

Addressing Local Concerns: Nueces County, 1850-1861

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On April 28, 1861, a mere two months after voting 142-42 to secede, Nueces County residents complained to President Jefferson Davis of their “exposed and defenseless condition.” Fearful of potential attacks from Indians, Juan Cortina, and now the Union, they wanted “military defenses established by the Government.” Though addressed to the Confederacy, the language and desires of the letter reflected a decade-long tradition of petitioning Washington for access to the United States Army. A source of economic stimulus and physical protection, the military, inhabitants believed, had supplied the best means of achieving financial success and social stability. As a visible representation of the federal government, the army also kept locales loyal to the U.S. Following the withdrawal of troops in the mid 1850s, however, residents felt betrayed. Hurt by the loss of military monies and terrified of Washington’s lackluster response to Juan Cortina’s 1859 raid on Brownsville, they concluded that the federal government could no longer address their needs. As the letter to Davis demonstrates, their choice to secede and join the Confederacy was another attempt to find prosperity and security.¹

Development in Nueces County had remained slow throughout the 1840s. Hampered by geography and climate, the area possessed few economic opportunities. The clayey soils and inadequate rainfall common to the region prevented large scale agriculture until extensive irrigation emerged after the Civil War, while the narrow entrances, numerous sandbars, and shallow, murky waters of Corpus Christi Bay limited mercantile possibilities. Most settlers turned to livestock production, a practice ideally suited for the mesquite grass covered prairies, but little financial security resulted because of the restricted access to markets. Indeed out of the 112 listed stock raisers only one, Esten La Cruz, recorded any wealth on 1850 census. The

obstructed bay obviously presented a challenge, but even trade with Mexico proved difficult because of the scarcity of water on the various routes.²

Without a viable means of economic support, population growth remained sluggish, and by 1850 only 649 people resided in the county, nearly all of whom were recent arrivals (See Table 1). Fifty-five percent were foreign born, hailing predominately from Germany, Ireland, and Mexico, while sixteen and twenty-seven percent originated in Northern and Southern states respectively. Ethnically, Anglos comprised sixty-seven percent, while Hispanics made up thirty-three percent; one lone African American was also present in the free population. Forty-seven slaves made up slightly less than seven percent of the entire population.³

Until the area found a way to successfully generate wealth, it seemed destined for failure and continual population turnover. Following a brief but informative encounter with the army, however, a potential solution emerged. On the eve of the Mexican American War, Brigadier General Zachary Taylor selected Corpus Christi, the future county seat of Nueces, as the assembly point for his nearly 3,900 troops. For the six months that Taylor's force camped on the shores of Corpus Christi Bay, the area thrived as inhabitants capitalized on the economic possibilities. New shelters popped up, and, according to one annoyed officer, flocks of people selling liquor emerged with each new transport of troops. Though the economy quickly slumped after Taylor's departure for Mexico, the army's short tenure in the area showcased its power as a financial catalyst. As had generations of frontier residents, Nueces County's population quickly realized that growth and prosperity often followed the military, and many set their sights on returning troops to the area.⁴

The end of the war strengthened such convictions as many former army personnel opted to settle in Corpus Christi after mustering out there. Brevet Second Lieutenant Forbes Britton, a

West Point graduate, and Joseph Fitzsimmons, Britton's company clerk, were regulars, but others such as sutlers, merchants who paid a small tax to trade with troops, Cornelius Cahill and William Mann were civilians who readily attested to the advantages of associating with the military. Better off than many in the county, Cahill recorded wealth of \$2,000 even two years after ceasing commerce with soldiers, while Mann boasted \$50,000 in real and personal property. Allied with those who experienced the 1845 boom, these new additions painted a compelling picture of the army as a way to prosperity.⁵

