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Borderlands History in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*

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# THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## THE SPANISH OCCUPATION OF TEXAS, 1519-1690

HERBERT E. BOLTON

### I. INTRODUCTORY

For a century and a half before they made definite attempts to occupy the region now called Texas the Spaniards gradually explored it, proceeding step by step from the borders toward the interior, and slowly formed ideas concerning its geography and its suitability for settlement. Viewed in this light, the final occupation of Texas at the end of the seventeenth century was by no means the sudden event, brought about by the chance settlement of the French on the Gulf coast, which it was once thought to be.

Though it is not commonly known, Texas had its share in the romance, and myth, and fable which everywhere attended the Spanish conquest in America. In Florida the Spaniards sought the Fountain of Youth; in South America the Gilded Man (El Dorado); on the west coast of Mexico the Isle of the Amazons; in Arizona and New Mexico the Seven Cities of Cibola; on the California coast the Strait of Anian.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, in Texas they searched for the Kingdom of Gran Quivira, where "everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate, and the jugs and bowls

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<sup>1</sup>Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*, *passim*.

# *Borderlands History in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly*

OMAR VALERIO-JIMÉNEZ

FOR OVER A CENTURY, THE *SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY* (including the time between 1897 and 1912 when it was known as the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*) has been a venue for borderlands scholarship on Texas and the surrounding regions. While the number of articles on borderlands topics have waxed and waned over the years, the journal has consistently promoted scholarship on the Spanish and Mexican periods of the region's history. The *Quarterly* has featured articles by some of the most renowned borderlands scholars, such as Herbert Bolton, who helped establish the field, but it has also been an avenue for emerging scholars whose research has appeared as journal articles before their books were published. The journal has also published articles by various non-academics whose interests in the state's early history led to contributions to the borderlands field.<sup>1</sup> Among the first articles in what

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<sup>1</sup> The field of borderlands history has changed significantly since the 1920s, when Herbert E. Bolton coined the term. In Bolton's time, borderlands history was the study of Spanish colonial frontier institutions (missions, presidios, and pueblos) in New Spain's Far North. Today, borderlands history encompasses a wider set of concerns, including colonialism, cultural hybridity, transnationalism, contingent ethnic and racial identities, transcultural contact zones, as well as the autonomy, isolation, and fluidity of regions and residents at the edges of empires and nation-states. Borderlands history has also expanded beyond the U.S.–Mexico border to include the U.S.–Canadian border and various internal regional borders in North America. For a detailed discussion of the changes in borderlands history, see Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 338–361; Benjamin Heber Johnson and Andrew R. Graybill, "Introduction: Borders and Their Historians in North America," in *Bridging National Borders in North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories*, ed. Ben-

would become known as borderlands history that appeared in the *Quarterly* were studies focused on Indigenous nations, imperial rivalries, and Spanish exploration.<sup>2</sup>

The first articles on Indigenous nations were mainly descriptive. They focused on identifying which Native groups lived in what is now Texas, their social organization, the languages spoken by each nation, and their displacement by Anglo Americans. Reflecting the attitudes of Anglo Americans in the late 1890s, these articles demonstrate a Eurocentric bias and advance pernicious stereotypes of Indigenous nations. While discussing the presence of Caddo, Alabama-Coushatta, Lipan Apaches, Comanches, Tonkawas, Karankawas, and others in the region that became Texas, Martin McHenry Kenney lauded the advances in comparative philology that allowed scholars to trace human migrations by analyzing language. Using “tribes” to refer to the Indigenous nations, Kenney discussed the “advance toward civilization” of “savage people.”<sup>3</sup> He also described alliances among various Indigenous nations and briefly explained their internal social structure of matriarchal and patriarchal groups. Kenney’s perspective on “progress” and “civilization” led him to conclude, “There is no instance of a tribe, as such, adopting the political or social organization of civilization.”<sup>4</sup> But perhaps his most troubling statement is about the Karankawa Indians of the Texas Gulf Coast, when he writes, “The first and worst of these was the Carankawa, inhabiting along the coast from Galveston westward – a tribe of cannibals, noted for their gigantic stature and hideous aspect. . . . their language was an almost inarticulate guttural, impossible of imitation, and the lowest form of human speech.”<sup>5</sup>

Some articles on Indigenous nations contain important insights despite their Eurocentric interpretations. The essay by Kenney mentioned above notes the advanced skills required to create arrowheads with “uniform construction.” The author gestures to the elaborate trade networks among Indigenous nations that led Native groups in western and northwestern Texas to acquire flint rock to make arrowheads. Noting that this flint rock originated in Arkansas and Alabama, the author notes that expansive trade among non-sedentary Indigenous people brought this rock

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jamin Heber Johnson and Andrew R. Graybill (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), 1–30; and Samuel Truett and Elliott Young, “Introduction, Making Transnational History: Nations, Regions, and Borderlands, in *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.–Mexico Borderlands History*, ed. Samuel Truett and Elliott Young (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 1–32.

<sup>2</sup> Facing a herculean task of reviewing over a century of articles in the *Quarterly* to write this historiography essay, I decided to sample the journal’s issues to make this assignment more manageable. I used a random number generator to sample twenty issues. In addition, I reviewed the first two decades and the last two decades of the journal for articles on borderlands history.

