Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1814

JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT
[continued]

Letter 22

John Sibley to Edmond Randolph

Natchitoches September 23rd 1811

Dear Sir,

I was favoured with your friendly letter of the August —?— Together with a Packet of News Papers —?— which were very interesting as well as your letter. I thank you for them. I Enclose you the Declaration of John Garniere, which from the Character of the Man I believe to be true so far as the facts Came within his own knowledge, and it is Probable the whole is true; Cols. Manshack [Menchaca] & Bernard had with them about fifteen Thousand Dollars. Since the Arrival of Garniere here another Man deserted from St. Antonio & arrived here yesterday. he Confirms what Garnier Says generally and gives him a good character. And says that he Came through the Bayou Pierre Settlement and understood from the Inhabitants that the Spaniards took but two Men of the Party. Nine were secreted in the Neighbourhood and the Spanish Soldiers were hunting them; On the Receipt of this Intelligence about fifteen Armed Men, Volunteers, set off from here to Conduct Cols. Manshack, Bernard and those they Could find in here, and will not be prevented by the Spanish Soldiers they may meet with, they went likewise in search of some Robbers who Committed a Robbery Near the Andize [Adaes] last Sunday Night of a quantity of Merchandise from three Spaniards who had been here to Trade, one of whom is Missing and, tis believed he is killed.—I expect in two or three days the Party who are gone to Bayou Pierre will return and hope they will find the Spaniards. In the Month of June last, General Aldamo [Aldama] of the Revolutionary Army Accompanied by his Brother, and the Abbey Solerara [Salazar], sat off from Colone [Colonía del Nuevo Santander] on a mission to the Government of

104Gutiérrez states that he had five hundred pesos. For Gutiérrez' account of this event see Gutiérrez, Breve Apología, 5, 13-14.
105Settlement of the Adáes Indians. The Spanish form is Adáes. Sibley usually spelled it Adaize. This tribe lived north of Natchitoches; the presidio Los Adáes was named for them. Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1839; Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 35.
106They set out from Saltillo.
the U. S. they arrived Safe at St. Antonio with about One and a Half Million of Dollars in Coin and Uncoined Barrs, mostly Gold. On their Arrival at St. Antonio they were amongst their friends for they all professed to be so; but the money they had was too Tempting; a Party in St. Antonio by Corrupting the Soldiers turned Sides for the Sake of Such a Prise Seized Aldama, the Abbey and their Principal associates and had them beheaded and are now trading to this place with the Money. I Received a long letter from the Abbey Solerara [Salazar] written from the Prison in St. Antonio when he was laded with Irens a short time before he was Put to Death, which was brought by an Indian who he hired to bring it to me, he appears to have been a Man of Strong Mind, Possessed the Nicest feelings and an Enthusiast for the freedom of his Country, for which he died a Martyr by the hand of a Treacherous set of Villains, who killed him for his Money.

I have about Thirty Barrels of Salt at Rapides which will be sent you by the first Opportunity—

I have Sold none of your Medicine except what I have used in my own Practice, which is and has been this Summer more than usual. It is Probable Doctor Forsyth,\(^{107}\) will Remove from Rapides to Natchitoches to make a Permanent Settlement. It is Probable that the Doctor & myself will form a Co-partnership. I have made a Good Crop of Cotton; from my field of more than 120 Acres. I ought from its appearance Gather Near 150,000 of seed Cotton we are picking. Since writing the foregoing or while writing, I am Informed thatCols. Manshack and Eight of his Comrades Incamped last night on this side of the Rio Honda\(^{108}\) Six Miles from here and are momently expected—

Your Obt. Humble. Servant
Signed John Sibley.

Edmd. Randolph ESQ

September 25th\(^{109}\)

Colonel Manshack and Party have Arrived Safe. The Troops met him but did not dare Attack them.\(^{110}\) They will remain here some time. Papers have been received here mentioning that the Republicans have taken Mexico. I will write you again when I have anything worth Communicating.—

\(^{107}\)Doctor Forsyth later joined the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition, and became an important personage in the Texas revolution in 1812-1813. William Forsythe to William Shaler, San Fernando de Béxar, July 17, 1813, Special Agents, William Shaler, 1810, II, MS., S.D.

\(^{108}\)Arroyo Hondo, an affluent of Red River near Natchitoches.

\(^{109}\)This paragraph was a postscript added to the letter dated September 23, 1811.

\(^{110}\)Sibley refers to the Spanish troops sent from Nacogdoches to capture Gutiérrez and Menchaca. When the troops overtook them they did not attack them, as they were in United States' territory. Gutiérrez "To the Mexican Congress," Lamar Papers, 7.
Sir

Two Spanish Gentlemen with eight or ten persons in Attendance Arrived here Yesterday. One of them is Called Col Manchaek [Menchaca] from the Province of Leon\(^{111}\) the other is Called Col Bernard from the Province of Colone [Colonia del Nuevo Santander] they Say they are delegated by the people of their respective provinces who are of the Republican or Revolutionary party to Come into the United States, to make known the Situation of their Country, to obtain a knowledge of the disposition of the people of the U. S. respecting them, and to Contract If they Can with Some Merchants to deliver at a place at or Near the Mouth of the River Grand a Stipulated quantity of Arms, Ammunition etc when Money is provided to pay for them Agreeable to Contract. These Gentlemen represent that the Revolutionary have lately Obtained Considerable Advantages Over the Royalists or Europeans & that it is their belief that Mexico is in the possession of them though the fact is not within their knowledge, their Opinion is founded upon what they Know of the preparations to go Against it. I from Some Accounts by letters received Since they Arrived in the Vicinity of this place. They Say all Communication between Mexico and Vera Crutz was Intercepted, by thirty or forty thousand Republican troops being Posted so as to Command the Passage, this is done to prevent Europeans in Mexico from making their escape with their Money & Other Valuable property & getting with it on Board Some English vessels which are laying at Vera Crutz for the purpose,\(^{112}\) that General Ryan [Ignacio Rayón]\(^{113}\) of the Republican Army against Mexico has under his Command More than Two hundred Thousand Men, And that a great Majority of the People in the City [of Mexico] will join him as soon as they Can.———

Col Bernard will remain here till he Can receive Answers to Some letters on the Subject of his Business.—Col Manchaek [Menchaca] who is An Old Soldier expects to be invited Back to be put at the head of the People & Troops of Our Neighbour-

\(^{111}\)Perhaps Menchaca had come originally from Nuevo León, but at this time he was an active revolutionist in Texas.

\(^{112}\)The revolutionists considered both France and Britain their enemies; they believed that New Spain would be transferred to Britain as the price for British coöperation with the Spaniards in their war to drive Napoleon from Spain. "Emancipation of Spanish America: Article II, Lettre aux Espagnols Americains. Par un de leurs Compatriotes A. Philadelphie," The Edinburgh Review, January, 1809, XIII, No. XXVI, 298-300.

\(^{113}\)On March 16, 1811, Ignacio Rayón was given chief command of the Army of America, when Hidalgo and Ignacio Allende, former leaders of the rebel army, departed for the United States to obtain aid. Bancroft, History of Mexico, IV, 273.
ing Province of Taxus [Texas] who discover a disposition to rise Against the European officers who are now Over them.\textsuperscript{114}

There is Nothing Occured in Our Indian affairs of particular notice a Chicesaw is in jail here Accused of the Murder of one Williams a discharged Soldier, he has not been tried but Circumstances are Strangely Against him.

Am Your
Obt. Hble. Servant
John Sibley

The Honble William Eustis

\textbf{LETTER 24}

\textbf{Natchitoches Oct. 14th 1811}

Sir

This is addressed to you by the Particular desire of the bearer hereof Col. Francisco Bernard\textsuperscript{115} who wishes to be known by you, he is from the Province of Colone [Colonia del Nuevo Santander] in the kingdom of Mexico, & Comes to the United States on Public business,\textsuperscript{116} his efforts are directed to Aid in the establishment of the freedom & Independence in his Country, he is said to be a Man of respectable family Connections and a Confidential Character.\textsuperscript{117}

I am
Sir Most respectfully
Your Obt. Hble Servant
John Sibley

The Honble. William Eustis

\textsuperscript{114}Menchaca was working to execute a plan which Gutiérrez claims to have formulated. Menchaca was to raise a company of American volunteers, with whom he would return to San Antonio; there, with the aid of the people and soldiers, Menchaca and the Americans would abolish the government of European Spaniards. After establishing a provisional government, Menchaca would send credentials and money to Gutiérrez for his mission to the United States. Gutiérrez, "To the Mexican Congress," Lamar Papers, I, 8.

\textsuperscript{115}Sibley's failure to give Gutiérrez' correct name is apparently one of his common errors; throughout his correspondence he records proper names incorrectly.

\textsuperscript{116}Gutiérrez and Menchaca had been in Natchitoches about a month. The notables of the outpost interested in the Mexican revolution supplied them with lodging, clothing, and money. "Information from Captain Gaines," Lamar Papers, I, 285.

\textsuperscript{117}When Gutiérrez left Natchitoches in mid-October he carried, in addition to Sibley's letter of introduction, a letter from Captain Overton, commanding officer of Fort Claiborne at Natchitoches, to General Overton who lived near Nashville. Overton's letter provided safety and enjoyment for Gutiérrez on his way to Washington by opening the doors of important personages, among them the governor and the judge of the supreme court of Tennessee. For details see Elizabeth West (ed.), "Diary of José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, 1811-1812," The American Historical Review, October, 1928, XXXIV, No. 1, 55-75 (hereafter cited as Gutiérrez, "Diary," The American Historical Review).
LETTER 25
Natchitoches, 31st Dec. 1811

Sir,

Herewith is enclosed an Account of Such Articles I have taken from the factory here the past year for the use of the Several Indian Tribes in my Agency, for the Amt. of which as agreed I have drawn on you & likewise An Amt. of Other Expenditures the Blacksmith's Amt. excepted which I Cannot have forwarded till next Mail. The Situation of Our Neighboring Spanish Country has Induced me to pay particular attention to those Tribes who might be more immediately Affected by that State of things, the Panies [Panis] & Caddos Particularly. The different Political parties in the Spanish Country have made unsuccessful Efforts to draw the Indians into their disputes. I received a friendly visit from Awahakei the great Panie or Tawiache [Taovayas] Chief and party, made them Some presents. The Chief died on his way home. Since which a Separation has taken place, a party of them have gone off & joined a Wandering Band of Hietans, the remainder thought Themselves too Weak to defend Themselves Against the Ozages & went and joined the Tawakenoes [Tuacana] who speak the Same Language & are likewise emigrants from the Panis on River Platt & live about 200 Miles South of the Panis Towns on Red River. The Caddo Chief is using his Interest Among them (which is great) to persuade them to return & live all together as Usual a Leader or Minor Chief with a party have been to St. Antonio and I Am informed Are Somewhat inclined towards the party of European Spaniards. The Hietans & Tawakenoes [Tuacana] are friendly to us.

