately presented a pistol to fire on us when several schotz were fired and the said accused fell and died.<sup>15</sup>

One version of the story maintains that after Waldrip entered the Nimitz Hotel, exited through a side door, vaulted a stone wall outside and hid behind an oak tree, desperately looking for a means of escape. Henry Langerhans, a Confederate army veteran and owner of a boot and saddle shop across the street from the hotel, took aim with a rifle and fired a single shot from his second-story window, killing Waldrip. The Langerhans family thereafter kept their patriarch's role in Waldrip's death a closely guarded secret. Waldrip's body is said to have then been buried in an unmarked grave. A correspondent for the *Freie Presse für Texas* noted that "I am assured, that except for his family no one in Gillespie County shed a tear for him nor will they, as he was universally hated." Unsurprisingly, no charges were filed in Waldrip's death.<sup>16</sup>

Former secessionists also continued to carry out scattered attacks on Unionists. Missouri-born farmer Milton Biggs was appointed Chief Justice for Blanco County in 1867. Prior to Biggs taking office, his adult son H. Claiborne was shot and killed while at

the plow. The alleged culprits were “certain rebel outlaws” who also shot arrows into their victim’s body to try and disguise their crime as an Indian attack. Under threat of further violence, Biggs promptly fled the county with his family.<sup>17</sup>

In September of the same year, Unionist leader and former state representative Reading W. Black began efforts to organize a local wing of the Republican Party in Uvalde County. In response to Black’s political activities, his former business partner and conservative partisan G.W. Wall shot Black to death in front of several witnesses on October 3, 1867. Wall subsequently fled to Mexico, abetted by one E. Thacker. After his extradition from Mexico, Uvalde County leaders attempted to have Wall and other prisoners tried before a military commission due to fears that they would escape and suggested that they could never “be brought to trial, unless it is before a Military Commission.” Army officials refused this request. Fears of escape were well founded, for in 1870 Wall was listed as a fugitive from justice.<sup>18</sup>

In another incident, Thomas Nixon attacked Unionist A.O. Cooley on July 10, 1868 as he stood in the doorway of his Fredericksburg home, shooting him in the neck with a pistol and seriously wounding him. Although the wound was at first feared to be mortal, Cooley survived the assassination attempt. The “half-witted” Nixon was the son of William Munroe Nixon, who had been mistaken for secessionist vigilante James P. Waldrip and killed in 1864 by a patrol serving under Unionist militia officer James Hunter. Cooley believed that surviving *Hängerbande* members had put Nixon up to the crime as revenge for his efforts to prosecute them following the war. Cooley’s would-be assassin was

arrested two weeks later in Fayette County and turned over to the military authorities, but eventually escaped.<sup>19</sup>

In another case, Major John A. Thompson and Sergeant John McDougall of the 4th U.S. Cavalry Regiment were killed in Mason on November 14, 1867 while trying to intervene in an altercation between Army troops and “desperadoes.” Two of the culprits, Hays and Philip “Doboy” Taylor, were the sons of early settler and Texas Revolution soldier Creed Taylor of Dewitt County. The third man accused in the shooting was W.A. Spencer, brother-in-law of the Taylor brothers. The Taylors had become involved in cattle raising – and possibly rustling – on the open range of Mason County in the aftermath of the Civil War. Hays was believed to have killed a black soldier at Indianola the year before. Both men would go on to become involved in the so-called Sutton-Taylor feud, a bloody and long-lived conflict centered in southeast Texas that was largely fought along the lines of Reconstruction political divisions.<sup>20</sup>

Burnet County was the site of the most prolonged Reconstruction era political violence in the Hill Country. On April 14, 1866, the notorious John Townsend, described by Burnet County Sheriff W.W. Brooks as “a terror to the people of this County,” was finally tracked down by Brooks and a posse of civilians. Townsend had killed two Unionist bushwhackers in Blanco County in early 1864 and was noted by neighbor Otilie Fuchs Goeth as “one of the fanatic Southern Fire Eaters” in the area during the Civil War. He was blamed for another murder just days before his attempted arrest. With Townsend was Waddy Burnam, “a lawless man” who was the younger brother of two prominent Burnet County ranchers

and suspected *Hängerbande* members, and a man named Smith. All three resisted arrest, and Burnam and Townsend fired several shots at the sheriff's posse while attempting their escape. One of Townsend's shots killed Noah Scott, the son of 1863 Unionist murder victim John R. Scott. Burnam and Smith escaped, but Townsend was captured and jailed.<sup>21</sup>

Sheriff Brooks reported that an attempt was made to assassinate John Townsend on the same night that he was confined and placed under guard in Burnet. A group of men descended on the county jail and fired into the room where Townsend was being held, slightly wounding him. Brooks feared not only that a mob would again attempt to kill his prisoner, but that Townsend's friends might also try to overpower the guards in order to free him from jail. He requested aid from Governor Hamilton to keep his prisoner safe.<sup>22</sup>

Burnet County remained volatile after Townsend's arrest. His companion Waddy Burnam allegedly attempted to kill Sheriff Brooks in May 1866, and Brooks survived another assault in August. Townsend eventually succeeded in escaping from confinement and he was charged with yet another murder in September 1866. Continuing violence resulted in the theft and destruction of all county records prior to April 15, 1867, likely in an attempt to avoid criminal prosecution by those individuals who were implicated in the violence. In July, Chief Justice John Barton and Sheriff Fred Williamson wrote U.S. Army Colonel James Oakes at Austin to request that troops be sent to Burnet to aid in arresting "desperadoes" who were endangering the "union people" in the county. Barton and other county officials requested military aid again in October and asserted that "a secret organization in and surrounding Burnett County" was connected to those "engaged in the

murder of Loyal men.” A state report found that between December 1865 and December 1867, seven murders and thirteen attempted murders had taken place in Burnet County. As of February 1868, no one had been convicted for these crimes. Two more murders took place in March 1868. The following year Henry Scott, whose brother Noah and father John had been murdered by John Townsend and other secessionist partisans, was driven from his home and threatened by a “rebel posy.” The violence in Burnet County seems to have finally tapered off after 1869.<sup>23</sup>

Post-war stability in Texas was threatened not only by hardened attitudes on both sides of the state’s internal civil war, but also by the economic and political disorder brought on by the collapse of the Confederacy. The state and local governments frequently lacked the funds to carry out basic functions. In October 1865 Provisional Governor Hamilton admitted to one frontier constituent that “the Treasury is empty” in Austin. In the following month the former tax assessor and collector of Mason County wrote that he had on hand only “\$3.14 in Specie \$60 in Texas warrants and \$1900 in that so called Confederate money.” Gillespie County Sherriff H.P. Garrison complained in December 1865 that the county lacked funds and that the county scrip he had received for his expenses was now virtually worthless. The problem of governmental finances persisted, and in January 1867 County Judge L. Burgdorf appealed for relief from the tax debts owed to the state by Mason County. Characterizing the situation as “the great State of Texas vs. a bleeding frontier



county,” L. Burgdorf warned that “if no relief will be granted we will break up the County Organisation.”<sup>24</sup>

Even after local governments eventually recovered from financial distress, local courts were hampered by the problem of rapid turnover in political appointments and governmental regimes during Reconstruction. Many of the officials who had been appointed in 1865 under the provisional government of Andrew J. Hamilton were replaced after the 1866 general election that brought conservative Governor James W. Throckmorton to power. Many of the officials elected in 1866 were subsequently replaced after General Charles C. Griffin removed Throckmorton on July 30, 1867 under the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts for being “an impediment to Reconstruction” and instituted military rule. An exacerbating factor for local courts was General Griffin’s Circular No. 13, commonly called the “Jury Order.” The “Jury Order” required that jurors be able to take the “Ironclad Oath,” which stipulated that oath-takers had never voluntarily fought for or supported the Confederacy or held office under the Confederate government. This order was intended to enable local courts to stem the tide of violence against the freedmen in Texas, but it also made the majority of white Texans ineligible for jury duty. Conservative Unionist Elisha M. Pease would oversee another reorganization of local governments in 1867 under the watchful oversight of the United States Army. In 1869 Republican Edmund J. Davis would be elected to office, initiating yet another round of appointments.<sup>25</sup>

Rapid turnover of governmental officials at the local level was nothing new, but because of loyalty oath requirements many positions could not be filled even in the Hill Country. Shortly before his murder in October 1867 US Army Major John Thompson reported that in Mason County, “no civil courts can be organized, all of the present officers, acting, held office before the war, therefore, in cases criminal, no action has been taken.” More than a year later First Lieutenant Phineas Stevin informed Governor Elisha M. Pease that he still could not find enough “competent loyal men” to fill county offices, and warned that “there can be no law in this county until competent men fill the county positions.” In the meantime, “murder and crime of all descriptions” afflicted the county. In 1867 in recently organized Menard County, only one citizen was considered qualified to hold the office of Chief Justice, but his election was obstructed by conservative partisans. Local conservatives also conspired to prevent the operation of the normal machinery of local government. As a result, Menard County was said to have “never had a county cort in the county nor a District cort neither and the thing is so managed as to keep the law down.”<sup>26</sup>

Indian attacks added to the difficulties faced by frontier citizens when they attempted carry out basic functions. Chief Justice E. Oborski explained that as of June 1867 elections had been called three times to fill vacancies in office in Bandera County, only to be prevented because the citizens were “at such times disturbed by Indians.” Oborski also blamed the “Ironclad Oath” for preventing the “active class of Citizens from acting, to establish the Laws of the Country, and reestablish their past prosperity.”<sup>27</sup>

Local governance remained in disarray in many places well into the administration of Edmund J. Davis. 24th District Attorney Thomas M. Paschal informed Governor Davis in February 1871 that criminal courts in Medina County had only recently been organized in that county for the first time in eleven years. The following year, Paschal told Davis that district courts had not been held in Medina, Uvalde, and Bandera counties during the spring and summer due to administrative problems.<sup>28</sup>

Even with lingering antipathy between Unionists and secessionists and a tenuous system of local governance, the Hill Country's few documented instances of politically-motivated violence pale in comparison to the bloodshed experienced in neighboring Texas regions. Contemporary observers noted that in many parts of Texas former secessionists remained sullen and defiant toward federal occupation troops in the wake of Confederate defeat. Libby Custer accompanied her husband, Union General George A. Custer, to Austin as part of the initial military occupation force. In her view, "it was hard for the citizens who had remained at home to realize that the war was over, and some were unwilling to believe there had ever been an emancipation proclamation. In the northern part of the State they were still buying and selling slaves." General Custer, a Democrat who was generally unsympathetic to Republican policies, observed in 1866 that "Union men are being murdered there to this day" and that if Texans were given the choice to leave the Union without a resumption of war, "I think they would prefer to go out." Brigadier General William E. Strong, Inspector General for the Freedmen's Bureau concurred with the

Custer's views on Texan attitudes in the wake of Confederate defeat. In testimony before the Congressional Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Strong famously recommended "one campaign of an army through the eastern part of the State, such as that made by General Sherman in South Carolina" as an antidote to Texan defiance.<sup>29</sup>

Emancipation, federal Reconstruction policies, black male enfranchisement, and the emergence of a Republican Party organization in Texas engendered a surge in political violence across much of the state in the aftermath of Confederate defeat, with Republicans, newly freed slaves, and federal soldiers serving as the primary targets for the wrath of Texas conservatives. Political violence was so ubiquitous in some parts of the Lone Star State that one recent study of Reconstruction violence that claimed over 200 lives in northeast Texas argues that "Reconstruction really amounted to a Second Civil War ... It was a guerilla war that ex-Confederates were determined to win at any cost."<sup>30</sup>

The pervasive presence of white conservative terrorist groups resulted in an appalling scale of violence within the state of Texas during Reconstruction. The formerly enslaved and white Republicans bore the brunt of the wrath of Texas conservatives. A Freedmen's Bureau report found that 2,225 acts of violence had been committed against black Texans up to the end of 1868. A report issued by the Committee on Lawlessness and Violence at the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1868 found that a total of 939 murders had been committed in the state between the end of the Civil War and June 1868. Of these murders, 373 were perpetrated by Anglos against black Texans. The number of total murders was raised to 1,035 by a supplementary report. These reports likely undercounted total violent

deaths during Reconstruction, with one recent study concluding that the violence may have claimed up to 1 percent of the state's male African American population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five. Texas Republicans also highlighted the frequent murder of white Republicans. According to the report issued by the state Constitutional Convention, 460 homicides had been committed by whites against other whites.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the statewide crime wave, only seven total homicides were documented in the overwhelmingly white Hill Country counties by a Freedmen's Bureau report of over 2,000 violent offenses. When additional incidents recorded through a variety of sources are added to this report, a total of twenty-two murders can be documented in the Hill Country settlements between 1866 and 1868, for an average annual regional murder rate of approximately 33 per 100,000 population during those years. However, seven of the Hill Country's thirteen counties had no murders over the same time period, and nine of the twenty-two reported murders took place in Burnet County alone. In contrast, Washington County, located in the cotton-growing country of the Lower Brazos River Valley, was the site of forty murders between 1866 and 1868. This was equivalent to an average annual murder rate of more than 87 per 100,000 population. The Lower Brazos River Valley counties of Brazos and Brazoria combined for a total of thirty-seven murders over the same period, for a staggering average annual murder rate of approximately 124 per 100,000 population. With the notable exception of Burnet County, the white settler communities of the Hill Country had much lower rates of violence than many of the eastern counties in Texas during Reconstruction.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to overall rates of violence, it is important to disaggregate the various types of violence taking place in different Texas regions. The primary goals of the white terror campaign in Texas were to regain political power for the Democratic Party and to enforce a social and labor system of quasi-slavery on black Texans. Reconstruction violence in eastern Texas was therefore political and social in origin. Individuals such as the infamous Sutton-Taylor feud gunman John Wesley Hardin were not simply criminal outlaws, but were motivated by a tangible political and social agenda. Hardin and those like him were conservative Democratic partisans who rejected the postbellum order symbolized by the freedmen and the Republican Party. The honor culture that pervaded Anglo Texan society ensured that many Texans' response to the changing social, political, and economic order during Reconstruction was one of extreme violence. The actions of John Wesley Hardin, Bob Lee, the Taylor family, Cullen Montgomery Baker, and many other white Texans during Reconstruction were obscured over time by a romantic Wild West myth that portrayed them as feudists or frontier gunslingers rather than white supremacist insurgents.<sup>33</sup>

The myth that violence in Reconstruction Texas was driven entirely by a lack of strong law enforcement had its roots in the conservative press of the 1860s and 1870s. Democratic politicians and newspaper editors typically denied that these killings were undertaken for political reasons and instead blamed the Hamilton, Pease, and Davis administrations for failing to confront rampant crime, while offering no systematic explanation for the surge in homicides. Conservatives specifically cited the murders of Hill Country Unionists

Claiborne Biggs and Reading W. Black, and the attempted murder of A.O. Cooley, arguing that they stemmed from personal disagreements rather than being politically motivated. Republicans rejected the conservative stance as patently false and argued that politically motivated conservative violence in Texas was both widespread and condoned by many local authorities.<sup>34</sup>

Although a comprehensive study is impossible due to missing information in court records, the evidence suggests that when Indian attacks are excluded, violence in the Hill Country between 1865 and 1868 resulted from both criminal and political causes. If all of the murders committed in Burnet County are considered to have been political violence, along with the aforementioned deaths of Major Thompson, Sergeant McDougall, Reading W. Black, and H. Claiborne Biggs, and that of freedman Jim Womack in Uvalde County, a total of fourteen murders likely took place as a result of Reconstruction political upheaval. Records indicate that at least the other eight homicides in the region over the same time period were purely criminal in nature. By the late 1860s, crime overtook political strife as a source of violence and remained a major problem in some areas well into the late 1870s. Additionally, and again with the exception of Burnet and perhaps Blanco counties, Ku Klux Klan-like organizations dedicated to perpetuating political violence never took root in the Hill Country, even in counties such as Kerr and Llano that had displayed the most support for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Just to the east, the heavily Anglo counties of Williamson, Travis, and Hays all hosted Klan organizations in the late 1860s.<sup>35</sup>

Reconstruction criminal records therefore suggest that while many Hill Country communities retained bitter memories of the war years, they moved into the postbellum period for the most part with significantly lower levels of political violence than other parts of the state. Given the bloody conflict that the area experienced between 1862 and 1865, this fact appears counterintuitive. Several factors combined to prevent political violence from metastasizing within white Hill Country communities during the Reconstruction period.

Ethnicity was one key component in forging a workable peace in the aftermath of the Civil War. German Texans in the western part of the state had been divided after Texas's secession. Political stances had ranged from the rare steadfast support of secession and the Confederacy to the more common position of outright dissent. With the war at an end, it would seem that the divisions caused by the war might continue into Reconstruction.

