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# Chapter 8

# Professional Pens:
# Anglo-American Travel Journalism of Texas

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During the nineteenth century, print journalism developed into a distinct profession and became a major force shaping public opinion. This went hand in hand with the diversification of American media (Huntzicker 14, 163–164). Starting in the 1820s, the so-called penny press rivaled the established newspapers in sales and influence. While the latter were subscription-based and partisan in their sponsorship, distribution, and coverage, the penny papers enjoyed political and economic independence, since they were funded through advertisements and sold on the street for a low price. Moreover, their reporters used a simple writing style that frequently blended facts and opinions. The growing competition in American journalism triggered by the penny press forced all print media to differentiate themselves in a rapidly diversifying market. Partisan-press editors tapped into new audiences, and the penny papers often adopted the moralizing impulse, opinionated reporting, and stable political affiliations of the established media (Griffin 21–22; Huntzicker 1–49, 163–175). Most prominently, the *New York Sun*, the largest penny paper, increasingly tended to favor the Democrats, especially in its support of slavery, westward expansion, and the US-Mexican War. In contrast, the *New York Daily Times* (now the *New York Times*), which targeted a more learned readership than the other penny papers, was Whig leaning and critical of slavery (Huntzicker 1–12, 43, 163–164; Griffin 22, 53, 57).

As Megan Jenison Griffin observes, their steadily growing readership and professionalization gave both types of newspapers as well as other print media "an increasingly wider impact on nation-building and national identity" (56). The ongoing territorial expansion of the United States turned the North American West into a subject of journalism. On the one hand, Americans going west would establish media outlets in their new places of residence. On the other hand, facilitated by the invention of telegraphy in 1839, East Coast newspapers had been reporting more frequently on incidents in the region since the 1840s (Huntzicker 40, 93–110, 172). Their coverage of the West turned both old and new print media into "an integral part of the empire-building process" (Griffin 37) that was

entailed by the extension of Anglo settlements and American influence. Many newspapers and periodicals promoted the paradigm of Manifest Destiny and its objective of extending the country's territory and sphere of influence as widely as possible in the hemisphere (Greenberg 57; Huntzicker 60, 97, 170–171). But the war with Mexico and the spread of slavery increasingly divided media outlets, separating them along Whig- or Democrat-leaning lines (Huntzicker 62–79, 171–173).

The growing professionalization of American journalism also brought new professional opportunities as well as challenges for women. The prevailing ideology of female domesticity did not consider journalism a suitable female profession, since it involved working outside the home and outside established female professions such as teachers or caretakers (Hudson 51). Nonetheless, in the 1830s, American women began working as newspaper and periodical publishers, editors, and reporters (Griffin; Huntzicker 13, 40, 82–88, 140). But like female missionaries and military wives, female journalists who traveled as part of their work had to reconcile what Susan Roberson calls the "twin ideologies of mobility and home"—the conflicting demands of US middle-class culture (4). This dynamic framed white women's social and spatial movement as progress but nevertheless declared women's "natural" place to be the home. Roberson adds that female journalists' travelogues "are complicated as well by the differing experiences of mobility they narrate and the roles they had in travel" (4). In their texts, female reporters claimed both traveling and writing to be part of their proper sphere in order to legitimize engaging in both areas. Since the journalists simultaneously emphasized their belonging to mainstream American culture and promoted its values through their writing, they "negotiated a place for themselves and their ideologies both against and within hegemonic institutions" (Roberson 11).

Although travel narratives from the West, including Texas, found an eager readership in newspapers and periodicals (Greenberg 5–6), only a few professional journalists also wrote books about sojourns in or journeys to Texas. Moreover, those who published such texts before the onset of the Civil War mostly depicted travels going beyond the Lone Star State, such as George Kendall's *Narrative of an Expedition* (1845), about his participation in the Texan Santa Fe Expedition. Alternatively, they composed volumes of historical scholarship, such as Henry Stuart Foote's 1841 *Texas and the Texans; or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest* (Bryan 64–66, 107; Sibley 17, 190). This leaves Jane McManus Cazneau's books *Texas and Her Presidents* and *Eagle Pass*, and Frederick Law Olmsted's account *A Journey through Texas*, as almost the only book-length works of travel journalism about the antebellum Lone Star State.