There is a party of Bad Man fugitives from the different jails in the United States who have Settled themselves at the Pecan Point on Red River about 500 Miles by Water from this Town. The Names of those I have heard of, are Glover, Colton, Parkham, Armstrong, Coots, Harper, Gibbons, Kelly, Fouts, Turner, Rogers, Patton, Lucas, Williams, Dixon, Knowlton, Spears, & some Spaniards & Runaway Negros, these people are Enemies to all law & good order, and most of them would have been hanged if they had have remained in the United States. The Indians have Killed one of them by the Name of Dixon. They have imposed upon the Indians by Forged passports, they are all Murderers, Thieves & Robbers, and doing all the Mischief they Can Amongst the Indians, their party is Augmenting and will give us Trouble before long, if they are

118 The republicans or revolutionists opposing the monarchists or royalists.
119 The Spanish form is Taovayas. They lived on the south bank of Red River, about eight hundred miles from Natchitoches, or three hundred and forty miles by land. Hackett, Pichardo's Treatise, II, 232.
120 The Spanish form is Tuacana. Ibid., II, 225.
not broken up. They are planting Corn &c & appear as though they intended to Settle themselves Permanently, which will be an Asylum for Runaway Negroes & all Bad people. They are above No. Latitude 33 of Course are in the Territory of Louisiana.

I was at Some Expense lately in having Accepted & Committed to the Prison of this place a Chickasaw & Boluxa [Biloxi] Indian Accused of the Murder of William Williams late a Soldier in the U. S. Army they confessed the fact & the Boluxa Acknowledged to have Killed Another Travelling white Man about two years ago, but have not been able to discover who he was. The jail was lately Broken by some persons who were Accused of Robbing Some Spaniards of a quantity of Merchandise going from this Town into the Spanish Country & the Indians made their escape since which I have heard nothing of them.

I have been trying to Collect the Small Wandering Vagabond Bands of Choctaw Indians on this Side the River Mississippi & Settle them at one place, that they may be governed by some laws, but find great difficulty in doing any thing with them. I have promised them, when they would get all-together Appoint their Chiefs & adopt some good laws, I would do a great deal for them, in giving them farming Tools, Instructing them how to use them, & that I would Visit them from time to time, but if they would not I would do nothing for them. The Complaints Constantly made Against those wandering Vagabonds by the White Inhabitants Cannot be born with.

The Accounts from Mexico relative to the Revolution in that Country are Contradictory. I believe General Rayon Who Commands the Revolutionists is still in Considerable force but a Division of his Army Consisting of about Seven Thousand have lately been dispersed, through the treachery of a Man Called the Baron Bastrop, this Army was On its march from near Mexico Towards St. Antonio on the West of the River Grand, and had Beaten all their opponents. the Baron met them & Assured the officers Commanding that the Country in their front were Ready to join them and that they would find none to oppose them & proposed that about Twenty of the Principal officers should Accompany him a few leagues in advance of the Army while the Troops Marched on, they did so, and were led into an Ambuscade & all made Prisoners & their lives were spared upon the Condition only that they should send Back Orders to the Army to halt & disperse. The Revolution would

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112The documents concerning this event give Don Ignacio Elizondo as leader, and no mention is made of Baron de Bastrop. Reports from the Spanish Provinces reached Sibley indirectly, and no doubt the inadequate report connected the Baron’s name with the event as it was believed that he was a staunch royalist and anti-American. Report of the Deputies of the Province of Texas, MS., Nacogdoches Archives, Texas State Library.

113This event related vaguely by Sibley is an account of the capture of Hidalgo and other rebel chieftains at the wells of Bajan near Monclova. They were on their way to Texas and the United States to secure men and supplies. See Garrett, Green Flag Over Texas, 67-75.
soon be affected if that party were well armed & well commanded, in point of numbers there is no proportion between them & the Royalists who hold out for Ferdinand the Seventh; but they will no doubt ultimately succeed.

There are a number of Americans in the army of Rayon who are officers, Reuben Smith Brother to Col Thomas H Smith of the U. S. Army was a Colonel of Artillery & lately killed in battle; Nimrod Fletcher of Virginia formerly a soldier at this place & deserted from the exploring party who Ascended Red River under the direction of M[ajor] Freeman in the year 1806 was a Lieutenent Colonel & lately killed likewise in battle.

There is a considerable trade carried on from the Spanish country to this town, dollars are brought in packed on mules & the same mules are packed out with merchandise, waggons, & carts are likewise used. There is a good carriage road[123] from this place to Mexico.

I am with great respect & esteem
Your obt. hble servant,
John Sibley.

Honble. William Eustis
Secretary of War

LETTER 26

Natchitoches April 24th 1812

Sir

I have lately been notified as Indian agent, that a Mr Joseph Gillard a French gentleman who lives beside the Pascagola [Pascagoula] Indians[124] on this river has commenced a suit against the Indians for the land they live on, he claims it under colour of a purchase made fifteen or twenty years ago by a Mr. Athenaise La Cour decd. whose widow Mr. Gillard married; it is true Mr. La Cour did purchase of the Indians the land now the valuable plantation of Mr. Gillard which was confirmed by the Spanish government in due form, & possession immediately given as they say, of all they sold. The man who was interpreter between Mr. La Cour and the Indians, the then Comadant who passed the instrument of writing & several other persons, say, that what is now Mr. Gillards plantation is all that was sold. Mr. La Cour in his life time never claimed more, nor did Mr. Gillard, untill lately; but by a construction he now thinks some expressions in the deed will bear he claims all the land the Indians possess which was given

[123] The Camino Real or King's Highway extended from Nacogdoches to San Antonio, where it divided. One road led to Laredo and Saltillo, and the other led to Presidio Rio Grande, Monclova, Saltillo, and thence to Mexico City. Bolton, Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century, map.
them by the Antient French Government which they have been in Peaceable possession of for near forty years Containing Many Thousand Acres of the Most Valuable Land on this River which probably in a few years might Sell for an hundred thousand dollars.

Col. Johnston of Rapides, (Counsellor at Law) is employed by Mr. Gillard to bring the Suit, feeling myself Bound to defend the Rights of the Indians in my Agency, as well as those, of the United States, I have spoken to James Wallace an able Lawyer to defend it & Requested Mr. Wallace to Consider the Case & Make Such Amicable Arrangements with Col. Johnston that the Safety of the Cause would admit, for its Coming fairly before the Court on its just merits, and at the Same time Save all Unnecessary Expense. I have Only promised Mr. Wallace Such Compensation for his Trouble As yourself or Govt. might think proper to Allow. Mr. Wallace Sugested the Propriety of the Attorney Genl. of the United States being Consulted & requested to give Some Instructions about it. The Suit will probably Stand Ready for trial by Next October, before which shall be glad of some Instructions & advice on the Subject. The Suit is of considerable importance. Mr. Wallace will have not a little Trouble with it for which he will expect to be Compensated.

I am
Sir
Most Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
John Sibley

The Honble. William Eustis.

April 27th. Messrs Smith, McClannigan, & Patterson who went from St. Louis to Santa Fee about three Years Ago have just Arrived here from the Spanish Prisons where they have Suffered every thing but Death. They report favourably of the Revolution. The Brigands who Invested the Country between this & Sabine are pretty nearly Broken up. Now nine of them are to be tried at the Superior Court at

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125 They set out from St. Louis early in 1810, and were arrested in New Mexico in March, 1810. It was reported that in their party were Frenchmen believed to be Napoleonic agents. Onis to the Viceroy, Philadelphia, February 7, 1810, Historia, MS. Vol. 161, A.G.N.

126 For further details see Notas Diplomáticas, III, 15-16, 55-57. B.A.

127 William Shaler, special agent of the United States on the Louisiana-Texas frontier, reported to Secretary of State James Monroe that these men, respectable traders of upper Louisiana, had been in irons for three years in Chihuahua, that the commandant-general had liberated them, giving them a passport to seek their way home because of the precarious situation in his government; and that the Spanish provinces were defenseless, and practically all the people were of a revolutionary mind. Furthermore, Shaler reported that these men declared that five hundred men could easily conduct a revolution in Texas, and that such a project was in preparation. Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 22, 1812, MS., S.D.
Rapides. The Present Week. I hope this will be an end to their depredations. Some Spanish Troops a few days Ago were patrolling on this Side the Sabine.

Yr Obit Servt
J - S

LETTER 27

Natchitoches June 24th 1812

Sir

The Accounts from our Neighbouring Spanish Country are very Vague & Contradictory, but the Substance of what is most to be depended on is, that the Revolutionary party are gaining ground, the governor of the Province of Taxus [Texas] has forbid all Intercourse with the United States, Neither Dollars, Horses or Mules Can be brought Out; a Sea Port below St. Antonio Called Martogordo [Matagorda] tis Said is opened to the English, by which the Royal Party expect to obtain Supplies, and in the event of their being [defeated] by the other party & obliged to flee to get off to Havannah through the Assistance of the English.

In January, 1812, Governor Claiborne had forwarded a memorial from the merchants of Natchitoches to Secretary of State Monroe in which they requested that the United States destroy the banditti in the Neutral Ground, whose activities threatened to destroy their trade with Texas. A company of United States troops was sent from Baton Rouge to aid the forces at Fort Claiborne, and by April Claiborne informed Monroe that safe commerce had been established between Texas and Natchitoches.