Indeed, some members of the German Texan community who had supported the Confederacy felt compelled to leave their homes for fear of reprisals. Ernst Altgelt, founder of the town of Comfort, had supported the Confederacy and supposedly participated in the last battle of the war at Palmito Ranch. "Finding his beloved country ruined and disordered" and "social intercourse unpleasant," Altgelt relocated to San Antonio in 1866. According to some sources Charles Burgmann, who was believed to have informed against the Union Loyal League in 1862, fled to Mexico after the war. Although not German, Belgian-born former Confederate Captain Frank van der Stucken also departed the Hill



Country, leaving the German immigrant enclave of Fredericksburg for his native Antwerp in 1865.<sup>36</sup>

Yet the divisiveness of the Civil War did not manifest itself in widespread discord within the post-war German Texan community. Instead, the process of reconciliation was nearly immediate in many communities. Two weeks after John W. Sansom's Unionist home guard raised the United States flag over New Braunfels, the town held a July Fourth celebration. Union troops in the 59th Illinois Infantry Regiment arrived shortly thereafter, initiating a short occupation of the town. By all accounts the Union soldiers were welcomed and got along with New Braunfelsers with minimal friction. For instance, former Confederate soldier Friedrich Karbach was serenaded by the Illinoisan's regimental band at his wedding in November 1865. Two of the occupying Union soldiers married local women, and one officer in the regiment wrote that he did not wish to leave New Braunfels when the unit was eventually ordered to do so.<sup>37</sup>

Many German Texans who had served in the Confederate army had done so reluctantly, and they were ambivalent about their war experiences. In a May 1865 letter to the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, Confederate Lieutenant Phillip Bitter conceded that "we do not return as conquerors." He instead took solace in the fact that "we have done our full duty and have by our conduct and sincerity constantly earned the respect of all our fellow soldier comrades as well as of the citizens of other states in which we were, and still do retain that respect." Bitter and his comrades vowed to "work towards the establishment and keeping of the peace and order." Echoing Bitter's emphasis on the restoration of peace and

harmonious community relations, former New Braunfels mayor and Texas legislator Hermann Seele argued for swift reconciliation in a letter to Provisional Governor Hamilton. In a letter composed prior to President Andrew Johnson's proclamation of general amnesty, Seele asserted that "reconstruction means reconciliation, but not retaliation ... it means pardon for treason but punishment for murderers, robbers, & thieves." By declining to exact vengeance for the political loyalties that had been displayed during the Civil War, German Texans acted pragmatically during Reconstruction to privilege community stability over partisan infighting.<sup>38</sup>

The life and career of John Herman Kampmann exemplifies the response of the German Texan community to the divisions opened by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Kampmann immigrated to Texas in 1848 and married fellow German immigrant Caroline Bonnet in 1850. The Bonnets were staunch Unionists during the Civil War. Johann Peter Bonnet died after he was wounded by Confederate gunfire while crossing the Rio Grande with Unionist leader Jacob Kuechler in October 1862. Two of the Bonnet brothers survived the crossing and served in the First Texas Cavalry (US) for the remainder of the war. Kampmann, on the other hand, raised a company in the Confederate Third Texas Infantry Regiment and served throughout the war as a Confederate officer. He returned to San Antonio after the war and went on to become one of the city's leading businessmen and building contractors. Kampmann benefited from San Antonio's status as a US Army post, contracting in 1867 with William Menger to construct a warehouse in order to help keep the Army in the city. According to a biographer, "Kampmann's interests were pro-business

(especially his) no matter which side was promoting it.” Personal decisions made during the war years were quickly forgotten in the extended Kampmann-Bonnet family in favor of maintaining ties of ethnicity and kinship, and for the remunerative opportunities represented by the reestablishment of federal authority. German Texans as a whole followed a similar pattern during Reconstruction.<sup>39</sup>

While German Texans had ample reason to move on quickly from the division of the Civil War years, race and ethnicity also proved to be key factors in accounting for violence in Reconstruction-era Texas in other ways. An obvious reason for the relative lack of violence within the Hill Country settlements was the low numbers of freedmen in the area. A total of 1,274 African Americans were reported to be living in 1870 in the thirteen county region encompassed in this study, out of an aggregate population of 22,304. This number totaled less than 6 percent of the regional population. Two counties – Burnet and Comal – held nearly 58 percent of the Hill Country’s African American population in 1870, and African Americans residents comprised no more than 9.7 percent of the population in any Hill Country county.<sup>40</sup>

It is no coincidence that the few incidents of violence between whites and blacks in the Hill Country took place in the counties with the largest formerly enslaved populations. On December 16, 1865 William Carpenter reportedly castrated a “colored man” in Burnet County. An Army officer reported that in May 1867, Julius Stahl, Jack Stahl, Ludwig Hock, and others attacked freedmen George Wilson, Sr. and George Wilson, Jr. near New Braunfels. For reasons not stated, “the freedmen were pursued and fired upon by the

assailant with six-shooter,” but their attackers were “tried and acquitted.” On October 14, 1867, freedman Jim Womack was murdered by two white men in Uvalde County, which had the third-highest black population by percentage in the Hill Country. A freedman was also murdered by a “Polander” in July 1870 in Comal County.<sup>41</sup>

Despite these scattered incidents, Army officers found Hill Country Texans largely tolerant of the few African Americans who lived in the area. An Army officer stationed at Camp Verde described the attitudes of whites in the area toward the freedmen as “apparently good” and had learned that “in Gillespie County there would be no objection to colored children attending the schools did any live near enough to allow of it.” The same officer reported that “state laws, unjust to the freedman, are not enforced.” Writing from Fort Inge in Uvalde County, First Lieutenant N.J. McCafferty was skeptical at first, stating that “the fact of these Troops being stationed here is no doubt the reason why the freed people are as well treated, were it not for this fact I presume they would be as harshly dealt with as those in other districts.” Five months later McCafferty’s opinion had apparently changed, and he claimed that “the freed people would be perfectly secure and justly dealt with were the troops removed.” Reports from Fort Mason concurred with this harmonious picture.<sup>42</sup>

Further comparison of the Hill Country and the Lower Brazos River Valley is instructive. Austin County had fourteen murders between 1866 and 1868. The county had an 1870 population of 15,087, with a minority African American population of 6,574 and an average annual murder rate between 1866 and 1868 of approximately 31 per 100,000

population. Around one-third of Austin County's population was composed of German Texans, and the county had been a center of anti-Confederate dissent during the Civil War. Brazos and Brazoria counties, on the other hand, lacked a significant German population and had a combined majority African American population. As mentioned previously, these two counties accounted for thirty-seven murders during the same period, a murder rate four times that of nearby Austin County.<sup>43</sup>

These figures make it clear that the presence or absence of both African Americans and German Texans had a major impact on levels of violence in Reconstruction-era Texas. Although the Hill Country had small numbers of African Americans to begin with, German Texans were also much less likely to engage in violence against them than Anglos. An examination of the Freedmen's Bureau report on violence for the heavily German counties of Austin, Colorado, and Fayette reveals only two cases out of a total of seventy-nine violent incidents overall between September 1865 and December 1868 that seem to have involved German Texans carrying out acts of violence against freedmen. German-majority Comal County had the largest African American population of any Hill Country county and more than half of the freedmen in the region resided in the heavily German counties of Comal, Gillespie, Kendall, Mason, and Medina. German Texans' eschewal of anti-black racial violence was therefore a contributing factor to comparatively lower rates of violence in the Hill Country.<sup>44</sup>

Another inadvertent and counterintuitive factor in preventing the continuation of violence was the impotence of the Texas justice system during Reconstruction. Despite

Unionist expressions of desire for retributive justice, punishment for crimes committed during the war would actually be noticeably lacking. Several accused *Hängerbande* members, including William Banta, John W. Caldwell, and Jonas Harrison, were able to simply escape from custody in 1865 and 1866. In total, only four of at least forty-four individuals who were indicted or otherwise implicated in killings during the war appear to have been convicted for their alleged crimes: Zachariah McDonald, Jr., Richard Moebus, William Paul, and Jonas Harrison, who was eventually recaptured and convicted. Each of the men who were successfully prosecuted was convicted of second-degree murder, and they were sentenced to terms ranging from five years to life in prison. Three of the four were convicted in 1869, while the state was still being administered by military government under the Reconstruction Acts, and the fourth (Jonas Harrison, who had been recaptured) was convicted in 1870 after so-called radical Republican Edmund J. Davis had taken office. If the justice system was ever going to mete out harsh punishment for former pro-Confederate vigilantes, the ideal time would have been during military Reconstruction and Republican rule. Yet Unionist-dominated Hill Country courts exercised a remarkable degree of restraint in prosecuting wartime crimes. One of the convicts, Richard Moebus, even received a pardon from radical Republican Governor Davis after serving just two years of his twenty-year sentence in the state penitentiary.<sup>45</sup>

A major reason for the lack of prosecutions was that most former pro-Confederate vigilantes simply moved away or disappeared from the historical record. Of seventeen of these individuals who can be identified on census returns or other records, between eleven

and thirteen had departed the Hill Country prior to 1870. Most moved to parts of the state that had been more pro-Confederate. Others pushed further west into the Trans-Pecos, into newly settled areas of Texas's western frontier, or to the territories of Colorado and Arizona. For the Texas Hill Country, the mobility enabled by the expansion of white settlement into the American West combined with the ineffectiveness of law enforcement to serve as a kind of safety valve to help dampen political violence during Reconstruction.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time that several of the key ingredients for the continuation of violent internal conflict during Reconstruction were either lacking or decreasing in the Hill Country, two sources of violence were increasing in prominence. The first factor that altered the trajectory of violence within the settler communities of the Hill Country was the post-Civil War resurgence in Indian raiding originating in both Mexico and on the Southern Plains. Concurrent with the explosion of the Texas cattle trade beginning in 1867, the growth of criminality also proved to be a major problem in the Hill Country during Reconstruction and beyond. The danger posed by Indian raiding and criminality was significant enough to unite formerly antagonistic white settlers in a campaign to destroy independent Indian groups and impose law and order on the Texas frontier.

With the inauguration of Reconstruction, Hill Country Texans of all political stripes assumed that frontier defense would be a priority for the new government. H.M. Dougherty wrote to Provisional Governor Hamilton in August 1865 about Indian depredations in Uvalde and surrounding counties, and requested that state troops be raised for frontier

defense. According to Dougherty, “Heretofore when we would appeal to the Governor for assistance it would be thrown in our faces that we ware all Dis Lowyil on the Frontier and that if we could not protect ourselves we would have to suffer But we hope for Better things of you.” Petitioners from Blanco and Gillespie counties also eagerly requested official sanction for ranger or minute man units to combat “Indians and such Indian allies as may invade our Country for the purpose of robbery and murder.” In February 1866, Union officer Philip H. Immeke asked for permission to raise a Ranger regiment and a few months later former Confederate officer Charles de Montel made a similar request to Army authorities.<sup>47</sup>

Hill Country settlers had good reason to be concerned over the issue of frontier defense in 1865 and 1866. Indian raiding accelerated to unprecedented levels after the Civil War. Gillespie County resident T.C. Doss asserted in a letter to the *Austin Southern Intelligencer* in August 1865 that the Indians were “ten times worse in that county than ever before,” and warned that the frontier would be “broken up” if something wasn’t done soon. Long-time frontier resident W.E. Jones wrote to newly elected Governor James W. Throckmorton in October 1866 to explain the dire situation from his vantage point in Kendall County. According to Jones, an effective system of frontier defense “never was so much needed before since I have resided on the frontier for a period of more than 15 years – I have never before witnessed a greater feeling of insecurity among the people – Every man feels that he may at any moment meet Indians at his own threshold.” Jones reported that a thirty-man raiding party had recently passed in sight of his own house in broad



daylight, and that horses had recently been stolen fifteen miles below his neighborhood on the road to New Braunfels, “a point to which the Indians have not penetrated before since 1855.”<sup>48</sup>

Casualties and losses of property bore witness to the severity of the onslaught of raiding. Between June 1865 and the end of 1866, as many as thirty casualties were charged to Indian raids in the Hill Country. A 150-man raiding party struck the San Saba River country in August 1866, killed a man and wounded a woman in Menard County, and drove off five to six thousand head of cattle. Lipans and Kickapoos were blamed for eight raids in Kendall County in the eighteen months preceding March 1867, at a cost of two deaths and 137 mules and horses stolen. Uvalde County reported a loss of 183 horses, 3,050 cattle, 500 sheep, one mule, and eight oxen over the same time period, in addition to multiple deaths. Llano County ranchers lost two thousand cattle when a large herd was captured by Indians while being driven west to Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Similarly dire reports reached Throckmorton from the entire length of the frontier.<sup>49</sup>

The sudden resurgence in Indian raiding was due to both political and environmental developments that were largely beyond the control of state and local authorities. As discussed in Chapter Four, the United States Army had waged a war in 1864 and 1865 against the Plains tribes that threatened the Santa Fe Trail and the settlers who had been pouring into eastern Colorado since the discovery of gold in 1859. This pressure helped to push Indian raiding south into Texas, and the Texas frontier suffered increasingly over the same time period.

With the end of the Civil War, the United States government saw an opportunity to end the fighting in Kansas and Colorado and attempted to concentrate the Plains tribes onto a series of reservations. The outcry caused by Colonel John Chivington's massacre of a village of peaceful Cheyennes at Sand Creek, Colorado in November 1864 added to the impetus for a peaceful settlement to the war on the South Plains. As a result, federal officials favored reservations as a more humanitarian course than the outright military destruction of Native American groups that continued to block white settlement. The resulting Little Arkansas Treaty, signed in October 1865, recognized Comanche and Kiowa rights to what would become western Oklahoma, the Oklahoma and Texas Panhandles, and a section of West Texas below the Panhandle, as well as hunting rights outside the bounds of the reservation, while forbidding them from occupying the territory between the Arkansas and Platte Rivers. Two years later the Medicine Lodge Treaty attempted to severely reduce the size of the allotted reservations, while promising annuities, government rations and supplies, and a program of instruction in Anglo-American agriculture. Both treaties represented a federal attempt to clear a corridor in Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico for homesteaders and construction of the transcontinental railroad, and little thought was given to protection for the Texas frontier. The treaties' Native American signatories rightly perceived the priorities of the federal negotiators and continued raiding into Texas with impunity.<sup>50</sup>

The other major reason for the growth in raiding after the Civil War was environmental. At the same time that the Confederacy was entering its death throes, the drought that had

gripped Texas since the mid-1850s was coming to an end. Between 1865 and 1870, precipitation in Texas was extremely high. A tabulation of rainfall at Austin recorded 25.03 inches in 1864, 38.4 inches in 1865, and 30.52 inches between January and August 1866. *The Texas Almanac for 1868*, compiled in 1867, contained a report from Waco claiming that “more grass has been cut for hay than ever before in this county,” and that “the grass has been excellent all the year for cattle on the prairies.” Abundant rainfall continued, with 25.3 inches of rain between April and October 1867. A high-water mark was recorded in a flood of the Colorado River in 1869, and the river rose again in 1870 to within six feet of the record.<sup>51</sup>

As noted in Chapter Four, weather conditions were of central importance in determining Indian raiding patterns. The overall effect of this shift in weather patterns was to make raids into the Texas frontier settlements more viable due to abundant water and grass along traditional infiltration and exfiltration routes. The reversal of drought conditions also helped the bison herds recover after years of decline, which in turn stabilized plummeting Comanche and Kiowa populations.

In addition to benefiting from a strengthening of their traditional bison hunting way of life, the Southern Plains tribes had by the mid-1860s developed a hybrid economy in an effort to maintain their autonomy. Bison hunting was coupled with annuities and food rations found on reservations in the Indian Territory, especially during the winter months when the nomadic bands sheltered on the reservations before leaving to raid or hunt bison in the warmer months. With the growth of the Texas cattle industry, raiding shifted to

incorporate beef cattle as well as horses. Some Comanches were even reportedly raising their own herds of Texas longhorns by the late 1860s. By the end of the Civil War the Comanches and their allies had achieved what was at least a temporarily sustainable caloric base derived from bison, government rations, and Texas horses and cattle. Having apparently overcome the problem of sustenance, the warriors of the Southern Plains tribes were free to pursue plunder and territorial expansion for the first time since the 1830s. Meanwhile, Lipans, Kickapoos, Apaches, and other groups in northern Mexico continued their raids into Texas.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the increase in Indian raiding in Texas, the 25,000 man Army occupation force was initially concentrated along the Mexican border and in the eastern half of the state rather than along the western Indian frontier. The Army's priorities in 1865-1866 were to maintain a visible presence along the Rio Grande during the French intervention in Mexico, and to protect the freedmen and Unionist whites from conservative violence in the eastern part of the state. Western frontier posts remained unoccupied for approximately eighteen months after the Confederate surrender, and in the meantime Army authorities promised merely to send out occasional patrols from Austin and San Antonio in place of permanent frontier military garrisons. This strategy was commended by the Austin *Southern Intelligencer* in September 1865, but by February 1866 reports of unabated Indian raiding caused the paper's editor to conclude that "there is no utility or safety in the present mode of defending the frontier; a thorough and radical change is imperiously demanded."<sup>53</sup>

Governor Throckmorton made frontier defense a centerpiece of his agenda upon his assumption of office on August 9, 1866. Throughout his short administration, Throckmorton tirelessly harangued Army leadership about the necessity of moving troops to the western frontier. The 1866 Texas constitutional convention also attempted to reestablish a system of frontier defense by providing for three battalions of rangers who were to be under the control of the Governor but tendered to the US Army commander for use in “following and chastising marauding bands of Indians wherever found.” These efforts were viewed with suspicion by Fifth Military District commander Major General Philip Sheridan, who suspected that Texas authorities’ ulterior motive was to remove military protection from freedmen and white Unionists in the more heavily populated regions of the state.<sup>54</sup>

Sheridan refused to accept the state’s proposed ranger forces, but he reassured Throckmorton that more Army units would soon deploy to the state and that frontier posts would be reestablished in the spring of 1867. After Throckmorton’s continued insistence that the Army reoccupy the frontier, Sheridan accelerated the deployment timeline. The Army finally began to arrive on the Hill Country frontier in October 1866, when elements of the Fourth United States Cavalry occupied Fort Inge and Fort Martin Scott. Fort Mason and Camp Verde were reoccupied in December 1866.<sup>55</sup>

Once it had reoccupied the frontier posts, the Army seemed content to maintain a passive perimeter defense. Until mid-1871, the small Army force on the western frontier was occupied in repairing frontier posts abandoned during the war, furnishing escorts for

wagon trains, stage coaches, government officials, and cattle herds, sending out periodic patrols, and chasing ghost-like Indian raiders who rapidly exfiltrated from the settlements with stolen livestock and captives. Sixteen troopers died in thirty-eight separate actions with Indians in Texas between 1867 and 1870, in exchange for what was surely an exaggerated estimate of 158 Indian casualties. As Dan Utley, an historian of the frontier Army, characterized service in Texas during this period, “the duty was hard, inglorious, and frustrating, and it produced no demonstrable effect on the scale of Indian raiding.”<sup>56</sup>

Between the time of secession and the Confederate collapse, the Hill Country had suffered fifty-seven casualties from Indian raids. From the summer of 1865 to the fall of 1869, a span of time roughly equal to the period of secessionist control, the Hill Country suffered exactly fifty-seven more casualties from Indian raids. Even after the Army finally reoccupied the frontier in 1867, raiding did not noticeably diminish. 1870 proved to be the second deadliest year for Indian attacks in the region between 1861 and 1881, and forty-three Hill Country residents were killed in Indian attacks between the Army’s return and 1870. Kidnappings and stock losses also continued unabated.<sup>57</sup>

Two main factors accounted for the Army’s passivity. First, the Army was simply distracted by events in other areas. Following continued raiding in western Kansas and along the Santa Fe Trail in 1868, a full-scale war broke out on the Southern Plains that lasted into 1869. Extreme levels of violence against white and black Republicans in eastern Texas also commanded the Army’s attention. A second factor was the emergence of a new policy toward Native American groups in 1869. Just as the Army seemed poised to launch

a major campaign to totally defeat the Southern Plains tribes, newly elected President Ulysses S. Grant implemented what became known as the “Peace Policy.” Grant’s policy took its cues from eastern humanitarians who decried the Army’s aggressive military campaigns, and consisted of a carrot and stick approach to the remaining independent Indian groups in the American West. While the Army was still authorized to take action against Indians found outside the bounds of the new reservations, the Indians now had to be positively identified as hostile. Additionally, the Army was not allowed on the reservations without the consent of the Indian Bureau agents, several of whom on the southern reservations were Quakers who viewed the Army with suspicion. The Comanches and their allies saw the Peace Policy as an endorsement for continued raiding against the Texas settlements.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the protestations of humanitarians, the Peace Policy gradually crumbled in the early 1870s. The outbreak of fighting in Montana, Arizona, northern California, and southern Oregon supported the Army’s contention that no peace could be achieved until independent Indian groups in the American West were militarily defeated. The assassination of General Edward R.S. Canby on April 11, 1873 during a parley in northern California with hostile Modoc fighters helped strike a major blow against the Peace Policy in national opinion. The turning point in Texas actually came earlier, when Commanding General of the Army William T. Sherman toured the Texas frontier in May 1871. A few hours after Sherman and a small escort crossed a prairie on May 18, 1871 en route to Fort Richardson on the northwest Texas frontier, a wagon train was ambushed at the same site

by a Kiowa war party. Eight teamsters were killed in the attack. Sherman's brush with death convinced him of the need to escalate offensive operations against Native American groups that continued to live off the reservations and to raid into the Texas settlements. The Army was especially focused on the Comanches and Kiowas who continued to operate from the remote Llano Estacado of the Texas Panhandle, away from the reservations in Indian Territory.<sup>59</sup>