<sup>3</sup> M. M. Kenney, “Tribal Society among Texas Indians,” *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 1 (1897): 26–33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

material to Texas.<sup>6</sup> The different types of materials exchanged in such trade networks are not discussed, nor is the possibility that these materials were exchanged among various Indigenous nations from their source to their ultimate destination. This article also speculates about the purpose of earthen mounds in East Texas and references Spanish colonists' accounts of them. Notwithstanding the author's acknowledgement that these mounds took considerable skill and time to complete, the author disparages Indigenous nations by arguing that it was unlikely they were descendants of the mound builders because these nations had a "habitual indisposition to labor."<sup>7</sup> The author concludes that "prehistoric races" of Indigenous peoples became "extinct" because they had failed to develop agriculture. Other articles focused on the forced removal of the Cherokee Indians from the American Southeast to Texas and eventually to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. These essays described the Cherokees' acculturation of various aspects of "Anglo-Saxon" civilization and adoption of the enslavement of Africans. Despite their acculturation and agreement to numerous treaties, the articles maintained, the Cherokees were unable to retain their land and were continuously expelled by Anglo Americans. While these narratives of expulsion rely on Anglo American narratives, the articles nevertheless detailed the Cherokees' repeated treaty signing, land loss, and ultimate forced expulsion.<sup>8</sup>

Among the authors of these earliest articles on Indigenous nations were several politicians, lawyers, a businessman, and a physician. Several of these authors were founding members of the Texas State Historical Association, including ex-governor Oran Milo Roberts and ex-senator John H. Reagan.<sup>9</sup> Their articles appeared to be first-hand accounts of events witnessed by the authors. According to a 1927 *Quarterly* article, the TSHA "secured valuable testimony from living witnesses of past events."<sup>10</sup> Although these articles had no footnotes, some do make references to primary sources and are based on the authors' knowledge of secondary sources. The publication of these articles demonstrates the appeal of the promotion of Texas history for various learned professionals and politicians in the state.

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<sup>6</sup> O. M. Roberts, "Prehistoric Races in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 3 (1898): 145-146.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>8</sup> V. O. King, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 2, no. 1 (1898): 58-72; John H. Reagan, "The Expulsion of The Cherokees from East Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 1 (1897): 38-46.

<sup>9</sup> T. F. Harwood, "Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Association," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (1927): 3-32; Elizabeth J. E. Hardin, "King, Valentine Overton," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/king-valentine-overton>> [Accessed Dec. 1, 2021]; Ford Dixon, "Roberts, Oran Milo," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/roberts-oran-milo>> [Accessed Dec. 1, 2021]; Ben H. Procter, "Reagan, John Henninger," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/reagan-john-henninger>> [Accessed Dec. 2, 2021].

<sup>10</sup> Harwood, "Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Association," 6.

An early essay explored the state's geography to examine imperial rivalries over the region and the creation of the early boundaries of the Spanish and Mexican province of Texas. Written by Zachary Taylor Fulmore, the essay offered an overview of Spanish exploration of Texas, the threat from French settlement in Louisiana, and the changing jurisdictions over the region between Spain and France. Fulmore acknowledges the three main borderlands institutions—missions, presidios, and pueblos—that the Spanish established throughout the region to ensure their claim to the territory. He also discussed the boundaries among Texas and various provinces including Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León, and Coahuila. By focusing exclusively on the perspective of Spanish civilian and military officials to discuss the imperial rivalries and boundary disputes, Fulmore omits any mention of the influence of Indigenous nations on such disputes. Rather than portray Indigenous nations as legitimate actors in the borderlands, he characterizes them as obstacles in need of “civilization.” He dismisses Indigenous nations' long settlement and claim to the borderlands by arguing, as had previous scholars, that they “disappeared” because they neglected to develop agriculture.<sup>11</sup>

Another borderlands topic covered in the early years of the *Quarterly* was Spanish exploration of the U.S. Southwest. Three articles on the route taken across Texas by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his lost party appeared in the first four volumes. The persistent scholarly interest on this Spanish explorer during the journal's first three decades would lead TSHA president T. F. Harwood, in his 1927 annual address, to conclude that no other subject had inspired so many authors as Cabeza de Vaca's wanderings through Texas.<sup>12</sup> One of the most surprising contributions was the first essay on Cabeza de Vaca, which appeared in the *Quarterly*'s third issue, by Brownie Ponton and Bates H. M'Farland. The authors dispute noted historians' previous interpretations of Cabeza de Vaca's journey, and they conclude that his route included Galveston Island. While it is common for scholars to take issue with previous interpretations, what is most notable about Ponton and M'Farland is that in 1898 they were undergraduate students at the University of Texas at Austin (UT Austin). They presented their research at the TSHA's annual meeting and subsequently published their findings in the journal. Their essay is also one of the few published in the journal's first years that includes footnotes and cites various primary and secondary sources.<sup>13</sup> Like the other two articles on Cabeza de Vaca, Ponton and M'Farland analyzed the plants and ani-

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<sup>11</sup> Z. T. Fulmore, “History of Texas Geography,” *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 1 (1897): 9–25.

<sup>12</sup> Harwood, “Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Association,” 10.

<sup>13</sup> Brownie Ponton and Bates H. M'Farland, “Alvar Núñez Cabeza De Vaca: A Preliminary Report on His Wanderings in Texas,” *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 3 (1898): 166–186.

mals mentioned in the translated accounts of his travels to estimate his possible route. Similarly, these essays describe Cabeza de Vaca's interactions with various Indigenous nations but fail to identify any of these nations besides noting whether they were friendly or hostile towards the lost party of Spanish explorers. The main focus of these authors is to examine the primary sources for clues on plants and animals that would help them determine the route across Texas.<sup>14</sup>

A pleasant surprise in reviewing articles on borderlands history is the presence of female authors during the *Quarterly's* early years. Not surprisingly, most women who published borderlands articles in the journal during this period did not hold faculty appointments but were students, archivists, or public historians. In addition to Brownie Ponton, several women not only published articles on borderlands history but also became officers in the TSHA. In 1904, Adele Briscoe Looscan published an article on the preservation efforts of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT).<sup>15</sup> Looscan, a historian and assistant secretary pro tem of the DRT, was a clubwoman from Houston who was also active in the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She would serve as president of the TSHA from 1915 to 1925.<sup>16</sup> In 1905, Elizabeth Howard West, a librarian and archivist, published an annotated translation of Alonso De León's fourth expedition in 1689.<sup>17</sup> West provided annotations explaining possible names of rivers, vegetation, and Indian nations mentioned in the account.<sup>18</sup> West's translation was part of a series of published accounts in the *Quarterly* that would subsequently appear in the "Notes and Documents" section of the journal.

