

3-1991

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### Recommended Citation

Kite, Jodella D. (1991) "The War and Peace Parties of Pre-Revolutionary Texas, 1835-1836," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 29: Iss. 1, Article 6.

Available at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol29/iss1/6>

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## THE WAR AND PEACE PARTIES OF PRE-REVOLUTIONARY TEXAS, 1832-1835

by *Jodella D. Kite*

Although many people are conversant with the Texas Revolution and events leading to it, relatively little research has been published until recently on the War and Peace parties of 1832-1835. These two factions within the Anglo-American population of Texas helped to sway public opinion both for and against armed conflict in the crucial days leading to the revolution. The War and Peace parties cannot be defined easily because they were not established political parties. They were labels for persons of opposing political dispositions. Both factions surfaced during the disturbances of 1832. Members of the War Party either participated in the disturbances or condoned them. The Peace Party, probably representing more Texans throughout the period, loudly criticized the agitation. Events of 1835, which displayed the increasing centralized nature of Santa Anna's regime, began to define the lines between the Peace and War parties.

The War and Peace parties were not called by those names until July 1835. The parties did not label themselves by these terms but instead described the opposition with them. Usually one faction referred to the other in such harsh terms as "tories" or "political fanatics." Although histories of the revolution use the terms, few writers define them or provide a list of prominent leaders of the parties. Margaret S. Henson recently offered an account of the Peace Party, but she did not include a full-scale, quantitative analysis of leadership in that faction or in the opposing War Party. Her generalizations are supported by information concerning five spokesmen for the Peace Party and six for the War Party. The list is based on the crises in 1832. Further, her points of comparison do not include slave ownership or motives for coming to Texas.<sup>1</sup> In the present study, biographical profiles for eight leaders of the Peace Party and fourteen leaders of the War Party include information on age, origin, length of residence in Texas, occupation, motive for coming to Texas, economic holdings including slaves, and marital status. From these collective profiles of each party, generalizations can be drawn regarding the groups. These profiles present distinct differences in the makeup of the two parties which clarify their contrasting viewpoints. Only by realizing the historical climate in which these groups functioned can the clash of these individuals and their points of view be understood.

The War and Peace parties of Texas are rooted in Mexican history, beginning with the advent of Anglo settlers. Although not appearing until 1832, these factions emerged largely as a result of previous policies established by the Mexican government such as the emancipation decree of

1829 and the Law of April 6, 1830. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1829 attempted to prohibit slavery in the Mexican republic, but the seeds of discontent were sown with the Law of April 6, 1830, which repealed the national colonization law admitting American colonists and suspended all incompleated contracts of empresarios. This law resulted from a report by General Manuel de Mier y Terán following his inspection tour of Texas in 1827-1828. The disturbances in 1832 at Anahuac, Velasco, and Nacogdoches, in which certain Anglo settlers clashed with Mexican officials, set the stage upon which the final acts of the revolutionary drama were played.<sup>2</sup> Although not referred to in specific terms at that time, the War and Peace parties made their initial appearances in these disturbances of 1832.

These recent events convinced Texans that the time was ripe to voice their grievances to the new liberal government. Conventions met in 1832 and 1833 to address the most pressing issues of the colonists in order to obtain redress from the Mexican government. Stephen F. Austin served as president for the Convention of 1832, and William H. Wharton, a more aggressive colonist than Austin, presided over the second convention. Austin, preferring to present the views through the strictly legal channels of petitions arising from *ayuntamientos*, advocated a calm, respectful manner in order to accomplish their goals. The Convention of 1833 petitioned for the abolition of part of the Law of April 6, 1830 and drew up a constitution for the proposed separate State of Texas. Stephen F. Austin bore the memorials to Mexico City and, after interminable delays, he had a satisfactory meeting with President Santa Anna, who agreed to everything except separate statehood. On his return trip, Austin was arrested at Saltillo and forced back to Mexico City because the authorities had found out about a hastily written letter to the *ayuntamiento* of Béjar urging it to take the lead in establishing a provisional government. Austin spent eighteen months under arrest in Mexico City waiting for Mexican justice. Despite personal periods of despondency, Austin advocated a "dead calm" to be held in the Texas colonies.<sup>3</sup>

Since declaring for Santa Anna in 1832, the Texans had managed to avoid entanglements in Mexico's civil wars. In 1834, disputes between Monclova and Saltillo concerning the location of the state capital of *Coahuila y Texas*, and public disfavor over the sale of lands to speculators, brought the disagreements closer. The newly established Monclova legislature passed liberal land sale acts in an effort to raise revenue quickly for the state treasury. Frank Johnson and Samuel Williams attended the session, so they were in a position to take advantage of these new speculation decrees. When the hue and cry went up against Santa Anna and his turn toward centralism, these speculators emerged at the forefront of active agitation against his regime. Thus the cry to fly to arms easily could be understood as speculators simply trying to save their grants, while peace advocates such as Thomas J. Chambers could be accused of sulking over

being left out on the lucrative deals. Most Texas colonists were appalled at what seemed to be the squandering of public lands.<sup>4</sup>

In a repeat performance of 1832, the federal government again sent to Anáhuac a customs collector with deputies and a small detachment of soldiers under the command of Captain Antonio Tenorio to begin the collection of shipping duties. After clashing with the Mexican officials over a perceived inequity in the application of customs laws, a group of colonists under the leadership of Andrew Briscoe and William B. Travis forced Tenorio to surrender his post on June 30.

