

**Reminiscences of
Moses Austin Bryan**

Reminiscences of Moses Austin Bryan

Wilson W. Crook, III, Editor

Houston Archeological Society

Report No. 27

2016

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Front Cover: Photo of Moses Austin Bryan (Courtesy of Robert "Scott" Patrick).

Editor's Foreword

The *Houston Archeological Society Report No. 27* is a publication of the Society. Our Mission is to foster enthusiastic interest and active participation in the discovery, documentation, and preservation of cultural resources (prehistoric and historic properties) of the city of Houston, the Houston metropolitan area, and the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region.

The Houston Archeological Society holds monthly membership meetings with invited lecturers who speak on various topics of archeology and history. All meetings are free and open to the public.

Membership is easy! As a nonprofit organization, membership in the Houston Archeological Society is open to all persons who are interested in the diverse cultural history of Houston and surrounding areas, as well as the unique cultural heritage of the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region. To become a member, you must agree with the mission and ethics set forth by the Society, pay annual dues and sign a Code of Ethics agreement and Release and Waiver of Liability Form.

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FOREWORD

Elizabeth K. Aucoin

On Saturday, April 23, 2005, the San Jacinto Festival and Battlefield Reenactment were held on the site of the battlefield. As usual, the Houston Archeological Society hosted an outreach program that included a mock archeological dig, an assemblage of unprovenienced prehistoric artifacts, and a poster display of other archeological sites relevant to the Battle of San Jacinto that took place on April 21, 1836. One of those posters detailed the archeological investigations that had begun on land adjacent to and across the street from the San Felipe de Austin State Historic Site, the site of Stephen F. Austin's original "Old 300" colony. The town site was originally laid out in 1824 and was located in what is now known as San Felipe, Texas.

One might ask, "What does that have to do with *The Reminiscences of M.A. Bryan*, and who was M. A. Bryan?"

It was because of my involvement during those archeological investigations, that began in early 2005, that I was given a photocopy of a typewritten document detailing milestones in the life of Moses Austin Bryan, a nephew of Stephen F. Austin, who accompanied Austin on many of his travels and served as his personal secretary. I received the document with the understanding that it could be shared with the Principal Investigator of the site being investigated, but that the document would not be copied nor distributed, and the information contained therein would be limited to the investigator and me. That document has been closely held by me until recently when I received permission, from four of M. A. Bryan's descendants, to have Bryan's *Reminiscences* published by the Houston Archeological Society.

Another question might be asked, "Why is this document important; is it historically significant?" The answer is a resounding yes.

Moses Austin Bryan was born September 25, 1817 in the then territory of Missouri. Bryan wrote of his early beginnings "My mother, who was Miss Emily Austin, an only daughter of Moses Austin, married after my father's death, James F. Perry in 1824, who was a merchant in Potosi, Washington County, Missouri. We moved to Potosi, a town laid

off by my grandfather, Moses Austin, when Missouri belonged to the Government of Spain. I went to school there until I was eleven years old. I remained in Perry and Hunter's store at Potosi until December, 1830."

In his *Reminiscences*, Bryan states:

"I accompanied W. W. Hunter with the goods from the store [James F. Perry and Hunter's store in Potosi, Missouri] down the Mississippi River to New Orleans; thence to Texas." They "left New Orleans on December 24, 1830" and entered the Brazos River on January 2, 1831 "arriving in the town of San Felipe de Austin on January 10, 1831. San Felipe was the first town laid off in Texas by my uncle Stephen F. Austin."

When Moses Bryan arrived in San Felipe, he was not yet 14 years of age. During 1831, Bryan worked in Perry and Hunter's store that was opened in San Felipe once their goods arrived by wagon from Brazoria. His job was selling goods to the pioneer settlers in San Felipe and to several tribes of Indians who traded buffalo and deer hides from Washington County in exchange for items stocked by the store.

"In June, 1831, I boarded with Uncle Jimmy and Aunt Betsy Whitesides..." That same month, he met "Col. Ira R. Lewis with his wife and his two younger daughters, Cora and Stella, [who] arrived in San Felipe and boarded at the same hotel. It was there I used to dandle on my knee my present wife, Cora Lewis, who was then two and one-half years old. My mother arrived in [at] San Felipe August 15, 1831, after a three months' journey by land from Missouri."

"In the latter part of February, 1832, I accompanied my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, to the city of Saltillo, then the capital of

Coahuila and Texas... There I learned to speak Spanish and to smoke shuck cigarettes and I have always kept up the custom..."

The purpose of the trip to Saltillo was so that Stephen F. Austin could attend the Legislature, where he was one of two representatives from Texas. "In June, 1832, the Legislature adjourned until Fall." During that recess, his uncle traveled to Matamoras so that Austin could "see General Teran, the Commander of the Eastern States of Mexico bordering on the Rio Grande." While in Matamoras, Austin joined General Mexia and went with him to Texas. Moses remained in Saltillo, later going on to Matamoras and eventually returning to San Felipe later that year taking with him the "horses, mules, and traveling equipage" belonging to Stephen Austin.

"I delivered to my uncle his property and afterwards told him that had I been older I would never have taken that trip with a strange Mexican."

Fast forward four years and the date is now February 23, 1836 and Bryan writes the following regarding that date:

"February 23d the advance of Santa Anna's army of invasion entered San Antonio. Travis and his band retreated to the Alamo and Santa Anna made a demand for their surrender. Travis answered the command by a cannon shot, having made up his mind to neither retreat nor surrender... Travis, in his two or three letters which he wrote and sent by express, stated that he feared if he surrendered or retreated, Texas would be overrun by the Mexicans."

The following day, William Barret Travis sent a letter dated Feb. 24, 1836 from Bexar to San Felipe. The letter was addressed to his "FELLOW-CITIZENS," and in it he relates details of the situation within the walls of the Alamo, the encroaching and increased number of Mexican forces, the calls for reinforcements for the men at the Alamo, and ends with the famous words VICTORY OR DEATH. When Travis's letter reached San Felipe, it was printed as a broadside for distribution throughout the region. It was also printed in the March 5th edition of the *Telegraph and Texas Register* that was routinely printed at San Felipe. An example of the broadside, courtesy of HAS member Michael Lemen, is included in this report.

The date is now April 21, 1836. Moses Austin Bryan is 18 years old and the Texian Army has defeated the Mexican Army at the Battle of San Jacinto.

"After the line of battle was formed, we marched rapidly towards the Mexican camp where they had erected a breastworks. Burleson's regiment (to which I belonged) was in the center and marched straight to the breastworks where we could see only heads of the men behind them. In the advance I had three holes shot in the skirts of my coat—a frock coat which flew out as we advanced in a trot—and heard the bullets whistling as they over-shot us (a usual thing as we advanced uphill)."

Moses further states:

"Burleson's Regiment went right over the breastworks and the Mexicans, who were not killed, retreated. We captured the cannon."

General Sam Houston had been wounded during the battle and was resting under a tree when Santa Anna was brought before him by Colonel Hockley, who said, "General Houston, here is Santa Anna!" Moses, who was fluent in Spanish, writes in his *Reminiscences*,

("I thought then, and believe now, that I was the only person present who understood General Santa Anna's speech to General Houston").

Very shortly Lorenzo de Zavala came forward; "Zavala was acting as volunteer aid[e] to General Houston... [and] acted as interpreter for General Houston."

Moses Austin Bryan wrote the following in his 1889 *Reminiscences*,

"Colonel Almonte, first aid[e] to Santa Anna, succeeded in getting the men to throw away their military caps and guns and got them together in the edge of the timber and put his white handkerchief on the end of his bayonet, thus showing the white flag to half a dozen of our cavalry who were in advance and the slaughter ceased."

Now, fast forward again, this time to 2010. Archeological investigations at the San Jacinto Battlefield site and adjacent property have been under way for several years. Metal detecting and recovery of battle-related artifacts from a tree-lined area outside the park tickles the imagination. Those artifacts seem to be located in a fairly well-defined line. Has the surrender location of Colonel Almonte and his troops been located? It appears that those archeological investigations and Bryan's historical writing reinforce the validity of each other!

Let's now move forward to the year 2015. I've read and re-read *Reminiscences* many times and those readings reinforced my desire to see that historically significant document published so that it could be shared with those individuals who have as keen an interest in the history of the Texas Revolution as I. Before that could happen however, I needed answers to a number of questions: had the document been previously published—if so, when and where?; was it copyrighted?; did M. A. Bryan write the document by his own hand, or did he dictate this history and, if so, to whom and who transcribed it?; was there a handwritten copy and did it survive?; how do I go about answering those questions and how do I locate any surviving descendants who might have information that could be shared with me?

I believe that Fate intervened in August when I received information from the San Jacinto Battleground Conservancy about a tour and reception at the new Bryan Museum in Galveston. The museum had opened in June 2015 and its owner was J. P. Bryan, a descendant of Moses Austin Bryan. Eureka! I now had a known descendant who I could contact. Armed with my copy of *Reminiscences*, I made my way to Galveston and had an opportunity to question Mr. Bryan about whether he had seen the document, which he had, and whether the document had ever been published. Mr. Bryan didn't know if that was the case. However, it didn't appear as though his copy carried the handwritten notation that was present on my copy: "For Austin Y. Bryan III from Lewis R. Bryan your great grandfather."

The quest for other descendants and additional information began in earnest. An arranged visit to the Albert & Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Museum of History provided access to documents contained within the *Moses Austin Bryan Papers*, Manuscript Collection: MC060, donated by Paul Gervais Bell and now housed in the library. One of the documents in that collection was a photocopy of the same *Reminiscences* document that I had; that document, however, also lacked the handwritten notation. I did not copy that document, but did make copies of *Proceedings of the [Convention of] Texian Veterans of May 1873* and *Proceedings of the Texas*

Veterans Association of May 1874 as those meeting papers contained the name of my spouse's great-great-grandfather, Samuel Paschal, who came to Texas in January 1836 and fought at the Battle of San Jacinto in April 1836. Moses Austin Bryan was instrumental in the formation of the *Texian Veterans/Texas Veterans Association*, was chosen in May 1873 to serve as its secretary, was re-elected annually, and served in that capacity until 1884.

That visit to the library provided another invaluable resource: Gervais Bell. Mr. Bell is a nephew of Lewis Randolph Bryan and he and Bryan are descendants of Moses Austin. The librarian, Lisa Struthers, kindly put me in touch with Mr. Bell. Also, while at the library, the librarian accessed a data base that revealed that the Archives at Austin College in Sherman, Texas, had a transcript of a manuscript copy totaling 33 leaves (pages), but no title page. I later learned that that photocopied document was donated by Mrs. Lois Brock Adriance of Houston, Texas in 1987. A publication date of 1987 was listed, but that date actually reflected when the college archives accessioned the document into their facility. Mrs. Adriance had also donated a copy of her 1983 publication of a genealogy of the family titled *Descendants of Moses Austin, 1793-1983* published by the Texian Press—a copy of which is available for research at the Clayton Library for Genealogical Research in Houston.

Two additional Bryan descendants were brought to my attention by Gervais Bell; namely, Thurman Clements of Victoria and Mary Thornhill of Houston. It appeared that it was through the kindness of Ms. Thornhill that I had received, via an intermediary, Linda Swift who was a friend and fellow Houston Archeological Society member, a copy of Bryan's *Reminiscences*. At the suggestion of Gervais Bell, I accessed the online archives of Yale University for information on M. A. Bryan. Numerous collections were searched but none appeared to have any information of Bryan's *Reminiscences*. One of the numerous other searches finally proved helpful.

The archives of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library in San Antonio (now called the Alamo Research Library) had three items that were part of the Beauregard Bryan Papers and related to Moses Austin Bryan: a typewritten letter to his parents, marked Copy, dated January 10, 1839 (the original is in the archives of the University of Texas); a partial undated hand-written note, possibly from his journal, signed by M Austin Bryan; and a typewritten letter dated January 10, 1890 in which Bryan responded to seven questions posed to him by Col. W. W. Fontaine "in relation 'to the revolutionary period of history of Texas.'" Madalane Morgan of the DRT Library very kindly emailed copies to me of the three items

mentioned. A copy of the hand-written note and accompanying transcription, Bryan's letter to his parents, plus Bryan's letter to Fontaine are included elsewhere in this report.

The final paragraph of the letter to Col. Fontaine reads, in part:

"From my intimate association and knowledge of him [Col. Stephen F. Austin], I know of what I speak and only speak it...; otherwise, I would not have undertaken such a task (to me) of writing so much, for I have sometime ago abandoned the pen except for short notes."

The letter is then signed (typewritten):

"Respectfully etc Moses Austin Bryan"

Is it possible that the *Reminiscences of M. A. Bryan* written in his seventy-second year (1889) were actually typewritten by Moses Austin Bryan? Another possibility is that it was prepared by Hally Bryan Perry, daughter of Col. Guy Morrison Bryan and Laura Harrison Jack, a co-founder of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Those two intriguing possibilities require additional research. The archives at several facilities may shed some light on whether a handwritten copy of *Reminiscences* ever existed and, if so, whether it has survived through the years.

While it is still unknown who provided the typewritten transcript of Bryan's *Reminiscences*, it is now known that the original document was written by Bryan's own hand. Fellow researcher, Michael Lemen, during a trip to the University of Texas Briscoe Center for American History, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Collection in Austin, located M. A. Bryan's handwritten *Reminiscences*, along with another typewritten document of *Reminiscences* that lacks the handwritten notation that is present on my copy. The handwritten document, given to the University of Texas Library in 1933, is part of the Moses Austin Bryan Collection. The handwritten document was originally part of the J. P. Bryan Library prior to Mr. Bryan's generous donation of that document to the University of Texas. A careful page-by-page comparison, by Mike Lemen and me, of the handwritten document to the typewritten document provided additional insight into the writing style of M. A. Bryan. Some of those insights are mentioned at the end of the transcription provided by me as part of this special report. A special thank you to Mike Lemen for his invaluable research assistance and his help in proofreading this report. Fortuitously, Mike's great-great grandfather, William W. Hawkins, also came to Texas in 1830 from Potosi, Missouri, knew the

Bryans and the Austins, fought at the Battle of San Jacinto, and attended the 1874 Texas Veteran's Association proceedings.

A search of the Library of Congress and its copyright section revealed that the document was never copyrighted—a fact that was confirmed by one of Bryan's descendants, Mary Thornhill. Ms. Thornhill kindly provided a copy of a photograph taken in 1879—that photo depicts the only three survivors at that time of the Battle of San Jacinto from Washington County: Moses A. Bryan, George W. Petty and L. C. Clemons. The time has come to share Moses Austin Bryan's remarkable document with the general public. I hope you will enjoy reading his *Reminiscences* as much as I.

My sincere thanks to Gervais Bell, J. P. Bryan, Thurman Clements, and Mary Thornhill, descendants of Moses Austin Bryan, who graciously corresponded and spoke with me about their illustrious ancestor and who gave this publication their *imprimatur*.

