

*Lone Star Unionism,  
Dissent, and Resistance*

OTHER SIDES OF CIVIL WAR TEXAS

Edited by

Jesús F. de la Teja

election except 1932 and when local boy LBJ ran in 1964. Walter Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (Baltimore, Md.: Arno Press, 1955); E. E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896–1932* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1947).

39. Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 475–76, n. 42.

40. Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865–1880* (Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 27–62, 220, 222, 229.

41. James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 1998), 410–14. Ward-level election returns are reported in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, March 1, 1916, 3. A quantitative investigation based on 1910 census population data shows that, as expected, the strongest opposition was by black voters, but a regression analysis shows that Germans were less inclined than other whites to support segregation. On Nagel, see Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 394–403.

42. Jeffery A. Jenkins, Justin Peck, and Vesla M. Weaver, “Between Reconstructions: Congressional Action on Civil Rights, 1891–1940,” *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (2010): 66–77. An Anglo-Texan, Hatton Summers, was one of the main opponents of the law. See also George C. Rable, “The South and the Politics of Antilynching Legislation, 1920–1940,” *Journal of Southern History* 51 (1985): 201–20.

43. Joseph Schafer, ed. and trans., *The Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841–1869* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1928), 379–83.

44. Marcus Nicolini, *Deutsch in Texas* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 63, 217; additional research in manuscript census material, plus e-mail and phone conversations with the late Arthur Rode, Fredericksburg.

45. Küffner, “Texas-Germans’ Attitudes,” 8–9.

46. Charles David Grear, “All Eyes of Texas Are on Comal County’: German Texans’ Loyalty during the Civil War and World War I,” in *Texans and War: New Interpretations of the State’s Military History*, ed. Alexander Mendoza and Charles David Grear (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 133, 140; Gene B. Preuss, “Within Those Walls: The African American School and Community in Lubbock and New Braunfels, Texas,” *Sound Historian* (1998): 36–43; U.S. History Transparency Set (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1996), vol. 2, table 43.

47. Andrew Greeley, *Why Can’t They Be Like Us? America’s White Ethnic Groups* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), 68–69, 73–74, 203, 206, finds that German American college graduates were the least likely among the ethnic groups questioned in 1968 to ascribe racial unrest in the cities to white racism; Catholic Irish came in second only to Jews in the degree of sympathy for blacks expressed, the diametric opposite of the situation in the Civil War era. Not coincidentally, the Irish had the highest Democratic affiliation; Germans the lowest.

## 6

## “Although We Are the Last Soldiers”

## CITIZENSHIP, IDEOLOGY, AND TEJANO UNIONISM

Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez

In April 1861 a group of forty Mexican Texans led by Antonio Ochoa seized control of a southern precinct in Zapata County and attempted to prevent county officials from pledging their support for the Confederacy. They claimed to owe no allegiance to the state or to the Confederacy. County judge Isidro Vela, a prominent Tejano landowner, intervened and persuaded the rebels to withdraw.<sup>1</sup> Days later Ochoa and his men presented Vela with a *pronunciamento* (proclamation) against the Confederacy and asked him to forward it to federal officials. Alarmed, Vela and Henry Redmond, an Englishman who had married Tejana Refugia Díaz, requested aid from nearby Webb County. Confederate soldiers from Webb County led by Capt. Matt Nolan joined Sheriff Pedro Díaz and Judge Vela to surprise Ochoa’s men at Rancho Clareño, killing combatants and noncombatants alike in what became known as the Clareño Massacre. Tejano Unionists would later seek to avenge these deaths by attacking Redmond’s fortified rancho complex. Reporting on this attack, an Anglo-American would claim “not a single citizen of the county came to our assistance.” Subsequent news stories confirmed that most Zapata County residents sided with the Union or remained neutral. Their actions were part of the multiple ways that Tejanos expressed resistance and dissent to their county and state officeholders’ support for the Confederacy.<sup>2</sup>

Dismissing the Unionists as ignorant criminal opportunists, local Confederates delegitimized Tejano grievances. Politicians and journalists were quick to characterize them as “bandits” and “assassins” from Mexico. According to Judge Vela, Ochoa had “collected all the thieves,

murderers and assassins of Guerrero." Since Guerrero was located in Mexico opposite Zapata County, Vela's accusation implied that Ochoa's troops were not Tejanos but rather Mexican nationals. Yet these men had asked Vela to forward their *pronunciamento* to U.S. federal officials, whom they believed were "a few miles on the other side of Bexar," according to Redmond. This led Redmond to conclude that it was "hard to say how far their ignorance will lead them." Ochoa's supporters, however, were far from ignorant; rather, they refused to continue accepting the patronizing control exercised by the county's political clique, including Judge Vela, Redmond, and Sheriff Díaz.<sup>3</sup>

Several historians have echoed the view that Tejanos were not aware of the issues over which the Civil War was fought. Throughout Texas, Tejanos owned sixty slaves in 1860, but most of them were held far from the border. Only fourteen slaves (all owned by Anglos) lived in the border counties of Cameron, Starr, and Hidalgo in 1860. Such low numbers are not surprising, because slaves could easily escape into Mexico. These statistics, scholars have argued, demonstrate that slavery did not play a major part in the daily lives of Mexican Texans. According to one scholar, Tejanos did not join the Union army for the "same high ideals as [John L.] Haynes and [Edmund J.] Davis." Instead, this historian argues, they joined because the "army gave them a sense of self-esteem and an opportunity to strike back at their old political enemies in Texas."<sup>4</sup>