The majority of Texans disapproved of the rash action and, with only three exceptions, every public meeting condemned it. Travis was forced to write a conciliatory letter apologizing for his actions. Edward Gritten and D.C. Barrett were sent to General Martín Perfecto de Cos at Matamoros to explain the situation and assure the Mexican commander of the loyalty of Texas citizens. Public opinion in Texas almost always had favored caution and conciliation, probably in great part following the example of Austin. Edward Gritten's semi-official reports to Colonel Ugartechea in July reiterated the loyalty of the colonists, but repeatedly warned of the danger of introducing more military troops into the region. He felt that almost anything would be tolerated but that.<sup>5</sup> The Mexican authorities, justifiably concerned, reacted. General Cos issued an order for the arrest of Lorenzo de Zavala, a Federalist opposing Santa Anna. Cos later included William B. Travis, R.M. Williamson, Frank W. Johnson, Samuel Williams, and Moseley Baker in the arrest order. The Anglo colonists balked at surrendering their fellow countrymen to Cos's military court.<sup>6</sup> What followed was a snowballing effect toward war.

Community committees of safety and correspondence all over the province of Texas called for a consultation to convene at Washington-on-the-Brazos on October 15. A movement toward a convention of the people moved from a means of public professions of loyalty to becoming a tool of the War Party.<sup>7</sup> The Committee at Columbia, in its proclamation for a consultation, soberly observed, "we occupy the unenviable attitude of a people, who have not a shadow of legitimate government."<sup>8</sup> On August 31, Travis proudly boasted in three different letters that people had united and that the Peace Party had fallen virtually silent.<sup>9</sup> Barker explained this change of mind:

Had there been no atmosphere of racial distrust enveloping the relations of Mexico and the colonists, a crisis might not have followed. Mexico might not have thought it necessary to insist so drastically on unequivocal submission; or the colonists might not have believed so firmly that submission would endanger their liberty. As it was, the Texans at first evaded then categorically declined to make the arrests; while the same municipalities that had professed unswerving loyalty to Mexico were entirely outspoken in opposing the military occupation of the province ... these men who refused to deliver their neighbors to military

authority for trial outside the colony were sons of the generation that indignantly protested against Great Britain's revival of Henry VII's law of treason ... and they had already experienced some inconveniences from Mexican garrisons in 1832.<sup>10</sup>

Upon his return from a long imprisonment which had convinced him of the despotic nature of the Mexican government, Stephen F. Austin declared himself in favor of the Consultation. Gail Borden later noted Austin's return as the pivotal point, "if Col Austin is for peace, we are for peace, if he is for war we are for War." <sup>11</sup> The last bastion of peace fell; it was a time for war.

The faction often termed the War Party historically has been called a variety of names — some complimentary, others not. The first use of the term "War Party" appeared relatively late in the pre-Revolutionary period. Few definitions of the faction have been provided in the past. Those who attempt to do so commonly use some patriotic adjectives or the term "action." In the few instances where someone has ventured a list of members, the core of individuals has remained intact while the supporting cast differs widely.

Early Texans often referred to parties, but they almost always meant the political parties of Mexico. The first mention of Texas parties appeared in letter from Stephen F. Austin to Samuel M. Williams on March 12, 1831. Austin stated:

I have understood that Jorge [Fisher] is publishing or has published a book, against me. He is a second Dayton and believes that nothing was wanting but a leader among the settlers to turn them all against me. I fear that the main object is to try and create *parties* in the colony and by that means ruin us all.<sup>12</sup>

On April 22, 1833, Austin prophetically wrote to James F. Perry, "Unfortunately we have some *personal parties*, amongst us — but this is an evil that will correct itself in time."<sup>13</sup> In reporting his arrest to Samuel Williams, Austin explained his actions toward the San Felipe conventions: "My object was to smother the party spirit and violent and ruinous divisions which I saw brewing in the colony."<sup>14</sup> Two days later in a letter to Perry, Austin repeatedly pleaded for "no more party spirit."<sup>15</sup> By August of 1834, pejoratives were used to refer to what was later termed the "War Party." Austin called them "mere demagogues and political fanatics" in a letter to Perry on August 25, 1834. The next day he described them as "political fanatics and political adventurers."<sup>16</sup> In November 1834, Thomas F. McKinney claimed they were "a few aspiring ambitious demagogues."<sup>17</sup> Stephen F. Austin reiterated this idea on November 6, 1834:

Those who are constantly trying to *climb the skies* without a ladder, must learn by experience that such a course will not do, before they can be useful to the country, or even to themselves ... Young men of this class will be useful and very valuable members of society hereafter, when experience shall have fully matured their judgment

and tempered their youthful ardor and taught them prudence. But untill [sic] then they are better calculated to do harm by keeping up excitements and filling newspapers with violent and inflammatory [sic] remarks than anything else.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Austin, in a letter to Perry on November 14, referred to "the unauthorized doings of a few ambitious *agitators of revolutionary measures*."<sup>19</sup> A frustrated Stephen F. Austin wrote from his imprisonment in Mexico:

I wish that all the unquiet spirits in Texas would organize themselves into a corps and explore a good route for a wagon road to Chihuahua — in *that* way they can be usefull [sic] to Texas.<sup>20</sup>

A meeting at Gonzales on July 8, 1835, reported that:

many energetic remarks were made in respect to the late corruptions at Monclova and the efforts to cover the headlong retrail [sic] of the *speculating* party in a Provisional Government.<sup>21</sup>

The War Party first received that name on July 25, 1835, when J.H.C. Miller suggested the arrest of the prominent leaders, reporting, "All here is in a train for peace, the war and speculating parties are entirely put down."<sup>22</sup> Thomas J. Chambers reported on July 31, "I shall proceed in a short time to Nacogdoches ... to quiet the war party."<sup>24</sup> The clearest explanation by a contemporary observer appeared in a broadside from an anonymous author. In a plea for unity, the author, under the name of "Jostus," described the parties in Texas, maintaining that the War Party:

compose a large and very respectable portion of the community, and they urge with very great plausibility, that Texas is now by the repeated acts of the general Government entirely released from her alliance to the *late republic* of Mexico, that she is thrown back into a complete state of nature, and that by the laws of nature and of nations; she has an indisputable right to take care of herself.<sup>24</sup>

Stephen F. Austin reported to P.W. Grayson on September 19 that General Cos insisted on the surrender of the individuals so "War then is *inevitable* ... War and peace parties are at an end."<sup>25</sup>

Historians have made few attempts at defining the War Party. Frank W. Johnson, one of its leaders, noted many years later, "there was a small party in Texas ready to make the most of any occasion for friction with Mexico."<sup>26</sup> Eugene C. Barker called them a "small but very active party ... [which] counseled secession from Mexico."<sup>27</sup> William Kennedy termed them "Separatists" who stood for "proclaiming Texas an independent member of the Mexican Federation, at every hazard,"<sup>28</sup> John Henry Brown defended the War Party against critics, stating:

they have been stigmatized as 'fanatics,' 'demagogues' and 'agitators.' The allegation is at war with the truth. It has its parentage in the desire to cover the extreme conservatism of men to whom the people looked as leaders; yet who opposed independence until a unified public sentiment left no grounds upon which such conservatism could stand.<sup>29</sup>

In her study on the Alamo, Amelia Williams defined the War Party as simply, "a faction of the Texans who were always ready to assert and to maintain their rights, by force if necessary."<sup>30</sup>

Frank W. Johnson described the activities of the War Party during July and August 1835 as consisting:

chiefly of spreading through the country reports of the progress of centralization in Mexico and of the determination of the government to overwhelm Texas by a military occupation and expel from the country all who had not fully complied with the colonization regulations ... The activities of the war party produced little effect at first because the people believed that the alarming rumors were being spread by land speculators who hoped in some way to profit by an agitation of the public.<sup>31</sup>

In August 1835, General Cos asked the people not to listen to men who were without a country and had nothing to lose. Thomas M. Thompson, an English-born Mexican naval officer, advised the citizens of Anáhuac to remain at home, accusing the War Party of being those without home or families.<sup>32</sup>

For the purposes of creating a biographical profile of War Party leaders, which might be used to generalize about them, individuals were chosen by word or deed in agitation for action against the Mexican government in the period from 1832 to 1835. Although some were designated by others as belonging to the War Party, to be included in this study they still had to implicate themselves in some active way that could be documented.

In a scathing letter to Sam Houston in 1844, Moseley Baker provided a list of his fellow War Party members which included John A. and William H. Wharton, Branch T. Archer, W.B. Travis, R.M. Williamson, Samuel Williams, Frank W. Johnson, Thomas F. McKinney, John K. Allen, James Bowie, William Pettus, J.H. Money, and Joseph Baker.<sup>33</sup> John Henry Brown provided two lists. The first included the Whartons, Archer, Travis, Bowie and Williamson, but added Henry Smith, William G. Hill, Asa Hoxey, Edward Burleson, Ira R. Lewis, George Sutherland, and James B. Patrick. Brown's second list concerned only the Navidad and Lavaca river areas. This list of names did not include a single prominent leader. This was part of his effort to prove that the War Party was not all politicians and professional men who lived in towns, but included a sizable number of farmers.<sup>34</sup> Eugene C. Barker has maintained that the party numbered no more than a dozen.<sup>35</sup> Margaret S. Henson cited five of the most prominent leaders.<sup>36</sup> For this study the following persons were used as representative leaders of the War Party: Archer, Baker, Bowie, Andrew Briscoe, Johnson, Robert Mills, Smith, Travis, Edwin Waller, Williamson, William H. Jack, Patrick C. Jack, and the two Wharton brothers.

Composite profiles of Peace Party and War Party leaders includes

the following categories: the age of each member, place of origin, length of residence in Texas, occupation, motive for coming to Texas, residence while in Texas, economic holdings in land and/or slaves, and marital status.