Sibley informed the War Department on May 10, 1812, that the republicans had occupied the pass at Tisacala, cutting off all communication between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. A report, dated from Béxar, February 8, 1812, reached Natchitoches that the revolutionists were increasing in Texas, despite the persuasions of Governor Salcedo; that Rayón was in control of the principal roads of Mexico, cutting off possible aid to Texas; and that the desire to shake off the yoke of Ferdinand VII was general.

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Niles Register, The Weekly Register (Baltimore, 1811-1849), June 6, 1812, III, 228; Sibley to the War Department, May 10, 1812, Miscellaneous Letters, 1812-1815, MS., I.A.D.I.

Apparent this false rumor, because at that time two agents from Texas, Samuel Davenport and Apolinaria Masmela, were in Natchitoches buying supplies for Texas, where they remained until August, 1812. And in July, Colonel Zambro came from San Antonio with a pack train of sixty mules laden with wool and silver specie for the purpose of trading in Natchitoches. Shaler to Monroe, August 18, 1812, MS., SD; James Carr to Zambrano, Natchitoches, July 22, 1812; Davenport to Montero, Natchitoches, July 21, 1812; Masmela to Commandant of Nacogdoches, Natchitoches, July 22, 1812; MSS., B.A.; Operaciones; Salcedo, 83, 89-90.

The opening of this port was proclaimed in the town and garrison of Trinidad on June 1, 1812. Trinidad was located on the West bank of the Trinity River where the Camino Real crossed it. Felipe de la Garza to Manuel Salcedo, MS., B.A.

Since England was an ally of Spain in the war against Napoleon, it was expected that Spaniards in New Spain would have British aid. Agents of the United States on the Louisiana-Texas frontier had accepted
The Settlement Called Bayou Pierre now within the State of Louisiana & hitherto governed by a Spanish Syndic, Appointed by the Governor of Taxus they Still pretend to exercise Jurisdiction over a New Syndic or Alcalde has been appointed with Orders to Suffer no Citizen of the United States to Come there with Merchandize but to Seize and transport them over the Sabine, a Proclamation of this govt. Relative to the Election of Governor & Members of the Legislature,\textsuperscript{132} with the Several Acts of Congress Showing that they are now a part of this State have been Sent there & the people invited to Assist at the Election. Most of the Inhabitants would Prefer the government of the United States, and wish very much to be Relieved from their present Most disagreeable Situation, by its being Once decided to whom they are to look for protection & to whom they owe allegiance.

No Recent Robberies (Except Horse Stealing) have been Committed on this Side the Sabine, though we frequently hear of Lawless parties of Vagabonds being Seen in that Tract of Country.

Col. Bernard Gutierrez is here & Very Uneasy. Mr. Shaler\textsuperscript{124} not only the opinion of Mexican revolutionists that Britain's price of aiding Spain was the control of New Spain, but also believed that Britain would use Mexico and Texas as bases of attack against the United States in the approaching War of 1812. Shaler to Monroe, May 7, 22, 1812, MSS., SD.

\textsuperscript{132} Gutierrez left Natchitoches in October, 1811, for Washington, D.C., where he arrived in December. There he had several conferences with Secretary of State Monroe, was presented to President Madison and the Secretary of War, and during his sojourn was under the special care of John Graham, chief clerk of the State Department, who provided him with every necessity. Gutierrez left Washington in January. The State Department provided him with funds to return to the Louisiana-Texas frontier, and with a letter of introduction to Governor Claiborne, who was instructed to expedite his return to Spanish dominions. In March, 1812, he reached New Orleans, was received by Claiborne, and was introduced to William Shaler, Special Agent of the United States, commissioned to Mexico to obtain information concerning the revolution and to assure the inhabitants of the good will of the United States. Shaler was on his way to Mexico by way of Natchitoches and Texas. He provided Gutierrez with lodging in New Orleans, traveled with him to Natchitoches, and financed his every need. Their arrival in Natchitoches created a stir; the place seethed with schemes of French agents and Anglo-American frontiersmen desirous of aiding Mexican rebels. The time was propitious, since the revolution in Mexico was succeeding, the Interior Provinces were defenseless, the people of a revolutionary spirit, and Texas rebels were sending word to Natchitoches urging Gutierrez to come to their aid with an army of Anglo-Americans. Furthermore, Texas rebels promised that upon the arrival of Anglo-Americans they would renew the revolution in Texas. Gutierrez thus became the recipient of daring proposals made by French agents and Anglo-American frontiersmen, who offered to aid him in freeing Texas from the Spaniards and in marching to the aid of the rebels in the interior of Mexico. Claiborne and other notables of the Louisiana-Texas frontier believed that the revolution should take the "proper direction," that is in the interest of the United States, and that the British and French...
is likewise here, a more intimate Acquaintance with the Colonel, as well as farther Accounts of his Character & Standing in his own Country all tend to raise him in Our Esteem, he is not disposed to take Any Steps that would meet the disapprobation of the government of the U. S. but every Account from his Country informs him that the Blood of his friends is flowing, & he not able to Assist them in the manner he approves.

There is a Frenchman by the Name of Paillette who Came from France to Louisiana in the year 1803 with the Prefect who has Settled on a plantation about two Leagues below this Town & married a Creole woman of this Parish & who holds a Commission of Justice of the Peace who I am creditably informed has had repeated Interviews with Col. Bernard & has exposed to him a Commission of appointment as French Agent & Counselor & has in the Name of the French Government offered him four hundred Men & one hundred thousand Dollars to Aid the Revolutionary party. I believe Col. Bernard has been offered Assistance from Some Individuals possessing large Means who are influenced from a belief that People will ultimately Succeed in establishing their Independence & that they will be most Amply remunerated.

There is I believe now raising Another party with the Same Object, in this & the Neighbouring Territory. I have Seen a Printed paper which is now Circulating exposing the project & Inviting Volunteers to join their Rendezvous On the West Side of the Sabine. It is Said they have Several Brass field Pieces & that they will be four or five hundred Strong. Several very respectable Names are mentioned as being engaged in the enterprise; but as I have not evidence to Back what I have

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notes should be thwarted. Shaler was of this opinion. Therefore he became the mentor of Gutiérrez, assisting him in his scheme to revolutionize Texas, Coahuila, and Nuevo Santander, and to join Rayón in the heart of Mexico. Shaler in Natchitoches planned to direct the revolution in the interest of the United States. For details see Garrett, Green Flag Over Texas, 92-120.

135Apparently Paillette was a powerful reality; Shaler also reported this event to Monroe. He wrote that Paillette "urged in the strongest terms, Gutiérrez's acceptance of his plan, warning that not a moment be lost, as New Spain would soon be in the hands of the British." Shaler was disturbed; he promised Monroe, "I shall use all my endeavors to keep him firm, and quiet." Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 22, 1812, MS., S.D.

136Shaler states that the appointment was made in the name of the French minister in Washington, who had been instructed to promote independence in Spanish America, to promise the revolutionists arms and supplies, and to employ agents for this object. John Rydjord, "Napoleon and the Independence of New Spain," New Spain and the Anglo-American West. Historical Contribution presented to Herbert E. Bolton (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), I, 303.

137Sibley had obtained this information from the paper which Shaler said was printed and circulated from the headquarters at Rapides. Shaler to Monroe, June 12, 1812, MS., S.D.
no doubt being true I must forbear to mention Names.\textsuperscript{128} There is good reason to believe that in a short time a stand will be taken & that they will proceed against the Spanish Post of Nacogdoches. Their party will be hourly augmenting, so large a portion of the inhabitants will join them as well as adventurers from the U.S. that it is the opinion of the best informed that all the country on this side the River Grand will soon be under their command, and that they will for a length of time be able to maintain it. Should such an enterprise be contrary to the views of the United States, there is no force in this quarter sufficient to stop them, or should they want the military stores at the fort here they might take them. This party I know are holding conferences with Col. Bernard but how far he approves of the enterprise I cannot say; but his anxiety to have his friends relieved is very great. all sober reflecting persons here view these movements with unpleasant fears; but would rejoice to see an authorized body of troops marching to the relief of their oppressed neighbours, most florid accounts are given of the cruelties exercised by the royal party.

The Indians are all quiet. I cannot forbear repeating that I think no time ought to be lost in coming to some agreement with the Indians on this river about their lands.

I Am

Sir Most Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
John Sibley

The Honble. William Eustis
Secretary of War

\textbf{LETTER 28}

\textit{Natchitoches July 14th 1812}

Dr. Sir

The last accounts from Mexico, state that the city of Mexico was besieged by General Moroles [José María Morelos] of the revolutionary army & sixty thousand men. that the force in the city to defend it did not exceed five or six thousand men. Genl. Bildirigand [José María Villagran] was within five miles of Vera Cruz, had cut off all supplies from the city & that the

\textsuperscript{128}There were three Virginians of respectable standing, Ross, Perry, and Lockett; Joseph Carr, a man of property in Mississippi; a Doctor Forsythe; Gaines, a sheriff of a Louisiana Parish; and Owen, a merchant, and Hall a practicing lawyer, both of Natchitoches. Another prominent American volunteer was Samuel Kemper, a brother of Rueben and Nathan Kemper, with whom he had figured in the violence of the West Florida revolution which terminated in the annexation of West Florida by the United States. Henry S. Foote, \textit{Texas and the Texans} (Philadelphia, 1841), I, 186-187.
Inhabitants were Starving & Must soon Surrender, that a General Congress was Called & General Rayon was nominated president. This man his enemies Agree possesses Singular talents, & great Mental [manuscript torn] in time of difficulty, he is about forty a handsome Person [manuscript torn] near Mexico, and a Lawyer by profession & is Called the Second Washington. Col. Bernardo Gutierrez is Still here but I believe expects to Leave this for his own Country Soon. he receives almost daily Messages from the Troops in the Province of Taxus [Texas] that they are impatient to join him. In a letter I lately had the honor to write you, I mentioned that a party from the U. S. were preparing to enter the Spanish Country. I Can now Speak of it with more Certainty. I think they will Rendezvous on the Other Side the Sabine in Eight or ten days, in such force that all the Troops of the U. S. in this quarter & Malitia Could not Stop them were they to Attempt it. The plan I think is deeply laid & Co-extensive with the Southern & Western States. Should they receive desertion from the Army it is my opinion they would be Numerous; but I have a Better Opinion of those who are Said to be leading them to Sepose they would encourage desertions. Captain Wolstencroft [Wolestencraft] with his Company Arrived here this day from Baton Rouge.——— I hope destined to the Sabine.