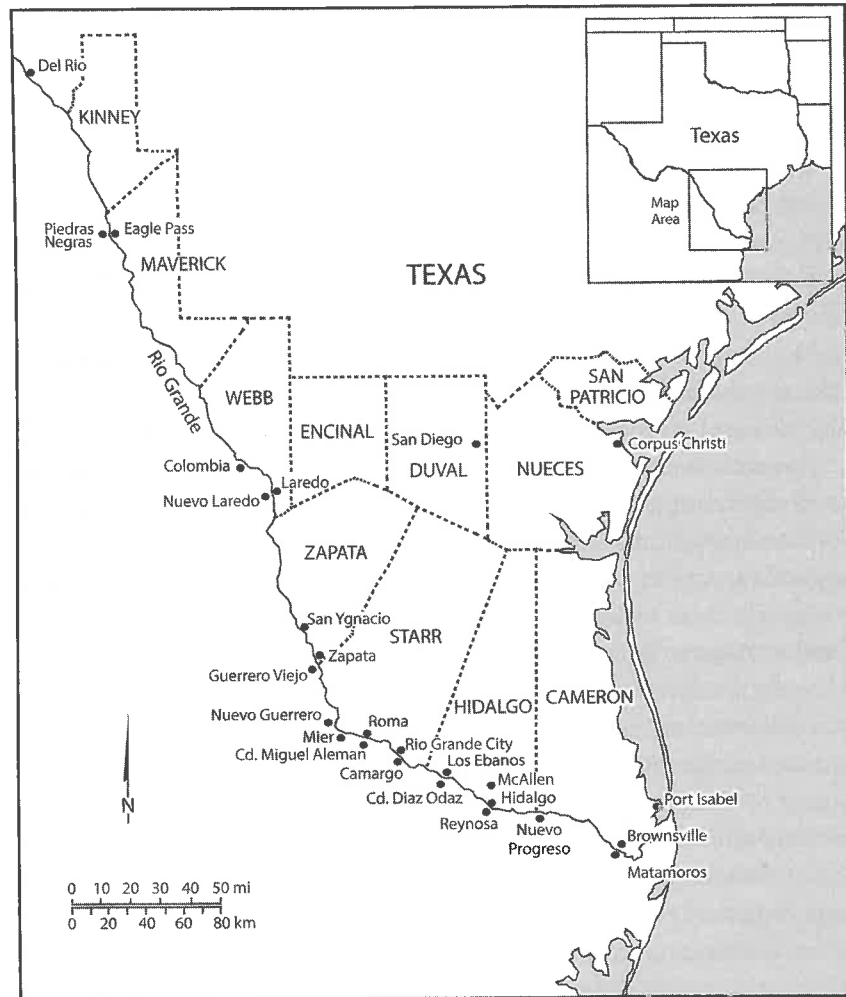
Scholars have also argued that Tejanos chose sides according to their socioeconomic class because they lacked an "ideological orientation . . . towards the conflict." According to this view, the wealthy chose the Confederacy because they had alliances with the Democratic Party and with white slave owners, whereas the poor chose the Union because of their resentment against the "growing Anglo-Texan political and economic dominance of their communities." This resentment was particularly true for the South Texas border region, where a history of racial antagonisms fueled the desire of poor Mexican Texans to seek revenge on the largely pro-Confederate white minority by joining the Union troops.<sup>5</sup> Yet this explanation for Tejanos' involvement assumes that they were motivated only by economic factors and political resentments and not by ideology. It also fails to account for the number of poor Confederate supporters or elite and middling Union backers. Another historian argues that "the mass of Tejanos could not identify with the philosophical origins

of the war."<sup>6</sup> Speaking of residents of Laredo, yet another scholar states that "most of the townspeople probably did not have any expectations of owning slaves, had never heard of abolitionists, and did not understand the economic and political rivalry between the North and the South."<sup>7</sup>

These interpretations are puzzling. Some might be a result of undue influence by primary sources authored by Anglo-Texan residents who held patronizing views of Tejanos. Other scholars might have offered such historical interpretations after failing to find a significant number of written sources authored by Mexican Texans. Whatever the reasons, these interpretations discount the ability of Tejanos to understand political issues in the United States as well as the reality that many Mexican Texans acted on such beliefs.

Contrary to these interpretations, I argue that Mexican Texans chose to participate in the sectional conflict because they understood the reasons over which the Civil War was fought. In this essay, I focus on the experiences of Tejanos along the South Texas border region (see map). Although slaves were not a large part of the border region's labor force, their actions to seek freedom directly affected local residents. Some Mexican Texans, for example, helped slaves flee across the international border, others captured runaway slaves in Texas, and still others pursued runaway slaves into Mexico and returned them to the United States. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Tejanos and Mexican nationals joined both the Confederate and Union armies. Most of the Union and Confederate recruits were illiterate laborers, farmers, and herdsmen, but their numbers also included shoemakers and masons as well as literate former officeholders and rancheros. Approximately 11 percent of the troops were literate, leading some historians to believe that these recruits failed to understand the ideological motivations for the war.<sup>8</sup> But was literacy necessary to understand the issues that triggered the war? Were poor whites in the backcountry of West Virginia or African Americans in Georgia sufficiently literate? Moreover, did these soldiers need to be literate to understand the intricacies of the conflict? If not, then why do scholars insist on judging Tejanos and Mexican nationals by such standards?

Ochoa's men left few written records, so their motivations are difficult to discern. Nevertheless, their actions offer some clues. Journalists reported that they had allegedly threatened to "kill the gringos" in the



The Lower Rio Grande Valley at the time of the Civil War. Cartography by Matthew Murphy, Department of Geography, Texas State University. Copyright © 2016 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

county. These reports might have been the exaggerated fears of Anglos, who were vastly outnumbered by Mexican Texans in Zapata County and most of the border counties. Yet the Unionists' actions discount the fear of a so-called race war because Ochoa's men also targeted Tejano pro-Confederate officeholders. Rather than seeking to foment a race war, the Unionists were likely venting their frustration at the powerful

political control exercised by the *americano* and Tejano elite. The racial and class divisions along the border during the Civil War era became fittingly demonstrated by the armed conflict in Zapata County. The county's population (which boasted the largest percentage of Tejanos along the border) consisted of numerous small landowners and agricultural workers along with a few elite Tejanos allied with wealthy *americano* merchants and landowners. Among the elite were Judge Vela and Redmond, another large landowner. The political elite in the border counties exercised a strong influence through their control of local offices. In January 1861 the voters of Zapata County had joined the citizens of Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr, and Webb Counties in voting overwhelmingly for secession.<sup>9</sup> Zapata County recorded no ballots opposing secession, confirming the power of elite merchants and landowners to control elections. This power was manifested in Judge Vela's threat to fine anyone who did not support secession; he also arrested those who refused to vote. The vote, however, masked the political divisions within Zapata County, which were manifested three months later with Ochoa's rebellion in support of the Union.<sup>10</sup>