Young, energetic Civil War hero Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie and his Fourth United States Cavalry Regiment had been moved to the northwest Texas frontier in the spring of 1871. In the summer of 1871 Mackenzie began offensive operations into the Llano Estacado, and fought a number of skirmishes against Comanches led by the mixed-race war chieftain Quanah Parker. On September 29, 1872, Mackenzie's troops attacked a Comanche village, killing from thirty to sixty Comanches and taking 124 captives. Raiding nonetheless continued in 1873 and 1874, driven by inadequate rations on the reservations, contradictory government policies toward the Indians, the desire for revenge against the encroaching whites, and the growing slaughter of the American bison by commercial hide hunters.<sup>60</sup>

With the traditional way of life of the Plains tribes increasingly under threat, the Comanches and Kiowas were joined by Cheyenne bands in their raiding on the Texas frontier. In the summer of 1874 the raiding escalated into full-scale war and the Peace Policy was formally discarded by the Army. The subsequent Red River War saw the Army mount a multi-axis offensive into the Llano Estacado, culminating in the destruction of a



major village and horse herd at Palo Duro Canyon on September 28, 1874. Scattered fighting continued through November 1874, but constant harassment by the Army, the destruction of their horse herds and supplies, and a severe winter forced groups of hostile Indians to begin capitulating as early as October 1874. On June 2, 1875, a final group of 407 Comanches led by Quanah Parker surrendered at Fort Sill. After roughly 150 years of dominance on the Southern Plains, *Comanchería* was no more.<sup>61</sup>

Casualties from Indian raids in the Hill Country noticeably declined after the Army's offensive operations began in 1874. Only four casualties were reported in 1874 and 1875, all in the western counties of Kimble and Menard, in contrast to nine casualties in 1873 in Bandera, Kerr, and Gillespie counties. Yet raids originating in Mexico continued even after the Army's victory in the Red River War.<sup>62</sup>

Much like raiding by the Southern Plains tribes, the problem of cross-border raiding had long roots but escalated in the wake of the Civil War. Most of the Native American Kickapoo tribe had relocated from Indian Territory to northern Mexico over the winter of 1864-1865 at the invitation of Mexican authorities. While en route to their new home they were mistaken for hostile Indians and attacked by a combined force of Confederate soldiers and Texas militiamen. The resulting Battle of Dove Creek was a notorious debacle for Texas frontier defense forces. More importantly, it motivated a campaign of revenge by the Kickapoos that would trouble the southwest Texas frontier for fifteen years. The Lipan Apaches and fragmentary bands of Shawnees, Cherokees, Pottawatomies, Delawares, and black Seminoles also lived in northern Mexico, where they had settled at the request of

Mexico to serve as a buffer against Comanche and Apache raiders. Several bands of Mescalero Apaches were concentrated farther west, south of the Big Bend, but they also mounted raids into the Hill Country. Although the black Seminoles would eventually serve as scouts for the United States Army, the other groups participated in the time-honored tradition of the Southwestern raiding-trading economy and were believed by Texas and United States officials to be supported by Mexican communities that benefited from the illicit trade.<sup>63</sup>

The Army's passive frontier defense policy between 1866 and 1871 was exacerbated by the delicate political situation along the Texas-Mexico border. Mexican authorities consistently rejected United States efforts to gain approval to pursue raiders across the Rio Grande, quite naturally viewing any such operation as an affront to Mexico's dignity and sovereignty. By 1873, with Mexico once again embroiled in a civil war and at the urging of Texas politicians and newspaper editors, the Army chose to simply disregard international law in an effort to end Indian depredations in Texas. Fresh from his operations against the Comanches in 1871 and 1872, Colonel Mackenzie led an extralegal expedition into Coahuila that destroyed a Kickapoo village near the town of Remolino.<sup>64</sup>

Despite strenuous objections from Mexican authorities, cross-border expeditions continued in 1876 and 1877, raising international tensions between the administrations of Rutherford B. Hayes and Porfirio Diaz to the boiling point. Each side eventually relented, and an international treaty allowing reciprocal border crossing was ratified in 1882. The pressure from the United States Army as well as parallel efforts by the Mexican Army

eventually brought about an end to Indian raids. Mrs. John M. McLaurin and Allen Lease reportedly became the last casualties from Indian raiding in the Hill Country when they were killed on April 19, 1881 ten miles north of Leakey in what is now Real County, at the time administered as part of Uvalde County.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to Indian raids, the rise of organized crime was a second major source of violence in the Texas Hill Country after the Civil War. Faced with a chaotic post-war environment, Hill Country Texans of all political persuasions yearned most of all for a return to economic and political stability. Most farmers and ranchers had experienced major financial distress during the war years. Ironically, simultaneously with the emergence of a lucrative market for Texas cattle infused Hill Country communities with much needed capital, organized crime began to present a major problem for the weakly governed communities of the frontier.

The reintroduction of United States currency and the market for Army contracts offered some relief to farmers and ranchers in the immediate post-war period. However, the opportunity for real wealth came two years later in 1867, with the first cattle drive from Texas to the railroad town of Abilene, Kansas. Approximately 35,000 cattle were driven to Kansas during that year, a number that doubled the following year and continued to grow with each year's drives. Using a route that became known as the Chisholm Trail, the number of cattle driven north to Kansas swelled to 600,000 in 1871. Between 1865 and

1873 more than 1.5 million Texas cattle are estimated to have been trailed to the Kansas cattle towns of Abilene, Ellsworth, and Wichita.<sup>66</sup>

After 1873, the growth of farms in the path of the cattle trails and the implementation of quarantines to guard against a tick-borne illness carried by Texas cattle forced the use of more westerly routes, but Texas cattle continued to flow north in tremendous numbers. An estimated 2.7 to 6 million cattle were driven up the Western Trail to Dodge City, Kansas by 1885. Other routes went east to New Orleans or west to New Mexico. The westward expansion of railroads, the emergence of Chicago as a center of the meatpacking industry, and the insatiable demand for animal protein in the rapidly industrializing eastern United States meant that with luck, Texas ranchers in the postbellum years could for the first time expect to reap the financial rewards of being linked into the industrial capitalist economy.<sup>67</sup>

Many Hill country ranchers participated in the cattle drives, and some accrued tremendous wealth. Sam Ealy Johnson, grandfather of future President Lyndon B. Johnson, and his brother Thomas drove cattle from Blanco County to Kansas and possibly Montana between 1869 and 1873 and were known as the largest trail drivers operating in the Hill Country during the period. Successful drives in 1869 and 1870 led to an alleged profit of \$100,000. Profits from successful cattle drives injected much needed capital into the Hill Country economy, with a fellow Blanco Countian recalling in 1885 that in the early 1870s “\$20 gold pieces were about as plenty as 50 cent pieces are now.” Mason County cattleman John Gamel was said to have claimed that he had “enough money to burn a wet dog” as a

result of successful cattle drives. Dodge City residents recalled Gamel celebrating the end of a cattle drive by lighting cigars with \$10 bills.<sup>68</sup>

The explosive growth of the Texas cattle trade was matched from the beginning by the growth of cattle rustling and conflicts over livestock roaming on the open range. In January 1871 several citizens of Mason County signed a petition denying the need for martial law in the county, an action that had been requested of Governor Edmund J. Davis by another group of petitioners in response to allegations of cattle thieving. Despite their assertion that the people of Mason County were “peacible and orderly,” by the early 1870s Mason and Llano counties were embroiled in a range war known as the Mason County or “Hoo Doo” War.<sup>69</sup>

As discussed in Chapter One, Texas was an open range state in the 1860s and 1870s. Not until 1876 did the state legislature allow for the passage of local-option stock laws that would require livestock owners to fence in their property. Most of the Hill Country remained unsettled public land after the Civil War, especially the upland pastures that were away from year-round water sources. With little fencing to disrupt their movements, herds of virtually feral longhorn cattle ranged freely over the open range. Even in the face of drought and increasing cattle rustling, cattle populations exploded by the late 1860s.<sup>70</sup>

Throughout the state, landless or smallholding Anglos took advantage of this situation to establish cattle herds at little cost. According to Texas law, any individual could establish ownership over unbranded cattle by catching and branding them, a practice known as mavericking. To landowning settlers, mavericking appeared very much like cattle theft

when the offspring from their herds were rounded up in seasonal “cow hunts” and suddenly claimed as another individual’s property. Brands were also registered on a county by county basis, leading to confusion over the ownership of freely roaming cattle. The “Hoo Doo” War was ultimately a conflict between Mason County resident farmers and stock raisers, who were mostly German immigrants, and nonresident cattlemen, who were primarily Anglo, over the practice of mavericking and control over the range in Mason County. Although the violence ran its course in Mason County by January 1876, killings continued in Llano County until 1882. To the north in San Saba County, vigilante violence continued until finally broken by the Texas Rangers in 1896.<sup>71</sup>

The southwestern and western Hill Country counties in particular were plagued by organized crime and livestock theft in the post-war years. Sparse populations and the proximity of the Mexican border made the areas south and west of Fredericksburg especially tempting targets for multiracial and international groups of cattle and horse thieves and other bandits. Developments during the Civil War had helped to set this trend in motion. Federal authorities had encouraged Mexicans and Mexican Texans to steal cattle as a form of economic warfare against Confederate Texas, and Uvalde Countians had complained of large-scale cattle rustling beginning in 1864. Cattle rustling continued without interruption into the postwar period, with the *Austin Southern Intelligencer* reporting that 1,000 cattle had been driven to Mexico from the northwestern edge of the Hill Country in September 1865. Mexican officials argued that a large amount of cattle theft was actually perpetrated by Texans, who plundered *ranchos* and farms on both sides

of the international border. A Uvalde County citizen gave credence to this assertion in a December 1867 letter forwarded to Governor Elisha M. Pease, in which he complained that the southern Hill Country was plagued by cross-border “beef stealing,” “a good portion of which is done by men who were formerly citizens of this place.”<sup>72</sup>

Prior to the Civil War a remarkable degree of cooperation had existed between Texas and United States authorities and their counterparts in the northern Mexican states. As a result, transnational crime was largely minimized along the antebellum Mexican-American frontier. In the post-war period the growing market for Texas cattle, the accompanying rise in cattle rustling, and racial violence directed against Mexican Texans along the Rio Grande all combined to quickly erode this relationship. The Rio Grande became a hardened legal boundary as well as a shallow, easily traversed stream, and criminals found that they were usually safe from pursuit or prosecution once they crossed the river’s muddy waters.<sup>73</sup>

As legal circumstances shifted along the Texas-Mexico border, bands of Mexicans, Indians, and Anglos, frequently working in concert, began to steal horses and cattle in both jurisdictions with increasing frequency and to commit occasional robberies and murders. In January 1868 District Court Judge G.H. Noonan urged the importance of getting the federal government to act “to repress the concerted movements of murderers and robbers of all grades and nationalities who seek an asylum on the other side of the Rio Grande.” The August 29, 1868 murders by a Mexican gang of three members of the Bickel family and a laborer near Boerne highlighted the ongoing problem of criminal incursions from Mexico.<sup>74</sup>

Mexico was not the only haven for criminal groups. The aftermath of the Civil War left numerous groups of deserters and criminal gangs ensconced in the rugged terrain of the Hill Country. Law enforcement was inadequate due to the financial and political turmoil confronting the state and county governments. In December 1865, having apparently already lost prisoners William Banta and John W. Caldwell, Gillespie County Sheriff H.P. Garrison requested the state's aid in raising a force to capture criminals who were at large and to guard those prisoners that he already had in jail. According to Garrison, the "Border counties" contained "many outlaws who are hourly Committing Depredations upon our Citizens." In early 1866 a former Captain in the First Texas Cavalry (US) in San Antonio found travelers arriving in that city "nearly every day" who had been "attacked by Indians and other Out Laws on their Routes from Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, and Frontiers of Texas." In August 1867, Fritz Junker and Julius Walters were shot and killed in Mason County by "robbers." The incident was reportedly never investigated, even though the names of the accused murderers were known to authorities.<sup>75</sup>

Virtually lawless conditions prevailed in parts of the Hill Country into the late 1870s, especially in areas such as Kimble County that were mostly settled after the war. Many of those embroiled in conflicts like the "Hoo Doo" War and the Sutton-Taylor feud eventually became involved in other violent and criminal incidents in the Hill Country. For example, "Doboy" Taylor resurfaced in Kerrville in September 1871, nearly four years after his participation in the infamous murders of Major Thompson and Sergeant McDougall in Mason. This time Taylor attacked well-known trail driver Sim Holstein in a dispute over a



trail-boss contract and Holstein killed Taylor in the ensuing altercation. Like his brother and accomplice Hays Taylor had two years earlier, “Doboy” Taylor died violently. Criminals such as the Dublin family, Rube Boyce, and others who were involved in the “Hoo Doo” War subsequently appeared in sparsely settled Kimble County in the late 1870s. After a period of rampant highway robbery, livestock theft, and murder, Texas Rangers targeted these and other individuals in an operation in 1877 known as the Kimble County Roundup. Some of those involved in these incidents even went on to participate in violent feuds and range wars in other states, such as New Mexico’s Lincoln County War and Arizona’s Tonto Basin War.<sup>76</sup>

After 1865, then, Indian raids, criminality, and conflicts over property rights and economic power overtook political divisions related to the Civil War and Reconstruction as a source of violence in the Hill Country. Hill Country Texans who fought Indians, helped arrest criminals, or lynched accused cattle thieves served as important local actors in implementing the process of national economic and political consolidation during the post-war period. As they participated in local and state efforts to ensure physical and economic security on the frontier, Hill Country settler communities simultaneously enacted a process of reconciliation. The external threats that dogged the Hill Country frontier forced settlers to work together regardless of political affiliation or loyalty during the Civil War.

With respect to the problem of Native American raiding, Hill Country Texans were not content to stand by and wait for the Army to achieve final victory over a period of sixteen

years. Many frontier Texans continued to believe that local ranger forces were more “efficient” than Army troops in pursuing Indian raiding parties and recovering livestock and captives. Prior to and even after the creation of state-sponsored paramilitary forces, Hill Country settlers frequently banded together to recover livestock and captives and to kill and capture Indians and criminals. The swift movement of Indian raiders especially required that neighbors quickly form armed patrols to chase after raiding parties whenever they were discovered in the settlements, as the nearest Army troops were usually located too far away for them to react in a timely manner.<sup>77</sup>

Events in the summer of 1869 in Blanco County exemplified the typical response by Hill Country settlers to frequent Indian raids. A raiding party appeared in July 1869, reportedly the third to visit the county in six weeks. After stealing livestock, chasing settlers, and killing Thomas Felps, Felps’ wife, and a boy named Hiram Wolf, the raiders departed with a large number of horses. With the nearest Army unit of any kind being located over forty miles away at Austin, a group of community residents gave chase but failed to intercept the raiders. Approximately two weeks later what was believed to be the same raiding party was again chased by “a small posse of citizens of Round Mountain,” culminating in a pitched battle at Deer Creek that resulted in three wounded settlers and an unknown number of Indian casualties.<sup>78</sup>

Although temporary local defense forces were occasionally authorized by Army commanders before 1870, it was not until the Republican administration of Governor Edmund J. Davis took office in that year and military government was lifted that the state

was able to create its own paramilitary forces for frontier defense. Legislation passed on June 13, 1870 provided for the creation of twenty companies of rangers known as the Frontier Force. By December 1870, fourteen companies had taken the field. Financial difficulties caused the number of companies to be reduced to seven by February 1871, and the force was finally disbanded on June 15. This abortive and costly attempt to raise a permanent ranger force cost the state over \$450,000 and the lives of three Frontier Force personnel, in return for a reported twenty-one Indians killed and the recovery of 134 cattle and 94 horses. On November 25, 1871, the state legislature emulated its frontier defense strategy during the final year of the Civil War and authorized the creation of twenty-four companies of “Minute Men” in the frontier counties. These companies would receive arms and ammunition from the state, but operated under local control and would only receive pay for ten days of service per month. The Minute Man companies served between 1872 and 1874 before they too were disbanded. On April 10, 1874, the Frontier Battalion was created as a permanent ranger force that for the first time officially combined the duties of Indian fighting and law enforcement. This force would continue in service until 1900.<sup>79</sup>

The creation of state paramilitary forces was met with enthusiastic participation by Hill Country settlers. For some young men, Indian fighting was an opportunity for adventure. Gillespie County cowboy Horace M. Hall enthusiastically declared in 1872 that he was “out in the mountains running wild beeves and ripping around generally,” but that he intended “to join the Texas Rangers ... going right out where the Comanche dwells not to make a war treaty neither.” For others, such as Gillespie County Minute Men enlistee

Henry Kensing, service in a frontier defense force was an opportunity for personal revenge. Kensing's parents, German immigrants Henry and Johanna Kensing, had been killed in an Indian attack on July 26, 1865.<sup>80</sup>

While individual motivations for ranger service certainly varied from person to person, Hill Country Texans were unified across political and ethnic lines by what one Burnet Countian called "the rage living in the frontiers-people against every red-skin." In requesting an appointment to a proposed ranger force in 1866, Fredericksburg resident P.T. Oatman made his feelings clear. "I have served as a Ranger," wrote Oatman, "also in many expeditions against the Indians, and yet feel anxious to continue until the race is exterminated, being fully satisfied this is the only curse that afflicts this section of our state." A notice posted in the *San Antonio Express* on July 14, 1872 by a group of Mason County's most prominent Anglo and German settlers illustrates the exasperation that Hill Country settlers felt with continued Indian raids, and their willingness to disregard cultural and social boundaries in order to help eliminate the Indian threat. The notice offered a \$500 reward for "the first hostile Indian captured within the limits of Mason county, Texas, by any person or persons from any county or place, without regard to age, sex, color or previous condition of servitude, and delivered dead or alive at the Courthouse in Mason."<sup>81</sup>

The Deer Creek fight in 1869 illustrates how Indian fighting proved to be a force for reconciliation after the Civil War. One of the primary accounts of the fight was given by Dan W. Roberts, who was wounded in the skirmish with an Indian raiding party and went on to become a legendary Texas Ranger after the formation of the Frontier Battalion.