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110 For details see Bancroft, History of Mexico, IV, 360-372, 398-403, 427, 334-335, 428.
111 During May, June, and July Gutierrez, guided by his mentor Shaler, was conducting a propaganda campaign which revolutionized anew Texas, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander. Texas republicans, converted by Gutierrez messages, promised that upon the approach of Gutierrez with American armed forces they would proclaim for liberty and join hands with the revolutionists in Mexico (who now had dropped Ferdinand VII, and were struggling for complete independence from Spain). Pedro Procela to Montero, Nacogdoches, August 11, 1812; Salecedo to Tovar, Bézar, August (?), 1812, MSS., B.A.; Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1812. MS., S.D.
112 Sibley refers to the activities of Lieutenant Augustus Magee, a protegé of General Wilkinson, who had served under his command at Baton Rouge. On June 22 Magee resigned from the United States army, and with magic power quickly organized the Republican Army of the North, destined for the liberation of Texas and Mexico. He was assisted by Samuel Davenport, Spanish Indian Agent, who was in Natchitoches and New Orleans buying supplies for the Texas government. Ibid., 140-146.
113 Sibley refers to the general attitude of the people which was expressed in the Nashville Clarion. It stated that the people of the South and the Northwest would be securing Florida and Canada as their reward in the coming War of 1812, and added that certainly the West should acquire territory and riches from the "celestial empire of Mexico, if only they would go to the aid of Mexican sons struggling for liberty." Nashville Clarion, April 28, 1812, quoted by Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1812 (New York, 1925), 120-125, 222.
114 Wolestencraft had been ordered to Fort Claiborne to take command, superceding Captain Overton. He did not go to the Sabine as Sibley wished; instead, he established himself in Fort Claiborne and did nothing. Overton to General Wilkinson, Natchitoches, August 25, 1812, MS., O. R. W. D.
A person in whom I have Confidence Arrived here yesterday from the Caddo Nation, & Says an Agent of the Spanish Govt of St. Antonio has lately been There for the purpose of persuading the Chief to Visit St. Antonio. The Governor [of Texas] is very desirous of engaging him on the Side of the Royal Party. This the Chief informed me of Some time ago & I gave him a talk as an Answer which he said he would (& I believe did) return as an Answer to the first application. I rely much on the firmness of the Chief: yet he is an Indian. I have Concluded to Send to him Again & prevent his visiting St. Antonio. The Zealous & Repeated importunities accompanied with promises of presents & must be Guarded Against; & who Can tell that the Intrigue manifested & existing amongst the Indians of our Northwestern frontier do not extend from the Bay of Hudson to the Bay of St. Bernard.

I am Sensible of the Influence I have amongst the Indians in my Agency & Neighbourhood & I Shall Certainly make the best use of it for the Interest of the U. S.

Sir Most Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
John Sibley.

Honr: William Eustis.

1812

Extract from Doctor Sibleys Letter—dated Natchitoches July, 1812 "to Gov. Claiborne" 144 145

Government from too Saving Calculations may commit waste. You will probably hear of an existence & deeply laid plan of an expedition now fitting out from the U. States for Mexico, the Leaders will Say it is to aid the Revolutionists in throwing off their European dependence, & establishing a Government of their own, but they have more extended views, which may greatly danger the Tranquility of the U. States, for our good they are not going to act, I should not be surprised if whole Companies of United States Troops Should march off to join them. they will enter the Province of Taxus [Texas] with Several pieces of Field Artillery & with a force not to be Stop'd, nor opposed on this Side of the River Grand—& they will hang every European Spaniard that falls into their hand, or others who oppose them. Should the Arms and military Stores at Fort Claiborne be wanted by them, I see nothing to prevent their helping themselves. There is a very great difference between the very young Inexperienced officer who commands here, and major Porter—what I have Suggested above is without any positive proof, though I have the Strongest Grounds to believe it.

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144He refers to the Indians in Texas as far west as Matagorda Bay.
145"to Gov. Claiborne" was a notation made by someone in the War Department. This extract was enclosed in Sibley's letter of July 14, 1812.
LETTER 29

Natchitoches August 5, 1812

Sir

In my last letter which I had the honor to Address you I mentioned An expedition fitting Out from this place to the Spanish Country to the West. They have not yet Crossed the Sabine; but are in a camp on the East Bank of that River about two hundred Strong And parties are Daily Joining them. They Calculate that in ten days they will be five or Six hundred Strong. They have three Pieces of Small Artillery. Lieut. Magee late of the Army of the U. S. now Commands but tis expected General Adair will take the Command in a Short time. They Expect five or Six Pieces more of Artillery Soon at their place of Rendezvous. The Men are Mostly Rifle Men & have or will have Pikes Arrangements. All made for a Plentiful Supply of Provisions & they have a Good Supply of Ammunition. Tis Said they will proceed to Nacogdoches in five or Six days, where most of the Inhabitants as well as the Soldiers they expect to join them. Some usefull Articles will at that place fall into their hands; but no Cannon. There are about fifty Regular Soldiers at Nacogdoches, besides about One hundred Malitia. Lt. Col. Monterey [Montero] Commands. Col. St. Brano [Zambrano] an Inhabitant of St. Antonio is likewise there with about One hundred Men mostly Mule Drivers, but Armed. he was on his way to this place with about Sixty Mules Packed with fine Wool & Dollars, but is Stoppd. he is Attached to the Royal Party, is a Resolute Brave Man, but not much Confided in. Said to be governed by his Interest of Private Views. There are about a dozen of the Spanish deserters from Nacogdoches & St. Antonio here who encourage the Belief that a very feeble opposition will be made to those Invaders. they Calculate to proceed on from Nacogdoches to St. Antonio & form a Junction with Genl. Rayon’s Army as Soon as Possible. It is Said a party will Enter the Province of Taxus Along the Sea Coast & Surprise Labardie [La Bahía] & St. Antonio from that quarter in Case the force from St. Antonio Should be Sent

144In early June, Shaler, informing Monroe of three expeditions preparing to enter Texas, said that many frontiersmen referred to the rebirth of the Burr Conspiracy because General Adair, a prominent figure of the Burr expedition, had established headquarters at Rapides, and had addressed three letters to Gutiérrez. Shaler to Monroe, June 12, 1812, MS., S.D.; Carter, Territorial Papers, IX, 743, 745.

145Zambrano did not dare to venture from Nacogdoches across the Neutral Ground, because Magee with his army was encamped there. Therefore, he sent word to Natchitoches requesting, in the name of the Governor of Texas, that a safe passage to the United States post to trade be provided. Captain Wollastoncraft, in command at Fort Claiborne, refused Zambrano an escort. James Carr to Zambrano, Natchitoches, July 22, 1812, MS., B.A.

146La Bahía, today Goliad, was the coastal presidio.
towards Nacogdoches. All Communications being now Cut off Between this place & the Spanish Country we hear Nothing of the State of the Country at Mexico but through Desertors, who Report favorably the State of Rayon's Army, but they do not appear to possess correct information.

Since the receipt of the Declaration of War I have procured An Interview with the Great Caddo & Nandaco Chiefs. As the Royal Spanish Party expect War with the United States, they have had their emissaries Amongst the Indians & the Caddo Chief has been prevailed on to Visit Nacogdoches & did Receive Some presents from Col. Monterey [Montereo], the Com- medant at that place. I found them however unshaken in their Amity & attachment to the United States.

They have taken from me a talk and have gone with it Through all the Tribes to the West as far as River Grand. (Viz.) Yattasses, Nandacos, Caddos, Keychies, Inies, Nagedachs, Nacogdochetos, Tawacanoes, Tawaches, Panis, Witchitaws, and Hitans. The talk Explains Our War Against England & the provocations, & the probability of its extending to the European Spaniards, & in Case Troops from the United States Should enter the Spanish Country they would not enter as enemies of Any Red People, or of the Native American Spaniards, who wish to become free and Independent, & Enjoining it on all the Red People to have Nothing to do in Any of Our Wars; but Attend to their own affairs. I have full confidence that my Advise to all these Nations will be Strictly Adhered to. I am personally well Acquainted with all the Chiefs & Leading Men Amongst them, and the Caddo Chief himselfe being the Bearer who is my particular friend they will Certainly Receive my tokens & Smoke my Tobacco.

I Intend as Soon as I Can procure a Suitable Messenger to Send to all the Tribes along the Sea Coast on the Bay of St.

149The last week of July, the news reached Natchitoches of the declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States on June 18, 1812. Montero to M. Salcedo, Nacogdoches, July 26, 1812, MS., B. A.

150For the Spanish spelling of these Indian tribes, see Hackett, Pickard's Treatise, II, 150, 153, 160, 174, 230, 232.