**Jane McManus Cazneau's Texas Writings**

One of the most prominent female journalists of the mid-nineteenth century was the native New Yorker Jane McManus Cazneau (1807–1878). Inspired by the success of Stephen Austin's colony, she first came to Texas as a young divorcée in 1832 to settle German immigrants on a land grant she had purchased. Although this endeavor failed, she settled near Matagorda in 1838. Cazneau subsequently moved back and forth between Texas and the East Coast as well as abroad as she established a reputation in political journalism. Using several pseudonyms, she wrote for major American media outlets. The *New York Sun* deployed her as a war correspondent during the US-Mexican War. In 1849 she married the Texas congressional representative, trader, and army general William Leslie Cazneau. The couple founded the settlement of Eagle Pass on the Texas-Mexico border, where they resided for two years. Jane Cazneau was affiliated with the Young America movement (which advocated free trade, territorial expansion, and social reform); became an active land speculator in Texas, Mexico, and the Caribbean; and remained an ardent advocate of Manifest Destiny and American expansion into Texas and Mexico for the rest of her life (Griffin 24–25, 34–36, 50–55; Hudson; May 19–27).

In addition to her journalism, Cazneau published several books on the Caribbean and two volumes about Texas, usually under the pen name Cora (or Corinne) Montgomery. *Texas and Her Presidents, with a Glance at Her Climate and Agricultural Capacities* (1845) first appeared in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (Hudson 56–57). "A history, geography, and guidebook for investors and settlers" (Hudson 21), the book recalls Mary Holley's travelogues from the early 1830s. It provides an Anglocentric history of Texas from the late colonial period to its annexation by the United States, followed by a geographic survey and a series of opinionated biographies of major Texas politicians. In 1852, Cazneau penned the travelogue-*cum*–settler narrative *Eagle Pass, or Life on the Border*. The book consists of a series of sketches told from the perspective of a fictionalized Anglo-American woman whom the text calls "Mrs. C." (Cazneau, *Eagle Pass* 32). *Eagle Pass* describes its narrator's journey from New York via Galveston, Indianola, and San Antonio to Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande in February and March 1850, and her life in the eponymous border settlement until June 1852 (Hudson 117–118; Kerrigan 275).

Both *Texas and Her Presidents* and *Eagle Pass* open with a classical gesture of modesty, no doubt a strategy to justify her, a woman, having written on controversial political topics (Hudson 118). In both volumes, the narrator argues that they were written either at the

urging of friends and her publisher or because she was the only writer available for the task. She emphasizes social issues and downplays her texts' ambitions to shape American political discourse, which was considered a prerogative of men (Cazneau, *Texas* iii; Cazneau, *Eagle Pass* v). *Texas and Her Presidents* quotes from earlier writings on the Lone Star State by Mary Holley, William Kennedy, Alexander von Humboldt, and Juan Almonte to provide a "scientific, factual" basis for the narrator's arguments and thus bolster their authority (88, 90, 96–100). To familiarize their audiences with the nature and society of Texas, Cazneau's two volumes allude to American or European geographic locations, history, and literature, references likely to be known to an educated readership in the eastern and southern United States. For instance, the narrator captures the wine-growing potential of the El Paso region in an image of Rhenish merrymaking, and she compares the Rio Grande to the Hudson River (*Eagle Pass* 51; *Texas* 12). Similarly, an Anglo settler and a Mexican servant in Eagle Pass recall, respectively, the protagonist of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* and the Roman orator Cicero (*Eagle Pass* 91, 49). *Texas and Her Presidents* and *Eagle Pass* use images of domestic relations, a common trope in American expansionist discourse of the period (Kaplan 27), to articulate the claim of the United States to Texas. The books characterize the region as the child of a US "mother" and as a "sister" to the states of the Union (*Texas* 66, 9; *Eagle Pass* 11, 16). *Texas and Her Presidents* also takes up the popular view of Stephen Austin as the "Father of Texas … who guarded her cradle in the wilderness" (68).