April, 2016

REMINISCENCES

Moses Austin Bryan

From Austin M. Bryan III
 from Lewis R. Bryan

REMINISCENCES OF M. A. BRYAN

My great grandfather

I, Moses Austin Bryan, was born on Hazel River, a branch of the Tar Blue River in St. Genevieve County, then territory of Missouri on the 25th day of September, 1817, the third son of James Bryan and Emily Austin Bryan. There James Bryan carried on a mercantile business and mining and smelting of lead ore. My father died in Herculaneum on the Mississippi River 25 miles between the City of St. Louis in 1823. My mother, who was Miss Emily Austin, an only daughter of Moses Austin, married after my father's death, James F. Perry in 1824, who was a merchant in Potosi, Washington County, Missouri. We moved to Potosi, a town laid off by my grandfather, Moses Austin, when Missouri belonged to the Government of Spain. I went to school there until I was eleven years old. I remained in Perry and Hunter's store at Potosi until December, 1830, when Perry and Hunter

I accompanied W. W. Hunter with the goods from the store down the Mississippi River to New Orleans; thence to Texas. We left New Orleans on the 24th of December, 1830. At New Orleans Mr. Hunter met Mr. Robert G. Mills, who was there buying a stock of goods. Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mills succeeded in inducing Capt. Hutton from Maine, who had brought a load of lumber to New Orleans in his Schooner, Maria, to transport their goods to

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Brazoria. We sailed out of the basin back of New Orleans down the canal through Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Boeme into the Gulf with twenty-seven or twenty-eight passengers. On the 2d of January, 1831, we entered the Brazos River and I first put foot on Texas soil. (Of all the passengers, all are dead except myself, and I am threescore and twelve on the 25th of next September (1889).) We landed at the town of Brazoria three days later and I arrived in the town of San Felipe de Austin on January 10, 1831. San Felipe was the first town laid off in Texas by my Uncle Stephen F. Austin.

In three or four weeks Perry and Hunter's store was open in San Felipe--the goods having been brought in wagons from Brazoria. I was engaged during the year of 1831 selling goods to pioneer settlers--most of whom were draped in buckskin--, and to the Lapin Tankawa and Bedies, Indians, with whom I exchanged goods for buffalo hides and deer skins brought from what is now known as Washington County.

In June, 1831, I boarded with Uncle Jimmy and Aunt Betsy Whitesides, who were among the pioneer settlers of Austin's first colony. Their only son, Tilford, is now living and is about seventy-five years old. In June, 1831, Col. Ira R. Lewis with his wife and two younger daughters, Cora and Stella, arrived in San Felipe and boarded at the same hotel. It was there I used to dandle on my knee my present wife, Cora Lewis, who was then two and one-half years old. My mother arrived at

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San Felipe August 15, 1831, after a three months' journey by land from Missouri.

My uncle, Stephen F. Austin, was absent from San Felipe when I arrived. On his return I called to see him at the house of Mr. Samuel M. Williams, who was secretary of Austin's colony. I had not seen my uncle in over ten years. His father, Moses Austin, sent him in 1820 to Arkansas territory for the purpose of establishing a farm on Red River bordering the line of Texas, which farm Moses Austin thought would be a good resting place for his colonists while on their way to the wilderness of Texas.

In the latter part of February, 1832, I accompanied my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, to the City of Saltillo, then the capital of Coahuila and Texas. The country was an entire wilderness from San Antonio to Laredo on the Rio Grande. On our way west of the Frio River, my uncle pointed out to me the place where he camped when on his way to the City of Mexico in 1822 to get a confirmation of the Grant by the new government which was made to his father, Moses Austin, on January 17, 1821, by General Joaquin Arredondo, then in command of the Eastern internal provinces of New Spain with headquarters at Monterrey. He told me that while in that camp he and his two companions were surrounded by fifty Comanche Indians, who took everything they had. Fortunately, one of his companions spoke Spanish and he explained to the Comanches, who understood the language, that they were Americans

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and were friendly to the Comanches. Thereupon, the Comanches gave them back everything but their guns and ammunition. A squaw was just disappearing with Austin's saddle bags containing all his money and valuable papers when he followed and recovered them.

When we arrived at Laredo, a Mexican town, we were invited by the Alcalde to stop at his house where we remained three days. There I saw the oldest looking men and women I ever saw with such grey heads and wrinkled faces. I heard the Alcalde tell my uncle that they never had any sickness except contagious diseases brought there; also that it had not rained enough in a year, with one exception, to make the water run in the gullies. I saw the first mountains at Lampasas in Mexico. On the way we crossed the Salado River in which the water was so salt we could not water our horses.

We reached Saltillo about the 1st of April, 1832. The legislature opened in April. My uncle was one of the two representatives from Texas. We boarded with one of the legislators, Don Jesus de la Grande. There I learned to speak Spanish and to smoke shuck cigarettes and I have always kept up the custom. His wife and daughters made their own cigarettes. In the City of Saltillo I first met Dr. James Hewittson, who was one of the twelve who crossed the Sabine with Stephen Austin on July 16, 1821, and who, on his deathbed in 1870, requested Dr. Caruthers, who attended him, if he ever came to Texas to

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bring a horn, which he pointed out to him, and give it to me. I saw the same horn in Dr. Hewittson's drug store in 1832, and he told me it had a half gallon of fourth proof French brandy as an antidote to snake bites when he traveled with my uncle. This he had bought at Nachitoches, Louisiana. Dr. Caruthers brought it to the City of Austin in 1873 and left it with a friend, Mr. Hardeman, who gave it to me in the Fall of 1873; the stopper of the horn is a cup.

At Nachitoches the Mexicans found their first market. In June, 1832, the Legislature adjourned until Fall. During the recess of the Legislature, my uncle determined to go to Matamoras to see General Terran, Commander of the Eastern States of Mexico bordering on the Rio Grande. While on this trip, he heard of the troubles in Texas and that General Mexia had been sent with four armed vessels and troops to the mouth of the Brazos to quell the outbreak. Austin hastened to Matamoras to join Mexia and with him went to Texas. He left his horses, mules, and traveling equipage with Mr. Bedell, expecting to come back and attend the Fall term of the Legislature. However, after reaching Texas, he found things so stirred up by the battles of Anahuac and Velasco between the Colonists and Mexican soliders he concluded not to return and wrote me that Mr. Bedell with some three or four merchants were to take goods to the State Fair at Saltillo on the 16th of September, Anniversary of the Declaration of Mexican Independence, and

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that on their return I could accompany them to Matamoras where Mr. Bedell would give me his horses and equipage and recommend some trusty Mexican to go with me to San Felipe. One of those merchants was my old friend, Reuben M. Potter, who afterwards came to Texas. He wrote the "Hymn of the Alamo," the "Fall of the Alamo," and "San Jacinto Remnant." Captain Potter was one of the best friends of the Texan prisoners in 1836 and saved some four from being shot. He got Mexican ladies to go to the Commander-in-General and on their knees beseech him to postpone the execution of the sentence, which was granted. In the meantime, news of the Battle of San Jacinto was received, and they were released. Potter is still living at Brooklyn, New York, aged 87 years. He sent me the "San Jacinto Remnant" from Bermuda Islands where he was spending the winter, written March 6, 1884, the Anniversary of the Fall of the Alamo. I received it on March 20th, Anniversary of the Capitulation of Colonel Fannin to General Urrea. General Urrea left Goliad and the officers in command, having received their orders from Santa Anna to shoot Colonel Fannin, officers and men. They were shot on the 27th day of March.

On our return to Matamoras, I saw the Mexicans, who were in the employ of the merchants, shoot off the heads of rattlesnakes, fry them and eat them. I was then fifteen years of age. We passed through the beautiful City of Monterrey. When we arrived at Matamoras, Mr. Bedell gave me my uncle's horses,

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mules, etc., and introduced a Mexican who agreed to accompany me to San Felipe. We left Matamoras in October and passed through a wilderness to the Irish settlement, San Patricio, on the Nueces River, brought from Ireland by Powers and Hewittson--the same Dr. Hewittson before mentioned.

I have always regarded it as a Providential act in the selection of a Mexican so honest who did not kill me and take the property in my charge. When we reached Goliad, the Mexican heard of the battles of Velasco and Anahuac and was afraid to go any farther, so I had to pay him and I went to the Alcalde at Goliad and informed him that I was the nephew of S. F. Austin, the first Impressario, and told him that the Mexican had refused to go further and asked him to introduce me to another who was honest and would show me the way and help me take care of my uncle's property. The Mexican he found was a powerful man, over six feet high. He was reliable and conducted me safely to San Felipe. I was entirely at his mercy. I delivered to my uncle his property and afterwards told him that had I been older I would never have taken that trip with a strange Mexican.

I then went down to my stepfather's on Chocolate Bayou, East of Brazoria, to see my mother. I had on a Mexican suit with a broad brimmed hat and my mother did not recognize me. In December, 1832, my stepfather moved his family to Peach Point ten miles below Brazoria, where my nephew, James F. Perry, now

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lives. I went into Richardson & Austin's store at Brazoria where I remained until summer. In June, 1833, I went into Perry and Somerville's store at San Felipe. My stepfather had written to Somerville in Missouri to come out and join him in business, he having been his clerk there. Somerville was afterwards Brigadier General of the Militia and commanded the expedition to the Rio Grande in 1842.

In April, 1833, the consultation of the delegates elected by the people of Texas had met at San Felipe and had elected my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, Dr. James B. Miller, and W. H. Wharton, commissioners to go to the City of Mexico to procure the admission of Texas as a state separate from Coahuila into the Mexican Confederacy. Austin was the only one who went and had already left San Felipe when I arrived. After spending a year in Mexico, Austin started home, having despaired of the success of his mission. During his stay there, he boarded at the hotel of an Englishman, Offutt. There he met a French artist, who importuned him to let him paint his portrait, which was given by my mother to my half brother, Stephen Perry, and which is now at his home at Peach Point. My uncle sketched the style of portrait he wished the artist to paint. My brother, Colonel Guy M. Bryan, took this portrait to New York and had steel engravings made from it which he sent to the Texas veterans.

In December, 1833, S. F. Austin, started home from the City of Mexico. When he reached Saltillo on January 17th, he was

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arrested by General Lenios who had received a command from the Secretary of War and the General took him with his family in a carriage to Monterrey and in obedience to his orders, sent Captain Barregan with twenty-five cavalry with my uncle back to the City of Mexico. The singular fact in relation to Captain Barregan is that he was the only Mexican officer who escaped in the Battle of San Jacinto. My uncle told me that on his way to the City, Captain Barregan told him he would not treat him as a prisoner if he would not attempt to escape and that while they were camping he could shoot birds and rabbits. On his arrival, Vice-President Farrias, acting President in place of Santa Anna, ordered him to be put in prison, Cell No. 15, of the Exinquisition February 13. He was examined but he managed to secrete in the lining of his coat a blank book and pencil. He had not light enough in his cell to see how to write straight across a page. I now have the memorandum book.

Three months after his incarceration by order of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico, who had arrived in Mexico and assumed management of the Government, he was ordered to be removed to the prison Acardado and allowed to see his friends and to write from this prison. He sent a letter to my stepfather giving the facts concerning his arrest. During my uncle's imprisonment in the Inquisition, Padra Muldoon, who had been the Roman Catholic priest here in 1831, 1832, and 1833 and had baptized and married those who had entered into bond to marry when a priest should come, got permission to visit my

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uncle and got the jailor to permit him to take my uncle to a large slab of marble in the Court of the Inquisition where he enjoyed for a half hour the bright sun the first time in three months. My uncle told me that on that slab of marble where he sat hundreds of people had been slaughtered at the Mexican Auto-da-fe. He remained in the Acordada about six months. Mexican friends offered to go on his bond for \$300,000, if the Government would release him and give him privilege of the limits of the City. The Government consented. The latter part of July Congress passed a general amnesty law under which my uncle was furnished a passport to return to Texas. On his arrival at Vera Cruz, the General refused to let him embark for New Orleans and he had to write to Santa Anna to get permission. He arrived at the mouth of the Brazos from New Orleans about the 30th of August, 1835. He came to Peach Point, nine miles from the mouth of the Brazos where his sister, my mother, lived and the news of his arrival spread over the country, he having been absent since April, 1833. Arrangements were made for him to deliver an address to the Colonists at Brazoria on the 8th of September. Hundreds of his old friends and Colonists came there to meet him. In his address he advised them to be very quiet and peaceable. This address is an important document, for it shaped the course and fixed the opinions of the people.

Austin then went to San Felipe, where he was made Chairman of the Central committee of Safety with Gail Borden, Jr. and myself as secretaries. About October 7, 1835, an express

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arrived from Gonzales, where the Colonists were collecting, urging S. F. Austin to go at once to Gonzales, as they wanted to make him Commander-in-Chief of the army of the people. The new council of one from each Committee of Safety was formed by recommendation of Austin, so that he could leave for Gonzales for which place he and I left on October 8, 1835, and arrived there on the night of October 10.

On the 11th my uncle was unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief of the army of the people by some 500 of the Colonists who had collected to drive the Mexican Militia from San Antonio. The cause of the assembling of troops in Gonzales was the Colonel Urgertechea, then in command at San Antonio--General Cos not having arrived--sent some 150 cavalry under General Gonzales to take possession of the cannon. The citizens had previously refused to surrender it and sent out to the Colorado and Brazos for Colonists to assist them. Colonel John H. Moore was the Commander of the Colonists. On October 12 an engagement occurred and the Mexicans were whipped back to San Antonio. This has been called the Lexington Battle of Texas Independence. I acted as private secretary to my uncle. I now have the sword he used while in Command of the army. The army took up the line of march from Gonzales to San Antonio on the 13th and arrived at the Salado River, five miles from San Antonio, about October 16.

About the 18th or 19th, Erastus Smith, afterwards generally known in the army as Deaf Smith, having been on Little River killing buffalo for their hides, arrived in camp with his

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brother-in-law and informed the General that he wanted permission to go into the town of San Antonio where his family was; that he did not want to take any part in the war because his wife was a Mexican. General Austin gave him permission to visit the Mexican picket guard which was about a mile from the camp to inquire if he would be permitted to enter that city. He went to the officer of the Mexican picket guard who informed him that he would have to consult General Cos and if he would come back the next morning, he would let him know. The next morning Deaf Smith returned and while talking to the officer of the picket guard, Mexican cavalry rushed out on each side of Smith. He at once saw that their object was to capture him, so he threw down his gun and put spurs and quoit to his horse to make his escape. My brother, William J. Bryan, and John W. Hassell, being on the picket guard of our army, and seeing Smith running, ran their horses to meet him and when the Mexicans were near enough, they fired and caused them to retreat. Smith then went into the General's tent--he was lying down as he was in bad health (the result of his Mexican imprisonment)--and in my presence sat down on the ground by the General and said, "I told you on yesterday I did not want to take any part in this war between the Mexicans and Colonists as my wife is a Mexican, but since they have acted so treacherously and tried to capture me, I now offer you my services. I can be of use to you as a guide or spy, as I know this whole country over which I have hunted for about twelve years. Uncle accepted his services cheerfully.

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About October 24 the army marched from the Camp on the Salado to the Mission De Espada and part of the way over prairie without road. The army was piloted by Deaf Smith. While on the Salado, Austin had a parade of the army and made a speech, in which he recommended that all members of the consultation, who were in the army, be allowed to return to San Felipe to attend the meeting which was to be held the latter part of October. This was agreed to. The next day after the arrival at Espada, the General received a communication from San Antonio from a gentleman named John W. Smith brought in by a Mexican giving him information about General Cos and his army. Deaf Smith, seeing the Mexican, heard, through him, news of his family. John W. Smith brought Deaf Smith's family to a certain place out of town where he would meet them. I talked in Spanish to his wife and children, one of whom is now an old lady, Mrs. Fisk of San Antonio.

On the 27th of October, General Austin ordered Colonel James Bowie, who was acting as one of his aids to go with Captain James W. Fannin and Captain Brisiues' Company, ninety-two men in all, to go up in the neighborhood of San Antonio and select a camping place for the army as near the town as possible and to return to camp that night. Bowie selected a bend in the river near the Mission Conception about a mile and a half from town. Bowie, thinking it such a safe position, failed to return to camp, according to orders, and sent McComb, who arrived in camp about twelve o'clock at night to inform the General of his intention to remain. General Austin was so concerned about the

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situation of his detachment he did not sleep that night, but ordered his officers to have all in readiness for a line of march at daylight. He feared that Bowie, Fannin and Briscere would be attacked, so he wished to be on hand as early as possible so as to relieve them. At daylight of the 28th the General was informed that two companies from Eastern Texas, one of which was part of the camp guard, had left. This delayed the march of the army for the camp Bowie had selected. When the army reached there, it was found that Bowie and his men had whipped the Mexicans in an attack made that morning, the 28th of October, and they could see the Mexicans retreating towards San Antonio, a mile and a half off.