151Sibley is anticipating the fulfillment of plans suggested by Secretary of State Monroe, General Wilkinson, and Shaler, in case the United States and Britain went to war. Monroe had promised Gutiérrez in December, 1811, that if war were declared on Britain, the United States would place 50,000 soldiers on the Rio Grande to aid in the struggle for Mexican independence. On May 7, 1812, Shaler had sent Monroe a topographical report on Texas, indicating a site on the San Marcos River as ideal for the encampment of United States troops in case of war with Britain, or an attempt by the United States to effect a revolution in New Spain. Wilkinson, in sending plans to the War Department for the defense of New Orleans against the British, also included plans for operations in Texas. Gutiérrez, "To the Mexican Congress," Lamar Papers, I, 11; Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 7, 1812, "A Topographical Report on Texas," enclosed in Shaler's letter to Monroe, May 7, 1812, MSS., SD.; Wilkinson's letter quoted, Foote, Texas and the Texans, I, 132-134.
Bernard as far as the River Grand, I have had friendly talks
Some time Ago with all of them, & have nothing to fear from
Spanish Influence Unless aided by the British who may Land
on that Coast. An European Frenchman who, tis Said has
Resided in & about Mexico of a Smart appearance lately Arrived
here in a Neatly fitted Barge, Loaded with Army Ammunition,
Blankets, Shoes, Knives & Other Indians Goods. he passed this
town without Making but a few Minutes stop & proceeded on up
the River to Camppe a Settlement about Twenty Miles above
this place where he Stoped a few days. Returned here Agoin
& put all his Goods, Arms & Ammunition into the hands of Col.
Bernardo Gautiere [Gutiérrez] who is still here & they I believe
have Gone Out Towards the Sabine & he is still here, but has
Sent his Barge Back to Orleans. What Could have been the
Primary Object of this man is uncertain, he has with him Some
Elegant Cavalry Equipments.——

The Inhabitants of this part of the Country with a few ex-
ceptions are pleased with the Declaration of War.

Am

Sir Your Obt Servant
John Sibley

Honble. William Eustis

LETTER 30

Natchitoches Augt. 18, 1812

Sir

In my letter of the 14th of July I mentioned that Don Bernardo
Gutiérrez was Assembling a force on the River Sabine to enable
him to enter this Country Again. On the 7th Inst. he had Col-
lected about one hundred & fifty Men Mostly from the U. S. 132
Under the Command of Col. McGee late Lt. McGee of the
Army of the U. S. they had Received Information that Col.
St. Brano [Zambrano] of St. Antonio was advancing towards
them with a Superior force. Magee Sent Out four Men as
Spies, about two Miles distant discovered an Advance Guard
of St. Brano, the Spies took to Trees Undiscovered by the
Guard who advanced within about fifty yards of them the Spies
were good Riflemen, they fired killed one Spaniard & Badly
wounded Another. They both fell from their Horses, by this
time St. Brano with his main Body Consisting of about 200
all Mounted & well Armed were in Sight. the Spies of McGee
were on foot, who made the Best of their way to Camp where

132 After Magee's departure for the Neutral Ground Gutiérrez had re-
mained in Natchitoches until August 10, when he was summoned by Magee
to join the Republican Army, which had crossed into Texas, and was
advancing toward Nacogdoches. Gutiérrez was assembling the late new-
comers from the United States, with whom he marched to join Magee.
Shaler to Monroe, August 18, 1812, MS., S.D.
the firing had been heard. about Eighty of McGees Men Sat off immediately to meet St. Brano & soon discovered he was retreating precipitately towards Nacogdoches about a dozen Spaniards had deserted & Came to McGees Camp: being Near Night the party returned, & set off Again as Soon as they Could get Ready Next day and made a Permanent Movement towards Nacogdoches. On the Night of the 9th Capt. Kemper Surprised & took St. Brano's Rear Guard 25 miles from Nacogdoches Consisting of an Ensign & Eighteen Men, one Man made his escape by being a small distance off at a Spring or Creek, & got into Nacogdoches Early in the Morning. St. Brano had Arrived there during the Night, he immediately had all the Troops & malitia paraded on Horseback & in a short address informed them he was going to St. Antonio & expected they would all accompany him, a young officer very much hesitated, asked him if it was possible he was going to Act in Such a disgraceful manner to run away without Seeing an enemy. St. Brano replied that it was his duty to Obey & not Expostulate & Ordered a March, they had proceeded An hundred or two yards when a Captain of Malitia Ordered a halt & informed St. Brano, that Since he Came to Nacogdoches his orders had been Obeyed; but they would not be any longer. They should go no farther with him, but turn back & Seek the Safety of themselves & families, they did not know whether the Troops who were approaching them were to be regarded as enemies or friends. St. Brano in a passion replied he would go to St. Antonio & Soon Return with a Sufficient force. Erect Gallows's & hang every one of them, all the Malitia & about Sixty out of Eighty Regulars Abandoned him & turned Back to the Town & St. Brano with Col. Monterey [Montero] and two or three Subalterns proceeded towards St. Antonio, those who turned Back with the other Inhabitants had a Meeting immediately to Consult what was best to be done & it was Unanimously Concluded to Send a deputation of some of the Most Respectable Inhabitants to meet Col Magee, Assure him there existed then no disposition to oppose him, provided no Individual or their Property would be molested; this was done the delegation met McGee about Twenty Miles from Nacogdoches who returned An Answer perfectly Satisfactory & the Next day (the 12th) the People all went Out in procession, met him, & Conducted him in, all the Archives & public property was taken possession of. Some Flour, powder, fixed Ammunition, Spears, & Lances, 600 Mules & Horses & about Eighty Thousand pounds of fine Wool, the Whole Estimated at from fifty to Sixty Thousand Dollars. Reinforcements are Daily Joining the force at Nacogdoches and they will in a few days proceed on Towards St. Antonio, which place no doubt will fall like Nacogdoches, & The Army of the North cooperate with that of the South under Generalissimo Rayon.
Our Indians all behave well. Adhere to my Advise in having nothing to do in the Wars of the Whites.

I Shall Inform you of the Operations of the Military in Our Neighbourhood as they Occur. Capt. Wolstencroft [Wolleston-craft] left here with his Company & Most of the Cannon & Ammunition that was here Yesterday, leaving the Garreson in a Very Feeble State 133 which I think only strong motives of necessity could Justify. 134

Am Most respectfully your Obt Serv
John Sibley
Honble William Eustis

LETTER 31
Natchitoches October 30, 1812

[Sibley's letter to the Secretary of War, written on October 30, 1812, cannot be reproduced.]

Sibley wrote on both sides of the sheet of letter paper, therefore each word has the imprint of another word, and is so blurred that the letter cannot be read. The notation made on the envelope by a clerk in the War Department states that the letter is a report relative to the unfriendly conduct of a body of Indians, and that Natchitoches was "very defenceless." It is revealed from a sentence or two of the manuscript that Sibley is complaining of the fact that Captain Wollestoncraft has returned to Baton Rouge leaving Natchitoches without defense, and that Colonel Magee and the army are encamped at the Trinity River.

LETTER 32
Natchitoches Novr. 28th 1812

Sir

Mr. William Darby a Mathematician has been for Nearly two years Employed in Collecting Materials for publishing a Map of the State of Louissiana, he left this place about Six Weeks Ago

133 General Wilkinson had ordered Wollestoncraft to move his company with all artillery and arms to Baton Rouge. Sibley might have discovered the motive in Wollestoncraft's letter to Wilkinson in which he related Magee's success in the capture of Nacogdoches, and assured Wilkinson that he had given Magee a free hand and protected the passage of volunteers to Magee's army. Wollestoncraft to Wilkinson, Baton Rouge, August 25, 1812, MS., O. R. W. D.

134 Motives of frontier officials in regard to the expedition are confusing. Governor Claiborne, the chief local official, could have prevented the enterprise by the enforcement of the Neutrality Act of 1794; but he prevented its enforcement until after Texas had been invaded; and General Wilkinson aided by changing officers at Port Claiborne. Furthermore, the State and War Departments had been repeatedly informed of the enterprise. See Garrett, Green Flag Over Texas, 138-139.
to ascertain the 32 deg. of North Latitude on the River Sabine & to Measure from thence North One Degree or Sixty Nine Miles to the Intersection of the Parrallell of 32 degrees of North Latitude, which is the NorthWest Corner of this State. Mr Darby found the 32° on the Sabine a few Miles below the Nandaco Village Near a Large Bayou called Nassosette, & in Running the North line, both the Nandaco & Caddo Towns are left out of this State, the line passing about Six or Eight Miles to the Eastward of them both, greatly to the disappointment of the Indians. If the line had have gone half a degree higher up the Sabine it would have Included both of those Tribes & likewise the Place Called La Dante where there was a French Settlement long before Louisianna was Ceded to Spain to which no good objection Could have been made to the Claim of the U. S. The North West Corner of the State will be found in Lake Sodo, two or three Miles to the West of Red River, Lake Sodo is between the Caddo Nation & Red River is Sixty or Seventy Miles long, & it is Said will—three Leagues Wide & has been—within about Twelve Years, it Stretches along Nearly parallel with Red River; The Caddo & Nandaco Tribes of Indians who are Unanimously Attached to the U. S. falling without Our Limits and being in a Tract of Country to which Our Govt. have never by any Public Act Asserted a Claim, May be Attended with Severe Consequences. The Spaniards have always told them that the Country they occupied belonged to Spain & we have told them the contrary. Should the Caddos turn from us Near Twenty Other Tribes will go with them. If it was practicable by an Act of Congress to make a Small Alteration in the Northwestern Limits of this State so as to Include the Nandaco & Caddo Tribes it is my opinion much good might Result from it. If not Much evil Avoided by it. Nothing has Occurred Amongst the Indians in this quarter Since I wrote you last worth Notice. The Factory here has Scarcely An Article in it left necessary or importance for the Indians. I wish it Could be kept Better Supplied, whoever furnishes Indians the Best & Most Satisfactory Trade can always Control their Politicks. The Waters in this part of the Country have not been so high as they now are from Rains & this Season for probably half a Century.

I am
Sir with great Esteem
Lour Hble Servt.
John Sibley

Honble. William Eustis
Secretary of War
Letters and Documents

Letter 33

Natchitoches Novr. 28th 1812

Sir

Since closing the letter in which I Enclose this (An hour Ago) An Express Arrived from Labardie [La Bahía] bringing Many letters from Individuals Composing the Volunteer Army of Don Bernardo Gutieres [Gutiérrez]. Immediately commanded by Col. Magee dated the 14th Inst. Stating that they had taken possession of that place without Opposition where they found three Pieces of Cannon & Some Other Valuable Stores. The garrison all Retreating at their approach, & that Since, they had Discovered Considerable Number of Spaniards & Indians Round about the place who they had tried in Vain to bring to Action, the Spaniards would always Run from One quarter of their Number to the Volunteers. a Volunteer officer with 18 Men Made an Excursion & fell in with an hundred & fifty Spaniards who they fought & defeated, killing 8 Spaniards. the Volunteers lost One Man by Accident. they would Leave Labardie in a Short time & proceed to St. Antonio. The express (a Spaniard) Says he heard on the Road that Considerable Disertions from the Volunteers had taken place & that Labardie was Surrounded by 5000 Spaniards & Indians.