Both of Cazneau's volumes seek to promote Anglo settlement in Texas by emphasizing the land's beauty and fertility and downplaying the privations of frontier life. They largely present the Texas countryside as a potential arcadia combining pleasant landscapes with the economic benefits of fertile soil, mineral resources, and a net of transportation routes. Her depiction of the Eagle Pass area contrasts with the pessimistic portraits that travelers such as Eduard Ludecus or Frederick Law Olmsted sketched of the Rio Grande region (Kerrigan 280–281, 287). Unlike them, Cazneau argues for the beauty and fertility of the area through the romanticist metaphor of a lively seascape. It was "one wide-rolling, ever-varying ocean of verdure, flashing back in golden smiles the radiant glance of the sun, while the fresh breeze tossed and waved the changeful tresses of bright flowers in frolic gaiety" (*Eagle Pass* 45). *Texas and Her Presidents* employs religious references of the same hyperbolic intensity to promote white settlement. It calls Central Texas "the Eden of the western world," whose prairie groves "seem planted by a gracious Providence to give beauty and shade to the cabin of the settler" (92–93).

Like other Texas travelogues promoting Anglo-Saxon immigration to the region, Cazneau's volumes assert that the settler's labor was needed to bring the natural advantages of Texas to fruition. Owing to the "hardihood" of Austin's colonists, *Texas and Her Presidents* states, "the broad prairie began to be dotted by the homes of the white race," and evidence of their excellent husbandry soon followed: "Herds of horses, and an abundance of cattle, swine, and poultry, had gathered round the settlers" (14–15). Their counterpart is the figure of the idle gentry seeking to live off the labor of others by profiting from land speculation. *Eagle Pass* uses the medical image of infectious disease to criticize land speculation in the Lone Star State: "Hundreds, too genteel to earn honest, independent bread … swarmed into Texas and lived on speculation until the vigorous life of the young country outgrew the canker. The scar of this plague is still visible in the chaos of law suits and land monopolies" (13). To strengthen her point, Cazneau cites the Anglo-American cultural ideal of the independent yeoman farmer as the nucleus of republican virtues: "There is no country under the sun in which a sober, sensible, and industrious man can more certainly realize a quick independence and a delightful home.… If a healthy man is poor and homeless in Texas, it is because he is not manly enough to put his hands to useful labor" (*Eagle Pass* 12–13; see also *Texas* 93–94).

Like the Texas travelogues of Mary Holley, Melinda Rankin, or several German writers, Cazneau's volumes present garden cultivation as an indicator of a settler's diligence and refinement. Pointing out the easy husbandry and rich harvests that horticulture promised in large parts of the Lone Star State, Cazneau reproaches Anglo settlers: "So far, the Texians, in the abundance of their game, fish, and oysters, have been shamefully negligent of the luxuries of the garden and orchard" (*Texas* 102). Unlike them, the narrator of *Eagle Pass* claims, "I pined for shade, and fruit trees whose overarching arms should enfold me in a temple of tranquil repose … with my thoughts, my books, and my birds. Gardening is with me an occupation and a delight" (79–80). Thus, in contrast to travelogues that view a garden only as a resource to enrich the pantry, Cazneau's text sketches it primarily as a space of private leisure. In line with other women's travelogues of the North American West, *Eagle Pass* praises this gendered and domesticated space in the wilderness as one that endows women gardeners with freedom and agency. In contrast to Holley's imagined female gardener, however, Cazneau's narrator does not mention that her leisurely use of her orchard was dependent on her wealth, which enabled her to prioritize the grove's shade over its fruits. Connecting her reading with her gardening recalls an earlier passage blending two lines of American political discourse that sought to establish the superiority of the United States over

other countries, particularly European ones. Jeffersonian agrarianism emphasized America's socially egalitarian democracy, and the cult of domesticity established white women and the bourgeois home as carriers of its values (Kaplan 24). By contrast, Old World pastoral reveries of arcadian poetry, as well as biblical stories, Cazneau argues, present an image of country life that fails to acknowledge women's contributions: "It is only when society has shaped itself so as to expect service from all its members … that women and civilization can be admitted to have found a position of value." Therefore, the line of reasoning continues, only a bourgeois, republican society like the United States could succeed in fulfilling the biblical command to "subdue the earth" (*Eagle Pass* 78).