Roberts had served in the Confederate Army but deserted in 1864. His father, Mississippi-born Alexander Roberts, was an officer in the First Texas Cavalry (US) during the Civil War. The elder Roberts had organized men from the Round Mountain neighborhood prior to the July 1869 raid in response to earlier to Indian incursions. After the battle the severely wounded younger Roberts was taken to the ranch of Confederate veteran Samuel Ealy Johnson, where he received medical care from Johnson's wife.<sup>82</sup>

The following year, Round Mountain settler H.M. Patton wrote to Governor Davis to recommend several captains for the proposed Frontier Force, including Alexander Roberts and another First Texas Cavalry (US) veteran, Nueces River battle survivor John W. Sansom. As to one of his choices, John H. Conner of Travis County, Patton noted that "some say he is a reb. some say he is a rad. But I hope sur that will not make any difference to you. If the man is brave and has the good of the country at heart he will do." When it came to fighting Indians and protecting settlers' property, Civil War loyalties assumed a diminished importance.<sup>83</sup>

Ranger service records also attest to the fact that the fight against Native Americans and criminals was a unifying force in the wake of the Civil War. Former Union officer John W. Sansom led a company in the short-lived Frontier Force of 1870-1871. Although many of the men in the ranger service were too young to have fought in the Civil War, a number of Union and Confederate veterans served side by side in these units. For example, within Sansom's ranks were several men who had served in the Confederate Army, including a Mississippi native who had surrendered with Lee's army at Appomattox before making his

way to the Hill Country frontier. Georgia native and Confederate veteran James Garner arrived in the Hill Country by 1870 and was serving under the command of Unionist James Hunter in the Mason County Minute Men two years later. By 1880 Garner had been elected Mason County sheriff.<sup>84</sup>

A large number of German immigrants and first-generation German Texans also appear on the muster rolls of Reconstruction minute man and ranger units. German-born Henry J. Richarz organized a largely German unit of the Frontier Force in Medina County and became well known for his skill in tracking and fighting raiders from Mexico. In one fight, Richarz's men reputedly killed eight Indians at a loss of two rangers. Richarz had reportedly lost a brother-in-law in an Indian attack in 1861, and his son and another ranger died under his command in December 1870. For Richarz, Henry Kensing, and many other German Texans, the racial tolerance they tended to evince toward the formerly enslaved was not extended to marauding Native Americans.<sup>85</sup>

With the waning of the Indian threat in the mid-1870s and the creation of permanent Texas Ranger forces, the fight against cattle rustling and other types of crime took center stage in the struggle to protect property and impose law and order in the Hill Country. Confederate veterans like Frontier Battalion Major John B. Jones, Captain Leander H. McNelly, and Captain William "Jeff" Maltby played key roles in ending the "Hoo Doo" War and the reign of organized crime in Kimble County. Many Hill Country Unionists served side by side with Jones and McNelly and applauded their efforts. Just as in the fight against the Indians, Civil War loyalties had to be put aside in order to achieve the goal of

making the Hill Country safe for the westward spread of homesteaders and their participation in the expanding American market economy.<sup>86</sup>

The rise of external threats to Hill Country communities ultimately proved to be the critical development in staving off continued political violence after the Civil War. The growth of criminality and a surge in Indian raiding after the war threatened the households, property, and social order of the Hill Country settlements while they tried to recover from the economic devastation of the Civil War years. In response to this threat to their homesteads and households, property holding frontier Texans were united across political lines during Reconstruction by their desire to eliminate the threat from criminals and marauding Native Americans. The necessity of cooperation against these external threats forged a pragmatic but enduring reconciliation between white Hill Country settlers in the aftermath of a traumatic and bloody civil war.

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<sup>1</sup> Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Sowell, *Texas Indian Fighters*, 699-700.

<sup>3</sup> August Schuchard to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 7, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, Governor Andrew J. Hamilton Records (hereafter AJH), TSLA; Enos Wooster to Andrew J. Hamilton, October 8, 1865, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA. For a similar letter see Robert Hathdorff to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 14, 1865, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>4</sup> Edward A. Miles to Samuel A. Maverick, Sr., July 11, 1864, MFP, CAH.

<sup>5</sup> Harriet Stephens to Andrew J. Hamilton, July 1, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, AJH, TSLA; John C. Weaver to Andrew J. Hamilton, January 26, 1866, Box 2014/042-6, AJH, TSLA; Julius Schuetze to Andrew J. Hamilton, February 24, 1866, Box 2014/042-7, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), 191.

<sup>7</sup> T.C. Rine to Chief of State Police, Bandera County Report of Fugitives from Justice, July 8, 1870, Box 301-864, TAG, TSLA; Cases #95, #96, #97, #101, #103, #104, #105, #106, #107, #108, #114, #117, #158, #183, GCDC; Case #36, KCDC. According to a note in Book A, Index to District Court Minutes for Burnet County, all records for criminal cases prior to April 15, 1867 were “stolen and destroyed in a county feud.” Records for Burnet County criminal cases prior to 1870 are also missing from the Retired Criminal Court Docket. Index to District Court Minutes, Book A, Burnet, Burnet County, Texas.

<sup>8</sup> Report of prisoners, Col. A.S. Bordger to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 10, 1865, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA; B.J. McMahon to Andrew J. Hamilton, November 4, 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA; H.P. Garrison to Andrew J. Hamilton, December 7, 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA;

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<sup>9</sup> John L. Haynes to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 29, 1865, Box 2014/042-3, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>10</sup> Anonymous letter to Gillespie County Chief Justice, August 13, 1865, Case #97, GCDC.

<sup>11</sup> Testimony of Dr. J.M. Pound and Dr. H. Schultz, September 7, 1865, State of Texas vs. William Banta, Box 2014/042-3, AJH, TSLA; quotes: William Banta to Andrew J. Hamilton, October 17, 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>12</sup> Although contemporary accounts do not mention the escape of these prisoners, they do describe other jail escapes. See Frank Heintzen, "Fredericksburg, Texas, during the Civil War and Reconstruction," (M.A. thesis: St. Mary's University of San Antonio, 1944), 82. Book C, Gillespie County District Court Minutes, 318-319; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 219-220; Family #577, Fayette County, Texas, Ninth Census.

<sup>13</sup> Louis B. Engelke, "He Got the Drop on Waldrip," *San Antonio Express Magazine*, January 1, 1954, reproduced in *GTHS Journal* 17 (Fall 1995): 232-234.

<sup>14</sup> "Correspondenz," *Freie Presse für Texas*, April 18, 1867.

<sup>15</sup> Case #103, GCDC.

<sup>16</sup> Heintzen, "Fredericksburg, Texas," 69-70; Engelke, "He Got the Drop on Waldrip"; Henry Langerhans, Third Texas Infantry Regiment, CSR, RG 109, NARA.

<sup>17</sup> Quote: *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention* (Austin, TX: Tracy, Siemerling, & Co., 1870), 500; Austin

*Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, January 10, 1868; Family #279, Caldwell County, Texas, Eighth Census.

<sup>18</sup> G.W. "Tom" Wall did not serve in the Confederate Army but records show that he was one of the comparatively few Hill Country farmers willing to do business with the Confederate Army. Wall sold horses, corn, and cypress shingles to the Confederate government on at least four occasions between 1861 and 1863. Shortly before Black's murder, Wall was also accused of owing \$375 to freedman George W. Watson, whom he refused to pay. The officer acting as Freedmen's Bureau sub-assistant commissioner at Fort Inge seized an ox wagon and six yokes of oxen to compensate Watson for his debt. G.W. Wall file, document no. 134, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, 1861-65, Roll 1066, M346, RG 109, NARA; First Lieut. N.J. McCafferty, Report for August 1867, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for Texas, Freedmen's Bureau (hereafter RACT, FB), Roll 22, M821, RG 105, NARA; Cutrer, "Black, Reading Wood"; Record of Criminal Offenses, entry no. 1253 and 1254, RACT, FB, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; quote: Bvt. Lt. Col. W.G. Mitchell to Elisha M. Pease, December 28, 1867, Box 2014/076-3, Governor Elisha M. Pease Records (hereafter EMP), TSLA; Report of Persons Evading Arrest, August 1870, Box 301-864, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>19</sup> Case #154, GCDC; *Daily Austin Republican*, July 14, July 15, July 23, and August 1, 1868. Although one recent work mistakenly claims that Cooley died in the attack, he lived until 1899 and is buried in Fredericksburg. Rev. by Laurie E. Jasinski, "Cooley, Albert O. [A.O.]," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcolu>, Texas State Historical Association. For the claim that Cooley died in 1868, see James M. Smallwood, "When the Klan Rode: Terrorism in Reconstruction Texas" in *Still the Arena of Civil War: Violence and Turmoil in Reconstruction Texas, 1865-1874*, ed. Kenneth W. Howell (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2012), 227.

<sup>20</sup> Hays Taylor was ambushed and killed on August 23, 1869 by members of the Sutton faction. Captain C.S. Bowman, November 16, 1867, Register of Letters Received, 5<sup>th</sup> Military District, District of Texas, Roll 1, Vol. 2, 80, M1193, RG 393, NARA; second quote: 1867 Yearly Return, 4<sup>th</sup> U.S. Cavalry Regiment, Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Units, Roll 41, M744, RG 94, NARA; David Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo" War, 1874-1902* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2006), 24, 262n34, 263n35; C. L. Sonnichsen, "Sutton-Taylor Feud," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 21, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jcs03>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>21</sup> "a terror," "a lawless man:" W.W. Brooks to Andrew J. Hamilton, April 15, 1866, Box 2014/042-7, AJH, TSLA; "one of the fanatic:" Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 77; Lydia Pruitt affidavit,



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August 29, 1865, Box 2014/042-3, AJH, TSLA; Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, 122, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; Household #174, Burnet, County, Texas, Eighth Census.

<sup>22</sup> W.W. Brooks to Andrew J. Hamilton, April 16, 1866, Box 2014/042-7, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>23</sup> Record of Crimes Committed, 1865-1868, 121-123, 239, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; Book A, Index to District Court Records, Burnet County District Court; Colonel James Oakes to Headquarters, District of Texas, July 20, 1867 and July 30, 1867, Register of Letters Received, 5<sup>th</sup> Military District, District of Texas, Vol. 3, M1193, RG 393, NARA; Citizens of Burnet County to BG Oakes, October 1, 1867, Box 401-862, TAG, TSLA; Henry Scott to Edmund J. Davis, February 27, 1871, Box 2014/110-12, Governor Edmund J. Davis Records (hereafter EJD), TSLA; Household #406, Burnet County, Texas, Tenth Census.

<sup>24</sup> Andrew J. Hamilton to W. Frank Carter, October 5, 1865, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA; L. Burgdorf to Andrew J. Hamilton, November 4, 1864, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA; H.P. Garrison to Andrew J. Hamilton, December 7, 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA; L. Burgdorf to James W. Throckmorton, January 2, 1867, Box 2014/061-3, Governor James W. Throckmorton Records, (hereafter JWT), TSLA.

<sup>25</sup> Carl H. Moneyhon, *Texas After the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 70-72, 76-77.

<sup>26</sup> Maj. John Thompson, Report for October 1867, RACT, FB, Roll 22, M821, RG 105, NARA; “competent loyal,” “there can be,” and “murder and crime:” First Lieut. Phineas Stevin to Elisha M. Pease, January 13, 1869, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; “never had a county:” F.H. Williams to James W. Throckmorton, June 15, 1867, Box 2014/061-4, JWT, TSLA.

<sup>27</sup> E. Oborski to James W. Throckmorton, June 22, 1867, Box 2014/061-4, JWT, TSLA.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas M. Paschal to Edmund J. Davis, February 22, 1871, Box 2014/110-12, EJD, TSLA; Thomas M. Paschal to Edmund J. Davis, August 28, 1872, Box 2014/110-22, EJD, TSLA.

<sup>29</sup> Dallas resident John Ashbury claimed that black Texans remained in *de facto* bondage in North Texas as late as April 1867. John Ashbury to Andrew J. Hamilton, April 10, 1867, Register of Letters Received, Office of Civil Affairs of the District of Texas, the 5th Military District, and the Department of Texas, 1867-1870, Roll 3, Vol. 1, 2, RG 94, M1188; Elizabeth B. Custer, *Tenting on the Plains, Or, General Custer in Kansas and Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 138; “Union men” and “I think:” quoted in Kenneth W. Howell, “Introduction: The Elusive Story of Violence in Reconstruction Texas, 1865-1874,” in ed. Howell, *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 11; “one campaign:” quoted in Donaly Brice, “Finding a Solution to Reconstruction Violence: The Texas State Police,” *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 189.

<sup>30</sup> James M. Smallwood, Barry A. Crouch, and Larry Peacock, *Murder and Mayhem: The War of Reconstruction in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 3.

<sup>31</sup> Barry A. Crouch, “A Spirit of Lawlessness: White Violence; Texas Blacks, 1865-1868,” *Journal of Social History* 18 (Winter 1984): 218-219; Record of Criminal Offenses, RACT, FB, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; Reports of Persons Evading Arrest, 1870, State Police Records, Box 301-864, TAG, TSLA; Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, State Police Records, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>32</sup> Murder rates are calculated from murders between 1866 and 1868 reported through a variety of sources, and population numbers from the 1870 census. As a result of population growth between 1866 and 1870, actual annual murder rates per 100,000 population were probably slightly higher between 1866 and 1868 than the numbers shown here. Burnet County’s annual murder rate comes out to an average annual rate of approximately 81 per 100,000 as a result of nine murders between 1866 and 1868 in an 1870 population of 3,688, which had increased from 2,487 in 1860. Record of Criminal Offenses, RACT, FB, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; Reports of Persons Evading Arrest, 1870, State Police Records, Box 301-864, TAG, TSLA; Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, State Police Records, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; John Gorman, “Reconstruction Violence in the Lower Brazos River Valley,” in Howell, *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 409-410.

<sup>33</sup> Brown, *Strain of Violence*, 261-265.

<sup>34</sup> For examples of the debate over the nature of the killings of Texas Unionists, see the Austin *Tri-Weekly*

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*State Gazette*, July 8, 1868 and the *Daily Austin Republican*, August 11, 1868. Also see Mary Jo O’Rear, “‘A Free and Outspoken Press’: Coverage of Reconstruction Violence and Turmoil in Texas Newspapers, 1866-1868,” in Howell, *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 267-284.

<sup>35</sup> The number of murders listed here does not include the death of James P. Waldrip, which should be considered a justified homicide. Although Waldrip’s death was ultimately a result of his vigilante activities during the Civil War, he appears to have been killed while resisting arrest and not due to political motives or out of revenge. Records pertaining to some murders are unclear. Courthouse fires in Burnet and Blanco counties prevent in-depth research on cases from those counties. In the case of Blanco County, Sheriff Thomas F. Odiorne reported on July 8, 1870 an indictment for murder against W.W. Littlepage filed on November 11, 1865, but the date of the crime is unknown. Medina County’s 1870 report is also unclear, listing “John Taylor and the Kickapoo Indians” as being indicted “One for Murder, and the other for Theft.” Record of Criminal Offenses, RACT, FB, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; Reports of Persons Evading Arrest, 1870, State Police Records, Box 301-864, TAG, TSLA; Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, State Police Records, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; Gorman, “Reconstruction Violence in the Lower Brazos River Valley,” 409-410.

<sup>36</sup> “Finding his” and “social intercourse:” Ida Altgelt Schweppe, *Life of Ernst Hermann Altgelt: Founder of Comfort, Kendall County, Texas; A Biographical Sketch* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 9-10; Nunn, *Escape from Reconstruction*, 129; Larry Wolz, “Van Der Stucken, Frank Valentine,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 05, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fva04>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>37</sup> Oscar Haas, “New Braunfels in Civil War,” New Braunfels *Herald*, December 4, 1962; Kamphoefner, “New Americans or New Southerners? Unionist German Texans,” 113.

<sup>38</sup> “In a May” to “peace and order:” *Neu-Braunfeler Zeitung*, June 2, 1865, transl. in Oscar Haas, “New Braunfels in Civil War,” New Braunfels *Herald*, October 30, 1962; “reconstruction means:” Hermann Seele to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 9, 1865, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>39</sup> “According to:” Maggie Valentine, *John H. Kampmann, Master Builder: San Antonio’s German Influence in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (New York: Beaufort Books, 2014), 14, 85, 148; Henry D. Bonnet and John C. Bonnet, First Texas Cavalry (US), CSRs, RG 94, NARA; Aragorn Storm Miller, “Kampmann, John Herman,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed November 13, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fka17>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>40</sup> Figures on the African American population in 1870 derived from the Ninth Census. Menard County reported a free colored population of 372 out of a total population of 667, reflecting the presence of black US Army troops in the 9<sup>th</sup> US Cavalry (known as the “Buffalo Soldiers”) at Fort McKavett. This population is not included in this analysis.

<sup>41</sup> “On December 16:” Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, page 121, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; “An Army:” Report of Bvt. Maj. Smith, July 10, 1867, RACT, FB, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; “On October 14:” Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, page 50, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA; “Polander:” Deputy Sheriff C.G. Artz to Colonel James Davidson, August 24, 1870, Box 301-863, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>42</sup> Maj. John P. Hatch, Report for August 1867, Roll 21; First Lieut. N.J. McCafferty, Report for March 1867, Roll 20; First Lieut. N.J. McCafferty, Report for August 1867, Roll 21; Maj. John A. Thompson, Report for September 1867 and Report for October 1867, Roll 21; all in RACT, FB, M821, RG 105, NARA.

<sup>43</sup> Gorman, “Reconstruction Violence in the Lower Brazos River Valley,” 409-410.

<sup>44</sup> Record of Criminal Offenses, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for Texas, Freedmen’s Bureau, Roll 32, M821, RG 105, NARA; Ninth Census.

<sup>45</sup> Heintzen, “Fredericksburg, Texas,” 82; Case #158 and Case #183, GCDC; Convicts #1498 and #1581, Convict Register, Texas State Penitentiary, Vol. 1998/038-149, 75, 80, TSLA; Minutes of District Court, Book C, 538-539, 544-545, 551-552, GCDC Records, Fredericksburg, Texas. One final case of apparent retribution was noted by August Siemering in 1894. According to Siemering, a *Hängerbande* member by

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the name of “Turner,” most likely meaning Samuel Tanner, “returned to San Antonio in 1874, i.e., ten years after the mass murder in Gillespie county. He had been living in Indiana, his former home state. He intended to go via Boerne to Friedrichsburg in order to look after his property there. He believed that the things which had happened ten years before were long forgotten. He was found dead ten miles being Boerne.” Oddly, in an unpublished earlier version, Siemering stated that the vigilante in question was named Gibson, and that he died in 1875 or 1876. August Siemering, “German Immigration into Texas,” *Texas Vorwärts*, October 5, 1894, trans. Clyde H. Porter, *The Dresel Family* (s.p., 1953), 1017-A; Siemering, “*Die Deutschen in Texas Während des Bürgerkrieges*,” trans. Dietert, ed. Burrier, *August Siemering’s Die Deutschen in Texas*, 52.

<sup>46</sup> The variation in numbers is due to the fact that the trials for three of the four men who were convicted took place prior to the 1870 census, and it is unknown where Zachariah McDonald and William Paul were residing at the time of their arrest. Richard Moebus had been arrested in Fayette County in November 1865, but was not convicted at trial until the fall district court term of 1869. Interestingly, as of the 1870 census accused *Hängerbande* members William Banta and William Shephard McDonald were living in the same neighborhood in Fayette County. A.O. Cooley’s would-be assassin was also arrested in Fayette County in 1868, lending some credence to Unionist accusations that secessionist partisans in that county had inspired the attack. Family #577 and Family #583, Fayette County, Texas, Ninth Census.

<sup>47</sup> “Heretofore when:” H.M. Dougherty to AJH, August 9, 1865; “Indians and such:” Petition from Blanco County, August 5, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, AJH, TSLA; Petition of First Texas Cavalry, September 23, 1865, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA; Philip H. Immeke to Andrew J. Hamilton, February 11, 1866, Box 2014/042-6, AJH, TSLA; Charles de Montel to General William B. Nox, September 8, 1866, Box 2014/061-1, JWT, TSLA.

<sup>48</sup> “Ten times” and “broken up:” Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, August 11, 1865; “never was:” W.E. Jones to James W. Throckmorton, October 3, 1866, Box 2014/061-2, JWT, TSLA.

<sup>49</sup> On casualties from Indian raids, see Appendix C, Indian Raiding Deaths after the Civil War. On stock losses, see Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 106, 173-174, 203-205, 224.

<sup>50</sup> Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 130-133; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 321-325.

<sup>51</sup> *The Texas Almanac for 1867* (Galveston: D.W. Richardson & Co., 1866), 194; “more grass” and “the grass:” *The Texas Almanac for 1868* (Galveston: D.W. Richardson & Co., 1867), 225; “A high-water:” Austin *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, October 17, 1870.

<sup>52</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 313-320, 329-331; Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 345-348. On distribution of food rations see Catharine R. Franklin, “If the Government Will Only ... Fulfill Its Obligations”: Colonel Benjamin Grierson, Rations Policy, and the Kiowa Indians, 1868-1872,” *SHQ* 118 (October 2014): 179-199.