The General's idea was to march into San Antonio, but Bowie, Fannin and Briscere protested against it. They had killed thirty or forty Mexicans and a number were wounded and some left on the field. One Texan was killed (Richard Andrews) and some wounded. General Cos sent out a priest with a request to General Austin that he give permission for the dead and wounded to be carried into San Antonio. Of course, he acceded to the request. My understanding is, that Richard Andrews was the first man killed in the war for Texan Independence. He was a resident of what is now called Fayette County.

On November 3d the army marched around San Antonio and camped on one of the head branches of the San Antonio River. A regular siege of the town commenced now. Captain Travis commanding a spy company, captured on the Medina River 300 head of horses which were being taken into San Antonio for

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General Cos' troops. General Austin had them sent to the Colorado River bottom. The seige continued, and on the 23d, an express arrived from San Felipe that Austin was one of three delegates elected by the council to go to the United States to ask aid, ammunition, arms, money, and men, as it was evident that a war with Mexico was inevitable.

The Council, composed of representative men of character and ability, was empowered with legislative authority and as advisor of the Governor to create and fill such offices as it thought proper; also, with the Governor, have power to organize, reduce, or increase the regular forces as they deemed the emergencies of the country required; also on charges and specifications made against any officer of the Provisional Government for malfeasance or misconduct in office; an impartial trial shall be granted, to be conducted by the General Council and if, in the opinion of two-thirds of the members, cause sufficient be shown, he shall be dismissed from office by the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor was President of the Council and empowered to discharge the duties of Governor in case of death, absence, or inability of the Governor, during which time a present prorem shall perform the duties of lieutenant Governor in Council. Lieutenant Governor Robinson was acting as Governor. The other two delegates were Branch T. Archer and William H. Wharton.

November 24 he ordered an election for Commander-in-Chief of the army and General Edward Burleson was elected. November 25 my uncle and I started with two servants for San Felipe.

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We arrived on the 29th. S. F. Austin reported to the Governor and Council of the Provisional Government what had been done at San Antonio and what was being done. Henry Smith, Governor James, Lieutenant Governor Robinson and a council of one member of each municipality constituted the said Government. In the latter part of December, the three commissioners sailed from the mouth of the Brazos for New Orleans on their mission. In January, Governor Robinson appointed me his private secretary. Previous to the adjournment of the consultation they had ordered an election for a convention to meet on the 1st of March, 1836, and the middle of February, Lieutenant Governor Robinson and the Council went from San Felipe to Washington to meet the convention. I was with them and was present when the convention organized March 1st, 1836.

March 2, General C. Childress, who was chairman of the committee, appointed to draw up a declaration of Independence reported on the 2d. I was present when it was read and adopted. This declaration may be seen in all the histories. General Sam Houston, a delegate from Refugio was elected by the convention commander-in-chief of the army and on March 6th went to Gonzales to join the army which had been collected at that point. On December 5, 1835, San Antonio was stormed by Benjamin R. Milam and Francis W. Johnson with 301 men in two divisions all told. After fighting four days and nights General Cos, in command of Mexicans capitulated in effect surrendered with about 1400 troops on the 10th, waving raised the white flag on the 9th.

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General Burleson generously allowed the Mexicans some ammunition and arms to protect them from the Indians on their return to Mexico. Milam was shot on the morning of the 7th and Johnson took the command. It is said that when Milam planned the advance on San Antonio he went through the camp calling, "Who will go into San Antonio in the morning with old Ben Milam"? Three hundred volunteered. After the surrender of Cos, the Colonists returned to their homes with the exception of a few under command of Colonel Neill William Barrey. Travis was afterwards sent to take command by the provisional government.

February 23d the advance of Santa Anna's army of invasion entered San Antonio. Travis and his band retreated to the Alamo and Santa Anna made a demand for their surrender. Travis answered the command by a cannon shot, having made up his mind neither to retreat nor surrender. March 3d, 1832, volunteers entered the Alamo from Gonzales to reinforce Travis, which made his number amount to 181. Travis, in his two or three letters which he wrote and sent by express, stated that he feared if he surrendered or retreated, Texas would be overrun by the Mexicans. March 6th, after fighting eleven days and nights, men perfectly exhausted, living on beef and parched corn, they were all killed except Mrs. Dickinson and daughter and Travis' bodyservant, who escorted Mrs. Dickinson and daughter to Gonzales where the Colonists had collected. A number of Santa Anna's men having been killed and wounded, his march was delayed two weeks.

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On the 13th after the arrival of Mrs. Dickinson giving an account of the Fall of the Alamo, General Houston, commander-in-Chief, retreated towards the Colorado, and crossed March 17, and then and there I rejoined the army.

The next day there was a reorganization of Captain Mosely Baker's Company and I was, without my knowledge or consent, elected Third Sergeant. About the 24th, General Lesma, Mexican, arrived on the opposite side of the river with a force of cavalry and some infantry. Deaf Smith and Barnes crossed the river and captured two Mexicans and brought them to General Houston, who sent for me to act as his Spanish interpreter and to question them, but learned nothing of importance. On the 26th, they moved to a prairie some three or four miles on the road to San Felipe, so their horses could get grass. On the 27th, the army took up the line of march for San Felipe in the neighborhood of which place they arrived on the 28th. The 29th General Houston detailed Captain Mosely Baker's Company to keep the enemy from crossing the river and we took position on the East bank of the Brazos River opposite San Felipe. Smith and Spies went out to the Colorado and reported that they saw the advance of the Mexican army crossing the Bernard, but it proved a mistake. When Smith brought the report, Captain Baker ordered me with half a dozen men to burn the town. I asked him to excuse me as I did not wish to destroy the first town laid off by my uncle in the wilderness of Texas. He then ordered Edward O. Pettas and he burned the town. This was done by Baker of Houston's command. When the news reached the army, the burning

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of the town was disapproved by most of the men, the enemy not yet having arrived. The news came to us that Houston denied having given such a command. Baker wrote Houston that he had heard that he denied having given such a command as burning San Felipe on the approach of the enemy. General Houston's reply to Baker's letter, as I saw it, stated that he was perfectly satisfied with everything which Captain Baker had done while in command at that post, without saying whether he had ordered him to burn the town or not. The spies must have seen a herd of cattle, the horns of which were taken by mistake to be bayonets. After making such a report to Baker, Smith also reported the same to Houston. The main army under Houston had gone up the Brazos bottom on the west side of the river and camped around a fresh water lake opposite Grace's plantation.

The Mexicans appeared three days later at San Felipe and opened cannon fire on Captain Mosely Baker's Company, which they kept up for about two days, cutting off many branches of the trees. Three companies were sent down to reinforce Baker. After three days the enemy marched down the Brazos towards Richmond. Captain Baker with his reinforcements was ordered to join the main army which was near what is now the town of Hempstead, but it had left the day before we got there. The movements took place about the 12th or 13th of April and we arrived about the 14th or 15th.

On the 16th the army marched towards Harrisburg on Buffalo Bayou. Many thought we were going to Robin's Ferry on the Trinity. When we came to the fork of the road, the army took

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the right hand road, which led to Harrisburg, which place we reached on the afternoon of the 18th of April. The town had been burned by the Mexicans and was still smoking. Deaf Smith and Karnes of the spy company, who had preceded the army, had crossed the bayou and gone towards the Brazos River some ten or twelve miles where they met three Mexicans and captured them. One was a Captain, another was a government courier with dispatches from the secretary of war and General Filisola to Santa Anna, and the third a Mexican acting as a guide. When they were brought into camp, General Houston sent for me to question the prisoners. (Deaf Smith had changed clothes with the courier.) The Courier had on Deaf Smith's old hat, ragged shoes, and worn pantaloons, which were too long--a striking contrast to Deaf Smith, who had on the Mexican's government uniform which was very amusing to the Camp, after learning the facts stated above as to the prisoners. The guide said he belonged to Captain Juan N. Seguin's Company; that he had a furlough at Gonzales; had been arrested by the Mexicans at San Antonio and forced to act for them as guide. Captain Seguin being summoned, recognized the man and confirmed his statement. He rejoined his company and participated in the Battle of San Jacinto. General Houston asked this man how many men had Santa Anna when he left his main army and marched to Harrisburg and set fire to the town as he left on his march to Lynchburg. He replied that he did not know, but heard some of the officers say as he saw them as they started that there were 500 infantry and 100 cavalry and one twelve-pound cannon and they thought it very indiscreet

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of Santa Anna to start out with such a small force. This information, obtained from the Mexican, caused General Houston and Secretary of War S. J. Rusk to order the army to prepare to march the next day. On the 19th the army was paraded to take up the line of march. General Houston and Rusk made speeches, saying they were going to attack the enemy. The army marched down the bayou two miles from or below Harrisburg and it took all the afternoon for them to cross as there was but one flatboat and some rafts of logs. The horses were swum over. We then took up the line of march at Lynch's (now Lynchburg) Ferry at the junction of Buffalo Bayou and San Jacinto River. We marched all night. I gave out as I could not bring my horse over and called a man and respresented my situation to him. He dismounted and gave me the use of his horse and took my place in the ranks about midnight, I being very weak, having just recovered from the measels. About daylight we reached a place where we struck camp opposite Vice-President Zalasas' residence on Buffalo Bayou. They commenced slaughtering beeves from the prairie when the advance of Santa Anna's army made its appearance. The enemy approached within a quarter of a mile from us and took up their position in an oak grove and commenced firing their cannon at us. Our two pieces of artilley which had been sent us by the ladies of Cincinnati, called the Twin Sisters, opened fire on the enemy, Colonel Neil saying General Houston had commanded him to open fire, which General Houston denied. I have always thought that had our artillery not opened fire, the enemy under Santa Anna amounting to about seven or eight

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hundred men, infantry, cavalry, and men in charge of their pack mules would have advanced near enough for us to have used on them our rifles and shotguns and the battle would have ended on the 20th. The enemy continued to fire off their artillery, but the main body retired to the edge of the timber on the bank of the San Jacinto. Colonel Sherman induced sixty men to go with him and try and capture the enemy's cannon. After skirmishing with them a short time, the present President of the Texas Veterans Association, then an eighteen-year-old boy (Walter P. Lane) was speared by a Mexican, so that he fell from his horse, and but for the bravery of Mirabeau B. Lamar, (3d President of the Republic) who rushed up and killed the Mexican, he would have lost his life. Two or three of our men were wounded and several horses killed and nothing accomplished. The enemy moved their cannon to where they had taken up their camp. On the 21st Deaf Smith proposed to General Houston to burn the bridge over Vincennes Bayou, eight miles from our camp. When on his way to do so with five or six men, he saw a force of five or six hundred men under General Cos who had just crossed the bridge to join Santa Anna. Deaf Smith's idea in burning the bridge was to prevent reinforcements reaching Santa Anna.

About twelve or one o'clock, General Houston called a council of war; the principal officers of his army meeting at his tent. It was then decided to parade and prepare for battle. All marched out and formed a line of battle in a gulley, intervening about half way between ours and the enemy's camps. Our

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two pieces of six-pounders were drawn by men with rawhide ropes. After the line of battle was formed, we marched rapidly towards the Mexican camp where they had erected breastworks. Burleson's regiment (to which I belonged) was in the center and marched straight to the breastworks where we could see only heads of the men behind them. In the advance I had three holes shot in the skirts of my coat--a frock coat which flew out as we advanced in a trot--and heard the bullets whistling as they over-shot us (a usual thing as we advanced uphill). The 2d Regiment (Sherman's) was on the left and a little in advance of Burleson's, routed the reinforcements under Cos, which had joined Santa Anna in the morning, which was lying down asleep. When we made the attack, they rushed down, many of them leaving their guns (so I was told by the Mexicans we captured) and mixed with the veteran troops behind the breastworks and threw them in confusion. Burleson's Regiment went right over the breastworks and the Mexicans, who were not killed, retreated. We captured the cannon. They fired at us twice and it was filled with the third load when captured. About sixteen Mexicans were killed around it, which was a twelve-pound brass piece. The most awful slaughter I ever saw was when the Texans pursued the retreating Mexicans, killing on all sides, even the wounded. I had a double barrel shotgun and had shot only four times when we crossed the breastworks. After that I shot no more at the poor devils who were running. As we were passing the Mexicans, I came to a young Mexican boy (a drummer I suppose) lying on his face. One of the volunteers

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brought to Texas by Colonel Sherman pricked him with his bayonet. The boy arose and grasped the man around the legs and called in Spanish, "Ave Maria Prissima per Dios Salva me vida." I begged the man to spare him, both of his legs being broken already. The man looked at me and put his hand on his pistol, so I passed on. Just as I did so, he blew the boy's brains out. We soon came to a tide water bayou where a number of Mexican horses were bogged just beyond the bayou was a grove of timber on the margin of San Jacinto Bay. There was an island on this lake or bay and two or three hundred Mexicans had jumped into the water to reach it. I got to where there were some fifteen or twenty of our ffilemen who shot at the Mexicans as they raised their heads out of the water to get breath. Colonel John A. Wharton, Adjutant General, rode up and ordered the men to stop firing. One of Sherman's men (Joe Dickson) who was engaged in shooting the Mexicans said, "Colonel Wharton, if Jesus Christ would come down from Heaven and order me to quit shooting yellow bellies I wouldn't do it, sir!" Colonel Wharton put his hand on his sword. Joe Dickson took a few steps back and cocked his rifle. Colonel Wharton very discreetly (I always thought) turned his horse and left. We fellows would as soon have shot him as not. He was a great fellow to go around and talk and was nicknamed "Kentuck."

Colonel Almonte, first aid to Santa Anna, succeeded in getting the men to throw away their military caps and guns and got them together in the edge of the timber and put his white

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handkerchief on the end of his bayonet, thus showing the white flag to half a dozen of our cavalry who were in advance and the slaughter ceased. What had aroused the ire of our men and caused them to kill all the Mexicans they met was the coming into our camp three men who had escaped from the massacre of Colonel Fannin and men which had occurred on the 27th of March. It was after sunset when we returned to camp with our prisoners. About the middle of the afternoon of the 22d, James A. Sylvester, a sergeant in the company brought by Sherman from New Port or Cincinnati, called the Newport volunteers, this same sergeant bore the only flag we had, which had been presented by the ladies of Newport before they left. (The same flag is now in possession of one of Sherman's daughters, now living at Galveston.)

