

## PATRIOTS AND DISSIDENTS: THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY IN CIVIL WAR TEXAS<sup>1</sup>

by  
James Marten

When the famous Yankee tourist Frederick Law Olmsted wrote about his "saddle trip" through Texas in 1856, he described the conflict between the planter class and the "incongruous foreign element of Mexicans and Germans" on the frontier of the Lone Star State.<sup>2</sup> These two groups, which together comprised about seven percent of the population of Texas in 1860, endured a long history of ethnic antipathy with the dominant Anglo majority that began long before the Civil War and stretched well past Reconstruction.

Despite this history, Germans and Mexicans responded to the war in a wide variety of ways; many loyally served the Confederacy, others exhibited complete indifference to the southern cause, and some went so far as to enlist in the Federal Army. These internal divisions were overshadowed by Anglo perceptions of the disloyalty of Germans and Hispanics, which spawned widespread ethnic tensions and violence. The conflict between Anglo and ethnic Texans during the war demonstrates that the South did not march into battle against the Union with a unified front. The widespread dissent in the South—which is one of the contexts in which ethnic experiences in Texas must be placed—created internal threats against the Confederacy that, in some areas, loomed as important as external threats from Union soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Because each ethnic group's story contains unique elements, we will discuss them one at a time, beginning with the Germans.

By 1860, after several decades of

immigration, the 30,000 Texans of German stock comprised seven percent of Texas's free population and five percent of its total population. The first contingent of German immigrants, arriving in the 1840s, was provincial and conservative and accepted with few reservations the predominant states' rights philosophy in Texas. After 1848, however, a new strain of German immigrants arrived in Texas. These "Forty-Eighters," refugees from the failed German revolution of 1848, settled on the western frontier in the counties of Gillespie, Mason, Kerr, and Medina. As republicans, nationalists, and liberals, these intellectuals were accustomed to challenging authority and the existing state of society. Some of these later German colonists went so far as to ban slavery. In May 1854, liberals issued a series of resolutions later called the "San Antonio Platform." The platform contained a number of progressive social, political, and religious reforms, but its most volatile plank—as well as its most publicized one—declared "that slavery is an evil, whose final removal is essential to the foundation of democracy" and urged southern state governments to take steps to eliminate the institution.<sup>4</sup>

Although members of the German majority scrambled to divorce themselves from the abolitionism of a few of their countrymen, a suspicion of Germans lingered among Anglo-Texans. One rumor alleged that the Germans were involved in the slave insurrection of 1860, and when four German-dominated counties in West Texas voted against the secession

ordinance, it underscored their tenuous loyalty to the southern cause—at least to some. The reactions of many Germans to wartime pressures would amplify these doubts and perceptions, and lead to violence and recrimination against Texas Germans by their Confederate neighbors.<sup>5</sup>

Given antebellum tensions, it did not surprise Anglo-Texans that a sizable number of German-Texans dissented against the Confederacy during the war. In Bandera County, for instance, at the outbreak of the war, German residents apparently paid no taxes, circulated a petition demanding a reunion of the states, threatened prominent secessionists, stole the buggy wheel of a Confederate judge, and threw his seat cushions into a river. The German postmaster opened the mail of leading secessionists, and local Unionists had formed a home guard company rather than joining the county militia. This extensive disaffection was all the more frightening, according to a local fire-eater, because "our Southern boys have almost all joined Capt. Adams [sic] Company and the Secessionists are in a minority in the County at this time."<sup>6</sup>

Concerned Texans grew alarmed when large groups of Germans organized in other parts of the state. An Austin County planter pleaded for help from Governor Lubbock in March 1862, because "credible, reliable information" indicated that two hundred Germans had vowed to resist the Confederate draft, to aid Lincoln and the Northern war effort, and even worse, "to *countenance* and *assist* the negroes in case of an invasion to rebel against their owners." Col. Henry McCulloch, commanding North Texas, urged Gov. Lubbock to declare martial law in San Antonio in order to thwart the anticipated seizure of the local arsenal by a company of Unionist Germans.<sup>7</sup>