The garden imagery also ties in with Cazneau's use of the Texas Creation Myth, also employed in settlement-promoting American travelogues like Stephen Austin's and Mary Holley's writings, to naturalize the Anglo-Americanization of Texas. For instance, *Texas and Her Presidents* maintains that Mexico "never bought, conquered, settled, governed, or protected" the Lone Star State against warlike Amerindian nations. In response, "Divine Providence called forth [the Anglo colonists] … to redeem Texas from the savage and create a new Anglo-American State" (11). *Eagle Pass* likewise frames West Texas as a "belt of uninhabited and Indian-haunted country that borders the Rio Bravo," in order to justify Anglo land taking in the area (32). The two volumes present Anglo-Texans as particularly suited to developing the region. "A mingled but rich debris of genius, enterprise, worth and crime, detached by an infinite variety of causes from the well-stratified society of the older States," they stood out for their bravery, loyalty, and entrepreneurship (*Texas* 65–66; see also *Eagle Pass* 26–27). *Texas and Her Presidents* legitimizes the Texas fight for independence by setting it in the tradition of the American Revolution. The book argues that restrictions on Anglo settlement naturally stirred resistance in a population imbued with a fundamental belief in civil liberties: "To submit to the capricious usurpations of martial law was impossible for the descendants of the Old Thirteen" (22). Cazneau's two volumes further treat the economic success of the Anglo-Texans as a sign of "the indomitable character of the Anglo-American race," which enabled the settlers to colonize new terrains (*Texas* 69). The "prosperous, well-stocked stores [and] intelligent society" of Eagle Pass thus exemplified "how the bold enterprise of our people knows to acquire territory, and to build up towns, and states" (*Eagle Pass* 10).

Believing in the benefits of US republicanism and a capitalist market economy for both Mexicans and Americans, Cazneau advocates annexing Mexico to the United States. Even though she dismisses José María Carbajal's uprising as being driven only by financial

greed, the writer believes that the Republic of the Sierra Madre, which he envisioned, will follow in the footsteps of the Lone Star State (*Eagle Pass* 147, 179, 186–188; see also Kerrigan 285–286). With this prospect in sight, her travelogue sees even greater economic opportunities for the United States in the Southwest. In particular, the proposal to direct the planned transcontinental railroad line through Eagle Pass served not only the writer's expansionist beliefs but also her private interests. As the largest landholders in the area, the Cazneaus would have profited handsomely from the resulting economic boom (46–47, 179–183; see also Kerrigan 278). To realize these opportunities, *Eagle Pass* strongly seeks to tone down the widespread fear among political opponents of slavery in the United States that the annexation of Mexican territory would extend the reach of the peculiar institution and thus benefit the economy and political power of the slaveholding American South (97, 140–141). As Linda Hudson argues, Cazneau advocated gradual Black emancipation and supported the right of individual states to decide whether to maintain or abolish slavery (2, 119–120). Yet numerous passages of her writings endorse the institution. By pointing out the suitability of the Texas coastal area for cotton cultivation and sugar growing and by claiming that slavery was more lenient there than in other southern states, Cazneau's travelogues reach out simultaneously to both anti- and proslavery readers (*Texas* 15–16, 91, 100–101; *Eagle Pass* 12, 32), a strategy that Marilyn McAdams Sibley overlooks in her discussion of the topic (Sibley 133–134). *Eagle Pass* further reiterates the widespread racist evolutionary view that African Americans were at a lower stage of intellectual and cultural development than other races, which, therefore, destined them to serve "superior" civilizations. "A negro nation has never attained eminence since the birth of history," the volume maintains through the voice of a white Texan. None of them "ever made an important invention … , neither has mankind ever found among them a great teacher, whether as prophet, legislator, or poet" (19).