Spanish and Anglo American colonization were the subjects of Ethel Zivley Rather's 1904 article on Green DeWitt's colony. Rather had obtained an master's degree in history at UT Austin in 1903 and had likely worked with Bolton and Eugene Barker (an instructor at the time); in 1908, she earned her Ph.D. at Yale University.<sup>19</sup> Her master's thesis was the basis for her article, which was later published as a book.<sup>20</sup> She briefly dis-

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<sup>14</sup> Bethel Coopwood, "Route of Cabeza de Vaca. II," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 3, no. 3 (1900): 177–208. Harwood, "Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Association," 10–12.

<sup>15</sup> Adele B. Looscan, "The Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas in Behalf of the Alamo," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 8, no. 1 (1904): 79–82.

<sup>16</sup> Claudia Hazlewood, "Looscan, Adele Lubbock Briscoe," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/looscan-adele-lubbock-briscoe>> [Accessed Oct. 12, 2021].

<sup>17</sup> West worked as a public school teacher, librarian (for the Library of Congress, San Antonio Public Library, and Texas Tech University), director of the Texas State Library, and was a TSHA fellow (1912). "Elizabeth H. West," <<http://findingaids.uflib.ufl.edu/repositories/2/resources/101>> [Accessed Oct. 12, 2021]; <<https://www.tshaonline.org/awards/tsha-fellowship>> [Accessed Oct. 12, 2021].

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Howard West, "De León's Expedition of 1689: An Annotated Translation," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 8, no. 3 (1905): 199–224.

<sup>19</sup> "Ethel Zivley Rather Papers," TARO: Texas Archival Resources Online, <<https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utcah/02341/cah-02341.html>> [Accessed Oct. 12, 2021].

<sup>20</sup> Ethel Zivley Rather, *DeWitt's Colony*, Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 51 (Austin: University of

cussed the Spanish colonization of Texas, which she dismissed as a failure, and also explained the imperial rivalries between Spain and France.<sup>21</sup> But her main focus was on the Anglo American colonization of Texas, which she characterized as one of the most important events in U.S. history. Summarizing her view of Spanish colonization, she wrote, “the coming of the Anglo-American had wrought for Texas, within some three decades, results of far greater importance than all the Spaniards had done for the province during the previous three centuries and more.”<sup>22</sup> Influenced by the notion of inevitable Anglo American westward expansion, Rather described Mexico’s colonization laws and argued that Anglo Americans were destined to rebel and join the United States. While providing useful information on the struggles of De Witt’s colonists and the founding of Gonzales, where Rather was born, her essay is marred by a condescending and racist view toward Indigenous nations. Employing terms like “half breeds” and “civilized Indians,” Rather characterizes Native Americans as “untutored children,” who greatly annoyed the early Anglo-American settlers with their “great propensity . . . to thievery.”<sup>23</sup> Her interpretation of the development of De Witt’s colony and its relationship with the Mexican government also closely adhered to the perspective of the Anglo American settlers. In describing the laws and policies implemented by Mexico to curb Anglo American migration to Texas, Rather attributed these changes to “long-standing jealousy of their race towards Anglo-Americans,” instead of the Mexican government’s legitimate concerns that Anglo Americans were entering Texas illegally, not adhering to the nation’s laws, and possibly fomenting rebellion.<sup>24</sup>

Beginning with the first decade of the twentieth century, the *Quarterly* would publish articles that adhered to more professional standards of documentation. This change corresponded with Herbert Eugene Bolton’s involvement with the journal. His first article in the *Quarterly* appeared in 1902 and was a brief overview of primary sources for the study of the U.S. Southwest found in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City.<sup>25</sup> This essay was meant to help scholars in the borderlands field that Bolton helped define and promote.<sup>26</sup> This type of essay focusing on primary sources would continue to appear in the *Quarterly* and eventually led to the creation of the “Notes and Documents” section in the journal

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Texas, 1905).

<sup>21</sup> Ethel Zivley Rather, “De Witt’s Colony,” *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 8, no. 2 (1904): 95–192.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, “Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General de Mexico,” *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 6, no. 2 (1902): 103–112.

<sup>26</sup> Harwood, “Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Association,” 17.



in the mid-1940s. Bolton and his students would expand the borderlands themes published in the journal to include critical analyses of Indigenous nations, Spanish settlements in Texas, preservation efforts, borderlands resources, and borderlands diplomacy.

While not the first scholar to use Spanish-language materials to study the U.S. Southwest, Herbert Bolton epitomized this strategy by publishing guides to archives and descriptions of manuscripts to aid researchers of Spanish Texas and the Southwest borderlands. Bolton's first published article in the *Quarterly* appeared in 1902 as part of a two-part series on materials for southwestern history in Mexican archives.<sup>27</sup> A year earlier, he had joined the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin, where he would teach until leaving for Stanford in 1909.<sup>28</sup> Described as an archival "bloodhound," he made numerous trips to Mexican archives with his students to copy documents related to borderlands history to aid researchers.<sup>29</sup> In 1904, he and Eugene Barker became associate editors of the *Quarterly*, transforming it into a more scholarly journal. Eventually, he would publish eighteen articles in the journal on Spanish explorations, missions, Indians, borderlands diplomacy, and sources for study of the Southwest.<sup>30</sup>

Bolton presented a more positive view of Spanish colonization efforts than previous authors in the *Quarterly*. Earlier articles had extolled Anglo American colonization efforts in Texas while dismissing Spanish efforts as ineffective. Using extensive civilian and military officials' correspondence, Bolton explained the logic of Spanish policy changes.<sup>31</sup> In contrast to Rather's simplistic argument that Spanish policy was motivated by a jealousy of Anglo Americans, Bolton detailed various factors that led to policy changes. He also rejected previous interpretations that credited La Salle's Garcitas Creek settlement for Spanish exploration of Texas, instead arguing that that the Spanish were motivated to enter Texas in search of various fables, including the Gran Quivira.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, he acknowledged that Spanish occupation (as opposed to exploration) of Texas was a response to "fears of foreign aggression." In various articles, Bolton demonstrated the importance of forts, missions, and pueblos for Spanish ef-

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<sup>27</sup> Bolton, "Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General De Mexico," 103-112; Bolton, "Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General de Mexico, II," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 7, no. 3 (1904): 196-213.