So widespread was the perceived disloyalty of the Texas Germans that vigilant Texans seemed to take special delight in persecuting them. In the summer of 1862, Confederate troopers operating near Fredericksburg arrested citizens, burned a few Unionists' farms, ousted a local militia captain, and generally intimidated most of the population of Gillespie and the surrounding counties. Elements of the Thirty-second Texas Cavalry joined the roundup, scouting the rough hill country around Fredericksburg, guarding the town day and night, and hunting "bushwhackers." Cavalryman Thomas Smith recorded in his diary that when a suspected Unionist "chances to fall into the hands of the [Confederate] soldiers he is dealt pretty roughly with and generally makes his last speech with a rope around his neck." According to Smith, "hanging is getting to be as common as hunting," and "the creeks in this vicinity are said to be full of dead men!!" Proof came one day when Smith witnessed "a sight which I never wish again to see in a civilized & enlightened country"—four dead bodies floating in a water hole. They had been "thrown in and left to rot, and that too after they were hanged by the neck [until] dead."<sup>8</sup>

Three West Texas Germans appearing before a military commission in San Antonio in 1862 contributed to the impression that the German population was as a rule disloyal. Witnesses accused Philip Braubach, a farmer, stage driver, and sometime law officer near San Antonio, of using his office to aid Union men, of recruiting only Union-loving Germans for a frontier defense company, of depreciating Confederate currency, and, according to one witness, of associating "with the party who halloes for the Union." Julius Schliekum also allegedly depreciated Confederate currency and,

in the words of a Confederate sergeant, "never had any good news on our side, but generally had something bad to tell." The third member of the trio, Ferdinand Doebbler, kept a tavern in Fredericksburg that witnesses labeled "the place of rendezvous for people calling themselves Union men," where they could buy "Black Republican" newspapers. The court sentenced all three men to prison for the duration of the war.<sup>9</sup>

Although dissidents monopolized the public's perception of Texas Germans, hundreds of Germans served loyally in Confederate or state military organizations, and a number of German leaders became Confederate officers. Carl William von Rosenberg, the son of a Prussian noble, had served as a lieutenant in the Prussian army and as Royal Architect for Frederick William I. His liberal views made promotion difficult, and he journeyed to Texas in 1849, where he rose to the position of chief draftsman in the General Land Office. Unlike most German political refugees who opposed slavery, however, he voted for secession and joined the Confederate army as a topographical engineer. Another German liberal, Gustavus Schleicher, speculated in West Texas land, promoted railroads, published a German-language newspaper, and worked as a surveyor in the 1850s; after winning election to the state senate in 1859, he became an advocate of secession and later entered the Confederate Army as a captain of engineers.<sup>10</sup>

The best-known German-Confederate was Col. August Buchel, a professional soldier who between 1831 and 1845 fought for Germany and in the French Foreign Legion, and worked as an instructor in the Turkish Army. An avid duelist, he apparently killed a man in Germany and quickly sailed to Texas.

He continued his military career in his new home, raising a company of Texas volunteers to fight in the Mexican War and serving on Gen. Zachary Taylor's staff at the battle of Buena Vista. A decade later, when Juan Cortina raided Brownsville in 1859, he organized a company of volunteers that helped drive Cortina out of the Rio Grande Valley. Apparently unconcerned with politics and uninterested in the slavery question, Buchel adapted well to southern society. As one of the most experienced soldiers in Texas, Buchel naturally sought to contribute to the Confederate war effort. Late in 1861, he became lieutenant colonel of the Third Texas Infantry, stationed in South Texas. Two years later he took command of the Third Texas Cavalry and led them through the fighting in Louisiana. He died in combat at the battle of Pleasant Hill in the spring of 1864, a well-respected and admired professional soldier.<sup>11</sup>

Other Germans who entered the Confederate army came from decidedly less militaristic backgrounds than Buchel. Joseph Bruckmuller, for instance, had only lived in Marshall, Texas, for three years when the war broke out. Then, in order "to live up to my duties toward my chosen country," he joined the Seventh Texas Volunteers. The regiment fought in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and Bruckmuller ended up a prisoner of war twice. The young German survived a bout of cholera and worked for a while as a hospital orderly. After his second escape from the Yankees, in the fall of 1863, he went back to work as a shoemaker. His occupation may have earned him an exemption from further military service.<sup>12</sup>

Despite these conspicuous examples of loyalty to the Confederate cause, the German population of Texas remained

deeply divided. Matters came to a head for those Texas Germans who refused to adapt to the Confederacy on 10 August 1862, in a one-sided fight on the Nueces River, which the *Dallas Herald* dubbed "The Battle With the Traitors." The "battle" climaxed a summer-long campaign by Confederate authorities to break resistance to the Confederacy, especially to the recently passed conscription act, in the German-dominated Hill Country west of Austin. Opponents of the war and the draft in and near Fredericksburg had formed a "Loyal Union League." The League publicly announced that it intended to protect this exposed part of the frontier from Indians and outlaws, but Confederate officials believed--not without reason--that its genuine purpose was to resist conscription and other Confederate programs. In May 1862, a detachment of Confederate troops marched to Fredericksburg to restore order and to ensure the loyalty of the area's citizens to the Confederacy.<sup>13</sup>