<sup>53</sup> Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, September 22, 1865, and February 8, 1866.

<sup>54</sup> Quote: Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 5, 928-930.

<sup>55</sup> October 1866 Return, Fort Inge, Texas; December 1866 Return, Camp Verde, Texas; December 1866 Return, Fort Mason, Texas, all in Returns from US Military Posts, M617, RG 94, NARA; October 1866 Return, Fourth United States Cavalry, Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Units, M744, RG 94, NARA.

<sup>56</sup> Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 167-168.

<sup>57</sup> On casualties from Indian raids see Appendix C, Indian Deaths, 1865-1881.

<sup>58</sup> Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 325-329; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 188-191.

<sup>59</sup> Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 191-203, 209-211.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 211-213; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 334-336.

<sup>61</sup> Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 219-230; Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 337-341.

<sup>62</sup> Appendix C.

<sup>63</sup> Dolores L. Latorre and Felipe A. Latorre, *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians* (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 15-20; Kelton, “Battle of Dove Creek”; Britten, *The Lipan Apaches*, 218-221; Utley,

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*Frontier Regulars*, 344-346; Todd W. Wahlstrom, *The Southern Exodus to Mexico: Migration across the Borderlands after the American Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 62-70.

<sup>64</sup> Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, 346-355.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*; Appendix C.

<sup>66</sup> Jimmy M. Skaggs, "Cattle Trailing," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 23, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ayc01>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Dayton Kelley, "Johnson, Samuel Ealy, Sr.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 29, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fjo25>, Texas State Historical Association; J. Marvin Hunter, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, 363; "\$20 gold:" Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 51, 56-58; Joseph S. Hall, "Horace M. Hall's Letters from Gillespie County, Texas, 1871-1873," *SHQ* 62 (January 1959): 339-349; "enough money": Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo" War*, 19.

<sup>69</sup> Quote: Petition from Mason County, January 31, 1871, Box 2014/110-11, EJD, TSLA; Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo" War, 1874-1902*, 5; Robert M. Utley, *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 260-263.

<sup>70</sup> Texas Const. of 1876, art. 16, sec. 22-23, *Texas Constitutions 1824-1876*, Jamail Center for Legal Research, Tarlton Law Library, The University of Texas at Austin, accessed December 4, 2016, <https://tarltonapps.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/texas1876>; Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, Vol. 8, 986-988.

<sup>71</sup> Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo" War*, 18-25.

<sup>72</sup> For an example of the multiracial character of bandits in western Texas after the Civil War, see the *Austin Southern Intelligencer*, September 1, 1865 and W.B. Pace to Andrew J. Hamilton, March 20, 1866, Box 2014/042-6, TAG, TSLA; on Union forces encouraging cattle theft in Texas, see Jerry Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1986), 36-38; on cattle thefts in Uvalde in 1864, see Chapter Five, notes 53 and 54; *Austin Southern Intelligencer*, September 8, 1865; Andrés Tijerina, "Foreigners in Their Native Land: The Violent Struggle between Anglos and Tejanos for Land Titles in South Texas during Reconstruction," in *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 311-315; "beef stealing:" James H. Taylor to G.H. Noonan, December 13, 1867, Box 2014/076-2, EMP, TSLA.

<sup>73</sup> On the changing nature of cross-border cooperation, see Alice L. Baumgartner, "The Line of Positive Safety: Borders and Boundaries in the Rio Grande Valley, 1848-1880," *Journal of American History* 101 (March 2015): 1106-1122; on racial violence in South Texas and crime along the Rio Grande frontier during Reconstruction, see also Tijerina, "Foreigners in Their Native Land," in *Still the Arena of Civil War*, 305-325.

<sup>74</sup> "To repress:" G.H. Noonan to Elisha M. Pease, January 15, 1868, Box 2014/076-3, EMP, TSLA; "The August 29:" A. Vogt to E.M. Pease, September 3, 1868, Box 2014/076-4, EMP, TSLA.

<sup>75</sup> "Border counties:" H.P. Garrison to Andrew J. Hamilton, December 7, 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA; "nearly every day:" Philipp H. Immeke to Andrew J. Hamilton, February 11, 1866, Box 2014/042-6, AJH, TSLA; "In August 1867:" Record of Crimes Committed, 1867-1868, 39, Box 401-1000, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>76</sup> Harry E. Chrisman, *Lost Trails of the Cimarron* (Denver: Sage Books, 1961), 70; Rose, *The Reckoning*, 46-49; Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo" War*, 21-22, 40.

<sup>77</sup> "Efficient:" H.M. Dougherty to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 9, 1865, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA.

<sup>78</sup> Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 181-187.

<sup>79</sup> For an example of local defense forces authorized prior to 1870, see A.O. Cooley to L.L. Chilson, April 11, 1868, Letters Sent by the Department of Texas and the Fifth Military District, Roll 2, Vol. 5, 70, M1165, RG 393, NARA; also see records of the Parker and Wise County Minute Men, 1865-1866, Box 401-1156 and Box 401-1243, TAG, TSLA. Mike Cox, *The Texas Rangers: Wearing the Cinco Peso, 1821-1900* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, LLC, 2008), 190-193, 199, 205-206.

<sup>80</sup> Quotes: Hall, "Horace M. Hall's Letters," 349; April 1874 muster roll, Gillespie County Minute Men, Box 401-1156, TAG, TSLA; Appendix C.

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<sup>81</sup> “The rage:” Anonymous to Andrew J. Hamilton, October 1865, Box 2014/042-5, AJH, TSLA; “I have served:” P.T. Oatman to G.W. Jones, September 8, 1866, Box 2014/061-1, JWT, TSLA.

<sup>82</sup> Thomas W. Cutrer, “Roberts, Daniel Webster,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 05, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro11>, Texas State Historical Association; Alexander Roberts, First Texas Cavalry Regiment (US), CSR, RG 94, NARA; Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 184, 186.

<sup>83</sup> H.M. Patton to Edmund J. Davis, May 16, 1870, Box 401-1156, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>84</sup> Muster Roll, John W. Sansom’s Company, Frontier Forces, 1871, Box 401-1243, TAG, TSLA; John T. Toler, Fifteenth Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR; Thomas C. Crews, Seventh Texas Cavalry Regiment, CSR; Felix Holloway, Seventeenth Mississippi Infantry Regiment, CSR, all in RG 109, NARA; Muster Roll, James M. Hunter’s Company, Frontier Forces, 1870, Box 401-1243, TAG, TSLA; Household #290, Mason County, Texas, Tenth Census.

<sup>85</sup> Utley, *Lone Star Justice*, 138-139; Cox, *The Texas Rangers*, 195-196; Report of H.J. Richarz, December 9, 1870, Box 401-1156, TAG, TSLA; Sworn statement of Stanislaus Witniy, July 1, 1871, Box 401-1156, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>86</sup> Utley, *Lone Star Justice*, 146-180; Cox, *The Texas Rangers*, 215-217.

## Epilogue

On December 31, 1886, a group of Anglo and German Texans met at Stonewall, a small settlement outside of Fredericksburg, and established the Gillespie County Farmers' Alliance. As one of their first orders of business, they adopted the resolutions of the state Farmers' Alliance convention at Cleburne, Texas the previous August, a radical document which called for reforms such as a national fiat currency, pro-labor legislation, the fair taxation of railroad property, and a halt to speculation in American land by foreigners. Over the next few years the actions of the Gillespie County Alliance would be typical of alliances all over Texas and the South. In 1887, the Gillespie County Alliance established a co-operative store in Fredericksburg and voted to cooperate with the Bexar County Alliance "in establishing a cotton yard." In the following year, the Alliance members participated in the jute trust boycott, adopted resolutions against any candidates supporting a protective tariff, and resolved "that we believe the Blair Educational Bill would be of more general benefit to the population of the U.S. than any now before Congress." The Gillespie County Alliance also exerted pressure on members to ensure that they conducted their business through the co-operative exchange and that they remained loyal to the Alliance's economic policies. By all indications, Hill Country Alliance members were as staunch as any in Texas. However, by 1894 the Gillespie County Alliance was described as "becoming dormant." The organization ceased to function after 1895, by which time most of the energy behind agrarian dissent was poured into the Peoples' Party.<sup>1</sup>

The Farmers' Alliance of the 1880s and 1890s was a response to a national credit crunch, falling cotton prices, and business practices that were seen as predatory and detrimental to what the Gillespie County Alliance members referred to as the "laboring classes." However, when the Farmers' Alliance was founded in the mid-1870s in Lampasas County, just northeast of the Hill Country, it was a vigilante group organized to eliminate the threat from cattle rustlers operating in the area. The Hill Country had a direct connection to the Farmers' Alliance in the person of Charles W. Macune, who spent the years between 1874 and 1879 primarily in Burnet, Kimble, and Gillespie counties before becoming the leader of the Southern Farmers' Alliance in 1886. After 1880, as the need to suppress cattle thieves waned and the rural economic crisis escalated, the Farmers' Alliance transformed from a group of vigilante farmers into a radical voice for agrarian dissent. In the mid-1880s the organization exploded in size and was soon found throughout Texas. By 1890 it claimed 852,000 members across the Southern states.<sup>2</sup>

The emergence and early history of the Farmers' Alliance represents the transition from Texas's frontier period to a new era, when economic turmoil associated with the expansion of international markets replaced issues like Indian raids and banditry as the main points of concern for Texans in the Hill Country and beyond. The creation of the Gillespie County Alliance, and other Hill Country Alliances, also signifies the uncertain results of the region's absorption into the vast, international system of markets, a development which Hill Country settlers had hoped for since the 1840s. The records of the Gillespie County Farmers' Alliance could have been created nearly anywhere in the state of Texas in the

1880s. Twenty-five years earlier, the economic and political interests of most Hill Country Texans had been distinctive from those of Texans in other regions, and the Hill Country had stood out as a bastion of anti-Confederate dissent during the Civil War. Now that the issues of the Civil War were settled, Native American peoples were defeated, and law and order were firmly entrenched, the Hill Country appeared to be not unlike many areas of the Lone Star State.

Waning violence within the white settler community was one important measure of post-war reconciliation in the Hill Country, but local voting patterns were another sign that the divisive politics of the Civil War years lost importance over time. During Reconstruction, the Hill Country displayed much of the same political division that had set the region apart during secession and the Civil War, and it proved to be a particularly strong region for the so-called radicals in Texas. In the 1866 governor's race, all five of the region's heavily German counties, joined by Burnet county, voted for Austin Unionist leader and former governor Elisha M. Pease over former Confederate General and nativist James W. Throckmorton. The Eleventh Legislature of 1866-1870 saw most of the Hill Country represented by a state senator aligned with the radicals, and two of the four state representatives for the region were also part of the radical bloc. In the 1869 gubernatorial election that would complete the official Reconstruction of the state, former Union General and South Texas judge Edmund J. Davis defeated conservative Unionist candidate Andrew J. Hamilton. Voting patterns in 1869 neatly traced the lines of ethnic division, with all five



of the region's heavily German immigrant counties going for Davis, while each predominantly Anglo county voted for Hamilton. Support for Davis and the radical ticket was buoyed by the inclusion of Nueces River battle survivor Jacob Kuechler for commissioner of the General Land Office, as well as the candidacy of German political radical Eduard Degener for Congress. Degener also had a direct tie to the Nueces River incident, having lost two sons in the battle. With the exception of the initially elected representative for the House district encompassing Uvalde and Medina counties, the Hill Country's entire delegation in the Twelfth Legislature of 1870-1873 was aligned with the radicals.<sup>3</sup>

However, the Hill Country would not remain a bastion of Republican politics apart from the rest of the state, and the 1869 election proved to be the high tide of radical Republicanism for Hill Country voters. Eduard Degener served in the House of Representatives for less than a year, and was succeeded by Democrat John Hancock. In the general election of 1872, the first presidential race in which Texans participated after 1860, the Anglo Hill Country followed much of the rest of the state in voting solidly Democratic, a trend that continued through the nineteenth century and beyond. More telling were the voting patterns in the predominantly German counties. The five counties with the largest German Texan populations split their vote in 1872, with Kendall and Medina counties remaining true to the party of Lincoln while Comal, Gillespie, and Mason counties went for the Democrat and Liberal Republican fusion ticket of Horace Greeley. Kendall County, a center for German immigrant free-thinkers and political radicals, holds the distinction of

only voting Democratic twice since the Civil War, in the 1912 and 1932 elections. The other ethnically German counties were competitive over the course of the nineteenth century. Gillespie County, for instance, voted Democratic and Republican three times each between 1876 and 1896, and in several elections the winning majority was extremely narrow.<sup>4</sup>

Much like presidential elections, races for state offices were dominated by the Democrats in the Anglo counties beginning in 1873, with only Greenbackers and Populists posing a challenge to Democratic hegemony through the end of the nineteenth century. State-level races were more competitive in the German Hill Country over the same period. Only Gillespie County remained true to Edmund J. Davis over Democrat Richard Coke in 1873. Even staunchly Republican Kendall County voted for Coke over Davis, and the county voted for a mix of Republican, Democrat, and Greenbacker state-level candidates through the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The erosion of the majority-German counties' brief loyalty to radical Republicanism after the early 1870s was due to several factors. At the national level, the scandals that plagued the Ulysses S. Grant administration led to an uprising by reform-minded Republicans, who formed the Liberal Republican Party in 1872 and ran Horace Greeley in opposition to Grant. Texas Senator Morgan C. Hamilton, who had been a leader of the radical bloc in the Texas constitutional convention of 1868-1869, joined the insurgent party, as did prominent German American political figure Carl Schurz. Grant's Indian policy may have also flaked off support from German Texans living on the frontier amidst

continuing raids and seeming inaction by the Army. Mirroring this trend at the state level, German Texans began to withdraw their support for the Texas Republican Party. San Antonio Republican leader James P. Newcomb, who had long been associated with nativism in Texas, undertook an effort to forge a Republican coalition built exclusively on native born white and black Texan support. The perception of resurgent nativism in the Republican Party was joined by charges of corruption, concerns over tax increases, and criticism of the perceived inaction of the Davis administration on the issue of frontier defense. Eduard Degener, for instance, broke with the Davis administration in 1872. German Texan political behavior was tactical and ethnocentric throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, and voting patterns were typically determined by concerns over key issues such as alcohol prohibition, education, and perceptions of nativism in various political campaigns. With the Republican Party rapidly losing ground after the early 1870s, German Texans could not see to their unique political interests and at the same time maintain a consistent allegiance to the party of the Union.<sup>6</sup>

The Gillespie County Farmers' Alliance was also symptomatic of reconciliation in the wake of the Civil War. A roster of sub-Alliance representatives at a county Alliance meeting on April 13, 1888 revealed twenty-nine Anglos and nineteen Germans. This represented a type of interethnic associational culture that had largely eluded the antebellum Hill Country. The experience of the Civil War had created bonds of shared hardship among Anglo and German Unionists, and Hill Country settlers of all types had

endured the violence and turmoil caused by the struggle with Indians and criminals in the late 1860s and 1870s. By the 1880s, the forces of market intensification provided yet another external pressure toward reconciliation and cooperation.<sup>7</sup>

In 1859, Hill Country counties grew only 1,242 ½ bales of cotton, or less than 0.29 percent of the state's total production. By 1869 that number had increased to 1,960 bales, or 0.55 percent of Texas's total crop. In 1879, the Hill Country reported a production of 6,153 bales, a small jump to 0.76 percent of the state's total cotton production, and ten of twelve counties reported growing cotton. With the growing significance of cotton farming, it was no coincidence that the Farmers' Alliance was founded during the midst of a drought period that severely damaged the Hill Country cotton crop, with only 6,784 ¼ bales reported in 1887. Two years later, Hill Country production increased to 36,877 bales of cotton, or 2.6 percent of the state's total output. By 1889, every county in the region reported cotton farming.<sup>8</sup>

The economic viability of cotton was aided by the growth of railroads in the 1870s and 1880s. Railroad lines reached Austin in 1871 and San Antonio in 1877. The Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway was built across Medina and Uvalde counties in 1881, and a line was extended from Austin to Burnet in 1882, making it a regional commercial hub for the northern Hill Country. Railroads finally reached Boerne and Kerrville in 1887, and Llano in 1892.<sup>9</sup>

With the slow advance of better access to efficient transportation routes and the waning of the Indian threat, Hill Country populations boomed after the mid-1870s. The region had

only added 1,751 people between 1860 and 1870, but between 1870 and 1880, the population soared from 17,393 to 45,533. County tax rolls bear out that the greatest population increase took place after 1875 in the most exposed frontier counties. In Menard County, for instance, 100 voters paid their poll tax in 1871 and only 121 did so in 1876, yet the county's population nearly doubled from 667 in 1870 to 1,239 by 1880. By 1890, the twelve counties of the Hill Country had a population of 64,049, and the region's population reached 74,183 by 1900.<sup>10</sup>

Despite increasing market integration, cotton would never be king in the Hill Country. Non-dairy cattle herds increased over time from 190,054 in 1870, to 231,861 in 1880, to 396,791 in 1890, a slight increase from 6.47 to 7.7 percent of the state's total herd over the same period. Ultimately wool proved to be a more significant regional product, with sheep posting a stupendous increase in numbers from 37,510 in 1870 to 317,202 in 1880 and 630,552 in 1890. A June 3, 1885, shipment of 157,000 pounds of wool from Burnet was reportedly the third largest wool shipment made up to that time in Texas.<sup>11</sup>

Even with a rising population and increasing agricultural output, the market integration of the Texas Hill Country after the Civil War did not yield a clear path to prosperity for the region. Market intensification exposed the Hill Country to the forces of the international economy, but unlike other regions in the upland South, the Hill Country was not drawn into what Steven Hahn has referred to as the "cotton vortex." On the one hand, Hill Country Texans were not plagued by the system of debt peonage that took hold in many parts of the state. On the other hand, the Hill Country largely assumed the status of a marginal

economic space situated between regions that dominated various Texas industries, and its denizens continued to rely upon subsistence agriculture well into the twentieth-century. The Army, long a reliable customer, mostly left the area for points farther west by 1883, although the construction of telegraph lines, freight hauling, and contracting for far-flung posts still provided some opportunities for income. The center of the Texas beef cattle industry also shifted west of the Hill Country rapidly after the mid-1870s, symbolized by Charles Goodnight's famous establishment of what became his massive JA Ranch in the former Comanche citadel of Palo Duro Canyon less than three years after their final defeat on the same site. In 1889, the JA Ranch alone contained over 101,000 beef cattle, or roughly one-sixth of the Hill Country's entire beef cattle herd. Sheep raising suited the region, but wool prices fluctuated greatly during the late-nineteenth century. After the turn of the century, wool prices were depressed due to increasing worldwide production and competition from cotton, and prices between 1900 and 1910 were lower than the average price from 1840 to 1890. Overgrazing of livestock on the Hill Country's fragile grasslands resulted in widespread environmental destruction, and rangelands became eroded and covered in woody growth. The potential for cotton farming in the region was limited by a lack of arable land, by aridity, and by a transportation network that remained underdeveloped after the initial growth spurt of the 1880s and early 1890s. Fredericksburg, for instance, did not receive rail service until 1913. Cotton farming in Texas after the Civil War instead became increasingly concentrated in the Blackland Prairie counties to the east of the Hill Country, with the Blackland Prairie belt accounting for 43.5 percent of total

cotton production in Texas by 1900. The growing Texas oil industry also had no impact on the Hill Country, which lacked any significant petroleum resources.<sup>12</sup>