<sup>28</sup> John Haskell Kemble, "Bolton, Herbert Eugene," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/bolton-herbert-eugene>> [Accessed Oct. 13, 2021].

<sup>29</sup> Donald E. Chipman, "Spanish Texas," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 104-105; Bolton, "Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General de Mexico, II," 196.

<sup>30</sup> Chipman, "Spanish Texas," 105.

<sup>31</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, "The Spanish Abandonment and Re-Occupation of East Texas, 1773-1779," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 9, no. 2 (1905): 67-137.

<sup>32</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1912): 1-26.

forts to claim the territory ahead of the French and subsequently Anglo Americans.<sup>33</sup>

Bolton's positive view of Spanish colonization was accompanied by a more complex interpretation of Indigenous nations, but one that remained condescending and racist. Unlike previous scholars, he did not place all Native Americans in the same group, but rather attempted to understand differences among Native groups and various Indigenous alliances.<sup>34</sup> Bolton also understood that Indigenous attacks on Spanish settlements were often precipitated by Spanish slave-catching raids for markets such as Nuevo León in Mexico's interior.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, his reliance on Spanish written accounts led him to adopt Spanish colonists' views on Native Americans as well. Sprinkled throughout his essays are references to Indians as "savages" who needed "civilization," characterizations of Apaches as "treacherous" and "thieves," and the Comanche nation as the "blood-thirsty enemy."<sup>36</sup>

Among the numerous students trained by Bolton, William Dunn and Charles Hackett were two of the most prolific authors in the *Quarterly*. After obtaining his master's from Stanford in 1910, Dunn published several articles on the eastern Apaches in the 1910s.<sup>37</sup> He had followed Bolton to Stanford, where the latter moved after leaving the University of Texas. Like several of Bolton's students, Dunn accompanied Bolton on his research trips and helped create much-needed transcriptions of Spanish-language documents in the AGN in Mexico City and the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville.<sup>38</sup> Despite his attention to differences between the eastern and western Apaches, his descriptions advance a condescending tone by describing the Apaches as "professional beggars" and "lazy bodies."<sup>39</sup> According to Dunn, imperial rivalries led the French to "manipulate" the Apaches, but he neglected to consider Indigenous agency in playing one imperial power against the other.<sup>40</sup> He went on to earn his doctorate from Columbia University in 1917 and published several articles on the Span-

<sup>33</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1913): 339-377; Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," 1-26; Bolton, "The Spanish Abandonment and Re-Occupation of East Texas, 1773-1779," 67-137.

<sup>34</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15, no. 1 (1911): 66-84.

<sup>35</sup> Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," 1-26.

<sup>36</sup> Bolton, "The Spanish Abandonment and Re-Occupation of East Texas, 1773-1779," 69, 70, 71.

<sup>37</sup> William Edward Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 14, no. 3 (1911): 198-275; William Edward Dunn, "Missionary Activities among the Eastern Apaches Previous to the Founding of the San Saba Mission," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15, no. 3 (1912): 186-200.

<sup>38</sup> Chipman, "Spanish Texas," 107.

<sup>39</sup> Dunn, "Apache Relations," 202-203.

<sup>40</sup> Dunn, "Missionary Activities," 200.

ish and French rivalry in the borderlands and subsequently on the establishment of the last Spanish mission in Texas.<sup>41</sup>

Like Dunn, Charles Hackett received his bachelor's from the University of Texas at Austin, and subsequently moved to California to obtain his master's and doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) after Bolton moved there from Stanford. Subsequently, Hackett returned to Texas and joined the faculty at the University of Texas, where he collaborated with Nettie Lee Benson to expand the university's collections on Latin America and the Spanish borderlands.<sup>42</sup> Hackett began publishing in the *Quarterly* as a graduate student, as had Dunn, focusing on the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. He offered a new interpretation of the revolt based on documents found by Bolton in the AGN and transcribed by Dunn.<sup>43</sup> According to Hackett, the Pueblos revolted due to "the efforts of the Spaniards to suppress not only the religious beliefs but also the ancient habits and customs of the Indians in other respects."<sup>44</sup> Like many of Bolton's students, Hackett and Dunn contributed to borderlands history by publishing numerous articles and training students, as well as by locating, transcribing, and analyzing Spanish-language documents found in foreign archives.<sup>45</sup>

Among the contemporaries of Dunn and Hackett were several historians who wrote about borderlands topics using mostly English-language sources. In the mid-1910s, Robert Glass Cleland wrote a series of articles on the United States' interests in annexing California.<sup>46</sup> Cleland, a professor at Occidental College, had obtained his Ph.D. at Princeton and would become a prolific scholar and promoter of California history.<sup>47</sup> Cleland discussed the attractiveness of California to the United States, the continuous American immigration to the region, its prized ports that would promote the Pacific trade, and diplomatic efforts to purchase California

<sup>41</sup> William Edward Dunn, "The Spanish Search for La Salle's Colony on the Bay of Espiritu Santo, 1685-1689," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1916): 323-369; William E. Dunn, "The Founding of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the Last Spanish Mission in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1922): 174-184. Chipman, "Spanish Texas," 107.

<sup>42</sup> Chipman, "Spanish Texas," 108.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Wilson Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15, no. 2 (1911): 93-147.

<sup>44</sup> Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians," 98.

<sup>45</sup> David J. Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 11.

<sup>46</sup> Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835-1846, I," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1914): 1-40; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835-1846, II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1914): 121-161; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835-1846, III," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1915): 231-260.