Concerns for physical safety added fuel to aspirations for a military presence, and, moreover, provided an avenue to attain it. Though frequently inflated, reports of Indian raids regularly circulated in the county, and the topic remained of immense importance. Every issue of the *Corpus Christi Star*, for instance, published at least one article on the topic during its entire run from September 1848-September 1849. Many residents honestly worried over their safety, but this desire for security also afforded compelling evidence for those like Corpus Christi founder, Henry Lawrence Kinney, who expressed more anxiety for his pocketbook than potential attacks. Aware that appeals based purely on economic gain would sway neither military nor civil authorities, Kinney and others intertwined their requests for first a post, and later a supply depot, with cries for protection. Indeed, James Barnard, the editor of the *Star* and a fervent supporter of the tactic, announced that Corpus Christi sat "on an exposed frontier hundreds of miles in extent...[without] a soldier to defend it," and argued that the national government "gave Indians impunity to carry on their murderous work" by not establishing a garrison in Nueces County.⁶

Obtaining a post in Corpus Christi required more than just careful rhetoric; however, it also involved a complex political dance that included the War Department, various military officers, and the governor. A quick succession of the army's department commanders in Texas,

each lasting less than six months, prevented Kinney and his supporters from mounting an effective campaign in that direction. Joined by Governor George Wood, they moved up the chain of command lobbied with the War Department directly, but Secretary of War George Crawford saw no reason to heed their requests. Embroiled in the return to a peacetime army and juggling international obligations, he had little time to spend answering quibbles from every locale that wanted assistance. He felt that the newest commander, Brevet Major General George Brooke, was more than capable of addressing such issues, and directed Nueces County's attention to the new line of posts established, believing it more than enough to fully secure Corpus Christi. Crawford's successor, Charles Conrad, offered even less sympathy. Recognizing that inhabitants and the politicians who represented them wanted troops stationed in local areas for financial reasons and "motives entirely distinct from the good of public service," he quickly dismissed their complaints. Moreover, he felt that Corpus Christi "would be wholly indefensible as a military operation," but he left the decision up to the department commander.⁷

At a loss with the War Department, settlers turned their energies to convincing General Brooke and sent a petition signed by Kinney, Barnard, and forty-four others describing their vulnerability. Following a corroborating report from Captain John H. King of the 1st Infantry, who mentioned the death of a Corpus Christi mail-carrier, Brooke sent two companies of the 5th Infantry to establish a garrison. When questioned about the necessity of the post by Assistant Adjutant General George Deas, he defended his position, explaining that "the whole country appears to be filled with savages" and that "the common roads cannot be transversed without an escort."⁸

While pleased with the recent turn of events, inhabitants still wanted an even more lucrative supply depot, but it seemed unlikely that Brooke would further test his superiors. His

death in 1851, however, placed the reigns in the hands of Bvt. Major General Persifor F. Smith. Far more accommodating to Nueces County's interests than his predecessors, Smith authorized the depot in summer 1852 to supply posts in the South Texas-San Antonio region, and transferred Bvt. Major William W. Chapman from Brownsville to Corpus Christi to serve as quartermaster. Overjoyed residents exclaimed "now that a government depot has been moved here, there will certainly be more [commercial] traffic." Maria von Blucher noted that "so much is being built here no carpenter is to be had." She added that "every week, 3 to 4 houses rise, and workers are in such demand," a far cry from the stagnant village she and her husband, Felix, had found upon their arrival a few years before.⁹

The depot was only the beginning of a good relationship between Smith and Nueces County. Ill from the time he set foot in San Antonio, Smith sought a new location for his headquarters. After a brief leave in New Orleans, he travelled to Corpus Christi in September 1852, likely influenced by descriptions from Assistant Surgeon Nathan S. Jarvis who, along with his friend Chapman, entertained a good view of the place. Finding the climate and the food, especially the local oysters, more healthful, and hopeful that his wife—who appears to have also been sick since she died shortly after—would like it, Smith instructed Chapman to find suitable housing for him and the rest of the staff. Headquarters officially moved to Corpus Christi in December.¹⁰

The garrison, supply depot, and department headquarters afforded a litany of advantages for Nueces County residents. As Texas retained its public lands, the War Department rented land and buildings to house troops and conduct business. From 1850 to 1857, the army leased as many as ten separate properties at a time from at least fourteen different individuals. Ranging from twenty dollars a month for rooms to a hundred dollars for access to a wharf and

warehouses, these rents pumped a significant amount of money into the hands of locals. The army in Corpus Christi, for instance, spent \$2,400 in 1853 [\$69,900 in 2010 dollars] and \$3,696 in 1856 [\$98,000 in 2010 dollars] for facilities used by the quartermaster and subsistence departments. For inhabitants such as Cahill and Mann, who provided piers and storehouses, this was the continuation of a fruitful relationship, but for others it opened new opportunities. Eiluf Ohler's wife, Matilda, was Kinney's paramour. Initially, he tolerated the infidelity (undoubtedly because of the patronage that Kinney supplied), but, as the scandal became increasingly public, he sought to distance himself from both of them. Renting a wharf and his house to officers of the garrison netted him \$150 a month, allowing him to break from his wife and Kinney.¹¹