Early in August, a party of just over sixty men, mostly German members of the Union League, decided to escape Confederate persecution by going to Mexico. A company of about one hundred Texas troops caught them after tracking them for a week through the rugged, unsettled, and sweltering South Texas frontier. The Confederates attacked before dawn on 10 August. In the ensuing fight, thirty Germans were killed, while about twenty were wounded. No captives survived the battle--shortly after the firing stopped, a squad of Confederates shot to death the nine injured Unionists who had surrendered.

The massacre culminated the official campaign against disloyal Germans in Texas, although for the remainder of the war Hill Country Unionists would be terrorized by what

the Germans appropriately called the *Haengerbande*--gangs of Confederates who warred on civilian Unionists. After the Nueces massacre, however, Germans would never again be perceived as a serious threat to the Confederate war effort, as German resistance in east-central Texas quickly dwindled. One rather blood-thirsty Confederate wrote home after the Nueces incident that "the Tories in this part of the country is getting somewhat scarce." He attributed their scarcity to the violence that had left disloyalists "lying and hanging all over the woods." Some of the dissenting Germans had indeed been killed, while many had escaped to Mexico, others had found some sort of safe hiding place, a good number had found refuge from Confederate service in the companies formed by the state to defend the frontier, and still others had settled into an uneasy accommodation with the Confederate authorities.<sup>14</sup>

The antebellum and wartime persecution of the 12,443 Mexican-born residents of Texas (2.1 percent of the total population) had little to do with politics. Rather, the Anglos' exaggerated perception of Mexican disloyalty was a function of the complex relationships between Mexicans, Anglos, and Afro-American slaves. Ever since American settlers began arriving in Texas in the 1820s, racism, economic conflict, and intermittent warfare between Texas and Mexico had plagued relations between Anglos and *Tejanos*. There were notable exceptions. A tiny minority of *Tejanos*, represented by the Benavides family of Laredo and a few other wealthy landholders, sought the economic benefits stability would bring to the borderlands. They identified more with the Anglo population than with the Mexican, and were exempt from penalties normally associated with their race.<sup>15</sup>

Despite such highly visible examples, to white Protestant Texans, Catholic Mexicans appeared lazy, ignorant, immoral, shiftless, dirty, superstitious, and doomed to subservience. The latter's wretched economic position--caused in part by the Anglo practice of seizing Mexican land through complicated legal maneuvers or by forced sale at ludicrously low prices--encouraged racial arrogance. The primary conflict lay, however, in the Mexicans' antipathy toward slavery and their friendly acceptance of blacks as equals. "Not only [do Mexicans] consider a nigger equal with themselves," complained the *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, "but they actually court the company of the Negroes." Worse still, white Texans believed that Mexicans often helped slaves escape and usually blamed them for instigating slave rebellions. Olmsted accurately portrayed Texans' attitudes toward Mexicans when he wrote that the latter "were regarded in a somewhat unchristian tone, not as heretics or heathen to be converted with flannel and tracts, but rather as vermin, to be exterminated." An episode that reflects these racial antagonisms occurred in the autumn of 1859, when a landed *Tejano* named Juan Cortina gathered a large band of Mexicans from both sides of the border and terrorized the region around Brownsville. Cortina's men burned ranches, murdered several Anglos, and actually occupied the city for a short time before Texas Rangers finally drove them into Mexico. Cortina's raid served to further embitter Texans against Mexicans, and raised serious doubts about the loyalty of the Mexicans living in Texas.<sup>16</sup>

Although Hispanics, like the Germans, served in both the Confederate and Union armies, most--including many enlistees--eventually attempted to avoid the war

between the Anglos. The principles for which the war was being fought meant very little to them and they had neither an economic nor a political stake in the conflict. The North and the South both rather feebly endeavored to win Mexicans over to their respective sides, but memories of the past steeled them against most offers. Neither the United States nor the state of Texas had ever tried to protect the property or political rights of Mexican-Texans, and when they hypocritically tried to enlist the support of Hispanics, the latter generally demonstrated their resentment by leaving the *gringos* to kill one another.