<sup>47</sup> Andrew F. Rolle, "Robert Glass Cleland 1885-1957: An Historian's Appreciation," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1958): 81-83.

from Mexico. Although he relied mainly on English-language sources, he used a few Spanish-language sources to discuss the views of California's Mexican officials.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, decades later David J. Weber offered a more nuanced interpretation of U.S. interests in California and the division between California's Mexican officials and authorities in Mexico City by using extensive Spanish-language sources in *The Mexican Frontier*.<sup>49</sup> In the early 1920s, Anna Muckleroy published a series of articles, which were based on her master's thesis, on the Texas Republic's policy towards American Indians.<sup>50</sup> Muckleroy's contributions included articles that provided a brief overview of Indian nations in Texas, recognized that some nations were native to Texas while others migrated due to pressures from Anglo American westward migration, and described Sam Houston's policies for promoting peace treaties and trade with Indigenous peoples in Texas. While Muckleroy explored the influences of the Mexican government and recently arrived Indian nations on the actions of Texas Indians, she failed to consider the latter's agency in creating alliances with the former. Using terms such as "savages" and "hostile Indians," Muckleroy's interpretation does not explain why Indians might have engaged in attacks, such as their shrinking homelands due to Anglo American settler-colonial invasion or military provocations by Anglo Americans. Instead, she relies on unproven arguments about Indians' supposed hatred of White men and the "natural antagonism of race" and a "difference in the degree of civilization" to explain hostilities.<sup>51</sup>

From the mid-1920s through the 1950s, the articles in the *Quarterly* focused on similar themes and issues of previous authors. Various articles were transcriptions of English-language narratives, translations of Spanish-language accounts, and accounts of Mexican and American colonization efforts. R. C. Clark published a partial transcription of J. W. Benedict's diary describing the latter's account as a volunteer rifleman in Texas of a campaign against the Comanche Indians.<sup>52</sup> This transcription is similar to an earlier essay in the *Quarterly* that contains James Ohio Pattie's narrative of his migration as a fur trader from Missouri through New Mexico to Cali-

<sup>48</sup> Cleland, "Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California, I," 24, 26–27.

<sup>49</sup> David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1982), 179–206.

<sup>50</sup> Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, I," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1922): 229–260; Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1922): 1–29; Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, III," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (1922): 128–148; Anna Muckleroy, "Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas: Chapter VI. Indian Affairs during Houston's Administration and during Jones's Administration," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (1923): 184–206.

<sup>51</sup> Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, I," 229–230; Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, II," 12, 22, 29–230.

<sup>52</sup> J. W. Benedict, "Diary of a Campaign against the Comanches," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1929): 300–310.

fornia in the 1820s.<sup>53</sup> While both transcriptions describe Anglo American experiences in the nineteenth century, they contain little analysis or historical context. Similarly, Edith Louise Kelly and Mattie Austin Hatcher published a four-part translation of the Spanish-language transcripts on the colonization efforts in Texas of Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala.<sup>54</sup> The first article provides brief context for Ortiz de Ayala, but like other transcriptions, this series contains no analysis. Similar translations of documents from the AGN in Mexico City and the AGI in Seville with little or no analysis focused on accounts of the expeditions of Martín de Alarcón and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.<sup>55</sup> Retta Murphy's article on Pedro de Rivera's four-year-long inspection of various borderlands presidios provided a narrative of the journey based on Dunn's transcriptions of various documents in the AGN and AGI.<sup>56</sup> A doctoral student working with Hackett at UT Austin when her essay was published, Murphy's article was based on her dissertation on the same subject and described Rivera's recommendations to strengthen New Spain's defenses and improve its economy rather than expand its territories.<sup>57</sup> Murphy became the first female professor with a doctorate at Southwest Texas State Teachers College (now Texas State University), and she also served as vice-president of the TSHA.<sup>58</sup>

Offering more historical context and analysis are various articles, published during the same period, on Spanish exploration of the Southwest borderlands, the establishment of missions therein, French exploration and settlement, and the distribution of land grants. Among the articles on Spanish exploration is one on the Coronado expedition that revises

<sup>53</sup> Joseph J. Hill, "New Light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (1923): 243-254.

<sup>54</sup> Edith Louise Kelly and Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala and the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833, I," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1928): 74-86; Edith Louise Kelly and Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala and the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833, II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1928): 152-164; Edith Louise Kelly and Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala and the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833, III," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1929): 222-251; Edith Louise Kelly and Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala and the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833, IV," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1929): 311-343.

<sup>55</sup> Fritz L. Hoffmann, "The Mezquía Diary of the Alarcon Expedition into Texas, 1718," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1938): 312-323; A. Grove Day, "Gómara on the Coronado Expedition," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (1940): 348-355; Henry Easton Allen, "The Parrilla Expedition to the Red River in 1759," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1939): 53-71.

<sup>56</sup> Retta Murphy, "The Journey of Pedro de Rivera, 1724-1728," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1937): 125-141.

<sup>57</sup> Henrietta Murphy, "Spanish Presidial Administration as Exemplified by the Inspection of Pedro de Rivera, 1724-1728" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1938); Robert Bruce Blake, "Rivera y Villalon, Pedro de," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/rivera-y-villalon-pedro-de>> [Accessed Dec. 5, 2021].