The rebels led by Ochoa had also threatened to hang Sheriff Díaz and to seize the county's funds. According to a local *americano*, "Fifty men of this county had armed themselves, and organized for the avowed purpose of keeping the county officers from taking the oath of office prescribed by the Convention. They had declared that they owed no allegiance to the State or Confederate States, and that they would not obey or respect the authorities holding office under either." Had these Unionists merely been displeased with the county's political machine, Ochoa's men would have little reason to mention local officeholders' support for the Confederacy. A more nuanced reading of the Unionists' proclamation and actions reveals that they understood the ideological issues involved in the secession vote. Ochoa's men opposed the county's vote for secession and wanted to avoid fighting for a cause they did not support. Given the proclamation's various demands, the Unionists' motivations were more complicated than merely striking back at Zapata County's political elite.<sup>11</sup>

After Ochoa's uprising, local recruits swelled the Union ranks. Some joined as a result of Union recruitment; others enlisted for complex reasons. Among the Union supporters were Teodoro Zamora, a former

Hidalgo County judge, Octaviano Zapata, a small landowner in Zapata County, and several men allied with Juan Cortina. Some of these men were based in Mexico; others lived in Texas. Zamora had joined Juan Cortina's troops in 1859 during a six-month rebellion to protest various injustices and the denial of civil rights to Mexican Texans. Afterward, he joined other Tejanos who abandoned the United States because they believed that its government could not guarantee their rights as citizens. When the American Civil War broke out, Zamora lived on his mother's ranch in Tamaulipas and continued to support Cortina (who had similarly left Texas for Mexico). Unionists were soon harassing Confederate cotton shipments and engaging in cross-border raids. In December 1862, two hundred Tejano Unionists demonstrated their resentment against Zapata County's political elite by capturing Judge Vela at his ranch and hanging him from a tree. They left a note warning others not to remove the body unless they wished to suffer the same fate. The political divisions embodied in these conflicts reflected the Tejano community's economic fissures, resentment over political subordination, and ideological differences over slavery.<sup>12</sup>

Tejanos did understand the ideological reasons for the Civil War, but like other participants they did not have a uniform reason for taking sides or remaining neutral. Tejano participation on the Confederate side was at least partly driven by the circumstances of Texas's economic, political, and military roles in the Confederacy. In part, Mexican Texans' reactions to the Civil War were rooted in the relationships Mexicans had established with African Americans in the *villas del norte* (northern towns along the Rio Grande) during the Spanish and Mexican periods. These relationships continued to develop and strengthen after U.S. annexation in the mid-nineteenth century. Ultimately, Mexican Texans who supported the Union army did so for various reasons including anti-slavery sentiment, opposition to pro-Confederate local politicians, and as expressions of U.S. citizenship. Tejanos also invoked their military service as a claim to U.S. citizenship throughout the war, and though they endured hardships as soldiers they were not politically rewarded afterward.

During the Civil War, the South Texas border region became important economically because the Confederacy began exporting cotton across the Rio Grande—one of the few areas that Union forces did not

blockade. Cotton initially flowed out of a Texas port near Brownsville, but Confederate officials subsequently shifted operations to Matamoros because of pressure from federal forces. The Confederacy used the port of Bagdad, along the beach in Matamoros, to export cotton from Texas, Louisiana, and some states east of the Mississippi River and to import manufactured goods and war supplies.<sup>13</sup> The population of Matamoros, which had decreased to about 5,000 from 25,000 because of Mexico's war against French occupation, rose quickly as cotton exports to England and New York increased. Bagdad also grew in the economic boom, its population reaching approximately 15,000.<sup>14</sup>

The strategic importance of the Rio Grande area encouraged both the Confederacy and the Union to recruit and draft ethnic Mexican men regardless of their citizenship status. The recruitment occurred on both sides of the international boundary as Confederate and Union agents attempted to obtain as many able-bodied men as they could from the ethnic Mexican communities along the border. An estimated 2,550 Mexican Texans joined the Confederate troops and approximately 960 became Union soldiers. More ethnic Mexican men joined the Confederate army than the Union army because Texas sided with the Confederacy and the state implemented a draft law. The forced conscription of Mexican Texans and Mexican nationals increased so much that it depleted the number of cart men and seriously threatened to curtail trade between Texas and Mexico. Many of the Civil War soldiers came from the South Texas border region, with Bexar, Refugio, and Webb Counties supplying the most ethnic Mexican Confederate troops and Cameron, Hidalgo, and Nueces Counties contributing the majority of Tejano soldiers for the Union.<sup>15</sup>

The first armed action in favor of the Union by Mexican Texans occurred on April 12, 1861, when Ochoa's men rebelled in Zapata County. Union soldiers, unaware of the Civil War's end, also fought one of the last battles of the war, on May 13, 1865, near Brownsville over one month after the Robert E. Lee had surrendered in Virginia. Although most of the soldiers were concentrated in South Texas, ethnic Mexican troops fought battles throughout the state, in neighboring Louisiana and New Mexico, and as far away as Virginia and Georgia.<sup>16</sup>

Relations between Mexicans and escaped African American slaves in the Lower Rio Grande border region dated to the early nineteenth

century. African American slaves began escaping into New Spain's sparsely settled northern borderlands before the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819) formalized the boundary between the United States and New Spain. The flow of fugitive slaves into Tamaulipas increased after President Vicente Guerrero's decree outlawing slavery in 1829, which exempted Texas. Their flight into the interior of Mexico and the state legislature's moves toward abolition undermined slavery in Texas and motivated slave-owning Texans to support separatist rebellion in 1835.<sup>17</sup>

After the successful Texas rebellion in 1836, tensions increased as Mexico refused to recognize the independence of Texas and made several unsuccessful military attempts to retake control of the separatist republic. Moreover, tensions were further increased when Mexican government and military officials encouraged runaway slaves to flee to Mexico. In the ensuing years, prominent Anglo-Texans, including the Texas Republic's president Sam Houston, learned that their runaway slaves were enjoying life in the *villas del norte*. The efforts of bondsmen and bondswomen to flee, according to historian Sean Kelley, indicate that Texas's slave communities had gradually associated Mexico with nonslavery and had invested the border with "liberationist significance." In the ensuing years, reports about runaway slaves enjoying life in Mexico confirmed this view. A prisoner in the aftermath of the ill-fated Mier Expedition, Gen. Thomas J. Green, encountered Tom and Esau, the former bondsmen of President Houston. He bore witness to the respected status of these two well-known runaway slaves. They had acculturated to Mexican society and gained wide acceptance, as evident by the Mexican army general who served as godfather at one of their weddings. Both criticized their former master and clearly appreciated the freedom they now enjoyed.<sup>18</sup>