Other passages of Cazneau's writings explicitly target abolitionism. Drawing on a common defense of the peculiar institution, *Eagle Pass* presents slavery as a natural phenomenon of geography and climate as much as a social institution. It argues that a (possibly fictitious) Anglo traveler from Pennsylvania opposed the peculiar institution "by the accident of his birth rather than for any other reason," since "apples and anti-slavery are the natural growth of his latitude; oranges and negro servitude demand a warmer climate." Tellingly named Mr. Grey, the traveler's "northern anti-slavery morality … softened and expanded in the warm rays of the southern sun" in the course of his journey through the American South (20). Since it provides a "natural" explanation for the changing attitude of the traveler that neither criticizes his original position nor his subsequent views, *Eagle Pass*

defends southern slavery while reaching out to northern readers who oppose it. This strategy becomes particularly obvious through the figure of Mr. Grey's British traveling companion, whom the narrator characterizes as a stubborn radical. "He will never change his point of view," she remarks. "At all costs and by whatever way he desires instant emancipation and the most perfect equality for the blacks in marriage relations, social influence, and political rights" (20). The narrator mocks the Englishman's reasoning as being "so profound, so logical, and so philanthropic that [William Ellery] Channing, had he heard it, would have hailed him as a disciple, and Frederick Douglass as a brother" (29). By placing him alongside a prominent British critic of slavery and an even more renowned African American abolitionist, Cazneau's volume discredits the foreign traveler as alien to American culture and hence unfit to judge it properly. By invoking the specters of interracial marriage and African American usurpation of power, the narrative not only denounces immediate Black emancipation as a threat to white America but also points to a blind spot of US opponents of slavery. Like their southern peers, many white northerners, fearing the loss of Anglo-Saxon superiority through miscegenation and African American voting, rejected the idea of Black equality in American society (Caughfield 112; Kerrigan 294).

To avoid this peril yet allow for eventual emancipation, *Eagle Pass* advocates settling free African Americans in Africa. The volume assures its white, target readers of the beneficence of such a plan: "Colonization opens to [Black Americans] wealth, country, and distinction.… It is well to free one African slave; it is better to raise a hundred to the elevation of self-government, and make them a beacon-light before the race" (135, 138). With this line of reasoning, Cazneau's book contributes to the colonial political imaginaries circulating in American social discourses at the time. As Amy Kaplan points out, projects to plant African American colonies in Africa played a dual role in US political discourse in the 1850s: "to expel blacks to a separate national sphere, and to expand US power through the civilizing process" (36). Since settling African Americans in Africa promised to remove not only slavery but also the former slaves from the United States, "colonization offered a respectable, elitist solution to racial problems," William Huntzicker observes (62).

To bolster her antiabolitionist argument, as William Kerrigan claims, "Cazneau quite unsuccessfully attempted to foster a new moral crusade … that would complement rather than stifle Southwestern expansion" (295). Published only a few months after the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), *Eagle Pass* sought to counter the popular impact of Stowe's novel by arousing a similar sympathy among American readers for the plight of Mexican peons (Hudson 117–118; Kerrigan 279, 295, 299). Characteristic of women's writings on political

topics in the nineteenth century, Amy Greenberg observes, Cazneau used the rhetoric of female domesticity to make her case. “Focus[ing] on the horrors that debt peonage wrought on families” (226), Cazneau’s narrative depicts Mexican peonage as resembling American slavery. Peonage appears here as an often-inherited condition of unfree labor in dire poverty, whose victims suffered whippings and being treated like “beasts of burden.” Moreover, the travelogue employs the terms “slaves” and “slavery” to describe peons and their servitude (*Eagle Pass* 184, 38–39, 62–63). The text argues that this system of bondage was “more deadly and blighting than African slavery” and reproaches American politicians for ignoring it when praising Mexico’s antislavery laws as a “bright model of pure liberty” (95, 62).