Of course, not all Hispanics could avoid military service. Some supported the Union cause. In Zapata County in April 1861, for instance, about forty armed Mexicans marched on the county seat of Carrizo to keep county officials from swearing allegiance to the Confederate States. Texas troops turned them away, inflicting heavy casualties. Border raids by Mexicans from both sides of the Rio Grande also plagued the Confederacy. A group of raiders operating out of Mexico under Antonio Zapata called themselves the "First Regiment of Union Troops," but seemed content with plundering Texas ranches rather than fighting Confederates. A Nueces County Unionist named Cecilio Balerio led a company of cavalry that preyed on cotton traders along the border. In addition to these guerrilla units, nearly nine hundred Mexican-Texans served the Union more formally, many of them in the Second Texas Cavalry, whose members were recruited along the Rio Grande in 1863 and 1864.<sup>17</sup>

Nearly three times as many Mexican-Texans, however, served the Rebels as served the Yankees. Roughly 2550 of them, many from Webb, Refugio, and Bexar Counties, enlisted in

Confederate or state militia regiments. Santos Benavides, the wealthy Mexican-born rancher, merchant, and Rio Grande Valley power broker, achieved the highest level of any Confederate *Tejano*, reaching the rank of colonel in command of his own largely Mexican regiment.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the presence of large numbers of Hispanics in blue and gray uniforms, neither side expected nor received the steady allegiance of their Mexican troops. The lieutenant colonel of the Third Texas Infantry at Fort Brown complained to his superior that his Mexican soldiers, "like all their countrymen, are susceptible to bribes and corruption, and cannot be depended upon." Texans usually treated Mexicans in the same ways they had always treated them. R.H. Williams, the Confederate Englishman who empathized more than most Texans with Unionists and other dissenters, refused to arrest and turn over to the military authorities in San Antonio four Mexican deserters he captured. He knew that "it was a hundred to one that the bloodthirsty mob would seize them ... and hang them in the plaza." With attitudes like these in common circulation among Confederates, it is not surprising that the Confederate cause--the cause of their long-time antagonists--inspired little enthusiasm among Mexican-Texans. In 1863, Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee, commanding the Department of Texas, proved to be more prescient than most Anglos when he protested that enforcing the conscription law on the southern frontier of Texas "would have had but the effect of driving the Mexicans across the Rio Grande and made them our enemies." Wherever it was attempted, "it has proved useless." Bee enjoyed some success, however, in recruiting *Tejanos* into short-term enlistments in

state units. Unlike most commanders on either side, Bee realized that the Confederate cause--or the Union cause, for that matter--was unimportant to most Mexican-Americans; he also knew that in order to win them over to the Confederate States, the government must protect their "rights and immunities as citizens."<sup>19</sup>

Federal officers had no better luck with, nor more confidence in, their Mexican recruits. Despite the presence of large numbers of *Tejanos* in the Union army, few rose above the rank of sergeant. Hispanics commanded only five companies in the First or Second Texas, although they comprised a majority of the enlisted men in at least ten companies and served as non-commissioned officers in roughly the same percentage as the Mexican-Americans' overall contribution to the Union ranks. Racism no doubt played a role in this, but the fact that many Anglos commanded "Mexican" companies also suggests that the language barrier, managerial inexperience, and a lack of political savvy may have posed insurmountable obstacles to a *Tejano* rising through the ranks. While stationed at Brownsville early in 1864, a lieutenant in the 19th Iowa remarked that the Second Texas Cavalry was "a peculiar institution and rather a hard operation to keep in proper running condition." The troops were "dishonest, cowardly and treacherous and only bide their time to make good their escape." They deserted so frequently that a guard had to be placed "around them to prevent their carrying out their roving propensities." As if to validate such skepticism, over two hundred *Tejanos* deserted from the Union's Second Texas Cavalry during the first half of 1864.<sup>20</sup>

The reactions of Santos Benavides and Adrian J. Vidal to the Civil War

represent opposite points on the spectrum of *Tejano* behavior. Benavides, descended from the founder of the city of Laredo, belonged to one of the wealthiest and most influential families—Anglo or Mexican—in the lower Rio Grande Valley. In fact, Benavides' career revolved around his efforts to secure stability for his region. Although he was a long-time participant in Mexican affairs, Benavides threw his allegiance to the United States in 1848, hoping that it could provide the political and economic stability so desperately needed along the border. He grimly fought Indians and chased outlaws—including Juan Cortina—and expanded his holdings and power. The patriarch of the Benavides family owned no slaves, but accepted slavery so he in turn, would be accepted by his Anglo neighbors. His own role in the Valley economy led him to identify with the hierarchical structure of southern society; his disdain for distant, unresponsive governments led him to sympathize with secession. As a result, when war broke out, he assumed his accustomed place of leadership among Valley Hispanics.<sup>21</sup>

By the fall of 1863, Benavides commanded the Thirty-third Texas Regiment, leading them against Mexican raiders and against the Yankee invaders at Laredo and Brownsville. Ironically, during these skirmishes with the Federals, his own largely Hispanic unit collided with the *Tejano*-dominated Second Texas. Benavides succeeded in most of his campaigns, and earned the respect of his Confederate colleagues.