<sup>58</sup> "University Archives, Texas State University," <<https://www.univarchives.txstate.edu/research-collections/core-collections/070-media-artifacts/media-oral-history/oral-history-name-index/murphy-retta.html>> [Accessed Dec. 5, 2021]; "Retta Murphy Collection, Texas State University," <<https://digital.library.txstate.edu/handle/10877/5392>> [Accessed Dec. 5, 2021]; Front Matter, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (July 1939).

previous secondary accounts by using translated Spanish accounts to map geographical markers to determine Coronado's route through the Southwest.<sup>59</sup> Henry E. Allen published an article on the Diego Ortiz Parrilla's campaign against various northern Indian nations, including the Tonkawa, Tawakoni, and Wichita, for the destruction of the Santa Cruz de San Sabá Mission. Allen's article, based on his master's thesis at UC Berkeley directed by Bolton, demonstrated the adaptability and strategic alliances of northern Indigenous nations who became formidable combatants with firearms supplied by the French and horses obtained from the Spanish.<sup>60</sup> In addition to training numerous scholars who published in the *Quarterly*, Bolton spurred additional publications in the *Quarterly* on the establishment and location of missions in the Southwest through his publications and transcriptions of AGN and AGI documents deposited at UT Austin and UC Berkeley.<sup>61</sup> A few articles published during this period used translations of French- and Spanish-language documents in Mexican archives to explore the French presence in the eastern borderlands and on the distribution of Mexican land grants.<sup>62</sup> Notably missing from the *Quarterly* during this period was scholarship on dispossessed borderlands individuals: African Americans, Indigenous peoples, and non-elite Tejanos.<sup>63</sup>

The *Quarterly* published several articles on the late Spanish colonial period and Mexican national period from the 1960s through the 1980s. Using colonial archives located in Texas, Coahuila, and Mexico City, Nettie Lee Benson explored the political history of Mexico's northern regions' representation in the Spanish Cortes in an 1960 article.<sup>64</sup> Malcolm McLean used similar sources to explore Manuel de Mier y Terán's establishment of Tenoxtitlán in 1830 along the Brazos River in Burleson County to guard against Anglo American immigration and the town's sub-

<sup>59</sup> David Donoghue, "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1929): 181–192.

<sup>60</sup> Henry Easton Allen, "The Destruction of the San Saba Mission and the Parrilla [i.e., Parrilla] Expedition," (master's thesis, University of California, 1923); Robert S. Weddle, "Ortiz Parrilla Red River Campaign," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ortiz-parrilla-red-river-campaign>> [Accessed Dec. 5, 2021]. Allen's article also described the alliance of Spanish soldiers with mission Indians, Apaches, and Tlascalcan Indians. Allen, "The Parrilla Expedition to the Red River in 1759," 62–65.

<sup>61</sup> Marion A. Habig, "The Builders of San Xavier del Bac," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1937): 154–66; R. B. Blake, "Locations of the Early Spanish Missions and Presidio in Nacogdoches County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1938): 212–224.

<sup>62</sup> Pat Ireland Nixon, "Liotot and Jalot, Two French Surgeons of Early Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1939): 42–52; Charles Ramsdell, "Why Jean Lafitte Became a Pirate," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1940): 465–471; Joseph O. Van Hook, "Mexican Land Grants in the Arkansas Valley," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1936): 58–75.

<sup>63</sup> F. Todd Smith, "Texas through 1845: A Survey of the Historical Literature of Recent Decades," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 3 (2010): 310–341.

<sup>64</sup> Nettie Lee Benson, "Texas Failure to Send a Deputy to the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1812," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1960): 14–35.

sequent decline.<sup>65</sup> By the 1960s, the transcriptions and translations of primary source documents that previously appeared in the *Quarterly* as separate articles were now appearing in the “Notes and Documents” section. Also included in this section were short articles and partial transcriptions focusing on French travel narratives through Texas, conflict among Anglo Texan colonists, an Indigenous revolt along the Rio Grande, and Mexican land grants.<sup>66</sup> In the late 1980s, Donald Chipman published a detailed historiographical review of previous scholarship on Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, including several articles published in the *Quarterly* to evaluate the scholarly arguments about the explorer’s route across Texas.<sup>67</sup> Chipman’s critical analysis of this scholarship highlighted the lack of objectivity and pervasive influence of Texas nationalism that led some scholars to misinterpret Cabeza de Vaca’s wanderings. In addition to information on the lost party’s route, the two primary source accounts by Cabeza de Vaca, according to Chipman, are historically significant for two principal reasons. First, they contain detailed information on various Indigenous nations in South Texas, geography, and fauna. Moreover, these documents are unique travel accounts by the first non-Indians who wandered across Texas and crossed the continent.<sup>68</sup> Geography, the significance of French mapmakers, and early cartography of Texas were the subjects of an article by Jack Jackson.<sup>69</sup> In the same issue of the *Quarterly*, Howard Miller published a critical account of Anglo Texans’ use of religious liberty as a newfound excuse to motivate rebellion against Mexico.<sup>70</sup> Miller’s critical article was a significant departure from previous articles on the Texas rebellion that were more laudatory.<sup>71</sup>

Beginning in the 1980s, the *Quarterly* began publishing more articles on non-elite Tejanos in the colonial and national periods. Influenced by the civil rights protests of the 1960s and 1970s, United States historians became more critical of U.S. westward expansion and began exploring

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<sup>65</sup> Malcolm D. McLean, “Tenoxtitlán, Dream Capital of Texas,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (1966): 23–43.

<sup>66</sup> Boyce House, “An Incident at Velasco, 1832,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1960): 92–95; Marilyn McAdams Sibley, “Across Texas in 1767: The Travels of Captain Pagès,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (1967): 593–622; Kent Gardien, “Take Pity on Our Glory: Men of Champ d’Asile,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (1984): 241–268; Clotilde P. García, “An Indian Uprising in Camargo, 1812: A Military Report by Captain Pedro López Prietó,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1975): 431–446; Malcolm D. McLean, “Land Grants in the Robertson Colony Area,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (1987): 33–68.

<sup>67</sup> Donald E. Chipman, “In Search of Cabeza de Vaca’s Route across Texas: An Historiographical Survey,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 2 (1987): 127–148.

<sup>68</sup> Chipman, “In Search of Cabeza de Vaca’s Route across Texas,” 130, 142.

<sup>69</sup> Jack Jackson, “Father José María de Jesús Puelles and the Maps of Pichardo’s Document 74,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 3 (1988): 317–347.