Army contracts, government specie, and outside investments also promised tangible benefits from the army's presence. Though these contracts never rivaled those in Austin or San Antonio, they nonetheless brought outside capital into Nueces County. Kinney procured beef for Fort Merrill. Richard King, both alone and in connection with his partnership with Mifflin Kennedy, secured multiple steamship contracts with the government. In 1855, H. Huguennin, J.G. Davis, and William McHenry carted freight to remote posts such as Fort Davis, Fort Bliss, and even Fort Fillmore, New Mexico, while John Willett routinely transported provisions to Fort McIntosh from 1856 to 1857. Land investment offered additional assets to residents when five different officers bought town plots and large tracts of land within the county. Bvt. Major General William S. Harney, for instance, purchased 1,000 acres from Kinney for \$5,000 and paid an additional \$1,700 for numerous city locations. Even the mere presence of troops offered benefits, since soldiers' pay from the initial garrison provided \$16,512 per year in disposable income that could make its way into area coffers.¹²

The army also employed large numbers of residents as teamsters, carpenters, blacksmiths, clerks, and even physicians to perform multiple duties necessary for daily operations. The 1850 garrison, for instance, hired between four and ten workers per month. The arrival of the depot and headquarters saw that number rise to 156 at its peak, and no fewer than twenty-five during its entire tenure in the county. As with the leases, the wages paid to these laborers injected large sums into the local economy. Two years in particular illustrate the impact of this employment. Bvt. Lt. Colonel William Freeman's 1853 inspection revealed that forty-five individuals received \$12,936 a year or \$377,000 in today's terms, while Colonel Joseph Mansfield's 1856 examination indicated that 142 workers drew \$42,480 in pay equivalent to more than 1.1 million dollars today (See Table 2). Even more impressive, the army's employees constituted 12% of the total tax payers in 1853, a figure that climbed to 42% by 1856. Obviously, Nueces County's economy depended heavily on the military.¹³

While it seemed that residents had finally found security and economic stability, they soon discovered that larger national concerns dictated local relations with the army. The antebellum military was key to the federal government's plan for the west. However, fears of the institution abounded, and its size, just under 18,000 by 1857, never reached levels sufficient for the demands of the frontier. As events in Kansas, Utah, and on the Great Plains required army intervention, the necessary troops were diverted from other areas such as Texas, resulting in the closure of the posts supplied by the Corpus Christi depot. The depot had never been on sound terms because of the problems the bay presented. Indeed, after his 1852 survey, Captain George B. McClellan pronounced it "utter worthlessness," but Smith's preference for residing Corpus Christi had initially quelled major critics. Smith was also transferred from Texas, and headquarters returned to San Antonio. Following the removal of its biggest supporter and the

abandonment of most South Texas garrisons, the depot again fell under scrutiny. Inspector Mansfield, under orders to find all possible means of reducing army expenditures, criticized the cost of having to lighter supplies to shore during his inspection. In May of 1857, acting Texas commander Albert Sydney Johnston finally ordered the depot's activities transferred to Indianola and the removal of all army personnel from the area.¹⁴

The removal of the depot, along with the other post closures in South Texas, signaled to Nueces County its unimportance to Washington. The depot's departure had devastating effects on the local economy. As Maria von Blucher noted, "here in Corpus Christi things fare rather badly; the army depot has been removed, all property as become valueless and sales are impossible. In consequence there is no activity in land affairs and no surveys are needed, and the prospects are very depressing." Henry Maltby, editor of the newly established *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, also lamented the economic problems and attributed the failure of newspapers between 1857 and 1859 to the depot's removal.¹⁵