Fugitive slaves living in Mexico nurtured positive relations with Mexicans. They lived, worked, and appeared in public throughout various Mexican border towns. Several former slaves married Mexican nationals and used their skills to obtain financial security. This positive relationship with Tejanos' relatives and friends in Mexico undoubtedly fueled anti-slavery feelings. African Americans, including some who had been former slaves in the United States, became part of the skilled labor force of the *villas del norte* in the early nineteenth century. In an 1832 judicial dispute in Matamoros, for example, municipal officials charged one African American immigrant, Enrique Viudy, with

murder for shooting and killing another, his brother-in-law José Jorge Orr. Viudy was a thirty-five-year-old barber from New York who had assumed the name Antonio Guadalupe Refugio after being baptized in Matamoros. He subsequently married a local non-elite *mexicana*, as did Orr, who was a local craftsman. In the court testimony, their Mexican in-laws and friends described their acculturation to and acceptance within local society.<sup>19</sup>

Although a few Mexican Texans captured runaway slaves in Mexico, most border residents did not cooperate with slave owners despite bounties of \$200–\$500 on runaways. Opportunities to collect such bounties occurred regularly; local newspapers routinely carried notices posted by slave owners who suspected that runaways were traveling toward the Mexican border. For Southerners who visited the border region, the friendly relationship between ethnic Mexicans and African Americans, including fugitive slaves, was unsettling and led several Anglo-Americans to comment disapprovingly. "This admiration for negroes somewhat disgusted me with the Mexicans," wrote newcomer Teresa Vielé while visiting Rio Grande City, "for in spite of philanthropy, Christian charity, and liberal views, I do not believe that the colored and white races can ever by any possibility amalgamate to an equality!"<sup>20</sup>

Slaves continued to arrive in the *villas del norte* during the U.S. Army's buildup for the U.S.-Mexican War. Officers in Gen. Zachary Taylor's army reported that three slaves had fled in 1845 as the army marched toward the Rio Grande because "every inducement is offered by the enemy."<sup>21</sup> Runaway slaves owned by army officers continued to escape into Mexico in subsequent months. Moreover, the aid Mexicans provided to runaway slaves created resentment among Anglo-Americans. The appraiser general summed up the hostility between Anglo-Texans and Mexican nationals as a result of the asylum provided to runaway slaves: "The frequent escape of slaves from the American side of the Rio Grande into Mexico, and the folly of any attempt to recapture them—although you often met your own property in Matamoros—has been one of the excitants of bad feeling between the citizens of Mexico and those on the frontier; consequently, all the household drudgery and menial services are performed by Mexican servants."<sup>22</sup>

Like Mexican employers whose indebted laborers fled into the United States, Anglo-American slave owners became frustrated with the lack

of an extradition treaty that would return runaway slaves from Mexico. Laborers who fled across the river dismantled labor controls in each nation. Along the U.S.-Mexico border, indebted laborers and runaway slaves shared a desire to obtain a better life by crossing an international boundary that was meant to contain them.<sup>23</sup> Fleeing across the Rio Grande was one of the “weapons of the weak” available to some of the most downtrodden workers on each side of the international boundary.

Elsewhere in Texas, Tejanos’ sympathies for African Americans were manifested in various ways. On some plantations, Mexican Texans developed friendships while working alongside African American slaves. Others took considerable risks in assisting runaways or rescuing slaves and transporting them to Mexico for safety. Incensed at Tejanos’ aid to runaway slaves, *americanos* in Guadalupe County passed a resolution prohibiting “Mexican peons” from entering the county “because of their alleged sympathy with bondpeople.”<sup>24</sup> Because slave flight to Mexico was a prominent worry for the state’s slave owners, as Andrew Torget explains in his essay in this volume, Tejanos’ possible aid to runaways was particularly unsettling. Commenting on Anglo-Americans’ punitive measures against Tejanos, Frederick Law Olmsted wrote: “Wherever slavery in Texas has been carried in a wholesale way, into the neighborhood of Mexicans, it has been found necessary to treat them [Mexican Texans] as outlaws. Guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, equal rights with all other citizens of the United States and of Texas, the whole native population of county after county has been driven, by the formal proceedings of substantial planters, from its homes, and forbidden, on pain of no less punishment than instant death, to return to the vicinity of the plantations.”<sup>25</sup>

Along the South Texas border, Tejanos’ sympathies for African Americans were most evident in Hidalgo County, where intermarriage became common. In the 1850s, Matilde Hicks, of French and Cherokee ancestry, and Silvia Hector, a former slave, arrived in Hidalgo County accompanying their husbands, Nathaniel Jackson, a Cherokee, and John F. Webber, a white man who settled in the area. Their ranches became refuge communities for escaped and freed slaves before the Civil War. As more African Americans arrived, the number of mixed-race and black offspring increased, augmenting the community’s *mestizaje* (racial intermixture). From 1852 to 1888, the community witnessed eleven unions

between African Americans and Mexican Texans (five women and six men) and five marriages between African American women and Anglo-American men. In addition, there were ten marriages of mixed-raced individuals and five endogamous unions of African Americans. Unlike marriages between *americanos* and Tejanas, the marriages between African Americans and Tejanos did not involve the elite. Although some unions violated the state’s anti-miscegenation laws, the spouses’ class background partly explains why local authorities did not prosecute them. Poor couples were likely not prone to inheritance disputes, which triggered appeals to anti-miscegenation statutes. Additionally, Anglo-Americans considered poor Tejanos to be nonwhite and therefore not subject to enforcement. Moreover, local officials were unlikely to apply anti-miscegenation prohibitions to marriages that local residents readily accepted as part of Mexican cultural tradition. Finally, there is no recorded instance of the reenslavement of the former slaves who lived in Hidalgo County, which suggests that they had become strongly integrated into local society.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to their anti-slavery and racial views, some Tejanos were surely motivated to oppose the Confederacy by their experience of being treated as second-class citizens by local and state pro-Confederate officeholders. Anglo-Americans’ political views were consistent with their positions on citizenship. They distinguished the residents whom they believed belonged in their communities from those who did not belong through their use of the term “citizen.” References in newspaper advertisements and editorials described “meetings of citizens” for purposes of holding elections, organizing militias to defend towns, and promoting commerce.<sup>27</sup> The implied meaning of “citizen” was white male resident. The selective use of this term to refer to Anglo-American residents racially marked Mexican Texans as *noncitizens* and denied them membership in the local community and the nation.<sup>28</sup> In written observations, *americanos* rarely distinguished Mexican nationals with Mexican citizenship from Mexican Texans with American citizenship. Instead, they referred to both groups simply as Mexicans. It seems that Anglo-Americans found it convenient not to distinguish between the two groups, leaving Mexican Texans’ citizenship ambiguous and allowing *americanos* to respect or deny Tejanos’ citizenship on a case-by-case basis. Occasionally Anglo-Americans nominally acknowledged Tejanos