To establish Mexican peonage as a social scourge comparable to American slavery, *Eagle Pass* goes beyond deploring its presence in the neighboring republic. Though debt servitude is “new and alien to the sentiment of the United States,” the book cautions that it “may take root, acclimate itself, and flourish on our soil, as is said of certain noxious insects with which the old world has gifted our grain fields” (32). By employing the analogy of a devouring pest introduced to the New World by European colonizers, the volume depicts peonage as jeopardizing the health of American and the wealth of its territory. The specific threat that Cazneau’s travelogue sought to mobilize its American readers against was the abduction of escaped Mexican peons living in Texas and their repatriation into bondage in Mexico. Supported by several stories from the Eagle Pass area, the text claims that such kidnappings were frequent along the Rio Grande (37–39, 59–60, 80–86), a fact that other observers, such as Frederick Law Olmsted, did not verify (Olmsted 334). *Eagle Pass* reproaches President Fillmore and Congress for their failure to act to stop the practice and appeals to readers’ patriotic urge to protect American sovereignty. “The interests of humanity and the honor of the country are utterly neglected on the Rio Bravo frontier,” the preface states. A later passage calls these abductions “cowardly, cruel, and defiant of our laws,” as well as “a daring insult to our flag” that represented acts of foreign “invasion” of the United States (*Eagle Pass* v, 80). To overcome readers’ likely indifference to the fate of poor Mexicans and Natives, Cazneau highlights the impact of debt servitude on fair-skinned people. Drawing on Anglo-American anxieties about defenseless whites in “savage” bondage, she alerts her audiences that “the most delicate white lady, the fairest child of promise may be dragged down to [peonage] on the first cloud of misfortune” (131). As William Kerrigan observes, this passage seeks “to marshal sympathy by exploiting the whiteness of these victims, and thereby suggests that peonage was a more profound tragedy for whites than for mestizos and Indians” (298).

This view ties in with Cazneau's ambivalent portrayal of Mexicans. In line with hegemonic Anglo-American views, both *Texas and Her Presidents* and *Eagle Pass* identify sluggishness, fatalism, and improvidence as the key traits of the Mexican national character. The texts scorn the country's debased political and military elite and portray Mexican Catholicism as an "adulterous" union of church and state that exploited the devout poor (*Texas* 18, 21, 28, 57; *Eagle Pass* 96–97, 106–107, 150, 183–187; see also Myres, *Westering* 75). The two volumes moreover point out that miscegenation was common in Mexico (*Texas* 17; *Eagle Pass* 137–140), a claim that *Eagle Pass*, like other American or German travelogues, underlines by Orientalizing the Mexicans as "cousins" of the Arabs (53). Yet like many other members of the Young America movement, Cazneau based her US expansionist political agenda on the belief that in contrast to Blacks, Mexicans and Amerindians were able to assimilate to Anglo-American culture (Kerrigan 291, 299–300). *Eagle Pass* emphasizes the strong family ties, the "patience, endurance, and abstemiousness," and the loyalty to Anglo-Americans of the largely indigenous Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande (67). Echoing, among others, Mary Holley's travelogues, the volume frames the Mexicans as children who require Anglo tutelage (56). It thus reiterates a popular discursive trope of infantilizing colonized populations, which served to justify the American policy of expanding its territory and political sphere of influence (Kaplan 32).

A similar ambivalence characterizes Cazneau's portrayal of the indigenous nations of Texas and the Mexican border region. Speaking of them in relatively benevolent terms as "Indians," "red men," "Native Americans," or "the Red Race," she follows the established distinction that travelers to Texas made between "friendly" and "hostile" tribes, depending on their way of life and relations with whites. Yet her view of them was equally informed by her conviction that the Amerindians had both the ambition and ability to uplift themselves from their "savage" state and acquire "civilization" by assimilating to American culture (*Eagle Pass* 42, 136–138, 169; see also Caughfield 29–30). Her Texas narratives prominently discuss the indigenous nations in order to counter abolitionist arguments and to criticize US policy toward Indians. The single Amerindian nation that Cazneau addresses at length in her narratives is the Seminoles, a band of whom resided on both sides of the Rio Grande near the settlement of Eagle Pass. Cazneau's *Eagle Pass* emphasizes, above all, their cultural differences from both Anglos and Mexicans, and it does this through images of ethnic mixing and eclectic clothing. The Seminole band included people of "all ages, sexes and sizes of negroes," who dressed in a "mixed array of army and barbaric gear" (73–74). The text's portrayal of their chief, Wild Cat, voices an ambivalent respect for this legendary indigenous