In addition to the loss of economic support, residents still worried about their safety. Following the removal of the army, the *Ranchero*, like so many other borderlands newspapers, reported at length about the perceived dangers of the frontier and the need for military support. Complaining that the only news from the western settlements were tales of alarm and woe resulting from murderous Indians, the paper stated "that anyone knowing the Comanches and Muscaleros [which] swarm in Mexico... could easily see the withdrawal of U.S troops from the Military points at Eagle Pass, Fort Ewell, Laredo, Rio Grande City and Brownsville, would surely be followed by disastrous inroads of savages from Mexico." According to the paper, not only did the post closures allow Indians the opportunity to commit outrages, but it permitted "renegade Mexicans" to attack as well. Juan Cortina's raid on Brownsville on September 28,

1859 served as further proof of the need for a federal presence in South Texas. As the *Ranchero* claimed, “the entire Mexican population, on both sides of the Rio Grande are up in arms, advancing upon us, to murder every white inhabitant, and conquer our country as far as the Colorado River.” The worried citizens joined the appeals from Brownsville for army intervention, but the delay—federal forces did reach the Rio Grande for ten weeks—led residents to conclude that their safety was of little importance to the army and thus the federal government.¹⁶

In an atmosphere of fear and anger, the election of 1860 added further reasons to mistrust the national government. Abraham Lincoln, who had promised to prevent the expansion of slavery, was seen as another threat to their already difficult experience. Though the slave population had remained under seven percent and was never as integral to society in Nueces County as it was for East Texas and other parts of the South, many residents wanted protection for their economic assets, especially in light of the government’s actions concerning the depot. Changing demographics also accentuated doubts about the federal government (See Table 1). With fewer than eleven percent of inhabitants persisting from 1850-1860, the constant influx of new arrivals influenced by their previous homes impacted political leanings. In 1850, for instance, sixteen percent of the population came from Northern states, while just over 27 were Southern transplants. By 1860, Northerners shrunk to six percent of the population, while Southerners rose to fifty-two percent. Not surprisingly, not a single Nueces County voter cast his ballot for Lincoln.¹⁷

The selection of delegates for the state secession convention demonstrates the area’s acceptance of secession. In contrast to the clearly fraudulent county secession referendum, all precincts recorded returns for the delegate election, and the total number of ballots cast

corresponded to the typical pattern in Nueces County. 602 votes for outspoken secessionists Henry Maltby and Philip Luckett, 8 for the moderate Forbes Britton, and 56 for the known Unionist William Berry, clearly suggests inhabitants desired leaving the Union.¹⁸

In *Secession and the Union in Texas*, Walter Buenger argues that Texas as a whole seceded because of the development of Southern nationalism. Having failed as a sovereign nation, Texans feared leaving the Union on their own. The Confederacy, which strove in many aspects to replicate the United States, provided a comforting familiarity and a group of states that could make the venture together. Included in Buenger's analysis is a consideration of why areas unlikely to secede opted to accept disunion. In the western portion of the state, for instance, he asserts that the U.S. Army's inability to check Indian attacks made secession more palatable.¹⁹

Nueces County's push for secession represents more than the anger over physical protection that Buenger notes. Reflecting a common western mentality, residents valued the federal government because of its assistance. Following a decade of success created by interactions with the U.S. Army, they were hurt by the military's removal. However, they retained faith in Washington until events during the Cortina Rebellion suggested that the national government would no longer fulfill even physical security, to say nothing of the ancillary benefits they had once garnered from the army presence. Encouraged by the demographic shift that favored the South, many inhabitants hoped that the new Confederate States of America would have the resources to ensure the county's prosperity. The first step—as reflected in their letter to Davis in 1861, just as it had been in countless letters to military, state, and federal officials since 1848—would be the return of troops to Nueces County.

Table 1: Nueces County Demographics 1850-1860²⁰

	1850	1860
Free Population	649	2689
Percent From Northern States	16%	52%
Percent From Southern States	27%	6%
Percent Foreign Born	55%	42%
Percent of Total Population Enslaved	6.75%	6.86%

Table 2: Army Assistance to Nueces County 1853, 1856²¹

	1853	Value in 2010 \$	1856	Value in 2010 \$
Total Wages	\$12,936	\$377,000	\$42,480	\$1,130,000
Total Rent	\$2,400	\$69,900	\$3,696	\$98,000
Percentage of Taxpayers	12%		42%	

¹ Neal and Nossell to Davis, April 28, 1861, *War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) series 1, vol. 1, 629-30 (quotations).