Benavides represents those Mexican-Texans who for one reason or another felt a responsibility to Texas, if not to the South, and who perceived their interests to be identical to those of the Anglos who dominated Texas economic and political life.

Unfortunately for Texas Hispanics, even his efforts on behalf of the Confederacy failed to change most Texans' minds about the mass of *Tejanos*.

Adrian J. Vidal's experience during the war differed dramatically from Benavides' and symbolizes the way that many Hispanic Texans found a niche in neither the Confederate nor the Federal cause. The son of a Mexican woman and a wealthy Anglo merchant, Vidal had at the age of twenty secured a Confederate captain's commission and the command of a company by the middle of 1863. His youth and race apparently soured his relationships with other Confederate officers, and in October 1863, Vidal killed two Confederate couriers and deserted with nearly ninety men—primarily Mexican nationals. After robbing a few ranches as he traveled up the Rio Grande Valley, Vidal accepted a captaincy from the Federal forces campaigning in the Rio Grande region and returned to Brownsville, now occupied by the Yankees and from which he led his men on scouting expeditions throughout South Texas. However, after a few months of arduous duty, weary of army rules and regulations, angry at the tardy pay and poor provisions given his men, and complaining about the difficulty of fulfilling his administrative duties when he could neither read nor write English, Vidal asked for an honorable discharge. He eventually received it, but not before he and most of his men once again deserted. Lt. Benjamin McIntyre expressed no surprise that "the gay fancy little Mexican" had left the army. "It is a great pity that the country ever accepted these men for soldiers," he wrote in his diary, "and still a pity that every *yaller belly* of them has not been permitted to desert."<sup>22</sup>

Vidal escaped into Mexico, where he fought against the Mexican

Imperialists. In 1865, at the age of twenty-one, he was captured, court-martialed, and executed. His brief career showed how little stake Mexicans living in Texas had in the affairs of their state and country. Ill-treated in both of the armies in which he served, not committed to the principles espoused by either side, and unwilling to abide restrictions and hardships for causes that did not seem to apply to him, Vidal rejected Texas for his mother's homeland. The chief irony of his short life is that, even in Mexico, he could not find a country in which he was either safe or happy.<sup>23</sup>

Vidal provides an extreme, though telling, example of the shortcomings of the Confederacy's policy toward "outsiders" living in Texas. Although with great effort men like Santos Benavides and August Buchel could overcome their foreign birth and live comfortably in Texas, long years of

political, economic, and cultural antagonism poisoned relations between Texans and *Tejanos* and forced a vocal minority of Germans into rebellion against the Confederacy. The struggles between Anglo-Texans and ethnic minorities provides one of the many examples of internal pressures that caused the Confederacy to crumble from within. Uncommitted to the structures of a slave society fighting for its life against northern "aggression," many ethnic Texans found few reasons to support the Confederate war effort and some, in fact, felt compelled to take up arms against it. Their often tenuous position in Texas would continue for decades after Appomattox, as Germans were far more likely to support the Republican Party than most Texans, and Hispanics continued to struggle against the economic and political dominance—and often the violent hatred—of Anglos.<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTES

1. A version of this paper was presented at the 1989 Northern Great Plains History Conference.

2. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas; or, a Saddle Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1860; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), 440.

3. The classic examination of Confederate dissent is Georgia Lee Tatum's *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934). More recently, Carl Degler's *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974) and Richard Beringer's, et. al., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), have examined the phenomenon of dissent in the Civil War South.

4. Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 81; A.E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 3-25, 43-78, 111-156; Zoie Odom Newsome, "Antislavery Sentiment in Texas, 1821-1861" (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1968), 63-64; R.L. Bieseke, "The Texas State Convention of Germans in 1854," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (April 1930), 247-261.