<sup>70</sup> Howard Miller, “Stephen F. Austin and the Anglo-Texan Response to the Religious Establishment in Mexico, 1821–1836,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 3 (1988): 283–316.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, “Texas Through 1845,” 314.

the experiences of marginalized racial and ethnic groups.<sup>72</sup> This development eventually influenced the articles appearing in the *Quarterly*. One of these first essays focused on the establishment of San Antonio de Béxar, the goals and experiences of Bexareños, and the increasing influence of Anglo American newcomers. In a richly detailed description of the social, economic, and political life of Bexareños, Jesús F. de la Teja and John Wheat demonstrated the complex society established by Tejanos from the colonial period through the Mexican national era.<sup>73</sup> By exploring the judicial and political apparatus established in this borderlands region, as well as its multicultural society, De la Teja and Wheat began addressing the vacuum in scholarship on Tejanos. Examining slavery and vigilantism in the state's capital city, Paul Lack explored the challenge to White supremacy in the immediate antebellum period posed by urban African Americans. While his essay focused on White vigilantism, it also noted that alliances between African Americans and Tejanos led White city officials to expel Mexican Texans from various borderlands communities. Lack also mentioned the importance of the U.S.–Mexico border as refuge not only for Tejanos but also for African Americans who claimed their freedom by escaping into Mexico.<sup>74</sup> The persistent significance of the international border for political exiles from the Mexican Revolution and Mexican Americans' continuing ties to Mexico were explored by Carole Christian in her article on the acculturating influence of World War I for Tejanos. Using Spanish-language newspapers from South Texas, she described the federal government's use of the press to encourage Tejano military service, news articles informing the public about Mexican Texan soldiers, and Spanish-language editorials urging Tejanos to demonstrate their patriotism by enlisting. While Christian noted that the government drafted some Mexican nationals and that some Mexican Americans resisted the draft, she argued that Tejanos' experience in World War I led them to become part of the mainstream and increasingly see themselves as U.S. citizens.<sup>75</sup>

By the turn of the twenty-first century, borderlands scholarship was flourishing, as gauged by the numerous publications, conferences, and fellowships devoted to its continuing development. The field had expanded beyond Bolton's focus on borderlands institutions and his view of the Spanish borderlands as a "meeting place and fusing place of two streams of European civilization, one coming from the south, and the other from

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 314–315.

<sup>73</sup> Jesús F. de la Teja and John Wheat, "Bexar: Profile of a Tejano Community, 1820–1832," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (1985): 7–34.

<sup>74</sup> Paul D. Lack, "Slavery and Vigilantism in Austin, Texas, 1840–1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (1981): 1–20.

<sup>75</sup> Carole E. Christian, "Joining the American Mainstream: Texas's Mexican Americans during World War I," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (1989): 559–595.



the north.”<sup>76</sup> By this time, borderlands scholarship explored commonalities across the colonial, nineteenth-century, and modern borderlands.<sup>77</sup> Rather than portraying homogenous ethnic communities, borderlands scholars offered complex studies of regions where multiple racial, ethnic, and gender identities were created, transformed, and refashioned.<sup>78</sup> As borderlands scholarship “entered the mainstream” in the words of two of its most prominent practitioners of the new century, scholars routinely explored “economic exchange, cultural mixing, and political contestation at the edges of empires, nations, and world systems.”<sup>79</sup> Other studies routinely explored the transnational links between the Mexican North and the U.S. Southwest, the effects of the transformation of borderlands to bordered lands, the transnational circuits and strategies of residents, and the resistance to national political and economic orders.<sup>80</sup> Borderlands scholars had decentered empires and nations to highlight the multiple ways historical “turning points” depended on non-official borderlands actors as state-centered authorities failed to accomplish their goals. Moreover, borderlands scholarship had expanded beyond the U.S. Southwest to include other regions of the United States, Canada, and beyond to Africa, China, and South America.<sup>81</sup>

This flourishing of borderlands scholarship has had a limited influence on the essays appearing in the *Quarterly*. In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, the journal published articles focusing on familiar themes, revising previous interpretations, and adding new topics to the list of borderlands themes. Several articles on the battles undertaken by republican troops of the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition to free Texas from Spain in the early 1810s were published by avocational historian Robert Marshall.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, Robert Weddle published articles on René Robert Cavalier, sieur de La Salle. New interest in La Salle was sparked by the discovery of the French ship *La Belle* in 1995 in Matagorda Bay, and Weddle offered a revisionist interpretation of La Salle as a tragic figure.<sup>83</sup> Based on previously unknown French sources, his essay was critical of La Salle’s

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<sup>76</sup> John Francis Bannon (ed.), *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 59.

<sup>77</sup> Truett and Young, “Introduction, Making Transnational History,” 4–5.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>79</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, “On Borderlands,” 338.

<sup>80</sup> Truett and Young, “Introduction: Making Transnational History,” 4–5, 12–4, 17–18.

<sup>81</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, “On Borderlands,” 340.

<sup>82</sup> Robert P. Marshall, “Locating the Battle of Rosillo: A Newly Discovered Map Indicates the Likely Site of the 1813 Battle Where the First Republic of Texas Was Born,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 118, no. 4 (2015): 395–404; Robert P. Marshall, “The Battle of the Alazán: First Texas Republic Victorious,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 1 (2015): 44–56; Robert P. Marshall, “Archeological Confirmation of the Site of the Battle of Medina: A Research Note,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 121, no. 1 (2017): 56–66.