² Eugenia Reynolds Briscoe, *City by the Sea: A History of Corpus Christi, Texas 1519-1875* (New York: Vantage Press, 1985), 133-44; Christopher Long, "Nueces County," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcn05> (accessed August 10, 2011); "Our Regular Army in Texas on the Outbreak of the Mexican War," Box 2D14, Martin Labor Crimmins Papers, Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; *Seventh Census of the United States* (1850), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas.

³ *Seventh Census of the United States* (1850), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas; Nueces County Tax Rolls, 1846-1910 (Austin: Texas State Library Records Division for Texas State Library Archives, 1986).

⁴ Taylor to Adjutant General, July 8, 1845, H.D. 1, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., serial 537, 6; Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800-1916, roll 255, M617, RG 94, NARA Thomas T. Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845-1900* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992), 17, 19; "H.S. Foote" (Lt. Daniel H. Hill), "The Army in Texas," *Southern Quarterly Review* 9 (April 1846): 452.

⁵ Annie Moore Schwienn, "When Corpus Christi was Young," Special Collections and Archives, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789-March 2, 1903* (1903; rpt., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 2:146; "For Chihuahua," *Corpus Christi Star*, September 19, 1848; Robert Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 119; *Seventh Census of the United States* (1850), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas.

⁶ "Indian Depredations," *Corpus Christi Star*, October 31, 1848 (quotations).

⁷ "War Department, Adj't General's Office," *Corpus Christi Star*, December 15, 1848; "From San Antonio," *ibid.*, March 19, 1849; "Gen. Harney," *ibid.*; "From the Secretary of War," *ibid.*, August 25, 1849; Wood to Crawford, December 14, 1849, S.E.D. 1, pt. 2, 31st Cong., 2nd sess., serial 587, 14; Crawford to Wood, January 19, 1850, *ibid.*, 15 (first quotation); Wood to Conrad, August 29, 1850, *ibid.*, 16-18; Conrad to Rusk, January 24, 1852, quoted in Wooster, *American Military Frontiers*, 121 (second quotation).

⁸ Brooke to Deas, August 15, 1850, S.E.D. 1, pt. 2, 31st Cong., 2nd sess., serial 587, 54-5 (quotations); King to Deas, April 10, 1850, *ibid.*, 33-4.

⁹ Wooster, *American Military Frontiers*, 125; Frank Wagner, "Corpus Christi Army Depot," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/egc23> (accessed September 13, 2011); Helen Chapman to mother, July 4, 1852, in *The News from Brownsville: Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852*, ed. Caleb Coker (Texas State Historical Association, 1992), 290; Harney to Deas, July 23, 1852, Persifor Smith Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Maria to parents, November 20, 1852, in

Maria von Blucher's Corpus Christi: Letters from the South Texas Frontier, 1849-1879, ed. Bruce S. Cheeseman (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 74 (quotations).

¹⁰ Wagner, "Corpus Christi Army Depot;" Thomas W. Cutrer, "Persifor Frazier Smith," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsm36> (accessed September 12, 2011); Jarvis to William Chapman, July 21, 1852, Box 2C435, William W. Chapman Papers (hereafter cited as Chapman Papers), Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; William to Helen, September 16, 1852, *ibid.*; William to Helen, September 1, 1852, *ibid.*; Raphael Thian, comp., *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States* (1881, rpt. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 48, 98.

¹¹ "Reports of Persons Employed, and Articles Hired, at the Post of Corpus Christi," boxes 38, 41, 43, 45, Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, RG 92, NARA; Register of Contracts 12: 92, 95, 98, 133-5, 145, 162-3, 189, 191, 200-1, 207, 243, 309, 324, 368, entry 1238, RG 92, NARA; M.L. Crimmins, ed., "W.G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1948): 356; M.L. Crimmins, ed., "Colonel J.K.F. Mansfield's Report on the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 42 (October 1938): 147; Maria to Parents, November 17, 1850, Folder 2, Box 1, Charles F. H. von Blucher Family Papers, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, Texas. For approximations of relative dollar values, see Samuel Williamson, "Six Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare> (accessed September 12, 2011). I have used the Consumer Price Index.