as citizens when a particular action convinced them an individual provided a service to their community. For example, *americanos* accepted Mexican Texans as U.S. citizens when the latter defended white supremacy by upholding slavery. Only a few qualified for this distinction, so the majority of Tejanos could be conveniently suspected of being citizens of Mexico.

Like Civil War soldiers elsewhere in the United States, Tejanos were undoubtedly influenced to join the Confederacy or Union by the decisions of their family and friends as well as by the promised soldiers' pay. Laredo's Benavideses, large landowners and perennial politicians, were fervent slavery supporters who recruited others for the Confederacy. Cortina, Ochoa, and Zapata were equally crucial in recruiting family and friends to the Union cause. The political ties that Tejanos had established with prominent Anglo-American Unionists also played a role. John L. Haynes and Edmund J. Davis nurtured social and political ties to Tejanos during their political and military careers along the South Texas border. Both Haynes and Davis opposed secession and crossed into Mexico after Texas joined the Confederacy.

Haynes and Davis were instrumental in persuading President Abraham Lincoln to allow the Union to recruit along the U.S.-Mexican border.<sup>29</sup> As Carl Moneyhon's essay in this volume explains, Davis underwent an unlikely transformation from a Democratic Party stalwart to an active Unionist and supporter of African American suffrage. After moving to the border region in the aftermath of the U.S.-Mexican War, Davis served as inspector and deputy collector of customs at Laredo between 1849 and 1853. Beginning in 1853, he served as a district attorney in Brownsville and later received an appointment as judge of the Twelfth Judicial District, also in Brownsville. Relying on his prewar contacts, Colonel Davis recruited several influential Tejanos and *mexicanos* into the Union army and led the First Texas U.S. Cavalry.<sup>30</sup>

Haynes was a veteran of the U.S.-Mexican War who served as Starr County clerk before becoming a state legislator. Subsequently, he joined the Union forces and rose to the rank of colonel in the Second Texas U.S. Cavalry. Haynes depended on longtime acquaintances such as Antonio Abad Díaz and George Treviño to recruit *mexicanos* such as Cesario Falcón and José Lino Hinojosa to his command.<sup>31</sup> The U.S. consul in

Matamoros, Leonard Pierce, assisted Davis and Haynes in establishing contact with Union leaders in New Orleans and in enlisting troops. Their success led the Confederate commander stationed at Fort Brown to complain bitterly to Mexican officials in an unsuccessful attempt to stop Union recruiting in Mexico.<sup>32</sup>

As in civilian life, *mexicanos* faced discrimination once in the Confederate or Union army. The Union's signing bonus of land and money undoubtedly attracted some recruits from both sides of the border, but it was not the deciding factor in motivating enlistments. Although Tejano Confederates included volunteers and draftees, the promised soldiers' pay was probably an initial inducement. For Unionists, the signing bonus was one hundred pesos in gold and 50 acres of Texas land for single men or 150 acres for married men. Nevertheless, while serving in segregated units under Anglo-American commanding officers, recruits suffered from insufficient clothing, ammunition, and armaments. Language barriers magnified their problems. In an effort to remedy their mistreatment, some Mexican Unionists objected to the appointment of a monolingual English-speaking officer to their regiment, but they were unsuccessful. The mistreatment included each army's failure to compensate soldiers. Confederate officials neglected to pay one local unit for nine months. This problem exacerbated Tejanos' existing poverty-stricken conditions. Many families, for example, had crossed into Mexico to escape the violence associated with the war. With their lands on the Texas side unattended, these refugee families had little recourse but to sell their small herds of livestock to obtain money for necessities.<sup>33</sup> Both Tejano Confederate and Union troops suffered for months from lack of payment and inadequate supplies throughout their service, so money could not have been the sole motivating factor for their enlistments. Moreover, why would Mexican Texans continue to enlist if other recruits were not receiving payment for their military service and suffering other hardships?

Mexican Texans' claims to U.S. citizenship provided an additional motivation for their decision to support the Union. As U.S. citizens, some undoubtedly felt a desire to support the nation during the Civil War. Moreover, Tejanos might have been motivated by the frequent attacks on their citizenship from local Anglo-American officeholders and



journalists. Generally, Tejanos were subject to having their loyalty suspected and their understanding of democratic values—the Southern version, at any rate—dismissed as lacking.

One of the rare times Anglo-Americans lavished praise on Tejanos was when they helped return runaway slaves. On these occasions, *americanos* depicted Mexican Texans as good citizens who had respect for the law. In 1860, for example, the Brownsville *Ranchero* described two captures of runaway slaves by Tejanos, whom the newspaper recognized as “our Mexican citizens” and congratulated by observing that their actions were “deserving of merited praise.” It also offered qualified praise for Mexican Texans, arguing that “all must admit that *some* of our Mexican population *are of service* to the community at large, as well as *being law-abiding citizens*.”<sup>34</sup> A year later four slaves escaped from the custody of Maj. S. Peters, who lived on Padre Island in the vicinity of Corpus Christi. Peters offered a \$250 reward for their capture. This time, an unnamed Mexican man captured the runaways near the town of Carricitos and received congratulatory praise from the local newspaper.<sup>35</sup> Similar admiration was offered by an Anglo-American Laredo resident who wrote a letter to the editor describing the exploits of Santos Benavides, a wealthy Tejano landowner. Benavides had crossed into Mexico to retrieve runaway slaves. The letter sought to correct the false impressions, the writer explained, “so generally entertained regarding the portion of our fellow-citizens of Mexican origin.” Instead, some Tejanos were good citizens, he argued, since they were devoted to upholding “the interests of the country and the welfare of its citizens.”<sup>36</sup> Ironically, Mexican Texans “won” acceptance as legitimate American citizens when they denied freedom to African American slaves who had no similar recourse to citizenship.