Some Hill Country counties saw continued growth after 1900, especially those like Comal, Medina, and Uvalde that had access to reliable transportation networks or were partially located below the Balcones Escarpment. However, after the turn of the century much of the region was beset by economic stagnation, and many of the more remote counties saw population growth slow dramatically or reverse. For a few, population collapsed in the twentieth century. A total of four counties saw population loss between 1900 and 1940, and recovery for some was extremely slow or nonexistent. Bandera County had a lower population in 1970 than in 1900, and Mason County enumerated 30 percent fewer residents in 2010 than in 1910.<sup>13</sup>

The Hill Country that Lyndon B. Johnson was born into in 1908, near the same Stonewall settlement where the Gillespie County Farmers' Alliance's had been founded, was one characterized by rural poverty. The Johnson family's history mirrored regional trends. Temporary wealth accrued during the cattle drive period gave way after the early 1870s, and the family resorted to subsistence farming. Lyndon Johnson's father, Sam Ealy Johnson, Jr., was elected to the Texas House of Representatives, where he was a sympathetic spokesman for rural plight and a voice for populist causes in six terms between 1904 and 1923. The population in Johnson's native Blanco County peaked at 4,703 in 1900, but economic decline caused it to fall by almost 14 percent by 1920, four years before Johnson graduated from high school. Population losses for Blanco County continued for

most of the twentieth century. Biographers of Lyndon Johnson have noted that the experience of growing up in the early twentieth century Hill Country left an indelible mark on the future President and helped to motivate his lengthy career of support for government aid to impoverished and rural communities. Well into the twentieth century, daily life in the Hill Country was not far removed from the hardscrabble existence of the first settlers.<sup>14</sup>

A long history of struggle with outside forces undergirded bonds of community in the Texas Hill Country in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Over the same time period, the state of Texas saw the emergence of a carefully constructed sense of historical identity, albeit one that shifted over time. Between roughly 1890 and 1915, Confederate monuments sprouted on courthouse lawns all over the state, textbooks were scoured and criticized for perceived anti-Southern bias, and disciples of the Lost Cause mythology attempted to forge a shared understanding of Anglo Texan heritage and white identity to turn back Populist insurgent challenges to the Democratic Party. Collective memories of fighting Indians, criminals, and natural and economic disasters, coupled with the efforts of Lost Cause promoters to forge a common memory of the Texas past, were not enough to sweep away the region's memories of Civil War political violence. Yet over time, the memory of the Civil War period found an accommodation with the imperative for reconciliation.<sup>15</sup>

The Lost Cause narrative was easy to accept for some Anglo Hill Country communities, while German Texans in particular maintained a counter-memory of the Civil War that



could not be ignored. Civil War monuments in the Hill Country provide a case in point. Llano County, which was overwhelmingly Anglo and enlisted a company of Confederate troops in 1862, erected a Confederate monument in 1915. New Braunfels was more integrated into the cotton economy than any other Hill Country town and its residents had served in the Confederate army in large numbers, but after the war it proved to be openly welcoming of Union occupation troops. The town did not erect a monument until 1937, at which time it was dedicated to the soldiers on both sides in the war. At the opposite end of the spectrum from Llano, the *Treue der Union* monument in Comfort stands in mute testimony to the violence of the Civil War in the Hill Country, and to the area's Unionist sympathies.<sup>16</sup>

The Unionism of most German Texans and the violence that plagued the region during the war were facts that could not be simply swept under the rug, as occurred in the aftermath of the Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, because German Texans kept the memories of their collective trauma alive. The *Treue der Union* monument exemplifies German Texan unwillingness to bow to the historical narrative advanced by white conservatives in the late nineteenth century. In August 1865, nearly three years to the day of the Nueces River battle anniversary, a group of men from the Comfort area arrived at the battlefield. They carefully gathered the exposed remains of their fallen sons, fathers, brothers, and relatives and returned to Comfort. General Wesley Merritt dispatched a detachment of Union cavalry to accompany the funeral procession, and the Unionist dead were interred with military honors. One year later a monument of native limestone was erected that contained the

inscription *Treue der Union* – Loyal to the Union – and bore the names of each man who had been killed in the Confederate campaign of repression in 1862. German Texans were clearly in no mood to equivocate on the war’s meaning in its immediate aftermath, and the *Treue der Union* monument remains the most defining site for Hill Country Civil War memory.<sup>17</sup>

Yet for a number of reasons, the meaning of the violence and even the basic facts regarding what had happened during the war were obscured over time. Somewhat like their Lost Cause counterparts, German liberal nationalist spokesmen wished to depict German immigrants as Unionists, with few exceptions. A typical statement was given in 1894 by German liberal, Unionist, and journalist August Siemering, who claimed in an article for *Texas Vorwärts* that “the Germans of the state of Texas were all Unionists and remained so all along [during] the war, and ... neither conscription nor persecution nor killing could make them give up their loyalty to the United States.” In the post-1865 context of a triumphant federal government that had consolidated its power in the Southwest, German Texans could claim their place as preeminent nationalists and ideal citizens by asserting their history of loyalty to the Union. At the same time, writers like Siemering were ethnocentric, and tended to glorify the heroic exploits of German Texans on both sides of the Civil War. In his series of articles for *Texas Vorwärts*, Siemering told an apocryphal story of the death of Confederate Colonel Augustus Buchel, in which Buchel’s heroic death proved General Tom Green’s supposed accusations of cowardice false. The German Texan

community tended to be concerned first and foremost with its own standing in the post-war order, and laurels could perhaps be gained on multiple fronts.<sup>18</sup>

Beginning around 1915, Texans began to adopt a new identity. A diverse collection of historians, folklorists, artists, ad men, and politicians sought to define Texas as a Western rather than Southern state beginning in the early twentieth century. By distancing Texas from its association with the economically deprived and socially backwards South, these individuals wished to depict the state as a business-friendly, racially tolerant state that was Western or Southwestern in its identity. Their efforts finally culminated in the 1936 Texas Centennial, which defined the Texas Revolution rather than the Civil War as the touchstone of Texas historical memory, a position it still holds more than eighty years later.<sup>19</sup>

Well before most Texans underwent a self-conscious identity shift, the German Hill Country was a transition zone for historical memory within the Lone Star State, just as it was a geographical and cultural transition zone from South to West. Memories of Unionism and of Confederate repression set the Hill Country apart from the rest of the state. Just as German liberal nationalists employed the sense of a distinctive Civil War experience to valorize the role of German Texans in the American state-building project, conservatives and prohibitionists would periodically use the region's history of Unionism to attack the German Texan population. During the state prohibition referendum of 1887, for instance, Waco journalist J.B. Cranfill launched an attack on European and African American opponents of prohibition in an editorial entitled "The Native White Man." Cranfill railed against "the bo-Dutchmen, and ignorant negroes," and equated prohibition with the defense

of Anglo Texan heritage. Cranfill reminded his readers that “on the banks of the Nueces are now the bleaching bones of a lot of such traitors.”<sup>20</sup>

However, as Texans began to deemphasize the Confederacy as their defining historical experience, the Hill Country legacy of Unionism became less subversive. Although German Texan newspapers had discussed Civil War violence in the Hill Country frequently in the late nineteenth century, unflattering accounts of Confederate and state militia actions began to appear in Anglo newspapers after 1920. Early forerunners of these stories were John W. Sansom’s self-published narrative of the Nueces River battle, which appeared in 1905, and R.H. Williams’s highly critical account of the Confederate crackdown in 1862, *With the Border Ruffians*, published in England in 1907. In 1922, antiquarian and journalist J. Marvin Hunter ran a story detailing the 1863 mass hanging at Bandera in the *San Antonio Express*. Two years later, the *Express* published what was purported to be an interview with a Nueces River battle survivor, and which accused the Confederate troops at the battle of executing the Unionist wounded. In 1929, the *Dallas Morning News* ran a story about the last survivor of the Nueces River battle with a headline that blared “The Blackest Crime in the History of Texas Warfare,” and which stated that the Union Loyal League members in 1862 “Left Gillespie County to Fight Against Slavery.” While the Hill Country had become politically and economically more like the rest of the state after the early 1880s, after 1915 the rest of the state of Texas became mentally more like the Hill Country in its embrace of the Western frontier heritage as the state’s defining identity. For a self-consciously Western state, Unionism was easier to tolerate.<sup>21</sup>

Ultimately, politicians and journalists could use the Hill Country's Civil War past to suit their needs, but the people of the region were left to wrestle with authentic and enduring trauma from the violence that had torn their communities apart between 1862 and 1865. Memories of the Nueces River battle and the actions of the *Hängerbande* remain fresh even in the twenty-first century. A Civil War history conference in Fredericksburg in 2014 involved a shouting match over the actions of James Duff, and one attendee noted afterwards that for many older residents of Gillespie County, the atrocities of the Civil War years seemed "like [they] happened yesterday." During a research trip to Comfort in the summer of 2014, the author was assured by a local historian that death threats were still occasionally made toward researchers investigating 150-year-old events. Although perhaps difficult to believe for outsiders, the violence of the Civil War era has a continuing immediacy for some in the area.<sup>22</sup>

Given the stubbornness with which historical memory has clung on in the Hill Country, the region's mostly peaceful transition to a post-war reconciliation is all the more remarkable. Besides pressure for cooperation and reconciliation from external forces, a process of deliberate forgetting took place alongside the continued memory of fratricidal conflict. In a fiftieth-anniversary history of Fredericksburg, Hermann R. von Biberstein was taciturn when discussing the events of the war. According to von Biberstein, "A comprehensive and impartial portrayal of these incidents is not advisable because many of those who experienced these difficulties are still living and the cause of the South also had many eager, sincere followers. It would merely inflame healing wounds again and renew

old enmities.” When he sat down to write his memoirs in 1925, August Hoffmann also seems to have chosen to deliberately exclude some information; a page in the middle of his manuscript account of the *Hängerbande* vigilante campaign is missing. For many in the Hill Country, as time went on it was better to let some things remain unspoken.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps more important than the deliberate withholding of information from future generations was the way that Hill Country violence was conceptually repackaged over time. In the immediate aftermath of the war, politically active radical Republicans did not hesitate to level *ad hominem* attacks on their conservative opponents for being murderers and thieves during the war. Over time, the violence of the Civil War became ascribed not to deep-seated divisions in Texas society, but to the actions of individual war criminals. New Braunfels leader Hermann Seele advocated for this attitude toward the legacy of Civil War violence as early as August 1865, when he called for “pardon for treason but punishment for murderers, robbers, & thieves.” This approach tended to focus on Confederate and vigilante leaders like James Duff and James Waldrip, who were portrayed as stock villains. For Hill Country Texans, this deflection of blame onto specific individuals, who were mostly either dead or long gone from the region, allowed former Unionists and secessionists to reconcile around the notion that with a few notorious exceptions, each side had behaved honorably according to personal beliefs. Unionist and former state militia officer James M. Hunter was described unironically in the 1929 Dallas *Morning News* article on the Nueces River battle as “writing with the indignation of a gallant soldier of the C.S.A.,” and offering his commendation for John W. Sansom’s work

on the Nueces River incident for “showing the guilty parties, who will not be endorsed by innocent Confederates.”<sup>24</sup>

Twentieth century accounts of the 1863 Bandera hangings exemplify this approach to Civil War violence. One of J. Marvin Hunter’s interviewees on the Bandera hangings, New York native Amasa Clark, claimed that “I do not believe that a true Confederate would be guilty of such a heinous offense. . . . They were hung without a trial and it seems to me that robbery was the sole motive that prompted their execution.” Even the oral traditions of the descendants of two of the dead men at Bandera reflect the post-war shaping of Texas Civil War memory. According to Sawyer family stories, the men were traveling to Mexico with a large amount of cash to purchase livestock – an odd claim considering the efforts of Texans to export cattle across the Rio Grande during the war. Those members of the group who were Confederate soldiers were supposedly not deserters but were on furlough. According to descendants, their ancestors were murdered out of straightforward greed.<sup>25</sup>

J. Marvin Hunter’s determination to cover “Frontier History, Border Tragedy, and Pioneer Achievement” in his periodical, *Frontier Times*, was an early example of Texas’s newly emerging regional identity. Originally published in San Angelo by Hunter and his father, Civil War unionist John Warren Hunter, *Frontier Times* from the beginning focused on stories that portrayed Texas as a Western, frontier state. Hunter’s account of the incident presented the Bandera massacre as an interesting bit of Old West “border tragedy.” In the context of twentieth century Texas historical memory, it was much easier to remember the

Bandera killings as an incident of frontier crime rather than as a typical example of the vicious conflict that raged across the American landscape during the Civil War era.<sup>26</sup>

The Hill Country's path to political and economic incorporation in the 1880s had not been an easy one. Though it ebbed and flowed over time, intergroup violence remained a constant throughout the initial thirty-five years of white settlement. The contours of violence simultaneously reflected the impact of forces originating far beyond the Hill Country and revealed the most deeply held beliefs and priorities of frontier settlers. Ironically, despite the final defeat of Native American opposition and the imposition of law and order, the dream of agrarian prosperity proved elusive for Hill Country Texans. After decades of nearly constant and violent struggle for the control of land and resources, market integration was achieved just as the United States entered a period of agrarian crisis. The problems that beset the Hill Country's white settler communities after the early 1880s were a departure from those that had confronted them up to that point, and the region entered a new phase in its history.

The white settlers of the Texas Hill Country, whether Anglo or German, Unionist or secessionist, Republican or Democrat, ultimately shared a common goal both before and after the Civil War. They were agents of empire, and the outbreak of war in 1861 was a bloody aberration that threatened to jeopardize the great project of advancing American civilization in which they believed themselves to be engaged. The Hill Country's vicious local civil war was one of many such conflicts that extended the fighting into communities



that were distant from the major military fronts. Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of the American Civil War was its tendency to bring the war home, and to split communities that only months before had seemingly been united around a set of shared values and assumptions. Even hundreds of miles from the nearest military front, the American Civil War had an immediate and devastating impact on the lives of ordinary Americans.

In the late nineteenth century, Hill Country settlers reconciled the divisive legacy of the Civil War years through their mutual desire to advance American expansionism, to gain access to markets, and to zealously protect small property holdings and households from outside threats. At the interment of the Nueces River battle casualties in 1865, German Texan leader Eduard Degener offered closing remarks. Degener had lost two sons at the battle, and he expressed a vision of worthy sacrifice for a grand national cause in his funeral oration. “The sacrifice that we, the fathers of the slaughtered, made to our country and to liberty is great and dolorous,” Degener asserted. “We shall, however, console ourselves; we shall be proud of having offered our sons to the Union, if the glorious victory of its arms bear all the fruits that this nation and the whole of humanity justly expect to reap!”<sup>27</sup>

The great irony was how little ultimately turned out to be at stake. With the exception of the short-lived prosperity of the cattle drive years, no boom time came to transform the Hill Country into a land where great fortunes could be made. As one woman recalled her experience homesteading in the early twentieth century, “if I had a nickel for every stone I’ve thrown, I’d be a millionaire. . . . We’d start early in the morning in the house, then we’d pick, chop, and go back to work in the house. . . . I was often so tired that I wouldn’t hear

my children calling for bread.” The history of the nineteenth century Texas Hill Country, then, is a bitter legacy of vicious warfare between white settlers and Native Americans, criminality, divided communities, political violence, vengeance killings, and economic struggle. As they gathered at the Fredericksburg *Vereinskirche* on the cold evening of February 24, 1864, armed with six-shooters, shotguns, and ropes, the men who would drag Louis Schuetze from his house and murder him were motivated by a vision of their role in the future of Texas, the Southwest, and Anglo American civilization. Little did they realize how ephemeral the future that they imagined for the Hill Country would prove to be.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At least a dedicated minority of the Gillespie County Alliance seem to have been wholly committed to the Alliance’s radical agrarian vision. On July 13, 1894, three months after the organization was described as “becoming dormant,” there was an attempt to revive the county Alliance, “inasmuch as the Alliance is the foundation of the peoples party.” At a meeting three months later, L.C. Gibson of the Enchanted Sub-Alliance made a speech encouraging the continued work of the Alliance, because in his view it was “impossible to bring about reform through the church or political parties.” As late as 1895, the Crab Apple Sub-Alliance reportedly maintained ten members and held monthly meetings. “in establishing,” “we believe,” “becoming dormant:” Gillespie County Alliance Minutes (hereafter GCAM), 31, 41, 113, 27-28, 42-43, 48, 57, 115, 118; Max Schmidt to the Gillespie County Farmers’ Alliance, October 10, 1895; both in Box 2D211, CAH.

<sup>2</sup> Gillespie County Farmers Alliance minutes also mention Alliances in Burnet and Blanco counties. Quote: GCAM, 57; Brown, *Strain of Violence*, 278-279; Donna A. Barnes, “The Dynamics of a Protest Movement: The Farmers’ Alliance and the People’s Party Movement in Texas, 1877-1900,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1982), 69-73; Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*, 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 220.

<sup>3</sup> The Thirtieth District, encompassing Uvalde and Medina counties, included a single Democratic representative, Nelson Plato of Corpus Christi, who was unseated by the radical-dominated legislature when it convened. Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 148-149, 193, 209, 212; “Texas Legislators: Past and Present,” *Legislative Reference Library of Texas*, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/lrlhome.cfm>, accessed April 18, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Kingston, Attlessey, and Crawford, *Political History of Texas*, 72-79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-69.

<sup>6</sup> Brookins, “Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens,” 267, 280-282; Carl H. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 178-182.

<sup>7</sup> The Farmers’ Alliance tended to use Protestant pietistic rhetoric, and to promote causes like alcohol prohibition. At the same meeting which provided this roster of sub-Alliance representatives, the Alliance members voted not to support anyone “in the habit of becoming intoxicated.” This stance helps to account for the Anglo majority in the Gillespie County Alliance, but also makes German participation all the more remarkable. GCAM, 43, 40-41.