¹² H.E.D. 23, 31st Cong., 2nd sess., serial 599, 9-10; H.E.D. 23, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., serial 640, 24; H.E.D. 23, 32nd Cong., 2nd sess., serial 676, 7-8, H.E.D. 68, 33rd Cong., 2nd sess., serial 788, 14; S.E.D. 32, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., serial 880, 19, 31; S.E.D. 31, 35th Cong., 1st sess., serial 924, 21; S.E.D. 7, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., serial 815, 26; Registers of Contracts, 12: 324, entry 1238, RG 92, NARA; William to Helen, September 1, 1852, Box 2C435, Chapman Papers, William to Helen, August 12, 1852, in *News from Brownsville*, 303; William to Helen, September 16, 1852, *ibid.*, 321; Nueces County Deed Records, Nueces County Courthouse, vol. E, 26-7, 37, 125, 130-1, 197, 216, 221, 228-9, 627; Williamson, "Six Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present" (accessed September 13, 2011).. For purposes of calculating pay, \$11.00 per month was used for enlisted, \$40.00 for captains and \$30.00 for lieutenants. Robert Wooster, *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 26, 152n20;

¹³ "Reports of Persons Employed, and Articles Hired, at the Post of Corpus Christi," boxes 38, 41, 43, 45, Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, RG 92, NARA; Register of Contracts 12: 92, 95, 98, 133-5, 145, 162-3, 189, 191, 200-1, 207, 243, 309, 324, 368, entry 1238, RG 92, NARA; M.L. Crimmins, ed., "W.G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1948): 356; M.L. Crimmins, ed., "Colonel J.K.F. Mansfield's Report on the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 42 (October 1938): 147; Nueces County Tax Rolls, 1846-1910.

¹⁴ Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: the United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 14; Wooster, *American Military Frontiers*, 135-6, 144-8; Robert W. Frazier, *Forts of the West; Military Forts and Presidios, and Posts Commonly Called Forts, West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 150, 156, 154, 158, 144-5; McClellan to Mother, September 26, 1852, roll 2, George Brinton McClellan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (quotation); Johnston to Cooper, May 21, 1857, Letters sent by the Department of Texas, the District of Texas, and the 5th Military District 1856-1858 and 1865-1870, NARA.

¹⁵ Maria to Parents, August 1, 1856, *Maria von Blucher's Corpus Christi*, 103 (quotation); "Introduction and Salutatory," *Rancho*, October 22, 1859.

¹⁶ "Unprotected State of the Frontier," *Rancho*, October 22, 1859 (first and second quotations); "Astounding News from the Rio Grande," *ibid.*, November 12, 1859 (third quotation); Jerry D. Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 38-9; Jerry D. Thompson, *Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier, 1859-1877* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1994), 14-5, 27; Samuel Peter Heintzelman, *Fifty Miles and a Fight: Major Samuel Peter Heintzelman's Journal of Texas and the Cortina War*, ed. Jerry D. Thompson (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998), 117, 131; "Save Us From Our Friends!—The Frontier NOT to be Protected by the Federal Government," *Rancho*, November 5, 1859; Jerry D. Thompson, *Civil War to the Bloody End: the Life and Times of Major General Samuel P. Heintzelman* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press), 86, 102.

¹⁷ Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas; Eighth Census of the United States (1860), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas; Walter Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 8; Barnes F. Lathrop, *Migration into East Texas, 1835-*

1860: A Study from the United States Census (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1949), 26; W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots 1836-1892* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1955), 798.

¹⁸ Select Nueces County Election Records, 1846-1861, folder 1-3; Nueces County Election Returns 1858-1861, Corpus Christi: Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi.

¹⁹ Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 172, 46.

²⁰ *Seventh Census of the United States* (1850), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas; *Eighth Census of the United States* (1860), Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Nueces County, Texas; Nueces County Tax Rolls, 1846-1910 (Austin: Texas State Library Records Division for Texas State Library Archives, 1986).

²¹ Crimmins, "W.G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," 356; Crimmins, "Colonel J.K.F. Mansfield's Report on the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856," 147; Williamson, "Six Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount" (accessed September 12, 2011).