Nothing from beyond River Grand.

Am
Most Respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
John Sibley

Honble. William Eustis

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155 The capture of this coastal presidio was a strategic stroke in the republican campaign, as may be explained in the words of a Spanish official who stated that if Anglo-Americans ever occupied La Bahía, they would close the door for quick relief from Vera Cruz, and the invaders would not be easily driven from Texas. Bernardo Bonavia to the Commandant-General, Béjar, April 5, 1810, Provincias Internas, Vol. 201, pp. 198, 226.

156 Sibley refers to the Republican Army of the North under the command of Gutiérrez and Magee as the Volunteers.

157 For details of the capture of La Bahía, see Warren D. C. Hall, "Revolution of Texas in 1812," Texas Almanac, 1861, 70-74.

158 Salcedo and Herrera encamped around La Bahía three days after the republicans had occupied it, and upon their approach the deserters from the garrison at La Bahía returned to the royalist army. "Report of Samuel Davenport," Special Agents, William Shaler, 1810, II, MS., S. D.
Sir

I have a private opportunity of sending this to be put into the Mail at Natchez. The Notice is short & I have only time to Inform you, that a young Man arrived here from Nacogdoes two days ago who brings an account that on the Night of the 20th of November last, a detachment from the Voluntier Army at Labardie [La Bahía] of Eighty Men—Attacked the Campt of a Division of the Royalist Army, killed between 50 & 60 Men, took three Pieces of Cannon, Dispersed the whole Royal Camp & Returned into the Fort at Labardie Again without Loosing a Man in either killed or wounded; And that within a day or two of the Same time Two hundred Men well Mounted & Equipped from the Colonne [Colonia del Nueva Santander] joined the Voluntiers under Mcgee & Bernardo. Colonne is the place where Col. Bernardo lives & those two hundred are his friends & Neighbors. A number of Desertions have taken place from the Royal Army who have joined the Voluntiers, who it is thought before now was in possession of St. Antonio. We have heard nothing lately to be depended on from the Interior of Mexico; but the two hundred men coming to Join the Revolutionists on this side River Grand & None to join the Royalists admits an Inference favourable to the Revolution. I have not heard a Word from Doctor Robinson since he left St. Antonio. The Indians in this quarter are all peaceably disposed as far as I can discover.

From a letter I have Recd. from my Son George C. Sibley the U. S. factor on the Missouri, I am apprehensive the next news will be that the Post of Fort Ozages with the Factory are taken by the Britsh & Indians.

The Creeks appear Restive. They will not be otherwise while the Britsh have Influence in the Floridas.

I am

Sir Most Respectfully
Your Most Hble. Servt.

John Sibley

The Honble. William Eustis

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169 Cutiérrez lived in the town of Revilla on the west bank of the Río Grande in the province of Nuevo Santander.

169 Dr. John Hamilton Robinson, a former member of the Pike expedition, had been arrested with Pike while exploring the Río Grande in 1805–1806, had been sent to Chihuahua, imprisoned, and later sent out of Spanish territory by way of Texas. Now he was on his way to his former captor, Commandant-General Salcedo in Chihuahua, with a special message from President Madison. He had been in Natchitoches during the first week in October, where Shaler aided him in preparing for his journey. For details see Garrett, *Green Flag Over Texas*, 163-165, 168, 176, 188-189, 199-200, 211-212.

169 Sibley refers to the campaign in the Northwest during the War of
LETTER 35

Natchitoches Feby. 12th 1813——

Sir

On the Sixth Instant I received a visit from the great Caddo Chief who has Just Returned from a long Journey made at my Request; & Reports that "he has visited all the Indian Tribes occupying that extensive tract of Country laying between Red River & the Road\textsuperscript{182} Leading from this place Towards Mexico & as far to the Westward as the River Grande & that they had all Received my talk & tokens in the most friendly manner, the Substance of which was to Inform them of the War between the United States & England. Its grounds progress etc, & likewise Relative to the Revolution in Spanish America & to advise them to keep their hands Clean & have Nothing to do in the quarrels of white people. In a former letter I Informed you that the Caddo Chief had told me that applications had been made to all those Tribes he Visited by the Royal Spanish Governors\textsuperscript{183} of Taxus [Texas], Coahuila, & Chihuahua, to afford [the Royalists'] all the aid in their power Against the Revolutionists. The Chief [manuscript torn] is difficult for him to express to me the very great Respect with which he was Received by all the Tribes he Visited, he says the President of the United States Could not have been treated with more respect, he was Regarded as a Messenger of Peace sent from heaven; before he Arrived Amongst the Hietans a Considerable party of that Nation had been Persuaded by Governor Salcedo of St Antonio to Come into that place & were then in Arms Against the Revolutionary party, after he had had a talk with the Nation they proposed sending a Strong party to St Antonio & putting to death all those of their Nation who had joined Salcedo, to this the Caddo Chief Objected & proposed to them that a friendly invitation should be sent them & they Invited to withdraw from the service they were then Engaged in, this he informed me was agreed to & he had the pleasure while he Remain'd Amongst them to witness their Return. (I have been informed of the Same by Some deserters from St. Antonio).

The Chief Assures me that in future not one of any of those Nations will have Any thing to do in the affairs of the Revolution in that Country: but the Chief Says they told him to tell me If the U. States Should be Attacked & we Requested it they would all Come & fight for us as long as there was one Warrior Remaining.—

\textsuperscript{182} 1812. In mid-summer of 1812 the British captured Detroit, which left the frontier open to Indian raids. John Spencer Bassett, \textit{A Short History of the United States} (New York, 1924), 322.

\textsuperscript{183} North of the Camino Real, or King's Highway.

\textsuperscript{184} Manuel Salcedo, and Simón Herrera.
While the Chief was here he was very hardly press'd by Some Very Influential Characters, to join the Revolutionary party now at Labardie to take with him an hundred or more of his own Nation & raise two or Three hundred in the Other Tribes & Eticking offers were made him. I did not interfere, though I knew all that was going on for I knew the Chief's firmness & that he would do nothing without Consulting me,—he gave a prompt refusal, & Said should he comply with the request he would be doing what he had Advised others not to do, & nothing should Induce him to Act so Inconsistant a part. —I have Since been informed that that Major Ross a Virginia Gentleman who hapened here last fall & went into the Spanish Country with the Army of Bernardo & Magee in the Capacity of Quarter Master General has Collected & Rendezvoused at the River Trinity Between 4 & 600 Indians Mostly of those Called Allibamis & Conchattas (Descendants from the Creeks) who live on or near the Coast Along the Bay of St Bernard with a few Choctaws, Nabadaches & Nacogdochettas.

It is my present Opinion that Should Any Occasion Justify Our Government in Calling Upon the Indians in this quarter the Caddo Chief with what Assistance I Could afford him Could bring into the field from three to five Thousand as Brave Indian Warriors as under any heaven.

NOTE:
The envelope is addressed to
The Honorable Secretary of War

LETTER 36th

Nacogdoches March 1, 1813

Sir

"Two prisoners taken from the Cavalla made their escape about the 13 February from Salcedo's camp and arrived here on the 27 at night. The next morning arrived Jose Maria Mona and Jose Ignacio Y Barva of this place. They had deserted our

164 Sibley refers to Samuel Davenport, Quartermaster of the Republican Army of the North, who reached Natchitoches December 19, 1812, and Reuben Ross, who arrived in January, 1813. They came for recruits and supplies. William Shaler to Secretary of State James Monroe, December 27, 1812, January 10, 1813, MSS., S.D.

165 Ross failed to secure Indian allies in Natchitoches, and returned to La Bahia, March 12, 1813, with Captain Gaines, a few Americans, and a hundred-odd Indians from the coast. Reuben Ross to Shaler, San Antonio, April 15, 1813, Special Agents, 1810, MS., S.D.

166 Anonymous, a report of two deserters from the army of Governor Salcedo, found in the files of Sibley's letters in the O.R.W.D.

167 Salcedo's army was encamped before La Bahía attempting to force the republican army to evacuate the place, which they had occupied since November 7, 1812. See Garrett, Green Flag Over Texas, 167-173.
Army on the 12 November, and now desert the innimy. They left the camp on the 17 with a passport to go out for cattle. I have four individuals interrogated separately, report that an engagement took place Some days previous to their flight in which Salcedo lost a number of men, particularly Lieutenant a Ahzeniega; that he had come to a determination to raise his camp, and retire to San Antonio, being totally out of powder; they are living upon nothing but meat; the troops are naked, have no tobacco, and are much disgusted; their horses are poor worn down and almost useless. That the Comanches Indians are at open war with Salcedo, had killed nine persons in the neighborhood of San Antonio, and the greatest part of the Soldiers manifested the best intentions in favor of the Republicans, upwards of one hundred had already crossed over to La Bahia: about Sixty executed it on the day of the last affair, namely Corporal Antonio Delgado.

The two deserters are in confinement; the two prisoners will set out with me to return to the army.

This favorable report, and the critical situation of our innimy seem to be corroborated by the return of the deserters once very warm in favor of Salcedo, and would not have left him to come and lay themselves in the hands of Justice, if they had seen any chance in their favor. They announce the return within a few days of the other individuals in the same case with themselves whose number amounts to three or four."