The general profile of War Party leaders is different from that of Peace Party leaders, discussed in detail below. The War Party spokesmen had an average age of thirty-three years at the end of 1835, ranging from Andrew Briscoe's twenty-three years to Henry Smith's forty-seven years. The War Party hailed from the Border South or from the Deep South and migrated into the frontier states or directly into Texas. Moseley Baker, for example, was born in Virginia, moved to North Carolina, and hurried out of Alabama to Texas. The length of residence in Texas of the War Party members averaged five years, from John A. Wharton's two years to Frank W. Johnson's nine years. Lawyers made up thirty-six percent with the rest being mostly merchants, farmers, and surveyors. James Bowie, because of his various schemes, composes a category by himself. Twenty-nine percent came to Texas as a result of crimes they committed or love affairs gone sour, often a combination of both. Fifteen percent evidently came for the adventure while another fifteen percent came for health. Moseley Baker slipped into Texas with \$21,800 that belonged to the Bank of Alabama. William B. Travis experienced trouble in Alabama over the fidelity of his wife, possibly killed a man, and fled to Texas. It is rumored that Branch T. Archer came because he killed a man in a duel. The Jack brothers were simply looking for adventure. Noah Smithwick told of a popular song which commented on the moral fibre of the inhabitants in one particular municipality:

The United States, as we understand,  
Took sick and did vomit the dregs of the land.  
Her murderers, bankrupts, and rogues you may see,  
All congregated in San Felipe.<sup>37</sup>

The highest percentage of War Party leaders lived in Brazoria with some in San Felipe. James Bowie was the only one who lived in Béjar.

Records of the economic holdings of the War Party leaders are incomplete and difficult to assess. The "Census" of 1840, using tax rolls together with records from the Texas General Land Office, can help to alleviate the paucity of sources, but the census could reflect prosperity *after* the war. Most of the War Party had obtained headright grants by 1835, with fifty percent having little more than their headright. At least seventy-one percent owned slaves sometime in the period from 1830 to 1840. W.H. Jack, Robert Mills, Edwin Waller, and W.H. Wharton had more than thirty slaves by 1840. While the War Party contained both large and small landowners, it included a number of slaveholders who could be classified as planters.

Within the half of the War Party who were married, there existed some interesting variations. William B. Travis, who was separated from

his wife and later divorced, alternately listed himself as single and widowed. Henry Smith married a second wife who was the sister of his late first wife and later a third wife who was the twin of his second.

Contemporary references to "Peace Party" are even more rare than to the "War Party." Travis used the term for the first time in a letter to Bowie on July 30, 1835. He stated, "The *peace-party*, as they style themselves, I believe are the strongest, and make much the most noise."<sup>38</sup> The anonymous author of a broadside, dated August 20, 1835, divided the Peace Party into two groups — those who were cautious and those for unqualified submission. On August 31, 1835, Travis referred to the opposition as the "Mexican or Tory Party."<sup>39</sup>

The Peace Party probably represented the majority of the colonists. William Kennedy claimed that the Peace Party desired to maintain the:

connexion [*sic*] with Coahuila, according to the regulations of the Federal Constitution. By that Constitution, all loyal citizens, whether native or naturalised [*sic*], held themselves bound to abide, according to their oaths ... The bulk of the colonists, consisting of quiet husbandmen, to whose prosperity, peace was all-important, were tranquillised by assurances which harmonised with their wishes.<sup>40</sup>

John Henry Brown called the term "Peace Party" inappropriate and claimed that there "was no unconditional Peace Party, beyond an insignificant little nest of tories, who received the prompt attention of Gen. Houston, immediately after the battle of San Jacinto."<sup>41</sup> Brown also maintained:

The conservative man, counseling moderation one day and hoping for sunshine with the next news from Coahuila or from the capital city, was liable, before a change in the moon, to have his hopes blasted and be driven to modify his views.<sup>42</sup>

Eugene C. Barker explained the attitude of the Peace Party:

They recognized certain rights of the central Government in Texas, and, desiring peace, were slow to believe, that these rights would be exceeded. More thoughtful conservatives who may have seen the danger from Santa Anna's plans probably feared that Texas could not sustain a struggle with Mexico, and advocated non-resistance as a policy of expediency.<sup>43</sup>

Some sacrifices, however, the Peace Party refused to make, including the continued garrisoning of Texas and the surrender of the radical leaders to the military.<sup>44</sup>

Peace Party leaders do not lend themselves easily to delineation because action was rarely involved in the quest for a peaceful solution to Texas' problems. Margaret S. Henson supplied two lists of Peace Party members, using the term "tories." One list is composed of five individuals drawn from the crises of 1832 for use in comparison against six agitators of the same period. An appendix to her article names twelve individuals who favored the Peace Party from June 1835, to February 1836 —

relatively late in the war-peace controversy.<sup>45</sup> The following persons advocated quiet and calm or protested against the actions of the more radical colonists generally throughout the period from 1832 to 1835: Stephen F. Austin, D.C. Barrett, Josiah H. Bell, David G. Burnet, Thomas J. Chambers, Edward Gritten, J.H.C. Miller, and John A. Williams.