- <sup>8</sup> Agricultural Schedule, Eighth Census, Bandera, Blanco, Burnet, Comal, Gillespie, Kerr, Llano, Mason, Medina, and Uvalde County, Texas; Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census – Volume III: The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 252, 256, 260; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report of the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census, June 1, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 242-244; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Statistics of Agriculture in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 396-397; L.L. Foster, *First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History, 1887-1888* (Austin: State Printing Office, 1889), vii, 7, 16, 25, 44, 82, 125-127, 144, 149, 156-157, 222.
- <sup>9</sup> Charles P. Zlatkovich, *Texas Railroads: A Record of Construction and Abandonment* (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas at Austin, and Texas State Historical Association, 1981), 8, 30, 32-33; Thomas C. Ferguson, "Burnet, Texas," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hgb13>, Texas State Historical Association.
- <sup>10</sup> County Tax Rolls, Menard County, 1871-1876, TSLA; "Population History of Counties from 1850–2010," *Texas Almanac*, [texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/topics/ctypophistweb2010.pdf](http://texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/topics/ctypophistweb2010.pdf).
- <sup>11</sup> *Ninth Census – Volume III: The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States*, 251, 255, 259; *Report of the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census*, 170-172; *Report on the Statistics of Agriculture in the United States at the Eleventh Census*, 267-269, 307-310; Ferguson, "Burnet, TX."
- <sup>12</sup> Wooster, *The Old Army in Texas*, 121-122; Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 135; Lawrence Goodwyn, "The Hill Country of Texas," in Wendy V. Watriss and Frederick C. Baldwin, *Coming to Terms: The German Hill Country of Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 26-29; H. Allen Anderson, "JA Ranch," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/apj01>, Texas State Historical Association; United States Tariff Commission, *The Wool-Growing Industry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 55-56; Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 32-33.
- <sup>13</sup> "Population History of Counties from 1850–2010."
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*; Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 53-54.
- <sup>15</sup> Kelly McMichael, *Sacred Memories: The Civil War Monument Movement in Texas* (Denton, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2009), 5-6; Fred Arthur Bailey, "Free Speech and the 'Lost Cause' in Texas: A Study of Social Control in the New South," *SHQ* 97 (January 1994): 452-477.
- <sup>16</sup> McMichael, *Sacred Memories*, 66-67, 76-78, 80-81.
- <sup>17</sup> Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, October 5, 1894, trans. Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1017-C-1017-D; "German Unionists in Texas," *Harpers Weekly* 10, January 20, 1866.
- <sup>18</sup> McMichael, *Sacred Memories*, 38-40; McCaslin, "The Price of Liberty," 53-67; "the Germans:" Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, September 21, 1894, trans. Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1015; Siemering, "German Immigration into Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, September 28, 1894, trans. Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1016-E-1016-F.
- <sup>19</sup> John Nova Lomax, "Is Texas Southern, Western, or Truly a Lone Star?," March 3, 2015, *Texas Monthly*, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/daily-post/texas-southern-western-or-truly-lone-star/>; Light Townsend Cummins, "History, Memory, and Rebranding Texas as Western for the 1936 Centennial," in *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*, ed. Richard B. McCaslin, Donald E. Chipman, and Andrew J. Torget (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2013), 37-57; Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 303.
- <sup>20</sup> J.B. Cranfill, "The Native White Man," *Waco Advance*, May 26, 1887.
- <sup>21</sup> Sansom, *Battle of Nueces River*; Williams, *With the Border Ruffians*; Hunter, "Sentinel Oak and Lonely Grave Mark Grim Tragedy of Bandera Hills"; "Was a Survivor of the Nueces Battle," San Antonio

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*Express*, August 31, 1924; Helen Raley, "The Blackest Crime in Texas Warfare," *Dallas Morning News*, May 5, 1929.

<sup>22</sup> Question and answer session, Gillespie County Historical Society Civil War Symposium, January 25, 2014; William Paul Burrier, in discussion with the author, January 25, 2014; Anne Stewart, in discussion with the author, May 20, 2014. For more on the legacy of Civil War violence in the Hill Country, see Helen Thorpe, October 1997, "Historical Friction," *Texas Monthly*, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/historical-friction/>; David Tarrant, July 2011, "Hill Country Town Remains Deeply Split by Civil War-era Monument," *Dallas News*, accessed April 1, 2017, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/texas/2011/07/09/hill-country-town-remains-deeply-split-by-civil-war-era-monument>.

<sup>23</sup> Penniger, *Fredericksburg, Texas ... The First Fifty Years*, 48; Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 500.

<sup>24</sup> Goodwyn, "The Hill Country of Texas," 34-35; "pardon for treason:" Hermann Seele to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 9, 1865, Box 2014/042-2, AJH, TSLA "writing with," "showing the guilty:" Raley, "The Blackest Crime in Texas Warfare,"

<sup>25</sup> Quote: Hunter, "A Bandera County Tragedy," 10; Jason Sawyer, December 8, 2003, comment on John Troesser, "The Bandera Tragedy Tree," accessed April 2, 2015, <http://texasescapes.com/TexasHistory/TexasHistoricTrees/Bandera/BanderaTragedyTree.htm>; James Stewart, September 4, 2004, comment on Troesser, "The Bandera Tragedy Tree;" Joe Dinkins, email to the author, May 17, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Ann Graham Gaines, "Frontier Times," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 8, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/edf01>, Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>27</sup> Quote: "German Unionists in Texas," *Harper's Weekly*; McMichael, *Sacred Memories*, 76-78.

<sup>28</sup> Goodwyn, "The Hill Country of Texas," 28.

## Appendices

### Appendix A:

#### Indian Raiding Deaths during the Civil War

Number	Name	Date	County	Source
1	Julius Sanders	early March 1861	Uvalde	1
2	Henry M. Robinson	about March 13, 1861	Uvalde	1
3	Henry Adams	about March 13, 1861	Uvalde	1
4	Mr. McElemon	March 1861	Medina	1
5	Joe Stahl	May 1861	Gillespie	2
6	James Winters	October 19, 1861	Medina	3
7	Peter Ketchum	October 19-21, 1861	Medina	4
8	John Schreiber	October 19-21, 1861	Medina	5
9	Schalkhausen	October 19-21, 1861	Medina	5
10	John T. McMurray	October 19-21, 1861	Medina	6
11	Sam Long	October 19-21, 1861	Uvalde	6
12	brother-in-law of H.J. Richarz	1861	Medina	7
13	Ludwig Donop	January 17, 1862	Kendall	8
14	Baptiste	January 17, 1862	Kendall	8
15	Reinhart	January 17, 1862	Kendall	8
16	John Fechler	January 17, 1862	Kendall	8
17	Ludwig Schlosser	January 17, 1862	Kendall	8
18	Henry Parks	April 2, 1862	Menard	9
19	Nancy Parks	April 2, 1862	Menard	9
20	Billy Parks	April 2, 1862	Menard	9
21	Mr. Berg	April 4, 1862	Gillespie	10
22	Heinrich Grobe	April 4, 1862	Gillespie	10
23	"a little negro boy"	around April 4, 1862	Gillespie	10
24	James Gracey	April 9, 1862	Burnet	11
25	Deckard	spring 1862	Medina	12
26	John Williams	October 14, 1862	Llano	13
27	Ed King	October 14, 1862	Llano	13
28	James Billings	January 31, 1863	Gillespie	14
30	Henry Arhelger	February 13, 1863	Gillespie	15
31	Jim Little	February 1863	Gillespie	15
32	Holstein boy (1)	February 1863	Gillespie	15
33	Holstein boy (2)	February 1863	Gillespie	15
34	Mr. Hudson	February 1863	Gillespie	15

35	Jonathan P. Ragle	February 20, 1863	Burnet	16
36	Lewis Jackson	February 20, 1863	Burnet	16
37	Lorenzo Holland	February 20, 1863	Burnet	16
38	Mr. Wofford Johnson	February 1863	Burnet	17
39	Mrs. Wofford Johnson	February 1863	Burnet	17
40	Mary Jane Johnson	February 1863	Burnet	17
41	Conrad Meckel	February 1863	Mason	18
42	Heinrich Meckel	February 1863	Mason	18
43	Joachim Hench	February 1863	Mason	18
29	Mathis Pehl	February 1863	Gillespie	18
44	unidentified woman	March 1863	Mason	19
45	Mr. Cook	August 3, 1863	Burnet	20
46	“negro boy of Mr. Greens”	fall 1863	Llano	21
47	“son of W. Magill”	mid- to late November 1863	Llano	22
48	“Tell”	late November 1863	Llano	23
49	Mrs. George Schwandner	December 16, 1863	Uvalde (now Real)	23
50	Reuben C. Smith	April 15, 1864	Medina	24
51	Alwinda Joy McDonald	December 5, 1864	Gillespie	25
52	Elizabeth F. Joy	December 5, 1864	Gillespie	26
53	“old man about 70 years old by the name of Jackson”	December 13, 1864	Llano	26
54	Dizenia Todd	January 7, 1865	Mason	27
55	female slave	January 7, 1865	Mason	27
56	six year old son of Martha Youngblood	January 8, 1865	Blanco	28
57	Emma Metzger	February 8, 1865	Gillespie	29

This enumeration of Indian raiding deaths relies upon a combination of secondary and primary sources. Gregory Michno’s work compiles many of these into a single volume and has been heavily consulted. Michno’s account relies in turn upon a combination of primary and secondary works, including chronicles of Indian depredations by authors such as J.W. Wilbarger, A.J. Sowell, Joseph C. McConnell, Don H. Biggers, and others. The reliability of many of these accounts is questionable. For instance, Sowell places the death of Julius

Sanders in 1866, but primary sources suggest that it took place in 1861. I have attempted to eliminate redundant or inaccurate accounts from this tally by consulting primary sources. Still, the record is undoubtedly flawed. Rather than applying a rigid standard to determine the reliability of various reports, I include all the information I have gathered, minus those accounts that seem to be clearly flawed or redundant. The reader can reach his or her own conclusions as to the accuracy of each reported incident.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 78; San Antonio *Daily Ledger and Texan*, April 15, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Lindig, *100 Years Historical Recollections of Gillespie County, 1870-1970* (Stonewall, TX: s.p., 1971), 10.

<sup>3</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 89-90; San Antonio *Herald*, November 2, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 90; Austin *State Gazette*, October 26, 1861.

<sup>7</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 203, 656.

<sup>8</sup> San Antonio *Herald*, January 23, 1862.

<sup>9</sup> San Antonio *Herald*, April 19, 1862; Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble*, 119; Parks monument, Little Saline Cemetery, Menard County, Texas.

<sup>10</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 101; Harden Steele to Francis R. Lubbock, April 8, 1862, Box 2014/092-3; W. Wahrmond to Francis R. Lubbock, Box 2014/092-3, April 9, 1862.

<sup>11</sup> Bowden, "History of Burnet County," 70; John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin: L.E. Daniel, 1890), 114.

<sup>12</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 277, 451-452.

<sup>13</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 125.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 131; San Antonio *Semi-Weekly News*, February 12, 1863.

<sup>15</sup> Austin *Texas Almanac*, March 7, 1863.

<sup>16</sup> Austin *Texas Almanac*, February 27, 1863.

<sup>17</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 132.

<sup>18</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 131.

<sup>19</sup> Austin *Texas Almanac-Extra*, April 4, 1863.

<sup>20</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 147; Galveston *Weekly News*, August 12, 1863.

<sup>21</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 132.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>23</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 180-181; Austin *Semi-Weekly State Gazette*, December 30, 1863.

<sup>24</sup> Report of Captain George Robbins, April 21, 1864, in Consolidated Report of Scouts Against Indians & Deserters, May 14, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; J. Marvin Hunter, "Survivor of Medina County Indian Fight," *Frontier Times* 6 (February 1929): 200.

<sup>25</sup> Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. John Burns, December 15, 1864, Box 401-830, TAG, TSLA; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 202; Alwinda McDonald and Elizabeth Joy monument, Spring Creek Cemetery, Gillespie County, Texas.

<sup>26</sup> Wight, *Reminiscences*, 170; Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, December 24, 1864, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

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<sup>27</sup> Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, February 7, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 118; Horace Cone to Brig. Gen. J.B. Robertson, February 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA..

<sup>28</sup> J.W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*, 632; Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 737-738; Brig. Gen. J.D. McAdoo to Col. Burke, February 7, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Horace Cone to Brig. Gen. J.B. Robertson, February 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.

<sup>29</sup> *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, March 3, 1865.

<sup>30</sup> Many accounts in these works were taken orally from early Texas settlers, including Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*; Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*; Joseph C. McConnell, *The West Texas Frontier: or, A Descriptive History of Early Times in Western Texas* (Jacksboro, TX: Gazette Print, 1933-1939); Biggers, *German Pioneers in Texas*; Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 661.



## Appendix B:

### Named Casualties of Political Violence, 1862-1865

Number	Name	Date	Location	Source	Comments
1	Basil Stewart**	July 5, 1862	Kendall	<sup>1</sup>	Killed by ULL
2	Lovell	August 4, 1862	Spring Creek community, Gillespie	<sup>2</sup>	Hanged by Duff's or Davis's company
2	Leopold Bauer	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Nueces River battle
3	Frederick Behrens	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
4	Ernst Beseler	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
5	Louis Börner	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
6	Albert Bruns	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
7	Hugo Degener	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
8	Hilmar Degener	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
9	Pablo Diaz	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
10	J.H. Kallenberg	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
11	Heinrich Markwardt	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
12	Christian Schäfer, Sr.	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
13	Louis Schierholz	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
14	Aime Schreiner	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
15	Heinrich Steves	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
16	Wilhelm Telgmann	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto

17	Adolph Vater	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
18	Friedrich Vater	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
19	Michael Weirich	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
20	Heinrich Weyershausen	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>3</sup>	Ditto
21	William Poe*	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>4</sup>	
22	J. Littleton Stringfield*	August 10, 1862	Nueces River	<sup>4</sup>	
23	Albert J. Elder*	August 17, 1862	Fort Clark	<sup>4</sup>	Died of wounds
26	Conrad Bock	August 24, 1862	Boerne, Kendall	<sup>5</sup>	Hanged by Duff
27	Fritz Tays	August 24, 1862	Boerne, Kendall	<sup>5</sup>	Hanged by Duff
24	Theodore Bruckisch	August 1862	Goat Creek, Kerr	<sup>6</sup>	Shot to death by Davis's company
25	Heinrich Stieler	August 1862	Goat Creek, Kerr	<sup>6</sup>	Shot to death by Davis's company
26	Hiram Nelson	late August 1862	Spring Creek, Gillespie	<sup>7</sup>	Mass hanging by Davis's company
27	Seabird Henderson	late August 1862	Spring Creek, Gillespie	<sup>7</sup>	Ditto
28	Frank Scott	late August 1862	Spring Creek, Gillespie	<sup>7</sup>	Ditto
29	Gustav Tegener	late August 1862	Spring Creek, Gillespie	<sup>7</sup>	Ditto
26	Wilhelm Börner	August 1862	unknown	<sup>8</sup>	Killed in aftermath of Nueces battle
27	Herman Flick	August 1862	unknown	<sup>8</sup>	Ditto
28	August Luckenbach	August 1862	unknown	<sup>8</sup>	Ditto
29	Louis Rübsamen	August 1862	unknown	<sup>8</sup>	Ditto
30	Adolph Rübsamen	August 1862	unknown	<sup>8</sup>	Ditto

31	John K. Morris*	September 1, 1862	Fort Clark	<sup>9</sup>	Died of wounds suffered at Nueces
32	Robert G. Elder*	September 17, 1862	Fort Clark	<sup>9</sup>	Ditto
33	Emanuel Martin*	October 18, 1862	San Antonio	<sup>9</sup>	Ditto
34	Joseph Elstner	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Group that crossed into Mexico with Jacob Kuechler
35	Eduard Felsing	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Ditto
36	Heinrich Hermann	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Ditto
37	Valentin Hohmann	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Ditto
38	Franz Weiss	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Ditto
39	Moritz Weiss	October 18, 1862	Rio Grande	<sup>10</sup>	Ditto
40	Peter Bonnet	1862 or 1863	Rio Grande	<sup>11</sup>	Ditto; died of wounds
43	Heinrich Itz	February 1863	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>12</sup>	Killed by state militia or Frontier Regiment
44	Jacob Itz	February 1863	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>12</sup>	Ditto
47	William M. Sawyer	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Mass execution by troops of the Frontier Regiment
48	Coston J. Sawyer	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
49	John Smart	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto

50	George Thayer	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
51	Andrew J. Van Winkle	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
52	William Shumake	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
53	Jacob Kyle	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
54	Jack Whitmire	July 25, 1863	San Julian Creek, Bandera	<sup>13</sup>	Ditto
55	McMasters	1863 (?)	Burnet	<sup>14</sup>	Killed by unknown secessionist vigilantes
56	John R. Scott	1863 (?)	Burnet	<sup>14</sup>	Ditto
57	Adolf Hoppe	1863 (?)	Burnet	<sup>15</sup>	Ditto
58	Henry Flaughner	1863 (?)	Burnet	<sup>15</sup>	Ditto
59	Mr. Wood**	late 1863	Blanco	<sup>16</sup>	
60	Mr. Hines**	late 1863	Blanco	<sup>16</sup>	
62	Matthias R. Lundy	mid-January 1864	Blanco	<sup>17</sup>	Killed by John Townsend in militia raid
63	Moses M. Snow	mid-January 1864	Blanco	<sup>17</sup>	Ditto
64	Mike Burcher**	January 1864	Blanco	<sup>18</sup>	
65	“young Snow”	January 1864	Blanco	<sup>19</sup>	Killed by state militia
66	Ben Watson	January 1864	Blanco	<sup>19</sup>	Ditto
67	Joe Fries**	January 1864	Blanco	<sup>20</sup>	
68	Zack Whittington**	January 1864	Blanco	<sup>21</sup>	
69	John S.C. Turknett	February 1, 1864	Kerr	<sup>22</sup>	<i>Hängerbande</i> victim
70	Louis Schuetze	February 24, 1864	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>23</sup>	Ditto
71	Warren Cass	February 28, March 2, or March 4, 1864	Gillespie	<sup>24</sup>	Ditto

72	John Blank	March 9, 1864	South Grape Creek, Gillespie	<sup>25</sup>	<i>Hängerbande</i> Grape Creek raid
73	Peter Burg	March 9, 1864	South Grape Creek, Gillespie	<sup>26</sup>	Ditto
74	William Feller	March 9, 1864	South Grape Creek, Gillespie	<sup>27</sup>	Ditto
75	Henry Kirchner	March 9, 1864	South Grape Creek, Gillespie	<sup>28</sup>	Ditto
76	Hans Roberts**	May 24/25, 1864	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>29</sup>	Fredericksburg jail attack
77	William A. Isbell**	May 24/25, 1864	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>29</sup>	Ditto
78	William Dixon**	March 24/25, 1864	Fredericksburg, Gillespie	<sup>29</sup>	Ditto
79	James Owens**	after March 31, 1864	Burnet	<sup>30</sup>	Killed by Valentine "Dave" Pearl
80	Valentine "Dave" Pearl	after March 31, 1864	Burnet	<sup>30</sup>	Hanged in retaliation for killing of militiaman James Owens, probably resisting militia service
81	Wm. Munroe Nixon+	June 1, 1864	North Grape Creek, Gillespie	<sup>31</sup>	Mistaken by militiamen for John W. Caldwell, a wanted <i>Hängerbande</i> member
82	Philip B. Turknett	July 30, 1864	Gillespie	<sup>32</sup>	Killed by Jonas Harrison, Kerr County militia

83	John Tipton	April 30, 1865	Menard	<sup>33</sup>	Killed by a militia patrol to arrest deserters and horse thieves
84	John/George Morrow	May 1, 1865	Menard	<sup>33</sup>	Killed by a militia patrol to arrest deserters and horse thieves
85	B.P. Stephens	unknown	Burnet	<sup>34</sup>	Killed by unknown secessionist vigilantes
86	John R. Hubbard	unknown	Burnet	<sup>35</sup>	Ditto

This list represents all of the men killed in the Hill Country between 1861 and 1865 whose deaths can be reasonably attributed to the political violence that divided the region's communities during this period. It does not include cases where motives appear to have been purely criminal or for which too little information exists to ascribe a motive. It also does not include several cases where unidentified individuals were noted as being killed, or where the evidence relies on a single source recorded sometime after the war that isn't corroborated by other evidence.