5. William W. White, "The Texas Slave Insurrection of 1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 52 (January 1949), 259-285; Gideon Lincolem D.B. and Emily Moore, 15 August 1860, Gideon Lincolem Collection, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin; Buenger, *Secession and the Union* 67 (the counties and the percentages against secession were Fayette, 52; Gillespie, 96; Mason, 97; and Medina, 60), 99-100.

6. Montague to Gov. Edward Clark, 10 July 1861, Clark Papers, Governors' Records, Texas State Archives.

7. Thomas B. White to Gov. Francis Lubbock, 20 March 1862, and McCulloch to Lubbock, 27 March 1862, both in Lubbock Papers, Governors' Records, Texas State Archives.

8. Thomas C. Smith, *Here's Yer Mule: The Diary of Thomas C. Smith* (Waco: The Little Texan Press, 1958), 19-20.

9. Alwyn Barr, ed., "Records of the Confederate Military Commission in San Antonio, 2 July-10 October 1862," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 71 (October 1967), 260-271, 253-258; 73 (July 1969), 83-90.

10. Louis E. Brister, "William von Rosenberg's *Kirik*: A History of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants to Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85 (October 1981), 161-163; Christine Schott, "Gustavus Schleicher: A Representative of the Early German Emigrants in Texas," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook* 28 (October 1952), 50-64.

11. Robert W. Stephens, *August Buchel: Texan Soldier of Fortune* (Dallas: Privately Printed, 1970), 1-6.

12. Joseph Bruckmuller, "Description of the Family and Life of Joseph Bruckmuller," typewritten translation, Barker Texas History Center.

13. *Dallas Herald*, 6 September, 1862. The factual details for this brief account of an oft-told tale come from Robert W. Shook, "The Battle of the Nueces, 10 August 1862," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1962), 31-42.

14. James B. Martin, "Terror in Texas: Violence and Fear in the Hill Country during the Civil War," Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Texas at Austin, 1986; quoted in J.B. Wilkinson, *Laredo and the Rio Grande Frontier* (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1975), 284.

15. U.S. Census Bureau, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 490; Buenger, *Secession and the Union* 85; Bette Gay Ash, "The Mexican Texans in the Civil War" (MA Thesis, East Texas State University, 1972), 31-36; Arnoldo DeLeon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 49-62, 75-86; Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press Reprint, 1968), 98-108; Leroy P. Graf, "The Economic History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1820-1875" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1942), 89-100.

16. *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, 3 September 1863, quoted in John Denny Riley, "Santos Benavides: His Influence on the Lower Rio Grande, 1823-1891" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1976), 116; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 245; DeLeon, *They Called Them Greasers*, 82-83.

17. John S. Ford to Gov. Edward Clark, 21 April 1861, Ford Papers, Texas State Archives; Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee to Don Albino Lopez, Governor of Tamaulipas, 3 February 1863, and Lopez to Bee, 11 February, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: A*

*Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, V. 15, 966-967, 975-978; Nueces County Historical Society, *The History of Nueces County* (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1972), 64, 74; Wilkinson, *Laredo and the Rio Grande Frontier*, 288-289; Jerry Don Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray* (Austin: Presidial Press, 1976), 16-17, 22-23.

18. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 81, 25-31.

19. Lt. Col. A. Buchel to Maj. Samuel B. Davis, 5 December 1861, OR Ser. 1, V. 4, 152-153; R.H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868*, E.W. Williams, ed. (London: John Murrach, 1980), 275; Bee to Capt. Edmund P. Turner, 27 April 1863, OR Ser. 1, V. 15, 1056-1057.

20. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, Index to the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served from the State of Texas, National Archives Microfilm Publications; Nannie M. Tilley, ed., *Federals on the Frontier: The Diary of Benjamin F. McInyre, 1862-1864* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 346-347, 338; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 89-92.

21. I have drawn most of the material on Benavides from John Denny Riley's previously cited dissertation, "Santos Benavides: His Influence on the Lower Rio Grande, 1823-1891."

22. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 71-75; Brig. Gen. H.P. Bee to Capt. Edmund P. Turner, 28 October 1863, OR Ser. 1, V. 26, Pt. 1, 448-449; Maj. Gen. N.T.J. Dana to Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, 2 December 1863, OR Ser. 1, V. 26, Pt. 1, 830-831; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 75-78; Tilley, ed., *Federals on the Frontier*, 349-350.

23. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 79.

24. Alwyn Barr, *Reconstruction to Reform: Texas Politics, 1876-1906* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 17; Arnoldo De Leon, *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 23-36; McWilliams, *North From Mexico*, 111-114, 162-188.