The Peace Party had an average age of forty-two years at the end of 1835, excluding two members whose birthdates are unknown. For example, David G. Burnet and D.C. Barrett were both forty-seven years of age in 1835. Fifty percent followed a pattern of being from the Border South or Deep South, migrating west into frontier states or directly into Texas. The other half of the Peace Party came from the North or from a foreign country. Edward Gritten, for example, was born in London but had become a Mexican citizen before moving to Texas. By the end of 1835, Peace Party members had lived in Texas for an average of over seven years. This figure does not reflect accurately the length of residence, however, because two members came in 1835, which made the average much lower than it would have been otherwise. A more typical example would be Josiah H. Bell, who came with the "Old Three Hundred." Twenty-five percent practiced law, with farmers accounting for another quarter. John A. Williams was a planter in Liberty who also owned one of the earliest cotton gins. The motives for coming to Texas for more than thirty-seven percent of the Peace Party cannot be determined. One-fourth came as empresarios, and one-fourth came because friends or relatives lived in Texas. Thomas J. Chambers was appointed by the Mexican government to the judicial system. The Peace Party members resided in various places, but none lived in Brazoria, J.H.C. Miller, for example, was from Gonzales, where the first battle of the revolution took place. Most of the Peace Party members had obtained their headrights by 1835. About half had substantial holdings while the other half had little more than their headrights. Thomas J. Chambers held 40.75 leagues in 1835 to Edward Gritten's 1.5 leagues. At least seventy-five percent owned slaves in the period from 1830 to 1840. Only John A. Williams owned more than thirty. Sixty-three percent were married, and the marital status of twelve percent is unknown. Edward Gritten was married to a Mexican woman.

A strong contrast can be seen in comparing the makeup of the two parties. Sixty-three percent of the Peace Party were married, compared to fifty percent of the War Party. Brazoria was a gathering place for the agitators. Both groups had followed the western frontier migration pattern to some extent, but the Peace Party contained Northerners and Europeans. This suggests that the War Party considered Texas as simply part of the Southern frontier. The nine-year age difference, with the Peace Party averaging forty-two years old and the War Party averaging thirty-three years, probably indicates more maturity and wisdom among the advocates of restraint. The variety of motives for coming to Texas precludes definite conclusions, except for the pocket of war agitators who fled previous

abodes under duress, such as Archer, Travis, Baker, and others. The circumstances under which these individuals left their homes would indicate that perhaps they were more easily aroused to wrath and controversial action. The interpretation that a cultural conflict between Americans and Mexicans was at the root of the Texas Resolution is reinforced by the fact that at least one War Party member, Henry Smith, held strong prejudices against Mexicans as a race, and at least two Peace Party members, Gritten and Chambers, had experienced Mexican culture and society in some depth. The parties differed little in their economic holdings in land. Seventy-five percent of Peace Party leaders owned slaves, compared to seventy-one percent of the War Party. Four War Party members owned more than thirty slaves, however, compared to one member of the Peace Party with that many, which might reflect concern about the loss of slaves and status if Mexican laws were enforced. The seven-year average length of residence in Texas by the Peace Party, compared to five for the War Party, implies a higher stake by Peace Party members in the well-being of their province. The makeup of the War Party with thirty-six percent lawyers is deceptive since fully one-half were qualified as lawyers but held other jobs as well. Thirty-seven percent of the Peace Party were qualified to practice law but probably only one leader did. Stephen F. Austin warned in 1829 of the danger of lawyers in the colonies:

In this country the Lawyer who is most active in getting the ears of the people, has generally succeeded in inlisting [*sic*] their feelings in his favor and in rousing their inflamitory [*sic*] passions or creating violent prejudices against his opponent ... I do believe that a Lawyer would get rich by picking to pieces the property of one hundred americans, when he would starve on 20,000 of any other people on earth.<sup>46</sup>

The War and Peace parties of pre-revolutionary Texas were made up of men caught in the turmoil of their time. These men voiced their convictions and, at times, risked their lives to stand up for those beliefs. The image of the Peace Party as men patiently struggling for understanding between the Mexican government and the Texas colonists can be explained in light of their longer residence in Texas and more broadly based origins. The reputation of the War Party as hot-headed heroes is reinforced by their youth, colorful backgrounds, argumentative nature — especially the lawyers, and their stake in Texas remaining a slaveholding region. Thus, as leading political figures gravitated into opposing camps, they provided contrasting viewpoints around which Anglo-Texans rallied.