leader. The chief and his African American and Arab interpreters appear as representatives of "plundered Asia, enslaved Africa, and martyred America." Cazneau's book depicts Wild Cat as a shrewd warrior with a penchant for colorful dress, as self-controlled but also restless, as desirous to show his loyalty yet not fully trustworthy (74–77, 143–145). At the same time, *Eagle Pass* never mentions that the Black Seminoles who formed part of the tribe were a maroon band descended from escaped American slaves and that Wild Cat's African American translator, John Horse, was their chief. Like many other Anglo-Americans, Cazneau likely opposed the presence of a maroon colony in the Texas-Mexico border region for fear that it could attract runaway slaves (Kerrigan 283, 291–292). Therefore, mentioning the Black Seminoles would have endangered her goal of luring prospective white settlers to Eagle Pass.

Although *Eagle Pass* acknowledges the efforts of the Seminoles to gain the trust and esteem of the Anglo-Texans (143–145), both of Cazneau's travelogues express profound mistrust of all Amerindians. *Texas and Her Presidents* acknowledges the history of whites' mistreatment of Indians but nonetheless criticizes the lenience of Sam Houston's administration toward them. "The suspicious and blood-loving Indian mistrusts the white race," the narrator argues. "The traditions of three centuries of wrong and strife, are not washed away … The red men do not reciprocate, as yet, the loving kindness of the Texian government" (82). Like other journey narratives of Texas, *Eagle Pass* identifies the Comanches as the most hostile indigenous nation, whose ongoing raids threatened white settlement and economic development in the Texas-Mexico border region. To both make her case and assure readers that she is not transgressing her prescribed gender role through a political critique, the narrator uses an image of extreme violence that contains all ingredients of white anxiety about ethnic and cultural alterity: "The country is abandoned to the Indians, who press their depredations up to the very precincts of our [army] posts, leading their trains of stolen horses and captive women, and slaughtering the herds of our citizens within hearing of the drums of our posts, and those posts … are carelessly left without the means of repressing the savages. The citizens themselves are liable to be carried by violence from their homes and sold for debt in Mexico" (118). It is noteworthy that this passage and related ones do not linger on such raids primarily to convey the presumed "savagery" of the Comanches and thereby justify their elimination. Instead, they seek to display the inability of the understaffed US frontier army to protect settlers, in order to highlight the federal government's neglect of the southwestern periphery and to call for a policy change (45–46, 119, 151–53; see also Sibley 83–84).

In contrast to this scene, other passages in *Eagle Pass* rather downplay the Native threat so as to render the border region attractive to white settlers. They explain indigenous raids as a response to ongoing white encroachments on Amerindian ancestral lands. Strikingly echoing the crimes of the Comanches just cited, the narrator confesses, "We have slaughtered the red race, driven them from their groves, [and] buried their history and traditions in the graves of a hundred exterminated tribes" (32). But this admission did not imply a call for restricting white settlements. On the contrary, since Cazneau believed indigenous nations did not "improve" automatically through contact with whites, she maintains that Anglo-Americans had to take care of a population whose destruction they had brought about by their colonization of North America: "We owe something very different to the Indians on our borders from the mockery of gifts … of rum to destroy [and] treaties that covered their sure destruction with specious promises of peace and protection" (120).