Given the treatment they generally received as second-class citizens, it is not surprising that Tejanos attempted to avoid being conscripted into an army supported by local and state politicians who were responsible for their disfranchisement. In 1863, after Texas instituted the Confederate draft for all “white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five,” conscription agents scoured the countryside looking for able-bodied men. Casting aside their concerns about Mexican Texans’ racial status and eligibility for citizenship, Confederate recruiters had no misgivings about considering them “white” citizens for draft purposes. Alerted to

the recruiters’ intentions, many Tejanos fled to Mexico. Despite this large-scale departure, agents managed to conscript over three hundred men (including some Mexican nationals). Others avoided conscription by using an excuse that manipulated Anglo-American prejudices. Frustrated about not finding any eligible recruits in areas that had previously polled many Mexican Texan voters, a conscription agent wrote, “Nearly every other man I met claimed to be a citizen of Mexico, and therefore exempt from conscription.” To avoid the draft, Tejanos strategically denied their membership in a society that often did not uphold their citizenship rights. Not only did Mexican Texans cross the physical international border to escape conscription, but they also intentionally blurred the figurative border of citizenship. Like people living in national borderlands elsewhere, Tejanos employed their ambiguous national identity to their advantage.<sup>37</sup>

Mexican nationals who supported the Union also had a variety of reasons for doing so. Their Tejano friends and relatives who were Unionists undoubtedly motivated some *mexicanos* to enlist in the Union army or in other ways provide support. The complexity of the situation is illustrated by the case of Teodoro Zamora. In 1863, Col. Edmund Davis met Zamora at the mouth of the Rio Grande and offered him a commission as a lieutenant in the Union army. Several years earlier, Zamora had served as a judge of Hidalgo County, but later he had escaped to Mexico after joining Juan Cortina’s rebels in 1859. After pondering Davis’s offer, Zamora refused to become a Union soldier because he would have to renounce his allegiance to Cortina and accept the U.S. annexation of Texas. Zamora subsequently wrote a letter to President Lincoln in which he explained his decision not to become a Union soldier. According to historian Alice Baumgartner, Zamora did not want to renounce his allegiance to Cortina and he would not join an army that had conquered his people in a war of territorial expansion. He wrote that Tejanos remembered “what we should have forgotten: when those men (*americanos*) came to assault, murder, hang, rape, burn, and rob us . . . to make us disappear from our homes and lands until we were conquered.” Although Zamora acknowledged that Lincoln was trying to obtain the support of Cortina and his followers by inviting them to join the Union army, he could not accept such an offer because his “cause was not motivated by money, nor caprice, nor grievance, but by the justice that God gave to

all civilized nations.”<sup>38</sup> Zamora, like some Mexican government officials, believed that the American Civil War was the United States’s just punishment for its annexation of Mexico’s northern territory. Such elegant rhetoric and logic do not support the characterization that *mexicanos* and Tejanos were devoid of ideology and did not understand the war’s causes. Nevertheless, although neither Zamora nor Cortina would officially join the Union army, they both supported the Union by attacking Confederates and allying with Tejano Unionists.

Mexican Texans who supported the Union were undoubtedly influenced by the negative characterization of the Tejano community that appeared in English-language newspapers published along the border. Staffed by pro-Confederate journalists, the local press was extremely partisan and racist in its coverage of political developments. During the Civil War, the press denounced Tejanos in Webb County as pro-Union even though many had risked their lives for the Confederacy. Post-election comments reveal deep-seated racist views that excluded many Tejanos from political participation. In 1863, after Laredo provided the swing votes to defeat the state representative candidate favored by *americanos*, editors expressed hostility toward local voters. The predominantly Mexican Texan electorate voted for Charles Callaghan instead of Sommers Kinney, who was supported by *americanos* in Corpus Christi. After serving as a Confederate lieutenant among troops commanded by Laredo’s Santos Benavides, Callaghan was well known to Tejanos. When he defeated Kinney, newspaper editors unleashed a vitriolic attack against the Laredo electorate. Brownsville’s *American Flag* portrayed Laredo’s “lower order” of Mexican Texans as “not only abolitionists but amalgamationists” who married blacks and “always assist a runaway slave to escape from his master.”<sup>39</sup>

Unacknowledged by these editors was a widely known fact: Laredo supplied a disproportionately high number of Tejano Confederates compared to other regions of the state. The Brownsville *Ranchero* disregarded this strong Confederate support, choosing instead to argue against the electoral rights of Mexican Texans. “The returns of the election show that Mr. S. Kinney is the choice for representative over Mr. Callaghan by fifteen voters out of every sixteen in every place where the English language is spoken; but, over yonder, where the Mexican language is spoken, the tables were turned, and Mr. Callaghan is the choice



Among the Tejanos who served in the Union’s Second Texas Cavalry were Quartermaster Sgt. José Lino Hinojosa and his brother-in-law Sgt. González, circa 1863–64. Courtesy of Margaret H. McAllen Memorial Archives, Museum of South Texas History, Edinburg, Texas.

almost unanimously. We have no objection to Mr. Callaghan; nevertheless, we think American men in an American country should have a fair showing in shaping the destinies of the country, by their votes." The term "American men" implied Anglo-American males. To explain the election results, the *Ranchero* trotted out the age-old allegation of imported voters from Mexico. The *American Flag*, in strong objection to Mexican Texans' political participation, wrote, "We affirm that it is inconsistent with our laws or our institutions that Mexicans should have the same political rights in this state as Americans."<sup>40</sup>

Faced with such fervent opposition, Tejanos pursued avenues that would guarantee their rights. In April 1863, Hamilton Bee, the Confederate brigadier general stationed at Fort Brown and an antebellum legislator who had supported Tejano rights, decided against enforcing the conscription law. The enforcement of the draft, Bee argued, would drive Mexican Texans across the border and convert them into enemies of the Confederacy. Instead, he implemented a "course of policy toward the Mexicans on this frontier by which I seek to protect them in their rights and immunities as *citizens* and thereby attach them to our cause." Bee concluded, "This plan is meeting with success."<sup>41</sup> His alternative recruitment plan contained a veiled acknowledgment of a common problem facing Tejanos—the denial of their rights. The plan's success suggests that some Mexican Texans joined the Confederate military to obtain protection for their citizenship rights. But Bee was the exception to the rule.