**TABLE 47**  
**THE WAR PARTY**

Name	Age	Origin	Length of Residence	Occupation	Motive	Residence	Economic Holdings	Marital Status
Archer, Branch T.	45	Virginia	4 yrs	doctor	killed man in duel	Brazoria?	1 league, at least 1 townlot in Velasco	W
Baker, Moseley	33	Virginia-N.C.-Alabama	3 yrs?	lawyer, politician, banker	swindled Bank of Alabama	San Felipe	delinquent on taxes for 60 townlots in Galveston, 1476 acres surveyed, 1 townlot in Houston, wife had 1107 completed; 2 slaves; wife had 12 slaves (1840); 10 leagues (bounty)	M
Bowe, James	40?	Tenn. or Kent.-Missouri-Louisiana	7 yrs	slave smuggler, planter, land speculator, Indian fighter	to traffic in land	Bejar	1 league in Austin's 2nd colony; in 1831 \$222,000 but very shady numbers; had to borrow money from father-in-law to go on honeymoon	W
Briscoe, Andrew	25	Mississippi	2 yrs	merchant	?	Anahuac	1 carriage, 1 townlot in Houston, 13 townlots in Harrisburg, 363 acres surveyed, 4 slaves (1840)	M
Jack Patrick C.	27	Georgia-Alabama	4 yrs	lawyer	'young and adventurous spirits'	Liberty-Brazoria	¼ league; 1 carriage, 7 slaves (1840)	S
Jack William H.	29	Georgia-Alabama	5 yrs	farmer, lawyer	adventure	San Felipe-Brazoria	1 league; 5 horses, 75 cattle, 2574 acres completed, 17 townlots in Velasco, 2 townlots in Brazoria, 31 slaves (1840)	M
Johnson, Francis W.	36	Virginia-Tenn.-Ala.-Ill.-Missouri	9 yrs	surveyor	health	San Felipe	1 league; 177 acres surveyed	S
Mills, Robert	26	Kentucky	5 yrs	merchant, planter?	?	Brazoria	¼ league, wd.G. Mills 26 horses, 26 townlots, 4083 acres completed, 1476 acres surveyed, 500 cattle, 2 saddle-horses, 77 slaves (1840)	S
Smith, Henry	47	Kent.-Tenn.-Kent.-Missouri	7 yrs	farmer, leacher, surveyor, politician	?	Brazoria	1 league; 14 horses, 75 cattle, 177 acres completed, 6 slaves (1840)	M
Travis, William B.	26	S.C.-Alabama	4 yrs	lawyer	fleeing bad marriage, perhaps murder	Anahuac-San Felipe	1 league in Miami's Colony	D
Waller, Edwin	35	Virginia-Missouri	4 yrs	trader/merchant	relative of Jared Groce; health	Brazoria or Velasco	1 league; 16 horses, 136 cattle, 4-wheel carriage, 7 townlots, 1 ship, 32 slaves (1840)	M
Wharton, John A.	29	Tenn.	2 yrs	lawyer and dabbled in newspapers	join brother, William	?	headright; 1107 acres completed, 3321 acres surveyed, 2 slaves (1840)	S
Wharton, William H.	33	Virginia-Tenn.	7 yrs	lawyer, planter	health, (hurted buffalo)	Eagle Isl. Plantation outside Brazoria	1 league; 16 horses, 305 cattle, 15498 acres completed, 61992 acres surveyed, 41 slaves (1840)	M
Williamson, Robert M.	31	Georgia-Alabama	8 yrs	lawyer, land speculator, alcalde	perhaps killed love rival in duel	San Felipe	1 league; at least had slaves	S

**THE PEACE PARTY**

Name	Age	Origin	Length of Residence	Occupation	Motive	Residence	Economic Holdings	Marital Status
Austin, Stephen F.	42	Virginia-Kentucky-Missouri-Arkansas	14 yrs	empresario	empresario	San Felipe	72 townlots in Brazoria, 53983 acres completed, 139474 acres surveyed (1840); 1 slave	S
Barrett, D.C.	47	Vermont-New York City-Penn.-New Orleans	6 mos	lawyer	?	Minn	estate worth \$140,000 (land \$50,000, \$54,000 in notes); a home in Quintera	M
Bell, Josiah H.	44	S.C.-Tenn.	14 yrs	farmer, stockraiser	former, associate of Austin in Arkansas	Columbia	3 slaves, 2½ leagues (1826 Census)	M
Burnet, David G.	47	New Jersey-New York-Ohio-Louisiana	9 yrs or 16 yrs off and on	empresario-politician	(poor at business)-soldier of fortune appointed	Lynchburg	1107 acres completed in Brazoria (at least owned slaves by 1836)	M
Chambers, Thomas J.	33	Virginia	6 yrs	lawyer, judge		lived 4 yrs in Mexico City; Unk Miami's Colony	40% leagues; 1 townlot (1840); 5 slaves (1840)	S
Gritten, Edward	38	London; certificate of Mexican-citizenship	1 yr	merchant	came with Almonte; brother-in-law of J.M. Carbajal	Miami's Colony (perhaps Gonsales) for awhile; Bejar	1½ leagues in Miami's Colony	M
Miller, James H.C.	?	?	1-4 yrs	doctor	?	Bejar Gonzales	24 townlots in Gonzales (1840)	?
Williams, John A.	?	?	13 yrs	built cotton gin in 1825, planter	?	Liberty	1 league, 1 townlot, cotton mill; 30 slaves	M

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Margaret Swett Henson, "Tory Sentiment in Anglo-Texan Public Opinion, 1832-1836," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 90 (July 1986), pp. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup>Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 16 (April 1913), pp. 391-398.

<sup>3</sup>H.P.N. Gammel, comp., *The Laws of Texas: 1822-1897*, (10 vols Austin, 1898), 1, pp. 476-503; Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin: Founder of Texas, 1793-1836*, 2nd. ed. (Austin, 1949), pp. 370-375.

<sup>4</sup>Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas* (2 vols New York, 1855; reprint ed., Austin, Texas), I, pp. 319-330; Margaret Swett Henson, *Samuel May Williams: Early Texas Entrepreneur* (College Station, Texas, 1976), pp. 65-73; Eugene C. Barker, "Land Speculation As a Cause for the Texas Revolution," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 10 (July 1906), pp. 76-95; Elgin Williams, *The Animating Pursuits of Speculation: Land Traffic in the Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1949), pp. 55-57.