One of six returning from Vines Bayou and who had been capturing Mexicans saw a man rise up from the grass and he, Sylvester, and a man named Matthews, went out and one took the Mexican behind him, not supposing he was even an officer. The captured Mexican was draped in disguise in a brown linen suit, brown linen jacket, a black sailor cap and old brogans. Sylvester handed him over to the officer of the camp guard and he ordered him to be put with the other prisoners. Several of them were impudent to remark, "El Presidente, General Santa Anna," and some of the Mexican officers said "Ini la boca," meaning "Shut your mouth." This let it out that it was Santa Anna and Colonel Hockley and Major Ben Fort Smith took charge of him and carried him to where General Houston was lying. The guard hurraed and

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the army took it up. I went from my camp fire to where General Houston was, a distance of thirty or forty steps. Houston was lying on a mattress brought from Zavala's house. I supposing Santa Anna had been captured. Colonel Hockly said, "General Houston, here is Santa Anna!" General Santa Anna said in Spanish: (I thought then, and believe now, that I was the only person present who understood General Santa Anna's speech to General Houston) "Yo soie Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna Presidente de Mexico Commandate en Jesse del exereito de opperacions y me jouje a la dispasicion del vahinte General Houston y quinos ser tabado comedene ser an General quando is prisonerno de guerra." The English being, "I am Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico, Commander-in-Chief of the army of operations and I put myself at the disposition of the brave General Houston. I wish to be treated as a general should be when a prisoner of war." General Houston arose on his right arm and was suffering from a wound received in the battle the day before, a ball having passed between the two bones, three inches above the ankle joint, and said, "Ah! Ah! Indeed, Santa Anna, happy to see you. Take a seat, take a seat," waving his hand to an old tool chest close by. Just after Santa Anna completed his speech to General Houston, Colonel John A. Wharton, Adjutant General of the army and Lorenzo de Zavala walked up and Zavala went forward and spoke to General Santa Anna, whom he had known in the City of Mexico. Zavala was acting as volunteer aid to General Houston and was the son of Lorenza de Zavala, Vice-President of the Republic of Texas,

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Zavala having been educated in the English language in New York, acted as interpreter for General Houston. In a short time Santa Anna, by request of Colonel Thomas J. Rusk, was removed a short distance from where General Houston was lying. Colonel Rusk asked Santa Anna if he would like to have Colonel Almonte (who was a prisoner and first aid to Santa Anna) as his interpreter. He expressed a wish to have him, so he came. Almonte learned the English language in New Orleans. In the course of conversation between Santa Anna and Rusk, Santa Anna proposed to issue an order to Filisola, ordering him to leave Texas with the army. Rusk, Secretary of War, told him his second in command would not obey an order from him as he was a prisoner and had not the right to order him. Santa Anna replied through Almonte that the officers and men of the Mexican army were so attached to him that they would obey any order he might give them. General Rusk said, "Colonel Almonte, tell General Santa Anna to order Filisola and army to surrender as prisoners of war." Santa Anna replied that he was but a single Mexican and would do nothing which would be a disgrace to him or his nation and that they could do with him as they pleased. He said he was willing to order him to leave Texas, so he finally issued the order. General Filisola acknowledged he was willing to accept the order and marched his army out of Texas. After the receipt of Filisola's dispatch saying he would leave Texas, Secretary of War Rusk sent out about twenty courriers in all directions to notify the families who were retreating towards the Sabine that they could return to their homes. Colonel Burleson was, at the same time, ordered to proceed with a mounted force

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consisting of part of his regiment and Captain Karnes' company and Deaf Smith and his spies to follow the rear of Filisola and see that the terms of the agreement with Santa Anna were carried out. Filisola's army were very much demoralized and I recollect on one occasion when our detachment was pressing pretty close on the enemy's rear on the middle Bernard that an officer approached Colonel Burleson with a request from General Filisola that he would keep his men at a certain distance from his rear as his near approach kept his men in constant apprehension of an attack. I was at the time riding with Colonel Burleson and he asked me to interpret for him. I told the Colonel what the officer said. He then said to me, "Austin, they are so scared; I believe if I demanded a surrender of Filisola, he would capitulate at once and I believe I will do it." "But Colonel, you know our orders are merely to follow them and see that they carry out the full agreement made." "Yes, that is true, but I am greatly tempted to take the responsibility for my country's sake." My own opinion is that: Had Burleson demanded the surrender, it would have been done for the Mexicans were utterly demoralized.

On the fourth day after the battle of San Jacinto, Deaf Smith captured General Cojo and others and brought them into camp. About the last of the month we took up the line of march towards the Brazos River, following in the rear of General Filisola's army. They had been bogged on the middle Bernard. General Rusk, who was then in command, waited for them to continue their march out of Texas. It was a very wet spring and the roads were almost impassible for vehicles.

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After several days' march our army overtook Filisola's in the rear and thus reached Goliad on June 1. There we saw the ashes and charred bones of Colonel Fannin's men, who had been massacred and their bodies burned in four different places. The barbarity of the massacre of Colonel Fannin and his men in violation of the treaty entered into, by which Colonel Fannin and men were to be treated as prisoners of war, made the whole world friends of the Texans. This act was published all over the world. Ingathering up the ashes and charred flesh, I remember picking up something and wondering if it was a bone. I took out my knife and picked into it and found it to be flesh and supposed it was some man's heart. General Rusk summoned the whole army to see the interment of the remains of Colonel Fannin and his men. The general made an address by the pit which was dug, but before finishing the address, he became so affected he could not finish --he having known a number of Colonel's battalion of Georgians who were shot. Many brave men shed tears on that occasion.

The next day General Andrade, who was left at San Antonio and was on his march to join Filisola, wrote General Rusk from his camp six miles above on the San Antonio River for permission to pass through Goliad to overtake Filisola. General Rusk replied by letter to Andrade, saying that it would not be safe to come through Goliad as our men were so incensed at them, having just attended the burial of Fannin and men. He sent Major Wells with the letter and three or four others and myself as interpreter. I had been acting as Spanish interpreter to General Rusk

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by his request. I went with Major Wells to the Mexican encampment five or six miles above Goliad. When we made our appearance and the officer of the guard asked what we wanted, I told him that Major Wells had a letter for the General in answer to his letter. The officer of the guard went to the General and returned saying that the one who spoke Spanish could see him. Major Wells contended that he was the one to present the letter, but when the General refused the second time, Wells said, "Austin, take this letter and give it to him." When the officer introduced me to the General and I handed him the letter, he asked me to translate it, which I did. General Andrade had to cut a road so they could cross the San Antonio River to intersect the road between Goliad and San Patricio.

About the 5th or 6th of June, General Rusk left Goliad and went to Victoria. While we were in camp at Victoria a Mexican came with a letter to General Rusk from Captain Teal and Captain Karnes. The Mexican was brought opposite General Rusk's tent by the officer. The General asked me to see what he wanted. He said he had a letter given to him to bring to General Rusk from Matamoras. The Mexican told me he had been employed to bring this letter. General Rusk came out. The Mexican said the letter was in the handle of his quoit and gave it to me. I handed it to the General Rusk, who split the cane handle of the quoit with his knife and took out the letter which was from Captains Teal and Karnes. They had been sent as commissioners and had been arrested and imprisoned. This letter informed General Rusk that

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there were about four thousand soldiers in Matamoros who would march to invade Texas under General Urrea and who were disposed to take no notice of the treaty entered into by Santa Anna and the Texas Government. The Mexican told that his clothes were taken off of him three times and examined and the only means he had of secreting it was in his quoit. I have always

Captain Reuben M. Potter got the Mexican to bring the letter and that it was his idea of putting it in the quoit. (He was eight-six years old February 14, 18__.) He wrote the "Hymn of the Alamo," "Fall of the Alamo" and "San Jacinto Remnant") I made a copy of this letter for General Rusk and he sent the original to President Burnett, who was at Velasco and on the 20th of June, Burnett issued a proclamation that everone able to bear arms had to join the army as we were about to be invaded. The friends of Santa Anna, who was our prisoner, got up a revolution in Mexico, which prevented General Urrea from invading Texas.

In August I left the army and went home. In September there was an election for President and Vice-President of the Republic of Texas. The First Congress of the Republic met at Columbia October 2, 1836. General Sam Houston was elected President and he appointed my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, Secretary of State. Houston was inauguarated on the 22d day of October, 1836. Some-time in November Santa Anna was brought to Columbia. Colonel Almonte, aid to Santa Anna and Nunos, private secretary. An effort was made to kill Santa Anna while in his room by shooting and Almonte came near being killed. The people were so bitter

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Santa Anna that he was moved to the house of Dr. Phelps, twelve miles above Columbia, where he was guarded by Captain William H. Patten, informing him that he and Colonels Bee and Hockley would meet Captain Patten on the East side of the Brazos opposite Dr. Phelps' and would escort Santa Anna to Washington City, D. C. They had to avoid the roads as much as possible to prevent Santa Anna from being killed. When they reached Louisville, Kentucky, and it was learned that Santa Anna was there, the people tried to mob him and he had to leave there in the night. When he reached Washington, General Jackson, then President, determined to send Santa Anna to Vera Cruz in an American sloop of war. The revolution in Mexico prevented the invasion of Texas till the spring of 1842. Before the Texans could get to San Antonio, Vasquez had retreated to Mexico. In that fall, General Wall invaded Texas and captured San Antonio. A fight occurred five miles East of San Antonio on the Salado River. Many Mexicans were killed, also some Texans. Colonels Caldwell and Jack Hayes were commanders in that fight. As soon as the people could collect they marched to San Antonio. Wall retreated towards Laredo. General A. Somerville, Brigadier General, was appointed by Houston to take command of the Texans. I was first Lieutenant in a company organized in Brazoria. Captain Shelby McNeil was Captain. The Texans followed Wall to Laredo. General Somerville Ordered us to cross the river the night after we crossed a heavy rain fell. Having no tents or protection, most of the ammunition was destroyed; on account of the loss of which General Somerville ordered the army back to the

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East side of the Rio Grande. On examination it was found that over half the powder was destroyed and the General ordered the army to return to San Antonio. About 300 determined they would not obey the order and crossed the Rio Grande and attacked Mier and those not killed were captured and sent to the City of Mexico.

I served during the war between the States as Major of two different regiments within the limit of Texas. I served as Secretary of Legation at Washington from January to June. Anson Jones was minister. Afterwards last President of the Republic of Texas. The Texas Veterans Association was organized May, 1873. I served as Secretary until April, 1886, when I nominated Stephen H. Darden as successor, saying I thought the Secretary and Treasurer should live at the same place.

Moses A. Bryan in his seventy-second year.

TRANSCRIPTION OF M. A. BRYAN'S REMINISCENCES

Elizabeth K. Aucoin

For Austin Y. Bryan III from Lillis (?) [Lewis]
R[andolph]. Bryan*

REMINISCENCES OF M. A. BRYAN
Your great-grandfather*

I, Moses Austin Bryan, was born on Hazel River, a branch of the Tar Blue River in St. Genevieve County, then territory of Missouri on the 25th day of September, 1817, the third son of James Bryan and Emily Austin Bryan. There James Bryan carried on a mercantile business and mining and smelting of lead ore. My father died in Herculanum on the Mississippi River 25 miles between the City of St. Louis in 1823. My mother, who was Miss Emily Austin, an only daughter of Moses Austin, married after my father's death, James F. Perry in 1824, who was a merchant in Potosi, Washington County, Missouri. We moved to Potosi, a town laid off by my grandfather, Moses Austin, when Missouri belonged to the Government of Spain. I went to school there until I was eleven years old. I remained in Perry and Hunter's store at Potosi until December, 1830, when Perry and Hunter [incomplete sentence] [prepared a shipment of goods to be taken to San Felipe de Austin for the purpose of opening a store and selling their goods there.]

I accompanied W. W. Hunter with the goods from the store down the Mississippi River to New Orleans; thence to Texas. We left New Orleans on the 24th of December, 1830. At New Orleans Mr. Hunter met Mr. Robert G. Mills, who was there buying a stock of goods. Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mills succeeded in inducing Capt. Hutton from Maine, who had brought a load of lumber to New Orleans in his Schooner, Maria, to transport their goods to Brazoria. We sailed out of the basin back of New Orleans down the canal through Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Boeme [Borgne] into the Gulf with twenty-seven or twenty-eight passengers. On the 2nd of January, 1831, we entered the Brazos River and I first put foot on Texas soil.

(Of all the passengers, all are dead except myself, and I am threescore and twelve on the 25th of next September (1889).) We landed at the town of Brazoria three days later and I arrived in the town of San Felipe de Austin on January 10, 1831. San Felipe was the first town laid off in Texas by my Uncle Stephen F. Austin.

In three or four weeks Perry and Hunter's store was open in San Felipe—the goods having been brought in wagons from Brazoria. I was engaged during the year of 1831 selling goods to pioneer settlers—most of whom were draped [dressed] in buckskin- and to the Lipan [Lipan], Tankawa [Tonkawa] and Bedies [Bedias] Indians with whom I exchanged goods for buffalo hides and deer skins brought from what is now known as Washington County.

In June, 1831, I boarded with Uncle Jimmy and Aunt Betsy Whitesides, who were among the pioneer settlers of Austin's first colony. Their only son, Tilford, is now living and is about seventy-five years old. In June, 1831, Col. Ira R. Lewis with his wife and two younger daughters, Cora and Stella, arrived in San Felipe and boarded at the same hotel. It was there I used to dandle on my knee my present wife, Cora Lewis, who was then two and one-half years old. My mother arrived at San Felipe August 15, 1831, after a three months' journey by land from Missouri.

My uncle, Stephen F. Austin, was absent from San Felipe when I arrived. On his return I called to see him at the house of Mr. Samuel M. Williams, who was secretary of Austin's colony. I had not seen my uncle in over ten years. His father, Moses Austin, sent him in 1820 to Arkansas territory for the purpose of establishing a farm on Red River bordering the line of Texas, which farm Moses Austin thought would be a good resting place for his colonists [colonists] while on their way to the wilderness of Texas.

In the latter part of February, 1832, I accompanied my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, to the city of Saltillo, then the capital of Coahuila and Texas. The country was an entire wilderness from San Antonio to Laredo on the Rio Grande. On our way west of the Frio River, my uncle pointed out to me the place where he

* *Handwritten notations on the typewritten document*

camped when on his way to the City of Mexico in 1822 to get a confirmation of the Grant by the new government which was made to his father, Moses Austin, on January 17, 1821, by General Joaquin Arredondo, then in command of the Eastern internal provinces of New Spain with headquarters at Monterrey. He told me that while in that camp he and his two companions were surrounded by fifty Comanche Indians, who took everything they had. Fortunately, one of his companions spoke Spanish and he explained to the Comanches, who understood the language, that they were Americans and were friendly to the Comanches. Thereupon, the Comanches gave them back everything but their guns and ammunition. A squaw was just disappearing with Austin's saddle bags containing all his money and valuable papers when he followed and recovered them.

When we arrived at Laredo, a Mexican town, we were invited by the Alcalde to stop at his house where we remained three days. There I saw the oldest looking men and women I ever saw with such grey heads and wrinkled faces. I heard the Alcalde tell my uncle that they never had any sickness except contagious diseases brought there; also that it had not rained enough in a year, with one exception, to make the water run in the gullies. I saw the first mountains at Lampasas in Mexico. On the way we crossed the Salado River in which the water was so salt[y] we could not water our horses.

We reached Saltillo about the 1st of April, 1832. The legislature opened in April. My uncle was one of the two representatives from Texas. We boarded with one of the legislators, Don Jesus de la Grande. There I learned to speak Spanish and to smoke shuck cigarettes and I have always kept up the custom. His wife and daughters made their own cigarettes. In the City of Saltillo I first met Dr. James Hewittson, who was one of the twelve who crossed the Sabine with Stephen Austin on July 16, 1821, and who, on his deathbed in 1870, requested Dr. Caruthers, who attended him, if he ever came to Texas to bring a horn, which he pointed out to him, and give it to me. I saw the same horn in Dr. Hewittson's drug store in 1832, and he told me it had a half gallon of fourth proof French brandy as an antidote to snake bites when he traveled with my uncle. This he had bought at Nachitoches, Louisiana. Dr. Caruthers brought it to the City of Austin in 1873 and left it with a friend, Mr. Hardeman, who gave it to me in the Fall of 1873; the stopper of the horn is a cup.