Like African Americans who expected to be rewarded for their patriotic Civil War service to the Union with full citizenship rights, Tejanos considered their military service as proof of their loyalty. In an 1864 petition to their superiors, George Treviño and several Mexican Texan Union officers alluded to this loyalty. They asked that "the Government may take into consideration our patriotic desires, and that we may, in future as in the past, have the pride of increasing the ranks of the Army of the United States, although we are the last soldiers."<sup>42</sup> Among the reasons that Tejanos joined the Union army, as was the case with some of their Confederate brethren, was their belief that military service would act as a future guarantee of their citizenship rights.

In the postwar period, Mexican Unionists derived fewer benefits from their military service than did Anglos. Reconstruction governments rewarded Union officers and soldiers with political posts, land,

and other benefits. Edmund Davis became governor in 1870 under the Radical Reconstruction government, and John Haynes became collector of customs for Galveston and later for Brownsville and Brazos Santiago. Mexican Texans did not fare as well. One subsequently became justice of the peace in Zapata County, and several served as Cameron County constables. Most Tejano Unionists, however, did not reap political or economic benefits. Mexican nationals who obtained an honorable discharge from the Union army became eligible for naturalization after a year of residence. Despite their military service, however, these newly naturalized Americans were accused of voter fraud by *americanos* intent on limiting their electoral rights. Additionally, several Union veterans fell victim to a rash of racially motivated violence between 1865 and 1870 that resulted in over one hundred murders in the border region.<sup>43</sup> Other parts of Texas also witnessed anti-Unionists violence, so the violence in South Texas was not unique. Yet Tejano Unionists had to confront increased racial tensions undoubtedly aggravated by the Confederate-Union divide among the populace while having few prominent statewide leaders to draw attention to their plight. Like the post-Civil War violence against African Americans, as described by Rebecca Czuchry in this volume, the attacks in South Texas served to disfranchise Tejano Unionists and to keep them in a politically subordinate position.

After the Civil War, the ex-Confederates' view of Mexican Texans underwent a metamorphosis. The Reconstruction Congress passed laws disfranchising former Confederates. Most Tejanos were not affected by this legislation because few had been officeholders who supported secession. Subsequently, both Radical Republicans and ex-Confederates courted Mexican Texans. A *Daily Ranchero* editorial illustrates *americanos'* changing notion of citizenship based on new political circumstances. In sharp contrast to their prewar position, ex-Confederate editors acknowledged Tejanos' American citizenship in a front-page appeal to "the Citizens of the United States, of Mexican origin, in Cameron County." Mexican Texans had a choice "between confiscation, negro equality and your ultimate extinction," the editors declared, "and on the other hand, liberty, rights of interest, and social distinction." In their most dramatic statement, the editors portrayed Tejanos (irrespective of class) as "freeborn white citizens" and urged their "fellow-citizens" to register and vote against the Republican program. This dramatic reversal

demonstrates how Anglos socially constructed citizenship to suit their needs. Tejanos had also socially constructed their citizenship, or sense of belonging to the nation, but with less freedom and political power.<sup>44</sup>

The Civil War brought several unresolved issues, such as slavery, citizenship, and political participation, to a head in Texas. Although these issues had different salience along the border than in other regions, they nevertheless motivated residents to take sides. Like other ethnic groups throughout Texas and the nation, Mexican Texans displayed sharp divisions during the Civil War and had complex, and often contradictory, reasons for participating in the conflict. Clearly, many Tejanos knew the conflict's causes and significance and made conscious choices about whether or not to participate. By soldiering in the Civil War for the Union, they staked a claim to American citizenship at the same time that they reflected the reality of life in the *villas del norte*.

## NOTES

1. To distinguish between Mexicans with different citizenship, I use "Mexican nationals" for Mexican citizens and "Mexican Americans" for American citizens. When the records fail to note citizenship, I use *mexicanos* or "Mexicans" to refer to people of Mexican descent regardless of nationality. After 1848, Mexicans in Texas border counties gradually accepted the regional identity of fellow Tejanos, so I use this term for the postwar period. The term "Mexican Texan" refers to Mexican Americans living in Texas with U.S. citizenship.

2. Brownsville *Ranchero*, April 27, June 8, 1861 (quote); Arnoldo De León, *They Called Them Greasers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 55–56; Jerry D. Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1986), 3; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray* (Austin: Presidial Press, 1977), 15–17; Jerry D. Thompson and Lawrence T. Jones III, *Civil War and Revolution on the Rio Grande Frontier: A Narrative and Photographic History* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2004), 35–36.

3. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 16, (fourth quote), 18–19 (third quote); Brownsville *Ranchero*, May 18, 1861 (first and second quote); Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 8, 17; Jerry D. Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 97–99.

4. Jerry D. Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, viii, 17 (quote). Thompson states that all fourteen slaves were owned by recent Anglo-American immigrants to the border area. These slaves were undoubtedly domestic servants since almost all of them were female servants or children. Three counties accounted for this small slave population, with seven in Cameron County, six in Starr County,

and one in Hidalgo County. De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, 49–52; Sean Kelley, "Mexico in His Head: Slavery and the Texas-Mexico Border, 1810–1860," *Journal of Social History* 37 (Spring 2004), 714.

5. Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, viii, 17.

6. Arnoldo De León, *Mexican Americans in Texas: A Brief History* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993), 47.

7. Gilberto M. Hinojosa, *A Borderlands Town in Transition* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1983), 81, 83.

8. Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 17.

9. Given Tejanos' subsequent actions in favor of the Union, these skewed votes in favor of secession are suspect. Local political elites (both Anglo-Americans and Mexican Texans) often manipulated election results by offering voters liquor and other incentives. In other cases, the political elite issued threats to make sure that the electorate voted in favor of the candidates or policies favored by the elite. For more information on electoral manipulations, see Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013), 237–40.