Peter Pletz (July 27, 1863), Louis Martin and Eugene Frantzen (June 1864), and Uvalde County Sheriff John Q. Dougherty (late March 1865) were killed for what appear to have been criminal reasons. Among those for whom information is not deemed reliable enough to account for in this table are Sevier/Xavier Neal, Jesse Starr, and a Mr. Williams, all of whom are recorded by John W. Speer as being killed in 1863-1864 in Blanco County. Speer is the only source that the author is aware of that records these deaths. William or "old

man” Lundy was arrested in January 1864. According to James W. Nichols, he was hanged at San Pedro Springs outside of San Antonio by Confederate troops, but no other sources confirm this claim. Another unidentified casualty is a secessionist vigilante that was killed by Unionist militiamen in May 1864, according to Franz Kettner and Julius Schuetze.<sup>36</sup>

\*Confederate soldiers killed in action or who died of wounds suffered at the Nueces River battle.

\*\*Killed by Unionist bushwhackers, draft resisters, etc.

+Killed by Unionist militia acting under official orders.

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<sup>1</sup> San Antonio *Herald*, July 26, 1862; Siemering, “German Immigration into Texas,” in Porter, *The Dresel Family*, 1015-B – 1015-C; Report of Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee, October 21, 1862, *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. 53, 455.

<sup>2</sup> Statement of R.A. Gibson, March 31, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; D.P. Hopkins, “Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of ’62,” San Antonio *Express*, January 13, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas.

<sup>4</sup> Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 305-306.

<sup>5</sup> Case #12 and #13, KNCDC.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins, “Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of ’62;” Schellhase, “Edited Journal of Fritz Schellhase;” Ransleben, *One Hundred Years of Comfort*, 95; Henry Schwethelm to My Dear Otto, 1913, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 168; John Seal to Dear friends, September 8, 1862, in Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 315-316.

<sup>7</sup> Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas*, 4, 14, 145; Harper Centennial Committee, *Here’s Harper, 1863-1963*, 12-13; Hopkins, “Spirit of Today in Lone Star State Like That of ’62;” Smith, *Here’s Yer Mule*, 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas.

<sup>9</sup> Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 305-306.

<sup>10</sup> *Treue der Union* monument, Comfort, Texas.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*; Burrier, *Nueces Battle and Massacre Source Documents*, 334-335.

<sup>12</sup> Hoffman, “A German-American Pioneer Remembers,” 438; Heinrich and Jakob Itz monument, Der Stadt Friedhof Cemetery, Fredericksburg, Texas; *Pioneers in God’s Hills*, Vol. 2, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Roland, “If i git home I will take care of Num Bir one: Murder and Memory on the Hill Country Frontier,” *West Texas Historical Review* 92 (2016): 104-126.

<sup>14</sup> The exact date of this incident is unknown. Secondary sources tend to place them in 1863, but the author has discovered no primary sources that provide specific dates. Debo, *Burnet County History*, 36; Bowden, “History of Burnet County,” 75; Scott Family Vertical File, Herman Brown Free Library, Burnet, Texas.

<sup>15</sup> Richter, “Disaster at Dead Man’s Hole,” 259-260; Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, 77.

<sup>16</sup> Dorbandt to Adjutant General, January 23, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; Testimony of W.C. Doss, GCDC Case #97.

<sup>17</sup> Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 31-32; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; W. Holland to Capt. Walsh, January 20, 1864, TCM 94.1.01226, FP, HL; 1LT Martin Casner to Capt. Charles Human, January 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.0058, FP, HL; Testimony of Lydia Pruitt, August 29, 1865, Box 2014/042-3, AJH, TSLA.

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- <sup>18</sup> Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 31-32; 1LT Martin Casner to Capt. Charles Human, January 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.0058, FP, HL; Testimony of W.C. Doss, GCDC Case #97.
- <sup>19</sup> Col. Ford to Capt. E.P. Turner, January 28, 1864, TCM 94.1.0912.a, FP, HL; Capt. Human to Maj. Albert Walthersdorff, January 24, 1864, TCM 94.1.0956, FP, HL; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 164-165; Wight, *Reminiscences*, 147-148; Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 32; Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 500.
- <sup>20</sup> Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-Seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 164-165; Hoffmann, "A German-American Pioneer Remembers," 500.
- <sup>21</sup> Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 31-32; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-Seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 165.
- <sup>22</sup> Case #36, KRCD; Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 176.
- <sup>23</sup> Case #95 and #101, GCDC.
- <sup>24</sup> Case #97, GCDC.
- <sup>25</sup> Case #97, #108, and #158, GCDC.
- <sup>26</sup> Case #97, GCDC.
- <sup>27</sup> Case #97 and #117, GCDC.
- <sup>28</sup> Case #97, GCDC.
- <sup>29</sup> Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115; Banta and Caldwell, *Twenty-Seven Years on the Texas Frontier*, 187, 194; Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 25, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; State of Texas vs. Jacob Luckenbach, GCHSA; State of Texas vs. Patch, GCHSA.
- <sup>30</sup> Bowden, "History of Burnet County", 76; William M. Owens to Andrew J. Hamilton, October 15, 1865, Box 2014/042-4, AJH, TSLA.
- <sup>31</sup> Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, June 3, 1864; Proceedings of court of inquiry, June 3, 1864, both in Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA.
- <sup>32</sup> Case #183, GCDC.
- <sup>33</sup> John Henry Brown to Brig. Gen. McAdoo, May 10, 1865, John Henry Brown Papers, CAH.
- <sup>34</sup> Harriet Stephens to Andrew J. Hamilton, July 1, 1865, Box 2014/042-1, AJH, TSLA.
- <sup>35</sup> Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 250.
- <sup>36</sup> Case #106, GCDC; *Pioneers in God's Hills*, Vol. 2, 128; Uvalde County District Court Minutes, Vol. 1, 230-231; San Antonio *Semi-Weekly News*, March 24, 1865; first quote: Maj. John H. Brown to Capt. W.C. Walsh, April 5, 1865, Box 401-387, TAG, TSLA; Speer, *A History of Blanco County*, 32, 35; W. Holland to Capt. Walsh, January 20, 1864, TCM 94.1.01226, FP, HL; Nichols, *Now You Hear My Horn*, 171. The vigilante who was killed is identified as "Gibson" by Schuetze, who says he "was fatally shot at the Rio Grande River." However, "Old man Gibson and his two sons" were reportedly captured at Piedras Negras by Mexican authorities. Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," *Texas Vorwärts*, July 9, 1886, trans. Von-Maszewski, *GTHS Journal* 17, 225-228. Maj. James M. Hunter to Col. D.B. Culberson, May 13, 1864, Box 401-386, TAG, TSLA; Kettner, *Die Kettner Briefe*, 115.



## Appendix C:

### Indian Raiding Deaths after the Civil War

Number	Name	Date	County	Source
1	T.H. Shugart	June 1865	Llano	1
2	Henry Meier	July 16, 1865	Kendall	2
3	Henry Kensing	July 26, 1865	Mason	3
4	Johanna Kensing	July 26, 1865	Mason	3
5	Daniel Williams	July 1865	Uvalde/ "out west"	4
6	Mr. English	July 1865	Uvalde/ "out west"	4
7	"three others" (1)	July 1865	Uvalde/ "out west"	4
8	"three others" (2)	July 1865	Uvalde/ "out west"	4
9	"three others" (3)	July 1865	Uvalde/ "out west"	4
10	Mr. Owins	late July 1865	Uvalde	5
11	Samuel Binnion	early August 1865	Burnet	6
12	Mr. Benson	August 1865	Burnet	7
13	Mrs. Gilstead "Gilly" Taylor	August 8, 1865	Gillespie	8
14	Eli McDonald	August 8, 1865	Gillespie	8
15	Andrew Henry Robinson	September 1865	Uvalde	9
16	"black girl"	mid-October 1865	Burnet	10
17	Joseph Moore	"soon after the Civil War"	Medina	11
18	Mrs. Joseph Moore	"soon after the Civil War"	Medina	11
19	mother of Joseph Moore	"soon after the Civil War"	Medina	11
20	L.B.C. Buckalew	January 25/26, 1866	Bandera	12
21	George Miller	January 27, 1866	Medina	13
22	William McDougal	August 1866	Menard	14
23	F. Conway	early August/September 1866	Menard	15
24	D.J. Davis	September 8, 1866	Uvalde	16
25	David/Davis Cryer	October 11, 1866	Bandera	17

26	Cynthia Bowlin	October 11, 1866	Medina	18
27	Thomas B. Click	October 12, 1866	Bandera	19
28	Theodor Gotthardt	November 14, 1866	Kendall	20
29	freedman on Curry's Creek	1866?	Kendall	21
30	Sullivan	1866?	Bandera	22
31	Alan Gentry	March 1, 1867	Mason	23
32	Harms/Hiram Gerdes	March 14, 1867	Medina	24
33	Frank Johnson	October 12, 1867	Kimble	25
34	Hermann Stohl	November 1867	Gillespie	26
35	"a Mexican on Pipe Creek"	1867	Bandera	27
36	Barnes	May 1865 – April 1867	Uvalde	28
37	Mr. Donop	January 1868	Kendall	29
38	"another German"	January 1868	Kendall	29
39	Mary Alexander	February 2, 1868	Kerr	30
40	Rebecca Stribling Johnson	February 5, 1868	Llano	31
41	Rebecca Johnson's infant	February 5, 1868	Llano	31
42	Samantha Townsend Johnson	February 5, 1868	Llano	31
43	Samantha Johnson's infant	February 5, 1868	Llano	31
44	Amanda Townsend	February 5, 1868	Llano	31
45	William Irvin Shepherd	July 3, 1868	Blanco	32
46	Elizabeth Huckobey Shepherd	July 3, 1868	Blanco	32
47	Joel Shepherd	July 3, 1868	Blanco	32
48	"Antonio"	December 1868	Menard	33
49	"Hardin boy"	1868	Bandera	34
50	Emma Jones	February 15, 1869	Burnet	35
51	B. Smith	June 1869	Menard	36
52	Ruff	June 1869	Menard	36
53	Thomas C. Felps	July 21 or 22, 1869	Blanco	37
54	Eliza V. Felps	July 21 or 22, 1869	Blanco	37
55	Hiram Wolf	July 22, 1869	Llano	38
56	Thomas Malone	August 1869	Uvalde	39
57	F.M. Smith	November 17, 1869	Burnet	40
58	Wesley Dollahite	January 1870	Blanco	41
59	Sammy Dollahite	January 1870	Blanco	41
60	"Capt. Haley"	August 1870	Burnet	42
61	Lewis Spaudt/Ludwig Spaeth	August 15/19, 1870	Gillespie	43
62	Harry Haddeman	November 1870	Blanco	44

63	Joe/Samuel Harris	December 1, 1870	Kimble	45
64	black woman or girl	December 6, 1870	Burnet/Llano	46
65	F.M. Whitlock	December 6 or 7, 1870	Burnet	47
66	Susan Whitlock	December 6 or 7, 1870	Burnet	47
67	Whitlock child (1)	December 6 or 7, 1870	Burnet	47
68	Whitlock child (2)	December 6 or 7, 1870	Burnet	47
69	Whitlock child (3)	December 6 or 7, 1870	Burnet	47
70	Walter Richarz	December 6, 1870	Uvalde	48
71	Joe Riffs/Reeves	December 6, 1870	Uvalde	49
72	Riley Walker	December 22, 1870	Llano	49
73	mother of Xavier Wanz	1870	Medina	50
74	Tallus Smith	January 12, 1871	Menard	51
75	“colored girls” (1)	February 8, 1871	Burnet	52
76	“colored girls” (2)	February 8, 1871	Burnet	52
77	John McCormick	February 27, 1871	Gillespie	53
78	George Gentry	March 20, 1871	Menard	54
79	herdsman for C.R. Perry (1)	March 1871	Menard	54
80	herdsman for C.R. Perry (2)	March 1871	Menard	54
81	James Sewell	May 1872	Menard	55
82	James Bradbury Sr.	May 1872	Menard	55
83	“Neighbors”	May 1872	Menard	55
84	Theodor Kindla	summer 1872	Bandera	56
85	Joseph W. Moore	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
86	Elizabeth Moore	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
87	Philip Gurtin	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
88	Bernstein	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
89	Ed Flores	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
90	Felipe Montes	January 27, 1873	Bandera	57
91	W.R. Terry	February 1873	Bandera	58
92	Terry child (1)	February 1873	Bandera	58
93	Terry child (2)	February 1873	Bandera	58
94	Peter Hazelwood	October 1873	Gillespie	59
95	Shelton	August 1874	Menard	60
96	“a man”	1875	Kimble	61
97	“a boy”	1875	Kimble	61
98	“a woman”	1875	Kimble	61
99	Allen	December 24, 1876	Kerr	62
100	Isaac Kountz	December 24, 1876	Llano	63
101	Sam Speer	December 24, 1876	Llano	63
102	Jack M. Phillips	December 28, 1876	Bandera	64

103	Louis Villanueva	November 1877	Uvalde	65
104	unidentified man (1)	January 13, 1877	Bandera	66
105	unidentified man (2)	January 13, 1877	Bandera	66
106	unidentified man (3)	January 13, 1877	Bandera	66
107	Catherine R. McLauren	April 19, 1881	Uvalde*	67
108	Allen Lease	April 19, 1881	Uvalde*	67

As in Appendix A, this enumeration of Indian raiding deaths relies upon a combination of secondary and primary sources. One of the main sources is the correspondence relating to Indian raiding casualties found in the Texas State Library and Archives' Texas Governors manuscript collections. These sources were mostly compiled by Dorman H. Winfrey in the four-volume *Texas Indian Papers*, published between 1959 and 1961 by the Texas State Library. As in Appendix A, I have attempted to eliminate redundant and poorly documented accounts. The reader can reach his or her own conclusions as to the accuracy of each reported incident.

\*The "McLauren Massacre" took place ten miles north of Leakey in what is now Real County. The area is part of the Texas Hill Country as I define it in the Introduction, and was reported as taking place in Uvalde County at the time of the attack. Real County was not created by the Texas Legislature until 1913.

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<sup>1</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 214; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 253.

<sup>2</sup> Winfrey *Texas Indian Papers* Vol. 4, 380. The date appears to be wrong in *Texas Indian Papers*, reported in Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, August 4, 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 215-216.

<sup>4</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 205, says "English and two other men in company" killed in Uvalde County. Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, July 21, 1865, says Daniel Williams and a Mr. English and three others" were killed "out west."

<sup>5</sup> H.M. Dougherty to Andrew J. Hamilton, August 9, 1865, AJH, TSLA. Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, July 21, 1865, says "The Indians stole all the horses belonging to Dr. Owings, of San Antonio, whose ranch is on the Frio."

<sup>6</sup> Binnion's young son was taken captive and later ransomed at Fort Sill. Michno, *The Settler's War*, 220.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

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- <sup>8</sup> Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*, 646-647.
- <sup>9</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 223-224. Robinson's father Henry M. Robinson was killed by Indians in 1861, see Annex A.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 230-231.
- <sup>11</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 469-470.
- <sup>12</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 226.
- <sup>13</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 236-237; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 205; Austin *Southern Intelligencer*, February 8, 1866.
- <sup>14</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 106, 375.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 375. Early August date from Michno, *The Settler's War*, 217.
- <sup>16</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 273; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 202.
- <sup>17</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 282-283; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 229.
- <sup>18</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 281-282; Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*, 656-657.
- <sup>19</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 228. Specific date from Michno, *The Settler's War*, 283.
- <sup>20</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 380.
- <sup>21</sup> Michno says this happened at about the same time as the Gotthardt death, but a report on March 1, 1867 does not specify a date, saying only that this happened "in the last eighteen months." Michno, *The Settler's War*, 259; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 173.
- <sup>22</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 229.
- <sup>23</sup> Report of Capt. John A. Thompson, Fort Mason, Texas, July 22, 1867, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, M821, RG 105, NARA.
- <sup>24</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 308; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 178.
- <sup>25</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 328; Johnson, *The Mason County "Hoo Doo War,"* 16.
- <sup>26</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 334.
- <sup>27</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 471.
- <sup>28</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 205.
- <sup>29</sup> Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 179; Austin *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, January 8, 1868.
- <sup>30</sup> Bennett, *Kerr County, Texas*, 185-186; Michno, *The Settler's War*, 346; Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 576.
- <sup>31</sup> Johnie Lee Reeves, "Legion Valley Massacre," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btlkt>, Texas State Historical Association.
- <sup>32</sup> Michno says that Thomas Huckobey, age fourteen, was captured and never heard from again. Michno, *The Settler's War*, 360; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 326; Edith A. Gray, *Recollections of Boerne*, ed. Elizabeth Gray Hudson (n.p.: s.p., 1999), 218.
- <sup>33</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 375.
- <sup>34</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 523; Clark, *Reminiscences of a Centenarian*, 36-37.
- <sup>35</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 380.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 375.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 326. A report in *Texas Indian Papers* says the Felps's were killed on July 22, but other sources say July 21, 1869. Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 183-184; Felps gravesite, Miller Creek Cemetery, Blanco County, Texas.
- <sup>38</sup> Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble*, 135-136; Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 183; Austin *Republican*, August 4, 1869.
- <sup>39</sup> Michno, *The Settler's War*, 387.
- <sup>40</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 380.
- <sup>41</sup> Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 187.
- <sup>42</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 380.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 384; Penniger, *Fredericksburg, Texas ... the first fifty years*, 78.

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- <sup>44</sup> Moursund, *Blanco County History*, 191; *Austin Republican*, November 23, 1870.
- <sup>45</sup> Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble*, 77-79; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 375.
- <sup>46</sup> *Austin Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, December 12, 1870; J. Marvin Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas: Sketches and Narratives of Indian Raids and Atrocities on Our Frontier* (Bandera, TX: J. Marvin Hunter, 1931), 62. J. Marvin Hunter says a “colored man” was killed at the same time by the same raiding party, but no contemporary accounts describe this second killing. See J. Marvin Hunter, “Whitlock Massacre Retold,” *Frontier Times* 14 (January 1937): 140.
- <sup>47</sup> Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas*, 67; Ernest B. Speck, “Llano County,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hc112>, Texas State Historical Association; Hunter, “Whitlock Massacre Retold,” 140; Whitlock Family memorial, Hoovers Valley Cemetery, Burnet County, Texas.
- <sup>48</sup> *Austin Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, December 14, 1870; Sworn statement of Stanislaus Witniy, July 1, 1871, Box 401-1156, TAG, TSLA.
- <sup>49</sup> Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas*, 145.
- <sup>50</sup> Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 552.
- <sup>51</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 375.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 380.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 385.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 375.
- <sup>55</sup> *It Occurred in Kimble* gives an incorrect date but identifies “Mr. Bradbury” mentioned in the *Texas Indian Papers* as James Bradbury Sr.; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 375; Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble*, 67-68, 70.
- <sup>56</sup> Clark, *Reminiscences of a Centenarian*, 37-38. Clark says this took place in the summer of 1862 but Kindla appears on the 1870 census and the *Pioneer History of Bandera County* says it took place in the summer 1872. Hunter, *Pioneer History of Bandera County*, 42; Household #35, Bandera County, Texas, Ninth Census.
- <sup>57</sup> Hunter says that this took place on July 4, 1872, but gives more specific names than in the *Texas Indian Papers*. Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 381; Hunter, *Pioneer History of Bandera County*, 72-74.
- <sup>58</sup> Bennett, *Kerr County History*, 182; Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 376.
- <sup>59</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 385; Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble*, 102-103; Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas*, 648.
- <sup>60</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 375.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 376.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 396.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*; Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas*, 153, 169-174.
- <sup>64</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 396; Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas*, 153, 169-174; Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters*, 511, 703.
- <sup>65</sup> Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers*, Vol. 4, 398.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 397.
- <sup>67</sup> Hunter, *The Bloody Trail in Texas*, 9; *San Antonio Evening News*, May 25, 1924.

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