At Nachitoches, the Mexicans found [established?] their first market. In June, 1832, the Legislature adjourned until Fall. During the recess of the

Legislature, my uncle determined to go to Matamoras to see General Terran [Teran], Commander of the Eastern States of Mexico bordering on the Rio Grande. While on this trip, he heard of the troubles in Texas and that General Mexia had been sent with four armed vessels and troops to the mouth of the Brazos to quell the outbreak. Austin hastened to Matamoras to join Mexia and with him went to Texas. He left his horses, mules, and traveling equipage with Mr. Bedell, expecting to come back and attend the Fall term of the Legislature. However, after reaching Texas, he found things so stirred up by the battles of Anahuac and Velasco between the Colonists and Mexican soldiers he concluded not to return and wrote me that Mr. Bedell with some three or four merchants were to take goods to the State Fair at Saltillo on the 16th of September, Anniversary of the Declaration of Mexican Independence, and that on their return I could accompany them to Matamoras where Mr. Bedell would give me his horses and equipage and recommend some trusty Mexican to go with me to San Felipe. One of those merchants was an old friend, Reuben M. Potter, who afterwards came to Texas. He wrote the "Hymn of the Alamo," the "Fall of the Alamo," and "San Jacinto Remnant." Captain Potter was one of the best friends of the Texan prisoners in 1836 and saved some four from being shot. He got Mexican ladies to go to the Commander-in-General and on their knees beseech him to postpone the execution of the sentence, which was granted. In the meantime, news of the Battle of San Jacinto was received, and they were released. Potter is still living at Brooklyn, New York, aged 87 years. He sent me the "San Jacinto Remnant" from Bermuda Islands where he was spending the winter, written March 6, 1884, the Anniversary of the Fall of the Alamo. I received it on March 20th, Anniversary of the Capitulation of Colonel Fannin to General Urrea. General Urrea left Goliad and the officers in command, having received their orders from Santa Anna to shoot Colonel Fannin, officers and men. They were shot on the 27th day of March.

On our return to Matamoras, I saw the Mexicans, who were in the employ of the merchants, shoot off the heads of rattlesnakes, fry them and eat them. I was fifteen years of age. We passed through the beautiful city of Monterrey. When we arrived at Matamoras, Mr. Bedell gave me my uncle's horses, mules, etc., and introduced a Mexican who agreed to accompany me to San Felipe. We left Matamoras in October and passed through a wilderness to the Irish Settlement, San Patricio¹, on the Nueces River, bought [whose

1 Founded in 1829 by empresarios James McGloin and John McMullen. Handbook of Texas Online, Keith Guthrie, "San Patricio, TX," accessed February 23, 1016,

settlers were brought] from Ireland by Powers and Hewittson—the same Dr. Hewittson before mentioned.

I have always regarded it as a Providential act in the selection of a Mexican so honest who did not kill me and take the property in my charge. When we reached Goliad, the Mexican heard of the battles of Velasco and Anahuac and was afraid to go any farther, so I had to pay him and I went to the Alcalde [Alcade] at Goliad and informed him that I was the nephew of S. F. Austin, the first Impressario [Impresario], and told him that the Mexican had refused to go further and asked him to introduce me to another who was honest and who would show me the way and help me take care of my uncle's property. The Mexican he found was a powerful man, over six feet high. He was reliable and conducted me safely to San Felipe. I was entirely at his mercy. I delivered to my uncle his property and afterwards told him that had I been older I would never have taken that trip with a strange Mexican.

I then went down to my stepfather's on [C]hocolate Bayou, East of Brazoria, to see my mother. I had on a Mexican suit with a broad brimmed hat and my mother did not recognize me. In December, 1832, my stepfather moved his family to Peach Point ten miles below Brazoria, where my nephew, James F. Perry, now lives. I went into Richardson & Austin's store at Brazoria where I remained until summer. In June, 1833, I went into Perry and Somerville's store at San Felipe. My stepfather had written to Somerville in Missouri to come out and join him in business, he having been his clerk there. Somerville was afterwards Brigadier General of the Militia and commanded the expedition to the Rio Grande in 1842.

In April, 1833, the consultation of the delegates elected by the people of Texas had met at San Felipe and had elected my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, Dr. James B. Miller, and W. H. Wharton, commissioners to go to the City of Mexico to procure the admission of Texas as a state separate from Coahuila into the Mexican Confederacy. Austin was the only one who went and had already left San Felipe when I arrived. After spending a year in Mexico, Austin started home, having despaired of the success of his mission. During his stay there, he boarded at the hotel of an Englishman, Offutt. There he met a French artist, who importuned him to let him paint his portrait, which was given by my mother to my half-brother, Stephen Perry, and which is now at his home at Peach Point. My uncle sketched the style of portrait he wished the artist to paint. My brother, Colonel Guy M. Bryan, took this portrait to New York and had steel engravings made from it which he sent to the Texas veterans.

In December, 1833, S. F. Austin, started home from the City of Mexico. When he reached Saltillo

on January 17th, he was arrested by General Lenios who had received a command from the Secretary of War and the General who took him with his family in a carriage to Monterrey and in obedience to his orders, sent Captain Barregan with twenty-five cavalry with my uncle back to the City of Mexico. The singular fact in relation to Captain Barregan is that he was the only Mexican officer who escaped in the Battle of San Jacinto. My uncle told me that on his way to the City, Captain Barregan told him he would not treat him as a prisoner if he would not attempt to escape and that while they were camping he could shoot birds and rabbits. On his arrival, Vice-President Farrias [Ferias], acting President in place of Santa Anna, ordered him to be put in prison, Cell No. 15, of the Exinquisition February 13. He was examined but he managed to secrete in the lining of his coat a blank book and pencil. He had not light enough in his cell to see how to write straight across a page. I now have the memorandum book.

Three months after his incarceration by order of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico, who had arrived in [the City of] Mexico and assumed management of the Government, he was ordered to be removed to the prison Acardado and allowed to see his friends and to write from this prison. He sent a letter to my stepfather giving the facts concerning his arrest. During my uncle's imprisonment in the Inquisition, Padra [Padre] Muldoon, who had been the Roman Catholic priest here in 1831, 1832, and 1833 and had baptized and married those who had entered into bond to marry when a priest should come, got permission to visit my uncle and got the jailor [jailer] to permit him to take my uncle to a large slab of marble in the Court of the Inquisition where he enjoyed for a half hour the bright sun the first time in three months. My uncle told me that on that slab of marble where he sat hundreds of people had been slaughtered at the Mexican Auto-da-fe. He remained in the Acardada [Acardado] about six months. Mexican friends offered to go on his bond for \$300,000, if the Government would release him and give him privilege of the limits of the City. The Government consented. The latter part of July Congress passed a general amnesty law under which my uncle was furnished a passport to return to Texas. On his arrival at Vera Cruz, the General refused to let him embark for New Orleans and he had to write to Santa Anna to get permission. He arrived at the mouth of the Brazos from New Orleans about the 30th of August, 1835. He came to Peach Point, nine miles from the mouth of the Brazos where his sister, my mother, lived and the news of his arrival spread over the country, he having been absent since April, 1833. Arrangements were made for him to deliver an

address to the Colonists at Brazoria on the 8th of September. Hundreds of his old friends and Colonists [Colonists] came there to meet him. In his address he advised them to be very quiet and peaceable. This address is an important document, for it shaped the course and fixed the opinions of the people.

Austin then went to San Felipe, where he was made Chairman of the Central Committee of Safety with Gail Borden, Jr. and myself as secretaries. About October 7, 1835, an express arrived from Gonzales, where the Colonists were collecting, urging S. F. Austin to go at once to Gonzales, as they wanted to make him Commander-in-Chief of the army of the people. The new council of one from each Committee of Safety was formed by recommendation of Austin, so that he could leave for Gonzales for which place he and I left on October 8, 1835, and arrived there on the night of October 10.

On the 11th my uncle was unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the people by some 500 of the Colonists who had collected to drive the Mexican Militia from San Antonio. The cause of the assembling of the troops in Gonzales was the [that] Colonel Ugartechea [Ugartechea], then in command at San Antonio—General Cos not having arrived—sent some 150 cavalry under General Gonzalez to take possession of the cannon. The citizens had previously refused to surrender it and sent out to the Colorado and Brazos for Colonists to assist them. Colonel John H. Moore was the Commander of the Colonists. On October 12 [2nd] an engagement occurred and the Mexicans were whipped back to San Antonio. This has been called the Lexington Battle of Texas Independence. I acted as private secretary to my uncle. I now have the sword he used while in command of the army. The army took up the line of march from Gonzalez to San Antonio on the 13th and arrived at the Salado River, five miles from San Antonio, about October 16.

About the 18th or 19th, Erastus Smith, afterwards generally known in the army as Deaf Smith, having been on Little River killing buffalo for their hides, arrived in camp with his brother-in-law and informed the General that he wanted permission to go into the town of San Antonio where his family was; that he did not want to take any part in the war because his wife was a Mexican. General Austin gave him permission to visit the Mexican picket guard which was about a mile from the camp to inquire if he would be permitted to enter that city. He went to the officer of the Mexican picket guard who informed him that he would have to consult General Cos and if he would come back the next morning, he would let him know. The next morning Deaf Smith returned and while

talking to the officer of the picket guard, Mexican cavalry rushed out on each side of Smith. He at once saw that their object was to capture him, so he threw down his gun and put spurs and quito to his horse to make his escape. My brother, William J. Bryan, and John W. Hassell, being on the picket guard of our army, and seeing Smith running, ran their horses to meet him and when the Mexicans were near enough, they fired and caused them to retreat. Smith then went into the General's tent—he was lying down as he was in bad health (the result of his Mexican imprisonment) – and in my presence sat down on the ground by the General and said, "I told you on yesterday I did not want to take any part in this war between the Mexicans and Colonists as my wife is a Mexican, but since they have acted so treacherously and tried to capture me, I now offer you my services. I can be of use to you as a guide or spy, as I know this whole country over which I have hunted for about twelve years. Uncle accepted his services cheerfully.

About October 24 the army marched from the Camp on the Salado to the Mission De Espada and part of the way over prairie without road. The army was piloted by Deaf Smith. While on the Salado, Austin had a parade of the army and made a speech, in which he recommended that all members of the consultation, who were in the army, be allowed to return to San Felipe to attend the meeting which was to be held the latter part of October. This was agreed to. The next day after the arrival at Espada, the General received a communication from San Antonio from a gentleman named John W. Smith brought in by a Mexican giving him information about General Cos and his army. Deaf Smith, seeing the Mexican, heard, through him, news of his family. John W. Smith brought Deaf Smith's family to a certain place out of town where he would meet them. I talked in Spanish to his wife and children, one of whom is now an old lady, Mrs. Fisk of San Antonio.

On the 27th of October, General Austin ordered Colonel James Bowie, who was acting as one of his aids [aides] to go with Captain James W. Fannin and Captain [A.] Brisiues' [Briscoes'] Company, ninety-two men in all, to go up in the neighborhood of San Antonio and select a camping place for the army as near the town as possible and to return to camp that night. Bowie selected a bend in the river near the Mission Conception about a mile and a half from town. Bowie, thinking it such a safe position, failed to return to camp, according to orders, and sent McComb, who arrived in camp about twelve o'clock at night to inform the General of his intention to remain. General Austin was so concerned about the situation of his detachment he did not sleep that night, but ordered his officers to have all in readiness for a line of march at daylight. He feared that Bowie,

Fannin and Briscere [Briscoe] would be attacked, so he wished to be on hand as early as possible so as to relieve them. At daylight of the 28th the General was informed that two companies from Eastern Texas, one of which was part of the camp guard, had left. This delayed the march of the army for the camp Bowie had selected. When the army reached there, it was found that Bowie and his men had whipped the Mexicans in an attack made that morning, the 28th of October, and they could see the Mexicans retreating towards San Antonio, a mile and a half off.

The General's idea was to march into San Antonio, but Bowie, Fannin and Briscere [Briscoe] protested against it. They had killed thirty or forty Mexicans and a number were wounded and some left on the field. One Texan was killed (Richard Andrews) and some wounded. General Cos sent out a priest with a request to General Austin that he give permission for the dead and wounded to be carried to San Antonio. Of course, he acceded to the request. My understanding is, that Richard Andrews was the first man killed in the war for Texan Independence. He was a resident of what is now called Fayette County.

On November 3rd the army marched around San Antonio and camped on one of the head branches of the San Antonio River. A regular siege of the town commenced now. Captain Travis commanding a spy company, captured on the Medina River 300 head of horses which were being taken into San Antonio for General Cos' troops. General Austin had them sent to the Colorado River bottom. The siege continued, and on the 23rd, an express arrived from San Felipe that Austin was one of three delegates elected by the council to go to the United States to ask aid, ammunition, arms, money, and men, as it was evident that a war with Mexico was inevitable.

The Council, composed of representative men of character and ability, was empowered with legislative authority and as advisor of the Governor to create and fill such offices as it thought proper; also, with the Governor, have power to organize, reduce, or increase the regular forces as they deemed the emergencies of the country required; also on charges and specifications made against any officer of the Provisional Government for malfeasance or misconduct in office; [.] an impartial trial shall be granted, to be conducted by the General Council and if, in the opinion of two-thirds of the members, cause sufficient be shown, he shall be dismissed from office by the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor was President of the Council and empowered to discharge the duties of Governor in case of death, absence, or inability of the Governor, during which time a present [president] prorem [protem] shall perform the duties of [L]ieutenant Governor in Council. Lieutenant Gov-

ernor Robinson was acting as Governor. The other two delegates were Branch T. Archer and William H. Wharton.

November 24 he ordered an election for Commander-in-Chief of the army and General Edward Burleson was elected. November 25 my uncle and I started with two servants for San Felipe. We arrived on the 29th. S. F. Austin reported to the Governor and Council of the Provisional Government what had been done at San Antonio and what was being done. Henry Smith, Governor [.] James [W. Robinson] Lieutenant Governor and a council of one member of each municipality constituted the said Government. In the latter part of December, the three commissioners sailed from the mouth of the Brazos for New Orleans on their mission. In January, Governor Robinson appointed me his private secretary. Previous to the adjournment of the consultation they had ordered an election for a convention to meet on the 1st of March, 1836, and the middle of February, Lieutenant Governor Robinson and the council went from San Felipe to Washington to meet the convention. I was with them and was present when the convention organized March 1st, 1836.

March 2, General [George] C. Childress [no information found indicating that he was a General], who was chairman of the committee appointed to draw up a [D]eclaration of Independence, reported on the 2nd. I was present when it was read and adopted. This declaration may be seen in all the histories. General Sam Houston, a delegate from Refugio was elected by the convention [C]ommander-in-[C]hief of the [A]rmy and on March 6th went to Gonzales to join the army which had been collected at that point. On December 5, 1835, San Antonio was stormed by Benjamin R. Milam and Francis W. Johnson with 301 men in two divisions all told. After fighting four days and nights General Cos, in command of Mexicans capitulated in effect surrendered with about 1400 troops on the 10th, waving [having] raised the white flag on the 9th.

General Burleson generously allowed the Mexicans some ammunition and arms to protect them from the Indians on their return to Mexico. Milam was shot on the morning of the 7th and Johnson took the command. It is said that when Milam planned the advance on San Antonio he went through the camp calling, "Who will go into San Antonio in the morning with old Ben Milam"? Three hundred volunteered. After the surrender of Cos, the Colonists returned to their homes with the exception of a few under command of Colonel Neill [.] William Barrey [Barret] Travis was afterwards sent to take command by the provisional government.

February 23d the advance of Santa Anna's army of invasion entered San Antonio. Travis and his band retreated to the Alamo and Santa Anna made a demand for their surrender. Travis answered the command by a cannon shot, having made up his mind neither to retreat nor surrender. March 3rd, [32] volunteers entered the Alamo from Gonzales to reinforce Travis, which made his number amount to 181. Travis, in his two or three letters which he wrote and sent by express, stated that he feared if he surrendered or retreated, Texas would be overrun by the Mexicans. March 6th, after fighting eleven days and nights, men perfectly exhausted, living on beef and parched corn, they were all killed except Mrs. Dickinson and daughter and Travis' bodyservant, who escorted Mrs. Dickinson and daughter to Gonzales where the Colonists had collected. A number of Santa Anna's men having been killed and wounded, his march was delayed two weeks.