LETTER 37

Natchitoces March 7th 1818

Sir

An Express arrived here yesterday from the Province of Taxus [Texas] bringing a number of letters confirming the Report of the Death of Col. Magee, he died of Sickness at Labardie [La Bahia] on the 6th of Feb'y. The Command of the Revolutionary Army at Labardie devolved on Col. Samuel Kemper. Col Reuben Ross is Second in Command. On March 9th a Battle was fought between the two Armies & Another On the 17th both which terminated in favour of the Revolutionists. Upwards of An hundred Spaniards were killed.

Magee had been ill since the Republican Army left the Trinity River in early October of 1812. After reaching La Bahia, he was prostrated with fever. Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, January 10, 1813, MS., S. D.

Kemper was the brother of Reuben and Nathan Kemper, with whom he had figured in the violence of the West Florida revolution against Spain, which terminated in the annexation of West Florida by the United States. It was said that he entered Texas to enact a similar rôle. Dictionary of American Biography, X, 322; Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 29, 1812, MS., S. D.

Sibley erroneously recorded March as the time of these two battles. They occurred in February. Anonymous [Spanish author] to Davenport, Nacogdoches, March 1, 1813, MS., O. R. W. D.
many more wounded with the loss of three Piece of Cannon & their Camp Entirely Broken up. Since which one whole Company of Salcedos Army have Come Over to Kemper with all their Arms etc. Smaller Numbers are Daily Coming in, all of them Agree in stating the Distress & dispair of Salcedo. Governor Herrera [Herrera] Second in Command & Salcedo are on Bad Terms, they do not Speak together, & great Division & a General discontent prevails in Salcedos Army, & that the people of St Antonio have Revoluted & that a Deputation from them were Dispatched to Invite Col Ross\textsuperscript{171} who they understood was on the Road with Some Reinforcements to March Directly to St Antonio & take Command, that no opposition would be made & that should Salcedo Come there with his Small Distressed Army he would be Opposed by the People. That Salcedo was without Powder, Bread, or Tobacco & it is believed here that the Revolutionary party are at this time in Complete possession of all the Country on this Side of the River Grand and are now beginning the organization of their new government, (to us which will I believe will Require more Men of Talents than they have). We have very little direct information from this Country Between River Grand & Mexico but from the confusion & dispair of Salcedos Army, his not being able to procure from beyond him Either Men, or Ammunition, the Conclusion is that the Royal party are no better off beyond than on this Side of River Grand. I have heard Nothing from Doctor Robinson.\textsuperscript{172} An Express is every moment Expected Direct from Labardie or St. Antonio. I shall write to you again when I have anything further worth Communicating.

Am Most Respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
John Sibley

The Honble. Secretary of War

LETTER 38

Natchitoches May 7th 1813

Sir

Last evening Arrived here from the City of St Antonio Mr. Roberts the Bearer of dispatches from the Revolutionary Army at that place. I have seen several letters & Conversed with

\textsuperscript{171}Ross was returning from Natchitoches and Nacogdoches with some American volunteers, and one hundred-odd Indians. Ross to Shaler, San Antonio, April 15, 1813, \textit{Special Agents, II, MS., S. D.}

\textsuperscript{172}Dr. Robinson at that time was en route from Chihuahua to Natchitoches. He reached Béxar about March 20, 1813, "Report of Doctor John H. Robinson," Mexico, \textit{Filibustering Expeditions Against the Government of Spain, 1811-1816, MS., S. D.}
Mr. Roberts & Several Other persons who Accompanied him hither, who all agree in the following Statement of Facts.

That the Revolutionary Army Commanded by Don Joseph Bernardo Góteros [Gutiérrez] after the Battle at Labardie [La Bahía] on the 10th of March in which Governor Salcedo lost 150 killed & wounded, 61 Prisoners & about 100 who desertered & Came Over to the Revolutionary Army, Raised the Seige of Labardie on the 22nd of March with about 800 Men Including Americans, Spaniards, & Indians. On the 29th was met about Eight Miles from St. Antonio by General Herrera with Twelve hundred Men & Six Pieces of Cannon, a Battle Ensued which Continued about an hour.12 Good part of the time with Bayonets & Swords in hand the two Armies all Mingled together the Result was Herrera was Compleatly defeated with the lost of all his Cannon & much Baggage & about one hundred Dead on the field of Battle, & Got Back to St Antonio in the greatest disorder. The next day Salcedo sent proposals to Bernardo of Capitulation which were refused. On the 1st of April he Surrendered at discretion & Bernado with his Army entered the City, about three hundred of the Soldiers with Col St Branyo [Zambrano] & his Brother made their Escape & have Gone Over River Grand into the Province of Quahuilla [Coshuilla] where the Soldiers Came from. General Bernardo Advised by the Principal Inhabitants of St. Antonio Caused Salcedo, Herrera & all the Principal officers to be imprisoned. The next day it was reported that there was a Small Vessel at Matagorda about 150 Miles below St Antonio in a South Easterly direction in which fourteen of the Prisoners were to be shipped off for the United States. they were Accordingly Marched Out under a guard of Spaniards, & taken about Six Miles to a Creek, where they were all put to Death. Among them were Governor Salcedo, General Herrera, & his Brother the Major, Captain Arcos, a Very Rich Inhabitant of St. Antonio & his two Sons, Captain Domingus, late Inspector Genl., Capt Ugart, late Commander at Nacogdoches. The others I do not know personally but were from Beyond River Grand. Col. Monterey of the Royal Army was killed in the Battle of the 29th of March. The Spanish officer who had the Charge of those Prisoners justified himself. That Salcedo had Caused his Father & two Brothers to be beheaded in St Antonio, their heads Draged by Mules to Montelova & through the Streets of that City, & Several other Similar Acts. It is said that Bernardo Consentted to their Execution in Compliancy to the wishes & Entreaties of the Spaniards. The Americans who were there Knew nothing of it. General Toledo unfortunately had not arrived.13 It is Said that

12This battle is known as the Battle of Rosales, also as the Battle of Salado. It was fought on a slope between the San Antonio River and the Salado. Yoakum, History of Texas, 1, 166-168.

13José Álvarez de Toledo, like Gutiérrez, was working for the liberation of the Spanish colonies. He met Gutiérrez in Washington, where he, too,
Bernardo found in St Antonio near Three thousand Men & that one half of them had been disarmed by Salcedo; Bernardo has since formed about One thousand of them into a Regiment. The Province of Taxus [Texas] is Proclaimed free & Independent by the name of the The State of Taxus. Confiscations of near 200 of the Best Houses in St Antonio has taken place & a great Deal of Public property. Bernardo lost in the Battle of the 29th of March five Americans Killed, four Spaniards & two or three Indians. Amongst the Killed was William Owen formerly of Baltimore, lately a Merchant in this Town, & a Mr Snodgrass of Mississippi Territory.

Bernardo is Governor of the new State at Present & Commander of all the Troops, but Toledo will probably Command the Army after his Arrival which will be in 8 or 10 Days. It is believed that by October An Army of five or six Thousand well appointed & Equipt will be Ready to March from St Antonio Towards Mexico, & that the three next provinces will Surrender without Opposition. Most of the Principal officers being taken at St Antonio. A Regular Mail once a Week is to be immediately Established Between St Antonio & this place, & in a short time will no doubt be extended to Mexico. This Town is like Pittsburgh Becoming an immense Thoroughfare, being the Point of landing & departure to & from the Spanish Country.

I am
Sir with great Esteem
John Sibley

Genl Armstrong
Secretary of War

LETTER 39

Natchitoches May 29th 1813

Sir

The Caddo Chief has lately informed me that he wished to live more in the farming way & Asks for some Assistance (viz). Some good Man to be procured to live Amongst them who could keep their Tools in Order, teach them how to plow, to manage stock etc., I informed him I was not Authorised to be at much Expense in that way; but would write to you On the Subject & if you approved of it I would do it with pleasure. This man is a very important Character & his Nation generally well be-

was seeking aid from Monroe, but in the interest of Cuba. He abandoned the Cuban project, and made plans to assist Gutiérrez. In the first week in April of 1813 he arrived in Natchitoches, where he was introduced to Shaler as General Toledo on his way to take command of republican forces in Texas. Shaler received him, and aided his entrance into Texas. Isaac J. Cox, "Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents," *The American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1911, I, 197-215; Shaler to Monroe, May 7, June 12, 1813, MS., S.D.
haved people, & the Nations to the West as far as River Grand
Almost Entirely Under his Influence. Should you think proper
to allow me to be at Some Small Expense to Assist him to Carry
his Wishes into Effect it will give me great pleasure to do so.
The last Accounts from St Antonio inform me That about
2000 Revolutionists under the Command of Some American
Officers were soon to March to River Grand along which River
on East Side are a Number of Small Towns [and] Military
Posts in possession of the Royalists, which they were desirous
to Reduce in order that An uninterrupted Communication might
be opened to a Revolutionary Army at Saltillo & Altamira. 175
A Mail will in future come Regularly to this place from St
have opened a Land Office to Each officer & soldier who has
served the Republic Six Months Receives a Warrant for one
League Square of Land to be Layed by the holder on any
Vacant Land in the State.

Am Your Most Hble Serv.
John Sibley

Genl Armstrong.