failings in contrast to earlier positive interpretations of the explorer's achievements. The French presence in the Texas-Louisiana borderlands were the subject of articles by H. Sophie Burton. Unlike previous articles on French settlement, Burton focused on dispossessed individuals who made their living as vagabond Indian traders, hunters, and ranch workers.<sup>84</sup> Positing that these "dispossessed" individuals created a "group identity," Burton built on recent borderlands scholarship exploring people not usually found in traditional narratives, the establishment of borderlands identities, and the challenge these groups posed to Spanish and French colonial authorities.<sup>85</sup> Ranching offered a more egalitarian society than plantations, she argued in another essay on French ranchers, which provided opportunities for a mix of individuals including migrants, unskilled workers, and multiracial individuals.<sup>86</sup> By emphasizing the social fluidity, cultural mixing, and the social-cultural alternatives provided by *vacheries* (ranches), Burton joined borderlands scholars who reveled in exploring the "spatial mobility, situational identity, local contingency, and ambiguities of power."<sup>87</sup> Finally, Jean Stuntz published an article that combined legal and women's history to explore the Spanish colonial origins of marital property law in Texas. Lawmakers in the Texas Republic adapted Spanish laws to protect wives and shield family property from creditors, she argued, in an article that carefully explored Spanish colonial legislation and the early laws of Texas.<sup>88</sup> Stuntz's article demonstrated the importance of tracing women's legal rights across several jurisdictions and placing the establishment of new laws in proper historical context. Her argument on the mixing of Spanish laws and English common law to create a unique Texas legal code on married property law followed recent developments in borderlands scholarship by demonstrating the cultural and social mixing common in the borderlands, as well as the legal links between colonial and modern borderlands.

Over the last three decades, the *Quarterly* has published more essays on non-elite borderlands populations than in previous decades. The experi-

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<sup>83</sup> Robert S. Weddle, "Tarnished Hero: A La Salle Overview," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 2 (2009): 158–183; Robert S. Weddle, "A Second French Thorn: The Scholarly Search for La Salle," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 118, no. 1 (2014): 46–52.

<sup>84</sup> H. Sophie Burton, "Vagabonds along the Spanish Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1769–1803: 'Men Who Are Evil, Lazy, Gluttonous, Drunken, Libertinous, Dishonest, Mutinous, Etc. Etc. And Those Are Their Virtues,'" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 4 (2010): 438–467.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 441–443, 466–467.

<sup>86</sup> H. Sophie Burton, "'To Establish a Stock Farm for the Raising of Mules, Horses, Horned Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs': The Role of Spanish Bourbon Louisiana in the Establishment of *Vacheries* along the Louisiana-Texas Borderland, 1766–1803," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 109, no. 1 (2005): 98–132.

<sup>87</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, "On Borderlands," 338.

<sup>88</sup> Jean Stuntz, "Spanish Laws for Texas Women: The Development of Marital Property Law to 1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 104, no. 4 (2001): 542–559.

ences of Mexican Texans have been explored by various authors. While these essays were not necessarily framed as borderlands studies, they did touch on various themes in the field, including the diverse cultural influences on identity formation, resistance to state-centered practices, and civil rights struggles that transformed local concerns into national policy.<sup>89</sup> The competing loyalties and situational identities of nineteenth-century Tejanos in Laredo, for example, were the subject of Alexander Mendoza's article.<sup>90</sup> He explored the multiple influences on the Tejanos' border identity, the persistent loyalty issue, and the powerful draw of regionalism. Recent articles on Indigenous nations published in the *Quarterly* have jettisoned old stereotypes in favor of viewing Native groups as rational actors in the borderlands.<sup>91</sup> Challenging the "conquest" narrative to describe the U.S. military's relationship with Native groups, Catharine Franklin argued that the Kiowas used accommodation and adaptation, and not just resistance, to confront the changes introduced to their societies in the nineteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

The *Quarterly's* influence on borderlands scholarship is indisputable. From its early years, the journal published works that helped define the field. Bolton, his students, and others established the themes that historians would explore into the late twentieth century. Towards the end of the century, renewed interest in borderlands scholarship led to numerous publications exploring new themes and paradigms such as transnationalism, situational identities, resistance to national political and economic orders, and the destabilization of national narratives.<sup>93</sup> In general, this cutting-edge research and theoretical formulations appeared in a wider range of journals, as borderlands history entered the mainstream and

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<sup>89</sup> Elliott Young, "Deconstructing 'La Raza': Identifying the 'Gente Decente' of Laredo, 1904–1911," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 98, no. 2 (1994): 227–259; Brent M. S. Campney, "'The Most Turbulent and Most Traumatic Years in Recent Mexican-American History': Police Violence and the Civil Rights Struggle in 1970s Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 122, no. 1 (2018): 33–57; Emilio Zamora, "The Failed Promise of Wartime Opportunity for Mexicans in the Texas Oil Industry," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 3 (1992): 323–530.

<sup>90</sup> Alexander Mendoza, "'For Our Own Best Interests': Nineteenth-Century Laredo Tejanos, Military Service, and the Development of American Nationalism," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 2 (2011): 125–152.

<sup>91</sup> Timothy K. Perttula, "How Texas Historians Write about the Pre-A.D. 1685 Caddo Peoples of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 4 (2012): 364–376; Timothy K. Perttula and Bob D. Skiles, "Another Look at an Eighteenth-Century Archaeological Site in Wood County, Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (1989): 417–435. Daniel J. Gelo, "Two Episodes in Texas Indian History Reconsidered: Getting the Facts Right about the Lafuente Attack and the Fort Parker Raid," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 120, no. 4 (2017): 440–460.

<sup>92</sup> Catharine R. Franklin, "'If the Government Will Only . . . Fulfill Its Obligations': Colonel Benjamin Grierson, Rations Policy, and the Kiowa Indians, 1868–1872," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 118, no. 2 (2014): 178–199.

<sup>93</sup> For an innovative theoretical application of various borderlands concepts to Texas history, see Walter L. Buenger, "Making Sense of Texas and Its History," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 121, no. 1 (2017): 1–26.

borderlands appeared everywhere.<sup>94</sup> While the *Quarterly* published some articles influenced by the new borderlands scholarship, a portion of its articles continued to adhere to traditional borderlands concepts. The journal might embrace the strategy of its earliest editors by encouraging graduate students and junior faculty to publish in its pages. Embracing such an approach might lead to more scholarship on environmental concerns, marginalized racial and ethnic groups, and women in the journal's future issues.

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<sup>94</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, "On Borderlands," 348–349.