On the 13th after the arrival of Mrs. Dickinson giving an account of the Fall of the Alamo, General Houston, [C]ommander-in-Chief, retreated towards the Colorado, and crossed March 17, and then and there I rejoined the army.

The next day there was a reorganization of Captain Mosely [Mosley] Baker's Company and I was, without my knowledge or consent, elected Third Sergeant. About the 24th, General Lesma [Sesma], Mexican, arrived on the opposite side of the river with a force of cavalry and some infantry. Deaf Smith and Barnes [Karnes] crossed the river and captured two Mexicans and brought them to General Houston, who sent for me to act as his Spanish interpreter and to question them, but learned nothing of importance. On the 26th, they moved to a prairie some three or four miles on the road to San Felipe, so the horses could get grass. On the 27th, the army took up the line of march for San Felipe in the neighborhood of which place they arrived on the 28th. The 29th General Houston detailed Captain Mosely [Mosley] Baker's Company to keep the enemy from crossing the river and we took position on the East bank of the Brazos River opposite San Felipe. Smith and [s]Spies went out to the Colorado and reported that they saw the advance of the Mexican army crossing the Bernard, but it proved a mistake. When Smith brought the report, Captain Baker ordered me with half a dozen men to burn the town. I asked him to excuse me as I did not wish to destroy the first town laid off by my uncle in the wilderness of Texas. He then ordered Edward O. Pattas [Pettus] and he burned the town. This was done by Baker of [at?] Houston's command. When the news reached the army, the burning of the town was disapproved by most of the men, the enemy

not yet having arrived. The news came to us that Houston denied having given such a command. Baker wrote Houston that he had heard that he denied having given such a command as burning San Felipe on the approach of the enemy. General Houston's reply to Baker's letter, as I saw it, stated that he was perfectly satisfied with everything which Captain Baker had done while in command at that post, without saying whether he had ordered him to burn the town or not. The spies must have seen a herd of cattle, the horns of which were taken by mistake to be bayonets. After making such a report to Baker, Smith also reported the same to Houston. The main army under Houston had gone up the Brazos bottom on the west side of the river and camped around a fresh water lake opposite Grace's [Groce's] plantation.

The Mexicans appeared three days later at San Felipe and opened cannon fire on Captain Mosely² [Mosley] Baker's Company, which they kept up for about two days, cutting off many branches of the trees. Three companies were sent down to reinforce Baker. After three days the enemy marched down the Brazos towards Richmond. Captain Baker with his reinforcements was ordered to join the main army which was near what is now the town of Hempstead, but it had left the day before we got there. The movements took place about the 12th or 13th of April and we arrived about the 14th or 15th.

On the 16th, the army marched towards Harrisburg on Buffalo Bayou. Many thought we were going to Robin's [Robbin's] Ferry on the Trinity. When we came to the fork of the road, the army took the right hand road, which led to Harrisburg, which place we reached on the afternoon of the 18th of April. The town had been burned by the Mexicans and was still smoking. Deaf Smith and Karnes of the spy company, who had preceded the army, had crossed the bayou and gone towards the Brazos River some ten or twelve miles where they met three Mexicans and captured them. One was a Captain, another was a government courier [courier] with dispatches from the secretary of war and General Filisola to Santa Anna, and the third a Mexican acting as a guide. When they were brought into camp General Houston sent for me to question the prisoners. (Deaf Smith had changed clothes with the courier [courier].) The Courier [courier] had on Deaf Smith's old hat, ragged shoes, and worn pantaloons, which were too long—a striking contrast to Deaf Smith, who had on the Mexican's government uniform which was very amusing to the Camp, after learning the facts stated above as to the

2 Various spellings for Captain Mosely Baker's first name have been standardized to read Mosley.

prisoners. The guide said he belonged to Captain Juan N. Seguin's Company; that he had a furlough at Gonzales; had been arrested by the Mexicans at San Antonio and forced to act for them as guide. Captain Seguin being summoned, recognized the man and confirmed his statement. He rejoined his company and participated in the Battle of San Jacinto. General Houston asked this man how many men had Santa Anna when he left his main army and marched to Harrisburg and set fire to the town as he left on his march to Lynchburg. He replied that he did not know, but heard some of the officers say as he saw them as they started that there were 500 infantry and 100 cavalry and one twelve-pound cannon and they thought it very indiscreet of Santa Anna to start out with such a small force. This information, obtained from the Mexican, caused General Houston and Secretary of War Thos. J. Rusk to order the army to prepare to march the next day. On the 19th the army was paraded to take up the line of march. General Houston and Rusk made speeches, saying they were going to attack the enemy. The army marched down the bayou two miles from or below Harrisburg and it took all afternoon for them to cross as there was but one flatboat and some rafts of logs. The horses were swum over. We then took up the line of march at Lynch's (now Lynchburg) Ferry at the junction of Buffalo Bayou and San Jacinto River. We marched all night. I gave out as I could not bring my horse over and called a man and represented my situation to him. He dismounted and gave me the use of his horse and took my place in the ranks about midnight, I being very weak, having just recovered from the measles. After daylight, we reached a place where we struck camp opposite Vice-President Zalasas' [Zavala's] residence on Buffalo Bayou. They commenced slaughtering beeves from the prairie when the advance of Santa Anna's army made its appearance. The enemy approached within a quarter of a mile from us and took up their position in an oak grove and commenced firing their cannon at us. Our two pieces of artillery which had been sent us by the ladies of Cincinnati, called the Twin Sisters, opened fire on the enemy, Colonel Neil saying General Houston had commanded him to open fire, which General Houston denied. I have always thought that had our artillery not opened fire, the enemy under Santa Anna amounting to about seven or eight hundred men, infantry, cavalry, and men in charge of their pack mules would have advanced near enough for us to have used on them our rifles and shotguns and the battle would have ended on the 20th. The enemy continued to fire off their artillery, but the main body retired to the edge of the timber on the bank of the San Jacinto. Colonel Sherman induced sixty men to go with him and try

and capture the enemy's cannon. After skirmishing with them a short time, the present President of the Texas Veterans Association, then an eighteen-year-old boy (Walter P. Lane) was speared by a Mexican, so that he fell from his horse, and but for the bravery of Mirabeau B. Lamar, (3rd President of the Republic) who rushed up and killed the Mexican, he would have lost his life. Two or three of our men were wounded and several horses killed and nothing accomplished. The enemy moved their cannon to where they had taken up their camp. On the 21st Deaf Smith proposed to General Houston to burn the bridge over Vince's Bayou, eight miles from our camp. When on his way to do so with five or six men, he saw a force of five or six hundred men under General Cos who had just crossed the bridge to join Santa Anna. Deaf Smith's idea in burning the bridge was to prevent reinforcements reaching Santa Anna.

About twelve or one o'clock, General Houston called a council of war; the principal officers of his army meeting at his tent. It was then decided to parade and prepare for battle. All marched out and formed a line of battle in a gulley, intervening [intervening] about half way between ours and the enemy's camps. Our two pieces of six-pounders were drawn by men with rawhide ropes. After the line of battle was formed, we marched rapidly towards the Mexican camp where they had erected breastworks. Burleson's regiment (to which I belonged) was in the center and marched straight to the breastworks where we could see only heads of the men behind them. In the advance I had three holes shot in the skirts of my coat—a frock coat which flew out as we advanced in a trot—and heard the bullets whistling as they over-shot us (a usual thing as we advanced uphill). The 2nd Regiment (Sherman's) was on the left and a little in advance of Burleson's, routed the reinforcements under Cos, which had joined Santa Anna in the morning, which [who] was lying down asleep. When we made the attack, they rushed down, many of them leaving their guns (so I was told by the Mexicans we captured) and mixed with the veteran troops behind the breastworks and threw them in confusion. Burleson's Regiment went right over the breastworks and the Mexicans, who were not killed, retreated. We captured the cannon. They fired at us twice and it was filled with the third load when captured. About sixteen Mexicans were killed around it, which was a twelve-pound brass piece. The most awful slaughter I ever saw was when the Texans pursued the retreating Mexicans, killing on all sides, even the wounded. I had a double barrel shotgun and had shot only four times when we crossed the breastworks. After that I shot no more at the poor devils who were running. As we were passing the Mexicans, I came to a young

Mexican boy (a drummer I suppose) lying on his face. One of the volunteers brought to Texas by Colonel Sherman pricked him with his bayonet. The boy arose and grasped the man around his legs and called in Spanish, "Ave Maria Prissima per Dios Salva me vida." I begged the man to spare him, both of his legs being broken already. The man looked at me and put his hand on his pistol, so I passed on. Just as I did so, he blew the boy's brains out. We soon came to a tide water bayou where a number of Mexican horses were bogged [--] just beyond the bayou was a grove of timber on the margin of San Jacinto Bay. There was an island on this lake or bay and two or three hundred Mexicans had jumped into the water to reach it. I got to where there were some fifteen or twenty of our riflemen who shot at the Mexicans as they raised their heads out of the water to get breath. Colonel John A. Wharton, Adjutant General, rode up and ordered the men to stop firing. One of Sherman's men (Joe Dickson) who was engaged in shooting the Mexicans said, "Colonel Wharton, if Jesus Christ would come down from Heaven and order me to quit shooting yellow bellies I wouldn't do it, [S]ir!" Colonel Wharton put his hand on his sword. Joe Dickson took a few steps back and cocked his rifle. Colonel Wharton very discreetly (I always thought) turned his horse and left. We [The?] fellows [delete s] would as soon have shot him as not. He was a great fellow to go around and talk and was nicknamed "Kentuck."

Colonel Almonte, first aid[e] to Santa Anna, succeeded in getting the men to throw away their military caps and guns and got them together in the edge of the timber and put his white handkerchief on the end of his bayonet, thus showing the white flag to half a dozen of our cavalry who were in advance and the slaughter ceased. What had aroused the ire of our men and caused them to kill all the Mexicans they met was the coming into our camp three men who had escaped from the massacre of Colonel Fannin and men which had occurred on the 27th of March. It was after sunset when we returned to camp with our prisoners. About the middle of the afternoon of the 22[n]d, James A. Sylvester, a sergeant in the company brought by Sherman from Newport or Cincinnati, called the Newport volunteers, this same sergeant bore the only flag we had, which had been presented by the ladies of Newport before they left. (The same flag is now in [the] possession of one of Sherman's daughters, now living in Galveston.)

One of [the] six returning from Vines Bayou and who had been capturing Mexicans saw a man rise up from the grass and he, Sylvester, and a man named Matthews, went out and one took the Mexican behind him, not supposing he was even an officer. The captured Mexican was draped [dressed] in disguise in a brown linen suit, [a brown linen jacket,] a black

sailor cap and old brogans. Sylvester handed him over to the officer of the camp guard and he ordered him to be put with the other prisoners. Several of them were impudent [imprudent] to remark, "El Presidente, General Santa Anna," and some of the Mexican officers said "Ini [Qui] la boca," meaning "Shut your mouth." This let it out that it was Santa Anna and Colonel Hockley and Major Ben Fort Smith took charge of him and carried him to where General Houston was lying. The guard hurrahed and the army took it up. I went from my camp fire to where General Houston was, a distance of thirty or forty steps. Houston was lying on a mattress brought from Zavala's house. I supposing Santa Anna had been captured. Colonel Hockley said, "General Houston, here is Santa Anna!" General Santa Anna said in Spanish: (I thought then, and believe now, that I was the only person present who understood General Santa Anna's speech to General Houston) "Yo soie [delete e] Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna Presidente de Mexico [,] Commandate en Jesse [Jefe] del exercito [excercito] de operacions y me jouje [put] a la dispacion del vahinte [valiente] General Houston y quinos ser tabado comedene ser an [un] General quando is prisonerno de guerra." The English being, "I am Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico, Commander-in-Chief of the army of operations and I put myself at the disposition of the brave General Houston. I wish to be treated as a general should be when a prisoner of war." General Houston arose on his right arm and was suffering from a wound received in the battle the day before, a ball having passed between the two bones, three inches above the ankle joint, and said, "Ah! Ah! Indeed, Santa Anna, happy to see you. Take a seat, take a seat." waving his hand to an old tool chest close by. Just after Santa Anna completed his speech to General Houston, Colonel John A. Wharton, Adjutant General of the army and Lorenzo de Zavala walked up and Zavala went forward and spoke to General Santa Anna, whom he had known in the City of Mexico. Zavala was acting as volunteer aid[e] to General Houston and was the son of Lorenzo de Zavala, Vice-President of the Republic of Texas, Zavala having been educated in the English language in New York, acted as interpreter for General Houston. In a short time Santa Anna, by request of Colonel Thomas J. Rusk, was removed a short distance from where General Houston was lying. Colonel Rusk asked Santa Anna if he would like to have Colonel Almonte (who was a prisoner and first aid[e] to Santa Anna) as his interpreter. He expressed his wish to have him, so he came. Almonte learned the English language in New Orleans. In the course of conversation between Santa Anna and Rusk, Santa Anna proposed to issue an order to Filisola, ordering him to leave Texas with the

army. Rusk, Secretary of War, told him his second in command would not obey an order from him as he was a prisoner and had not the right to order him. Santa Anna replied through Almonte that the officers and men of the Mexican army were so attached to him that they would obey any order he might give them. General Rusk said, "Colonel Almonte, tell Santa Anna to order Filisola and army to surrender as prisoners of war." Santa Anna replied that he was but a single Mexican and would do nothing which would be a disgrace to him or his nation and that they could do with him as they pleased. He said he was willing to order him to leave Texas, so he finally issued the order. General Filisola acknowledged he was willing to accept the order and marched his army out of Texas. After the receipt of Filisola's dispatch saying he would leave Texas, Secretary of War Rusk sent out about twenty couriers [couriers] in all directions to notify the families who were retreating towards the Sabine that they could return to their homes. Colonel Burleson was, at the same time, ordered to proceed with a mounted force consisting of part of his regiment and Captain Karnes' company and Deaf Smith and his spies to follow the rear of Filisola and see that the terms of the agreement with Santa Anna were carried out. Filisola's army were [was] very much demoralized and I recollect on one occasion when our detachment was pressing pretty close on the enemy's rear on the middle Bernard that an officer approached Colonel Burleson with a request from General Filisola that he would keep his men at a certain distance from his rear as his near approach kept his men in constant apprehension of an attack. I was at the time riding with Colonel Burleson and he asked me to interpret for him. I told the Colonel what the officer said. He then said to me, "Austin, they are so scared; I believe if I demanded a surrender of Filisola, he would capitulate at once and I believe I will do it." "But Colonel, you know our orders are merely to follow them and see that they carry out the full agreement made." "Yes, that is true, but I am greatly tempted to take the responsibility for my country's sake." My own opinion is that: Had Burleson demanded the surrender, it would have been done for the Mexicans were utterly demoralized.

On the fourth day after the battle of San Jacinto, Deaf Smith captured General Cojo [Cos] and others and brought them into camp. About the last of the month we took up the line of march towards the Brazos River, following in the rear of General Filisola's army. They had been bogged on the middle Bernard. General Rusk, who was then in command, waited for them to continue their march out of Texas. It was a very wet spring and the roads were almost impassible for vehicles.

After several days' march our army overtook Filisola's in the rear and thus reached Goliad on June 1 [st]. There we saw the ashes and charred bones of Colonel Fannin's men, who had been massacred and their bodies burned in four different places. The barbarity of the massacre of Colonel Fannin and his men in violation of the treaty entered into, by which Colonel Fannin and men were to be treated as prisoners of war, made the whole world friends of the Texans. This act was published all over the world. In gathering up the ashes and charred flesh, I remember picking up something and wondering if it was a bone. I took out my knife and picked into it and found it to be flesh and supposed it was some man's heart. General Rusk summoned the whole army to see the inter[delete n]ment of the remains of Colonel Fannin and his men. The [G] general made an address by the pit which was dug, but before finishing the address, he became so affected he could not finish—he having known a number of Colonel [Fannin's] battalion of Georgians who were shot. Many brave men shed tears on that occasion.