<sup>5</sup>Eugene C. Barker, "Difficulties of a Mexican Revenue Officer in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 4 (January 1901), pp. 191-202; Archie P. McDonald, Travis (Austin, 1976), pp. 109-121; Eugene C. Barker, "Public Opinion in Texas Preceding the Revolution," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 223-225; W.B. Travis to Colonel Ugartechea, July 31, 1835, Eugene C. Barker, ed., *The Austin Papers* (3 vols.; Vols. I, II, Washington, D.C., 1924-1928; Vol. III, Austin, 1927), III, p. 95; Edward Gritten to Colonel Ugartechea, July 5, 1835, July 6, 1835, July 7, 1835, July 11, 1835, July 17, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, pp. 80-91.

<sup>6</sup>Domingo de Ugartechea to Antonio Tenorio, [July 31, 1835], Malcolm McLean, comp. and ed., *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas* (12 vols. to date; Arlington, Texas, 1985), 11, pp. 231-232; Barker, "Public Opinion," pp. 226-228; Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, Eugene C. Barker and Ernest W. Winkler, eds. (5 vols.; Chicago, 1914), 1, p. 249.

<sup>7</sup>Eugene C. Barker, "The Causes of the Texas Revolution," pp. 140-150, Eugene C. Barker Papers, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin.

<sup>8</sup>*Texas Republican* (Brazoria), August 29, 1835.

<sup>9</sup>William B. Travis to David G. Burnet, August 31, 1835, John H. Jenkins, ed., *Papers of the Texas Revolution* (10 vols.; Austin, 1973), 1, pp. 379-380; William B. Travis to Andrew Briscoe, August 31, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers of Texas Revolution*, 1, pp. 380-381; William B. Travis to John W. Moore, August 31, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers of Texas Revolution*, 1 pp. 381-382.

<sup>10</sup>Barker, "Public Opinion," p. 227.

<sup>11</sup>Barker, *Life of Austin*, pp. 411-412; F.W. Johnson to Austin, September 5, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, pp. 114-115.

<sup>12</sup>Stephen F. Austin to Samuel May Williams, March 12, 1831, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, p. 611.

<sup>13</sup>Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, April 22, 1833, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, p. 960.

<sup>14</sup>Stephen F. Austin to Samuel May Williams, January 12, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, p. 1025.

<sup>15</sup>Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, January 14, 1824, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, pp. 1033-1036.

<sup>16</sup>Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, August 25, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, p. 1084; Stephen F. Austin to E.W. Gregory, August 26, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, p. 1085.

<sup>17</sup>Enclosure of Thomas F. McKinney to James F. Perry, November 4, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup>Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, November 6, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup>Enclosure of Henry Austin to James F. Perry, November 14, 1834, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, March 10, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 48.

<sup>21</sup>"Gonzales Meeting," July 7, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers of Texas Revolution*, I, p. 214.

<sup>22</sup>J.H.C. Miller to J.W. Smith, July 25, 1835, in Eugene C. Barker, "James H.C. Miller and Edward Gritten," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 13 (July 1909), p. 147.

<sup>23</sup>Thomas Jefferson Chambers to Ira R. Lewis, July 31, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 96.

<sup>24</sup>"Union"; Its Necessity in View of State of Parties in Texas," c. August 20, 1835, Charles Gulick and Katherine Elliott, eds., *Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (6 vols.; Austin, n.d.), I, p. 231.

<sup>25</sup>Stephen F. Austin to P.W. Grayson, September 19, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, p. 127.

<sup>26</sup>Johnson, *Texas and Texans*, I, p. 206.

<sup>27</sup>Eugene C. Barker, ed., "Journal of the Permanent Council," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 7 (April 1904), p. 250.

<sup>28</sup>William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (Ft. Worth, Texas, 1925), p. 427.

<sup>29</sup>John Henry Brown, *History of Texas from 1685 to 1892* (2 vols.; St. Louis, 1892), I, p. 291.

<sup>30</sup>Amelia Williams, "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of Its Defenders," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 37 (October 1933), p. 82.

<sup>31</sup>Johnson, *Texas and Texans*, I, pp. 241, 248.

<sup>32</sup>*Texas Republican* (Brazoria), August 22, 1835; *Texas Republican* (Brazoria), September 19, 1835.

<sup>33</sup>Moseley Baker to Sam Houston, October 1844, Moseley Baker Papers, Barker Center.

<sup>34</sup>Brown, *History of Texas*, I, pp. 291, 297-298.

<sup>35</sup>Barker, "Causes of the Revolution," pp. 96-97, Barker Papers, Barker Center.

<sup>36</sup>Henson, "Tory Sentiment," p. 9.

<sup>37</sup>Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State or Recollections of Old Texas Days* (Austin, 1983), p. 55.

<sup>38</sup>W.B. Travis to James Bowie, July 30, 1835, in Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I, p. 343.

<sup>39</sup>"Union": Its Necessity in View of State of Parties in Texas," c. August 20, 1835, Gulick and Elliott, eds., *Lamar Papers*, I, pp. 231-232; William Barret Travis to Andrew Briscoe, August 31, 1835, McLean, comp. and ed., *Robertson Papers*, 11, p. 373.