LETTER 40

Natchitoches June 10th 1813 177

Sir

On the 30th of June An Express arrived here from St. Antonio
with many letters from different officers of & persons Connected
with the Republican Army containing the following Information (viz). that on the 18th of June an Army of Royalists
Consisting of Between 1200 & 2000 Men, (Accounts differ) on
Horseback appeared within half a Mile of the City of St Antonio
& Summoned the Town to Surrender in 24 hours on the Conditions
following, or they would take it by Storm & put all to
the Sword about 20 Principal Men, a list of whom was Sent in,
were to be given up to be dealt with as they might think proper.
The other Inhabitants should be pardoned, & the Americans
who were there should be permitted to Leave the Country un-
 molested. These propositions were Received with disdain, &

175Mier, Camargo, Laredo, Revilla, and the Presidio de Rio Grande.
176After the execution of Salcedo and Herrera with their officers, the
republicans issued a declaration of Texas' independence from Spain, on
April 6, 1813. By April 17, a constitution for the Republic of Texas having
been completed, the new government was established. Garrett, "The First
Constitution of Texas, April 17, 1813," The Southwestern Historical
Quarterly, XI, 290-308.
177The date of June 10th is incorrect. The events which Sibley recounts
occurred between June 18th and 21st. Sibley intended to write the date
July 10th, as is indicated on the exterior of this letter, so folded as to
make its own envelope, and on which he wrote the date of mailing, July
11, 1813.
the Republican Troops Amounting to about 1000 were Immediately Marched Out under the Command of Major Perry from the State of Connecticut to Attack them. The Royalist Ran before Perry some within gun shots of them, & being Mounted & the others on foot were not persued. The Republicans Returned to the Town. On the 19th Scouting Mounted parties were sent out & discovered the Camp of the Royalist Army about Six Miles from the City, & on the 20th in the Morning the Republican Army Commanded by Perry were Again Marched Out to give them Battle. The Royalists discovered them in time to form on chosen ground a small distance in front of their Camp. The American Rifle Men began the Attack, the Royalists soon gave way & Retreated to their Camp which they Obstinately defended for about an hour; with Two Piece of Cannon when they all broke & ran in different directions, leaving 200 dead on the ground, two Pieces of Cannon, 350 Stands of Arms, all their Baggage, Camp equipage, 6000 Dollars in cash, a Considerable quantity of Ammunition, Flour Biscuit, Sugar, Coffe, Beans Spiritious Liquors for Three Months, & about 1000 head of Horses & Mules with Saddles & Bridles & 70 Prisoners were taken. The Number of wounded were not Ascertained. Col. Hellsondo [Elizondo] Commanded the Royal Army Assisted by Colonels Boragos & Domingos. 600 of their Army were regulars. The Republicans lost—Killed 7 Americans & 3 wounded, 3 Indians & 14 or 15 Spaniards, in the Battle were 300 Americans 120 Indians & almost 800 Spaniards, about 70 Americans & a Number of Spaniards were absent on Command. The Spaniards were mixed in with the American Companies & fought Bravely. Major Masticot [Massicott] a Frenchman from New Orleans, Secretary of State & second in Command on that

175 Ignacio Elizondo, famous as a leader of the counter-revolution of 1811 in Coahuila, and as captor of Hidalgo at the wells of Baján, had been sent to Texas by Colonel José Joaquín Arredondo, a commander of royal forces in the Valley of Maíz, Mexico. Arredondo had decided that it was imperative to crush the revolution in Texas in order to uproot it in Mexico. Therefore he had marched northward to recapture Texas and to prevent the conquest of the northern provinces by the Republican Army of the North, which it was rumored intended to advance southward to the heart of Mexico. Arredondo achieved his purpose in the northern provinces, and encamped at Laredo to make final preparations for the conquest of Texas. From there he sent Elizondo with orders to enter Texas, but not go to Béxar; to observe the enemy, but not to engage them in battle. Elizondo disobeyed orders, suffering a severe rout. Operaciones: Arredondo, III, 199-205, 210-220, 224-233, 325-333, IV, 31-32, 37-38, 40-42, 51-57, 61-65, 80-89.

176 Sibley uses the term Spaniards in referring to the former soldiers of Salcedo and Herrera who joined the republican army when Béxar was captured. Most of these soldiers came from Nuevo León and Nuevo Santander to Texas with Herrera in 1806. Provincias Internas, vol. 201, pp. 21-24, 37-42, 45-55, B. L.

180 Shaler informed Monroe that Louis Massicott was a French agent, whom he had known in Havana, that since he had become Secretary of State of Texas he was the director of everything, and was making Texas
day was the only officer killed. Captain Germaile was slightly wounded in the right hand. On the 21st Some Parties mounted were Sent Out & Picked up a Number More Prisoners & found many who had died of their wounds—On the 8th Inst: Another Express Arrived with the Intelligence that Genl. Bernardo had Caused 7 or 8 more Prisoners to be put to death that no Number of Royalists Could be found Embodied on this Side of River Grand, that Bernardo had become so unpopular that he was about Coming into the United States & that Genl. Toledo with between 4 & 500 of a Reinforcement was on his way from Nacogdoches to St. Antonio to take the Command of the Revolutionist Army & that Captain Slocum with an Escort had left St. Antonio to meet Genl. Toledo & Conduct him thither, who it was believed would Soon proceed on over River Grand with about 4000 Men. I Saw a letter from the Adjutant Genl. Fisher dated St. Antonio June 20th which States that they have Completely mounted Sixteen Pieces of Cannon about ten thousand pounds of powder & a proportionate quantity of Lead & Cannon Balls are Manufacturing Horsemen’s Swords with great Success, have Some Excellent Armourers busily employed Making & repairing Guns & Bayonets etc., Accounts from Mexico are not very Satisfactory it is said at St Antonio that that City is in the possession of the Republicans but not fully Credited; but Zacatecas & Saltees [Saltillo] all accounts agree are The Assembling The Royal Army at St. Antonio which was so Completely defeated on the 20th of June is no doubt the last Effort to prevent the Republican Army from Crossing River Grand that will be made, & it is said that the Govt. of Quahuailla [Coahuila] are waiting for the Arrival of General Toledo to make Some Amicable Arrangements with him & that their Example will be followed by Several Other Provinces.

I am
Sir with very great Respect & Esteem
Your Obt. Hble. Servant
John Sibley

Genl. John Armstrong.

an asylum for French adventurers; and Shaler feared a French direction would be given the revolution. Shaler to Monroe, June 12, 1813, MS., S. D. 181

182 Since the latter part of May, Shaler with other Anglo-Americans both in Natchitoches and Texas, had been working to place Toledo in command in Texas. They were dissatisfied with the government of the Republic of Texas and with the régime of Gutiérrez, also they feared French intrigue in Texas. Garrett, “The First Newspaper of Texas: Gaceta de Texas,” The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XL, 206-215.
Sir

I had the honor to write you from this place by the last Mail a private Express goes direct from here to Natchez. This will be delivered into the Postoffice at Natchez & reach you some say Sooner than the other letter by Mail.\textsuperscript{183}

Within ten days past Several Expresses have arrived here from St Antonio, & by very Many Letters all Corroborating, we have the Most Authentic information That on the 18th of June about 1500 Royalists Commanded by Col. Helisondo [Elizondo] appeared before the City of St. Antonio & Summoned the town to surrender & proposed the following Conditions, "that ten or twelve of the principal Leaders of the Republicans should be given up, the rest of the Inhabitants should be Pardoned & the Americans who were there might be permitted to leave the Country & pass into the United States unmolested."

The propositions were Received with disdain, 70 of the Americans & a large Party of Spaniards were absent on Command, about 1000 were immediately formed of which 250 were Americans & 120 were Indians, marched out to Give the Royalists Battle who were mostly Mounted well Armed, 600 of whom Regular Troops, with two Pieces of Artillery. The Royalists ran before the Republican Army Commanded by Major Perry from the State of Connecticut, Came within gun shots of them. Perry returned Again to the Town being on foot did not persue. The 19th the Camp of the Royalists was discovered about Six Miles distant & on the Morning of the 20th the Army Commanded Again by Perry Marched out to Attack them in their Camp, they were discovered by the Royalists in time for them to form in Good Order on a favorable Position in front of their Camp, the Battle was commenced by the American Riflemen, the Royalists soon gave way & fell Back to their Camp, which they defended for about an hour, when they broke & ran in different directions Leaving their Camp, Dead & Wounded, Provisions, etc., etc.

I Received a letter from the Secretary of the Governor Containing the following Account of the Events of the Day (viz) of the Royalists were killed 274, Wounded 430, taken 67 Prisoners, 2 Standards, 2 Piece Cannon (all they had), 5000 pounds gun powder, 4000 pounds Biscuit, 407 Packs of Flour, 2000 Mules & Horses, 28,000 dols. worth of Goods & Cloathing, 300 Stands of Arms, 7000 dols in Specie. 600 Saddles, 25 Packs of Salt, Besides Spirits, Liquor, Chocolate, Coffe, Beans etc. & 100,000 Sigars, letters dated Eight days, after the Battle Mention

\textsuperscript{183}In this letter Sibley gives more specific details of events than those he recorded in his letter of July 10, 1813.
Dead bodies are every day found round about the Battle Ground & that not ten of the Royalists have found Together Since. Of the Republicans, as they Call themselves, Eight only were killed & 22 wounded one of whom has since Died. In a letter I Received from Major Perry who Commanded the Republican Army, he says, that "the Spaniards (Patriots) were Mixed in with American Companies & fought nobly. The Regular Troops with Helisondos [Elizondo's] Army it is understood were generally from Durango. It is believed that the Assembling of this Army is the last Effort that will be made to Prevent the Republicans from ever crossing over River Grand. General Toledo has gone to St Antonio to take the Command of the Army & will be able from the Number of Volunteers who are joining him from the U. S., And Spaniards & Indians to proceed on over River Grand Immediately with 4000 Men. Doctor Forsyth who has lately Accepted the Command of the Artillery writes that they have Sixteen field Pieces well mounted 10,000 pounds of gun powder & Plenty of Cannon Balls & Lead. Genl Bernardo Guteros [Gutiérrez] has become unpopular, he has Since the Battle of the 20th Caused 7 or 8 Prisoners more to be put to death.— Capt. Slocum who Commanded a Company in the Battle of the 20th Arrived here Yesterday, he was Sent with an Eschort to meet Genl. Toledo & Conduct him to St Antonio, he goes off Tomorrow & will Overtake the General at Nacogdoches who has there Collected, & on the Road about 400 Recruits who are going on with him; Expresses pass now Regularly between this place & St. Antonio every Nine or ten days.

Our accounts from Mexico are not very Satisfactory, it is generally Reported that Genl Rayon's Army has been very Successfull; have Taken Durango, Zacatacas [Zacatecas], Salte [Saltillo], & Several Other Towns, & that the Province of Quahuilla will all join Genl Toledo & three or four other Provinces will follow their Example.

I am
Sir
with Great Respect & Esteem
Your Obt Hble. Servant
John Sibley

Genl John Armstrong
Secretary of War.