The next day General Andrade, who was left at San Antonio and was on his march to join Filisola, wrote General Rusk from his camp six miles above on the San Antonio River for permission to pass through Goliad to overtake Filisola. General Rusk replied by letter to Andrade, saying it would not be safe to come through Goliad as our men were so incensed at them, having just attended the burial of Fannin and men. He sent Major Wells with the letter and three or four others and myself as interpreter. I had been acting as Spanish interpreter to General Rusk by his request. I went with Major Wells to the Mexican encampment five or six miles above Goliad. When we made our appearance and the officer of the guard asked what we wanted, I told him that Major Wells had a letter for the General in answer to his letter. The officer of the guard went to the General and returned saying that the one who spoke Spanish could see him. Major Wells contended that he was the one to present the letter, but when the General refused a second time, Wells said, "Austin, take this letter and give it to him." When the officer introduced me to the General and I handed him the letter, he asked me to translate it, which I did. General Andrade had to cut a road so they could cross the San Antonio River to intersect the road between Goliad and San Patricio.

About the 5th or 6th of June, General Rusk left Goliad and went to Victoria. While we were in camp at Victoria a Mexican came with a letter to General Rusk from Captain Teal and Captain Karnes. The Mexican was brought opposite General Rusk's tent by the officer. The General asked me to see what he wanted. He said he had a letter given to him to bring to General Rusk from Matamoras. The Mexican told

me he had been employed to bring the [this] letter. General Rusk came out. The Mexican said the letter was in the handle of his quoit and gave it to me. I handed it to General Rusk, who split the cane handle of the quoit with his knife and took out the letter which was from Captains Teal and Karnes. They had been sent as commissioners and had been arrested and imprisoned. This letter informed General Rusk that there were about four thousand soldiers in Matamoras who would march to invade Texas under General Urrea and who were disposed to take no notice of the treaty entered into by Santa Anna and the Texas Government. The Mexican told that his clothes were taken off of him three times and examined and the only means he had of secreting it was in his quoit. I have always [thought/believed that? blank space with words missing]

Captain Reuben M. Potter got the Mexican to bring the letter and [that] it was his idea of putting it in the quoit. (He was eight[y]-six years old February 14, 18[88].) He wrote the "Hymn of the Alamo," "Fall of the Alamo" and the "San Jacinto Remnant") I made a copy of this letter for General Rusk and he sent the original to President Burnett, who was at Velasco and on the 20th of June, Burnett issued a proclamation that everyone able to bear arms had to join the army as we were about to be invaded. The friends of Santa Anna, who was our prisoner, got up a revolution in Mexico, which prevented General Urrea from invading Texas.

In August I left the army and went home. In September there was an election for President and Vice-President of the Republic of Texas. The First Congress of the Republic met at Columbia October 2, 1836. General Sam Houston was elected President and he appointed my uncle, Stephen F. Austin, Secretary of State. Houston was inaugurated on the 22nd of October, 1836. Sometime in November Santa Anna was brought to Columbia. Colonel Almonte, aid[e] to Santa Anna and Nunos, private secretary. An effort was made to kill Santa Anna while in his room by shooting and Almonte came near being killed. The people were so bitter [at/to?] Santa Anna that he was moved to the house of Dr. Phelps, twelve miles above Columbia, where he was guarded by Captain William H. Patten [Patton] [[and a few men. Dec. 12th S. F. Austin wrote Patton]], informing him that he and Colonels Bee and Hockley would meet Captain Patten [Patton] on the East side of the Brazos opposite Dr. Phelps and would escort Santa Anna to Washington City, D. C. They had to avoid the roads as much as possible to prevent Santa Anna from being killed. When they reached Louisville, Kentucky, and it was learned that Santa Anna was there, the people tried to mob him and he had to leave there in the night. When he reached Washington, General Jackson, then

President, determined to send Santa Anna to Vera Cruz in an American sloop of war. The revolution in Mexico prevented the invasion of Texas till the spring of 1842. Before the Texans could get to San Antonio, Vasquez had retreated to Mexico. In that fall, General Wall [Woll] invaded Texas and captured San Antonio. A fight occurred five miles East of San Antonio on the Salado River. Many Mexicans were killed, also some Texans. Colonels Caldwell and Jack Hayes were commanders in that fight. As soon as the people could collect they marched to San Antonio. Wall [Woll] retreated towards Laredo. General A. Somerville, Brigadier General, was appointed by Houston to take command of the Texans. I was [F]first Lieutenant in a company organized in Brazoria. Captain Shelby McNeil was Captain. The Texans followed Wall [Woll] to Laredo. General Somerville ordered us to cross the river-- the night after we crossed a heavy rain fell. Having no tents or protection, most of the ammunition was destroyed; on account of the loss of which General Somerville ordered the army back to the East side of the Rio Grande. On examination it was found that over half the powder was destroyed and the General ordered the army to return to San Antonio. About 300 determined they would not obey the order and crossed the Rio Grande and attacked Mier and those not killed were captured and sent to the City of Mexico.

I served during the war between the States as Major of two different regiments within the limit of Texas. I served as Secretary of Legation at Washington from January to June [1839]. Anson Jones was minister. Afterwards last President of the Republic of Texas. The Texas Veterans Association was organized May, 1873. I served as Secretary until April, 1886, when I nominated Stephen H. Darden as successor, saying I thought the Secretary and Treasurer should live at the same place.

[Signed] Moses A. Bryan in his seventy-second year.
[circa 1889] [Died 1895]

[] bracketed information added by Elizabeth K. Aucoin after personal research and/or after reviewing a double-spaced typewritten copy of this document on 11 September 2015 at the Albert and Ethel Herzstein Library at the San Jacinto Museum of History.

Another photocopy of the document is on file at Austin College in Sherman, Texas. That copy was given to the college by Mrs. Lois Brock Adriance of Houston, Texas in 1987. Mrs. Adriance published a genealogy of the family, a copy of which she also gave Austin College. The book title is "Descendants of Moses Austin, 1798-1983" (Texian Press).

[[]] bracketed information--11 words on page 15 of this transcription-- were added by Elizabeth K.

Aucoin after a page-by-page comparison of the typewritten document (passed to me by Mary Thornhill in 2005) to the original handwritten document, located by Michael Lemen during a trip to the University of Texas, Briscoe Center for American History, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Collection, Moses Austin Bryan Papers. No other additions from the handwritten document were utilized in this transcription.

It should also be noted here, that in the handwritten document, M. A. Bryan often omitted the use of certain words, e.g., on, of, on the, and of the. Bryan also abbreviated the months of the year such as September, November, and December; he also abbreviated the title of General, President, Colonel, and Sergeant as well as the word county—shortening it to Co. In addition, Bryan in several sentences referred to the Texans as “Texians”, while the typewritten transcript uses only the term Texan(s); he also used numeric designations such as 2 ½ and 72, 200, 300, etc. rather than spelling the numbers as they are shown in the typewritten document.

Addenda

1. Partial Undated Note Signed M. Austin Bryan¹
2. Transcript of Undated Note Signed M. Austin Bryan²
3. Broadside Example of W. Barret Travis Letter to THE CITIZENS OF TEXAS dated Feb. 24, 1836³
4. M. A. Bryan Letter to His Parents dated January. 10, 1839⁴
5. 1879 Photograph of Only Survivors, Moses A. Bryan, Geo. W. Petty and L. C. Clemons, of Battle of San Jacinto from Washington County⁵
6. Backside of above photograph of San Jacinto Survivors from Washington County⁶
7. Moses Austin Bryan Letter to Col. W. W. Fontaine dated Brenham, January 10, 1890⁷
8. Undated Photo of Major Moses Austin Bryan⁸

1. Courtesy Daughters of the Republic Library (Alamo Research Library), San Antonio, Texas. Beauregard Bryan Papers.
2. Courtesy Elizabeth Aucoin.
3. Courtesy Michael Lemen.
4. Courtesy Daughters of the Republic Library (Alamo Research Library), San Antonio, Texas. Beauregard Bryan Papers.
5. Courtesy Mary Thornhill.
6. Courtesy Mary Thornhill.
7. Courtesy Daughters of the Republic Library (Alamo Research Library), San Antonio, Texas. Beauregard Bryan Papers.
8. Texas State Library and Archives Commission, www.tsl.texas.gov/mcardle/alamo/alamo50.html, accessed November 2, 2015.

1. PARTIAL UNDATED NOTE SIGNED M. AUSTIN BRYAN

Resolutions of the Council of Government that they for
posed being a part of the State of Louisiana has
to being created into a Territorial Government
& besides Can. Mason would suffer any right
arm ^{any} from its rights before it would admit any
Colonies or countries to any change by which
they would be brought in contact with a land
company of foreigners who would give them trouble
about their lands"

M. Austin Bryan

2. TRANSCRIPT OF UNDATED NOTE SIGNED M. AUSTIN BRYAN

Transcription of a Partial Undated Note Signed by M. Austin Bryan¹

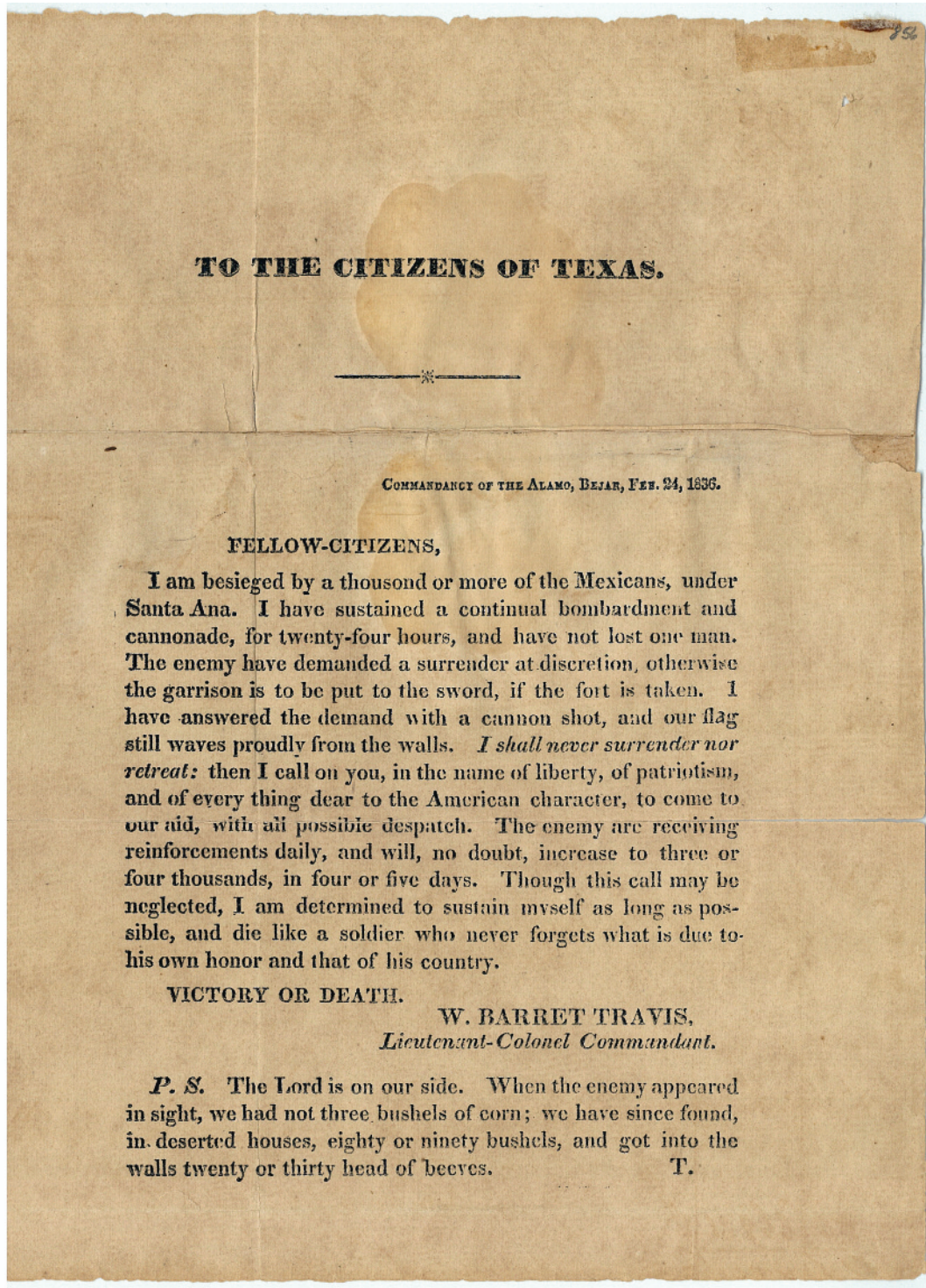
positives of the Early Government & that they preferred being a part of the State of Coahuila y Texas to being erected into a Territorial Government & besides Gen. M[ason] I would suffer my right arm torn from its socket before I would desert my colonists or consent to any change by which they would be brought in contact with a land company of foreigners who would give them trouble about their lands”

(signed) M. Austin Bryan

1. Courtesy Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library (Alamo Research Library), San Antonio, Texas, Beauregard Bryan Papers.

Note the reference to “my colonists” and the quotation mark at the end of the note; it is possible that Bryan is quoting a statement made by his uncle, Stephen F. Austin

3. BROADSIDE EXAMPLE OF W. BARRET TRAVIS LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF TEXAS DATED FEB. 24, 1836



4. M. A. BRYAN LETTER TO HIS PARENTS DATED JANUARY 10, 1839

Copy
copy

City of Houston, Jany. 10, 1839.

Dear Father & Mother

I am still in this muddy city--- Joel left this morning for Chocolate and perhaps will go home before he goes to the upper country-- Mr. T. H. Mays arrived here this evening from Bastrop-- he says some money could be collected on those six month notes by going to Bastrop although money, he says is very scarce in that quarter.

If I go to Washington I shall have to go on my own means, if I can raise any: by pledging my league of land on Yegua-- My salary is only 2 thousand dollars a year and that is promissory notes, which you know is only equal to one thousand in good money--- Col. Bee has been trying to raise some good money for me for several days but I fear he will fail,-- if he does I intend trying to get it myself and wait on the Govt. by pledging my salary and some land---

Miss Hawkins is now being married I presume as it is about 8 O'clock at night-- There are but few (a select party I suppose) invited to the wedding I have not had the honor of seeing her yet-- She stops at Whartons.

I think (as I have remarked to several in this city she ought to have given we Texian boys, who have "fought bled and died" in defense of her lands a chance, but it seems she brought her intended with her--- He is a Mr. Davis, a lawyer by profession, and appears to be a very gentlemanly young man-- quite feminine in appearance and delicate-- I understand he intends settling in this place-- great success to him & her I say-- May he excell in his profession of the law.

4. M. A. BRYAN LETTER TO HIS PARENTS DATED JANUARY 10, 1839 - page 2

- 2 -

I have been to see Gen. Lamar several times since I arrived here, he is low in funds or he would advance me what is necessary for my trip-- The Gen. talks of buying or rather says he should like to get Hawkin's land joining you for his brother who is going to move out-- I gave him your letter relative to the C. House-- He says that he gave the collector the right of selecting the place for the Custom House-- I think the Gen. is partial to Valasco--.