<sup>40</sup>Kennedy, *Texas*, pp. 427, 454.

<sup>41</sup>Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 298. For an extensive treatment of Tories in Texas see Margaret Swett Henson, "Tory Sentiment in Anglo-American Texas: Public Opinion, 1832-1835," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 90 (July 1986), pp. 1-34.

<sup>42</sup>Brown, *History of Texas*, I, p. 263.

<sup>43</sup>Barker, "Public Opinion," pp. 227-228.

<sup>44</sup>Barker, "Public Opinion," pp. 227-228; Johnson, *Texas and Texans*, I, p. 249.

<sup>45</sup>Henson, "Tory Sentiment," pp. 9, 32.

<sup>46</sup>Stephen F. Austin to J.H. Bell, April 4, 1829, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, II, 203.

"Samuel Asbury Papers, Barker Center; Moseley Baker Papers, Barker Center; D.W.C. Baker, comp., *A Texas Scrap-Book* (New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, 1875); Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*; Barker, "Difficulties"; Eugene C. Barker, "Don Carlos Barrett," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 20 (October 1916), pp. 139-145; Barker, "Miller and Gritten"; Barker, *Life of Austin*; Eugene C. Barker, "Notes on Early Texas Newspapers, 1819-1836," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 21 (October 1917), pp. 127-144; Barrett Papers, Barker Center; Paul B. Boethel, *Colonel Amasa Turner: The Gentleman from Lavaca* (Austin, 1963); Brown, *History of Texas*; John Henry Brown, *Life and Times of Henry Smith: First American Governor of Texas* (Dallas, 1887); William Chambers, *Sketch of the Life of General T.J. Chambers of Texas* (Galveston, Texas, 1853; reprint ed., 1975); George Louis Crocket, *Two Centuries in East Texas: A History of San Augustine County and Surrounding Territory* (Dallas, 1932); J. Frank Dobie, "James Bowie, Big Dealer," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 60 (January 1957), pp. 337-357; Joe E. Ericson, *Banks and Bankers in Early Texas, 1835-1875* (New Orleans, 1976); Dorothy Louise Fields, "David Gouveneur Burnet," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 49 (October 1945), pp. 215-232; Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans: Or Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1941); Llerena B. Friend, "The Life of Thomas Jefferson Chambers," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1928; Beauford Chambless, "The First President of Texas: The Life of David Gouveneur Burnet," Ph.D. dissertation, Rice Institute, 1954; "General Austin's Order Book for the Campaign of 1835," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 11 (July 1907), pp. 1-55; Gulick and Elliott, eds., *Lamar Papers*; Laura Hale, "The Groces and Whartons in the Early History of Texas," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1942; Jenkins, ed., *Papers of Texas Revolution*; Johnson, *Texas and Texans*; Louis Wiltz Kemp, *The Signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence* (Houston, 1944); Elizabeth Le Noir, ed., *Biographical Directory of the Texan Conventions and Congresses* [Austin, 1941]; Adele B. Looscan, "Genealogical and Historical Register of the First General Officers of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Elected in 1891," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 5 (April 1902), pp. 347-351; Andrew Phelps McCormick, *Scotch-Irish in Ireland and in America* (n.p., 1897); McDonald, *Travis*; McLean, comp. and ed., *Robertson's Papers*; "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 22 (July 1918), pp. 78-96; Origiland Land Grant Collection, Archives and Records Division, Texas General Land Office; P.E. Peerson, "Reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 4 (July 1900), pp. 33-53; Rupert N. Richardson, Ernest Wallace, and Adrian Anderson, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, 3rd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, 1970); Duncan W. Robinson, *Judge Robert McAlpin Williamson: Texas' Three-Legged Willie* (Austin, 1948); Edna Rowe, "The Disturbances at Anahuac in 1832," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 6 (April 1903), pp. 269-286; Ernest C. Shearer, "Dr. Branch Tanne Archer, Sometimes Called the Father of the Texas Revolution," *Sul Ross State College Bulletin*, 44 (September 1964), pp. 140-152; Henry Smith, "Reminiscences of Henry Smith," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 14 (July 1910), pp. 24-73; Spanish Collection, Archives and Records Division, Texas General Land Office; Texas Collection, Barker Center; *Texas Republican* (Brazoria); J. Mills Thorton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1978); C. Allen True, "John A. Williams: Champion of Mexico in the Early Days of the Texas Revolution," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 47 (October 1943), pp. 107-119; Vertical files, Biographical files, Barker Center; Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon Stephen Blanda, eds., *The Handbook of Texas* (3 vols.; Austin, 1952, 1976); Frank Edd White, "A History of the Territory That Now Constitutes Waller County, Texas, from 1821-1884," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1936; Gifford White, ed., *1840 Census of the Republic of Texas* (Austin, 1966); Williams, "Critical Study of Alamo"; Amelia Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston 1813-1863* (6 vols., Austin, 1938); Robert H. Williams, Jr., "Travis—A Potential Sam Houston," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 40 (October 1936), pp. 154-160; Samuel May Williams Papers, Barker Center; Williamson Papers, Texas State Library, Austin; Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas from Wilderness to Commonwealth* (5 vols., Ft. Worth, Texas, 1924).