10. Jerry D. Thompson, *Warm Weather and Bad Whiskey: The 1886 Laredo Election Riot* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1991), 22; Thompson, *Civil War and Revolution*, 31, 34–35; Virgil N. Lott and Mercurio Martínez, *The Kingdom of Zapata* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1953), 43.

11. Brownsville *Ranchero*, April 27, 1861 (quote); Thompson, *Cortina*, 97–98.

12. Hinojosa, *Borderlands Town in Transition*, 82–86; Thompson, *Civil War and Revolution*, 36–39, 46–48; Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 1–5, 9; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 49; Thompson, *Warm Weather and Bad Whiskey*, 22–24.

13. Robert A. Calvert and Arnoldo De León, *The History of Texas* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1990), 123.

14. LeRoy P. Graf, "The Economic History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1820–1875" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1942), 489–91.

15. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 26, 56–57; Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 43.

16. Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 3; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 27, 92–93, 123.

17. Along with protecting slavery in Texas, additional motivations included opposition to centralism and cultural conflict between Anglo-Texans and Mexicans. Among the supporters of the Texas separatist rebellion were Tejanos of various social classes. Randolph Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 14–49; Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 153–70; Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 134–53.

18. W. H. Chatfield, *The Twin Cities (Brownsville, Texas; Matamoros, Mexico) of the Border and the Country of the Lower Rio Grande* (New Orleans: E. P. Brandao,

1893; repr., Brownsville: Brownsville Historical Association, 1991), 12; Rosalie Schwartz, *Across the Rio to Freedom: U.S. Negroes in Mexico* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1975), 16, 24–54; Frederick Law Olmsted, *Journey through Texas: A Saddletrip on the Southwestern Frontier*, edited by James Howard (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Press, 1962), 323–34; Kelley, “Mexico in His Head,” 709 (quote), 712–16; John Hope Franklin and Loren Schwenger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 26, 115–16.

19. On foreign workers and former slaves, see Archivo Histórico de Matamoros, Judicial (Casa Mata, Matamoros, Tamaulipas) [hereafter AHM-JUD] 2:6, 30 noviembre 1823; Justicia [hereafter AHM-JUS] 2:3, 4 septiembre 1832, 12 octubre 1832; AHM-JUS 3:13, 10 octubre 1836, 13 junio 1836; AHM-JUD 4:30, 7 mayo 1834; AHM-JUD 2:18, 9 agosto 1826; AHM-JUD 2:6, 30 noviembre 1823; Thomas J. Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition against Mier* (Austin: Steck, 1935), 122–24; Schwartz, *Across the Rio to Freedom*, 26–27, 32–38, 43–46; Teresa (Griffin) Vielé, “Following the Drum”: A Glimpse of Frontier Life (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1858; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 157–58; and AHM-JUD 3:44, 5 marzo 1832.

20. Brownsville *Ranchero*, May 21, 1863, June 8, 1861; Vielé, “Following the Drum,” 156–58.

21. Captain Henry quoted in Paul S. Taylor, *An American Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 33.

22. Reyburn to Hatch, November 21, 1859, quoted in Taylor, *American Mexican Frontier*, 33.

23. James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 28–30; Michael Baud and Willem Van Schendel, “Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands,” *Journal of World History* 8 (Fall 1997), 216.

24. De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, 49–50; Olmsted, *Journey through Texas*, 106, 163, 256–59, 271–72, 331–34; Ana Cristina Downing de De Juana, “Intermarriage in Hidalgo County, 1860–1900” (M.A. thesis, University of Texas-Pan American, 1998), 59–61, 99.

25. Olmsted, *Journey through Texas*, 456.

26. Various scholars, including Downing de De Juana, identify Jackson as Nathaniel, but the U.S. Census identifies him as Mathew Jackson. U.S. Census of Population, Hidalgo County, 1860; Downing de De Juana, “Intermarriage in Hidalgo County,” 59–61, 76–77, 99; Armando C. Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 164; David Mycue, “Jackson Ranch Church,” *McAllen (Texas) Valley Town Crier*, January 21 and 28, 1987; Frances W. Isbell, “Jackson Ranch Church” (Typescript, December, 1982), Museum of South Texas History, Hidalgo County Historical Commission, Edinburg, Tex., 3–5; Mark M. Carroll, *Homesteads Ungovernable: Families, Sex, Race, and the Law in Frontier Texas, 1823–1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 68–70; Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 208.

27. Brownsville *Ranchero*, May 19, 1860.

28. For a description of “racial marking,” see Lise Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 8.

29. Thompson, *Cortina*, 111–12.

30. Carl H. Moneyhon, “Davis, Edmund Jackson,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, [www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fda37](http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fda37); Thompson, *Civil War and Revolution*, 67.

31. Alwyn Barr, “Haynes, John Leal,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, [www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhabk](http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhabk); Thompson, *Cortina*, 118; George Treviño et al. to Col. Juan L. Haynes, February 26, 1864, Regimental Papers of the Second Regiment [hereafter RG94], National Archives, Washington, D.C.

32. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 52, 81–83; Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 10–18.

33. Col. John L. Haynes to Col. E. J. Davis, March 11, 1864, and George Treviño et al. to Col. Juan L. Haynes, February 26, 1864, RG94; Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 6, 47, 90–91, 121–22.

34. Brownsville *Ranchero*, March 17, 1860 (emphasis added).

35. Brownsville *Ranchero*, June 8, June 29, July 6, 1861.

36. Brownsville *Ranchero*, November 17, 1860.

37. *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, April 23, 1863 (quotes); Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 56; Peter Sahllins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 165.

38. Alice L. Baumgartner, “Teodoro Zamora’s Commission,” *New York Times*, January 6, 2014.

39. Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*, 58–59; *American Flag* quoted in Brownsville *Ranchero*, September 3, 1863.

40. Brownsville *Ranchero*, August 13, 1863; *American Flag* quoted in Brownsville *Ranchero*, September 3, 1863.

41. H. P. Bee to Edmund P. Turner, April 27 1863, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Series I, Vol. 15, 1056–57 (emphasis added).

42. George Treviño et al. to Col. Juan L. Haynes, February 26, 1864, RG94.

43. Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865–1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 198–99, 221–22, 226–27; Thompson, *Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, 36–38; *Daily Ranchero*, November 23, 1869, April 23, 1870.

44. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction*, 18; De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, 56; *Daily Ranchero*, July 2, 1867.