A Bill for the location of the seat of Govt. has passed both houses-- It is to be somewhere between the Colorado and Trinity above the San Antonio Road-- Perhaps our four leagues on the road will be in the neighborhood of the selected site-- if so they will be valuable--

Childress from Tennessee got me to see Gen. Lamar and know if he would be willing to let him have access to Uncles papers as he (Childress) is writing a history of Texas and says he knows many important matters of the history of Texas can only be had from Uncles papers and he intends incorporating a biographical sketch of all the principal characters of Texas and he told me Uncles name and character was inseparable from the history of Texas, but the old Gen. says he wants to finish the work he has commenced and is unwilling to give up anything and told me to send Childress to you and you can give him what you think proper-- I have not seen Childress since, but will see him tomorrow and will send him to Gen. Lamar and give him a letter to you--- I think it would be well to let him have some information relative to Uncles history as he told me he felt

4. M. A. BRYAN LETTER TO HIS PARENTS DATED JANUARY 10, 1839 -- page 3

- 3 -

capable and willing to do him justice -- Childress is the man who drew up the declaration of Independence at Washington and when it passed, stepped up to me and said "Did you remark a clause alluding to your Uncle". I said I did, "Well", said he "We thought it was due him"-- It all amounts to nothing as no one or but few know the allusion as Uncle's name is not mentioned-- Childress stands well I believe in the U. States.

There is nothing new here except what you see in the papers Gen. Hamilton is elected the commissioner to effect the loan. I hope he may be able to do it--- this is a poor Govt. that can't furnish a Secretary of Legation with funds---

M. A. Bryan

(In margin of first page:

"Mr. Borden sends his respects to all the family"--

Addressed:

Mr. James F. Perry
Brazoria, Texas.

Endorsed:

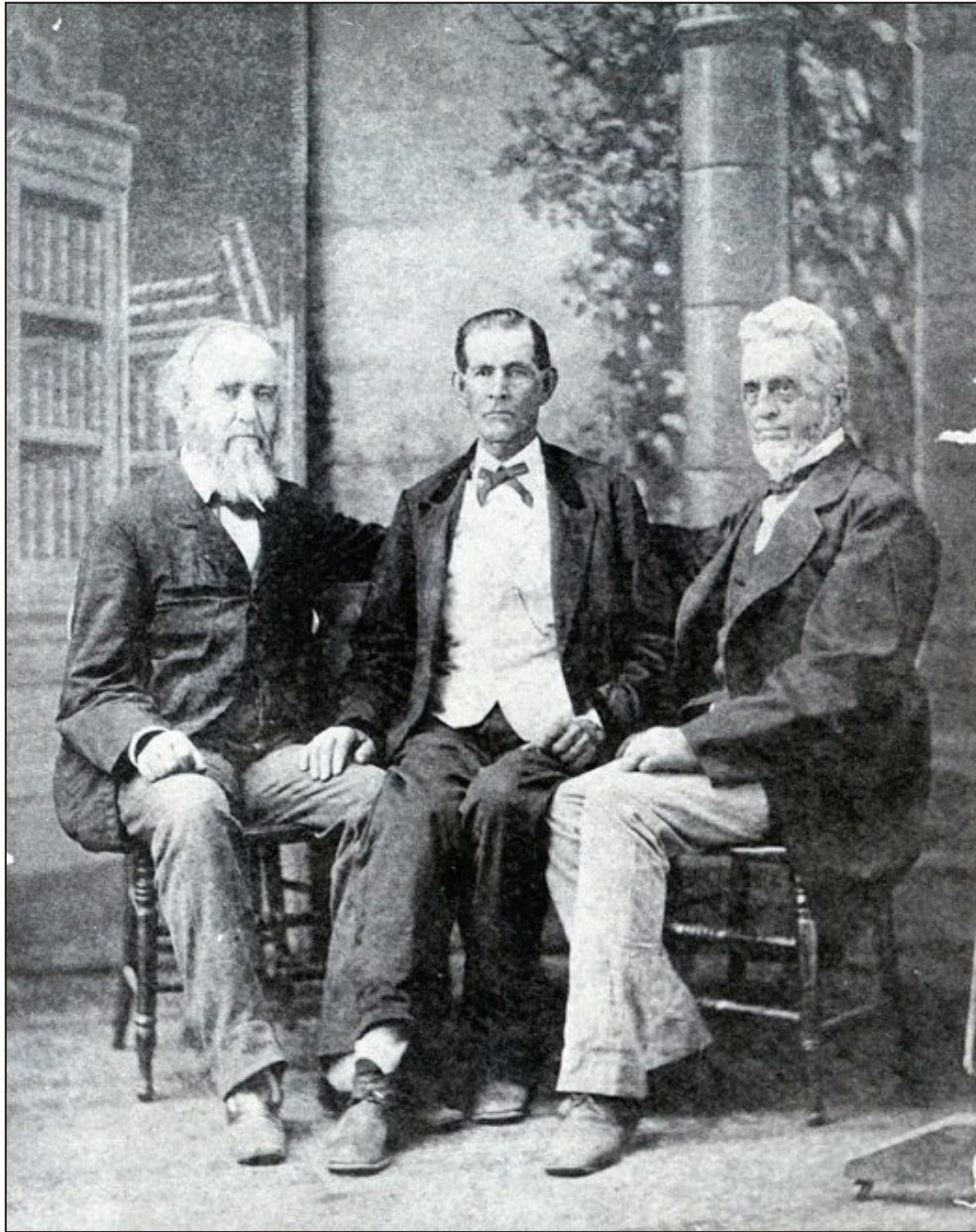
Mr. J. Moses A. Bryan,

Houston

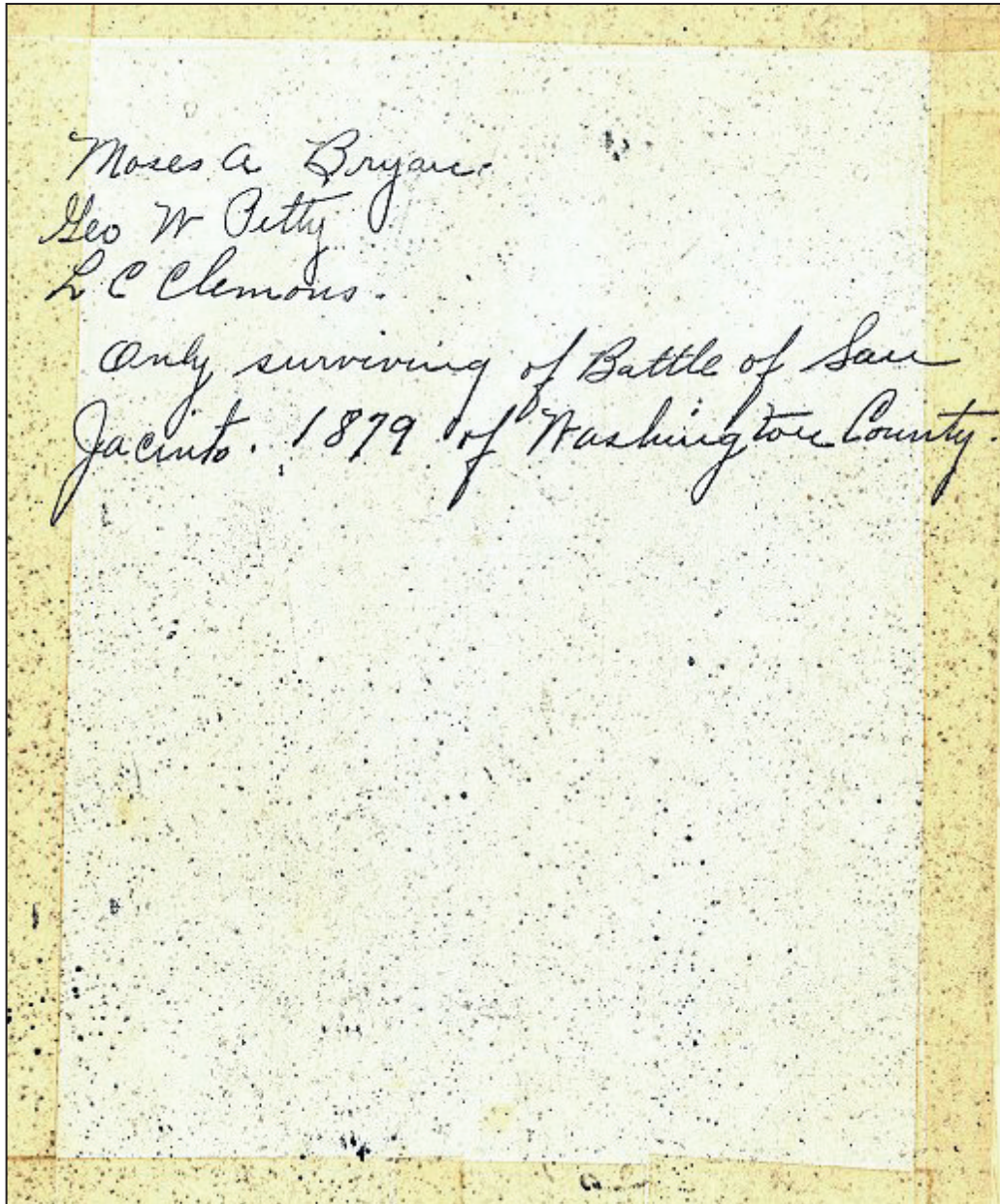
Jan'y 10th, 1839.

original in archives U. S. Sec.

**5. 1879 PHOTOGRAPH OF ONLY SURVIVORS, MOSES A. BRYAN,
GEO. W. PETTY AND L. C. CLEMONS, OF BATTLE OF SAN
JACINTO FROM WASHINGTON COUNTY**



**6. BACKSIDE OF ABOVE PHOTOGRAPH OF SAN JACINTO
SURVIVORS FROM WASHINGTON COUNTY**



7. MOSES AUSTIN BRYAN LETTER TO COL. W. W. FONTAINE DATED BRENHAM, JANUARY 10, 1890

Brenham, January 10th 1890

Col. W.W. Fontaine

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 1st inst. You request me to answer certain questions in relation "to the revolutionary period of history of Texas". You say "learning that you were on the staff of Genl. Austin during the time he was in command of the Texian Army, I would be glad to have you give me your recollections of that period, beginning with the election of Col. Austin as General, & ending with his departure from the Army" - Permit me to call your especial attention to the following points etc. I will answer your questions on the points in the order you put them.

1st. Yes, General Houston addressed the Army on the Salado, saying that it should fall back to Gonzales, that it was too weak in numbers & preparation to successfully attack the enemy or capture San Antonio. The speech had a very depressing effect upon the men until answered by Col. W.H. Jack, whose eloquent statement of the conditions of Texas and the Army thrilled, convinced and enthused the men and determined them to carry out their original intention to capture San Antonio.

2nd & 3rd questions. Yes, Genl. Houston & two other members of the Consultation remained with the Army after the other members had left (the latter left the Army on the Salado and returned to San Felipe). Genl. Houston remained until the early morning of the 28th October when he and his two colleagues left for San Felipe to attend the meeting of the Consultation - at same time the Camp guard (two companions from Eastern Texas) that had been doubted the night before, during the night or early in the morning also left. This desertion of the Camp guard detained the Army from marching at daylight to Concepcion (as previously ordered by Austin) as the General sent a force to overtake & bring them back & he waited for their return, but they were not overtaken. But for this detention the Army would have reached Concepcion & participated in the battle.

4th. It was generally thought that had the army moved as early as Austin expected that the whole Mexican attacking force would have been taken & perhaps San Antonio captured.

5th question. I never heard that Austin offered the command to General Houston - it certainly was not known to any friend of Austin at the time. And the first time I heard of it was when I read it in Yoakums History of Texas. I do not believe it for Houston was very dissipated at this time.

6th question. Yes, Capt. Moseley Baker showed me a letter he had just received which I read at the time (when we were encamped opposite to San Felipe) from General Houston, saying that he

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approved of all he (Baker) had done. Capt. Baker told me then that Houston had ordered him to burn San Felipe on the approach of the enemy & his letter was in answer to one from him asking Houston if he had not ordered him to burn the town.

7th question. Col. Somervell at the time told me that Deaf Smith came to him and represented the importance of destroying the bridge over Vinces Bayou to delay reinforcements to Santa Anna he agreed with him and referred him to Genl. Houston for orders - that Deaf Smith went to Houston and got the orders for destruction of the bridge. General Austin was at San Felipe de Austin discharging the duties of Chairman of Committee of Safety (& I was his private secretary) when he received by express a communication from leading men in the Army at Gonzales to come out there immediately. He did so, arriving there at night the 10th October - On the 11th the next day he was unanimously elected to the Command of the "Army of the people". I went with him still acting as his private secretary. His bodily health at this time was feeble, but his mind was clear, strong and resolute and he thought the best interest of Texas required the early capture of San Antonio, the taking of which would embolden the Federalists in Mexico, and give confidence to the Texans themselves and unite them and enable them by gaining time to prepare for a Government and the war that was bound to ensue. Whereas delay and camp life would demoralize, divide and disrupt the citizen soldiers, for the army was composed of citizens hastily assembled from every occupation of life - submitting voluntarily to military restraint from a sense of patriotism and confidence in Austin. For the orders of the latter in absence of law and government being the only military restraint they had.

Had the army not kept Genl. Cos at bay he would have marched into the Colony (as he originally intended) made his arrests, established military law and prevented that unanimity among the people that influenced them in their opposition to centralization and finally secured the independence of Texas which later came near being lost by the insubordination and distrust growing out of the disruption of the Provisional Government.

Col. Phil Sublet who commanded the Eastern Companies read a letter to the soldiers from Houston who was at San Felipe discouraging continuation of the siege of San Antonio, saying that the place could not be captured with the men and means before it, that the army should fall back to Gonzales on Colorado at the time when General Austin had issued orders for storming the place and their order by his (Sublets) efforts was defeated. He officially stated to Austin that his men were opposed to the order and "that he concurred with them in opinion" and Burleson officially stated that a majority of his men were opposed. Plotting was going on constantly in San Felipe by a faction of political agitators that wished to put their own men in office and command, so as to control the government and conduct the war.

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Austin came to "the Army of the people" because he was sent for; he did not aspire to the position of Commander, on the contrary, he was elected to the Consultation and expected to take his seat but when the condition of the army required his presence for organization he gave it and the fact that he was unanimously elected without his seeking it showed the confidence the citizen soldiers had in him.

I was his private secretary and occupied his tent with him and returned with him from the army to San Felipe. He confided in me and I know that he never thought of himself, but only for Texas and her people, and that he earnestly acted to promote unity, harmony and organization - believing that in unity only could Texas succeed - and to promote this unity, reconcile conflicting opinions and ambitious men he exhibited the greatest forbearance and forgetfulness of self, for he knew that the army could only be held together in this way in the absence of law and government. Often have I wondered since at his success. Knowing what conflicting elements he had to deal with, created by ambitious self asserting men who thought they had military or civil ability. These difficulties that he had to meet cannot be known or appreciated now at this day fifty five years after they have happened when too the witnesses of them have passed away.

He was willing to fill any place and do anything to benefit Texas for he loved her with his whole heart and had given the best years of his life and sacrificed his health to her service - his feelings and motives were patriotic regardless of self. Of all the men I have ever known up to his death, he was the most unselfish and self restrained; his self control was wonderful. I was with him more than any other person in all of his varied occupations and duties. At San Felipe (his home) at Saltillo, his private secretary as Chairman of Committee of Safety as Commander of the Army and as Secretary of State when he died - I was with him in his last sickness and moments and heard his last words - "The Independence of Texas is recognized - dont you see it in the papers - Dr. Archer told me so".

From my intimate association and knowledge of him, I know of what I speak and only speak it to give the truths of history and because you ask me for them and in thus complying with your request I may perpetuate them, thereby aiding the historian in coming to correct conclusions as to the men and events of the times of which I write; otherwise I would not have undertaken such a task (to me) of writing so much, for I have sometime ago abandoned the pen except in brief notes.

Respectfully etc

Moses Austin Bryan

8. UNDATED PHOTO OF MAJOR MOSES AUSTIN BRYAN