Like several other Texas travelogues, Cazneau's narratives outline a model for this white tutelage of the Amerindians. *Eagle Pass* praises the Spanish colonial mission system for having subjugated and "civilized" the indigenous nations of the Americas through Christianization and education. The book undermines Anglo-Protestant readers' potential rejection of Catholicism by framing the indigenous belief systems of Texas Natives as if they were sixteenth-century Aztecs, in keeping with whites' negative perceptions of Mesoamerican traditions. For having put an end to the "cannibal" practice of making human sacrifices on the altars of "grim, monster idols," the Spanish friars appear in a positive light (41, 44). Following Randolph Marcy and Ferdinand Roemer, who criticized the United States for not missionizing its indigenous populations, the narrator of *Eagle Pass* takes up the call: "We, who send two or three hundred thousand dollars a year to enlighten the heathen of Asia should not refuse a tithe of this aid to our heathen at home. The less so … , as we have deprived them of all things else and so hemmed them up in little barren corners of what was once their heritage, that they must accept civilization or death" (41). This passage hints at the final point of Cazneau's critique of US Indian policy: her rejection of the enforced Amerindian removal to allocated reservations. *Texas and Her Presidents* praises Texas president Sam Houston's attempts to undo white injustice against the indigenous nations by permitting several of them to return to their ancestral lands (82). *Eagle Pass* labels the violent Amerindian relocations "a blot on the very name of Christianity" and an "inexorable system of despoilment and extermination" (v). By dressing her political argument in a moral-religious discourse considered compatible with female domesticity, Cazneau once again not only appeals to her readers' sense of civilizing mission but also elicits their support for a political cause.

*Eagle Pass* calls its titular settlement a "young island of civilization" (64), a budding utopia reminiscent of Mary Holley's framing of Austin's colony in the mold of Thomas More's fictional isle. Cazneau's travelogue points out a clear, race-based social stratification among the residents of Eagle Pass, yet paints an idyllic picture of a harmonious and thriving community (10, 94–95, 118–119, 167–168; see also Kerrigan 288–289). The book's depiction of the town is geared to attract Anglo-American settlers. In so doing, it strikingly deviates from the more critical—yet only partly more accurate—perceptions of this border settlement found in other journey accounts of the period, which describe a desolate and dangerous place. Whereas Frederick Law Olmsted's Texas travelogue counts only the small Anglo minority as "full" members of the settlement (Olmsted 315, 317–318), Cazneau's expansionist political agenda in *Eagle Pass* encompasses a racially integrated community of the diligent and welcomes Anglos, Mexicans, and Amerindians as almost equal members. In so doing, it reaches beyond the agenda and discursive justification of Anglo colonization and the expansion of slavery in the indigenous and Mexican contact zones of the North American West articulated in *Texas and Her Presidents*. As William Kerrigan argues, "rather than dismiss Cazneau's pleasant description of Eagle Pass as a willful distortion of reality, it is perhaps more accurate to understand *Eagle Pass* as a reflection of her hopes and expectations for the community" (288), a place where she sought to put the agenda of her earlier book into practice.

**Frederick Law Olmsted's *A Journey through Texas***

Frederick Olmsted (1822–1903) is best known today as a landscape designer, but before embarking on that career, he worked as a journalist. Born and raised in Connecticut, he studied engineering and science in New England. Beginning in the late 1840s, he wrote for agricultural and general-interest periodicals. His account of a trip through the British Isles in 1850, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England* (1852), won him instant acclaim as well as a commission from the *New York Daily Times* to travel through the southern United States and report on the region's society and economy and the impact of slavery on them. From December 1852 through August 1854, Olmsted undertook two journeys through the South. He published his observations and experiences in sixty-three almost weekly letters to the *Times* and ten letters to the *New York Tribune*. After his return to New York, he collected them into a trilogy of travelogues: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy* (1856), *A Journey through Texas, Or: A Saddle-Trip on the South-Western Frontier* (1857), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1860). Owing to their popular and

critical recognition, he compiled the three books into an abridged, single-volume edition, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observation on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* (Rybczynski; Beveridge 1–12, 19–35; Cox). These books also show how his experiences in the American South radicalized Olmsted's rejection of slavery. After his return to the East Coast, he actively supported the Free-Soil Movement in Kansas and the antislavery activism of German Texans (Beveridge and McLaughlin 314–321, 397–405, 431–451).

On the second of these journeys, Frederick and his brother John left New York on November 10, 1853, entered the Lone Star State at Gaines Ferry on the Sabine River a few days before Christmas, and reached Nacogdoches a week later. From January 9 through 14, 1854, the Olmsteds stayed in Austin before going to San Antonio. From there they undertook trips to the Gulf Coast, the Hill Country, and the Rio Grande region, with a brief excursion to Mexico. On April 24, the brothers began their return journey. While John sailed to New York from New Orleans, Frederick continued on horseback before boarding a ship in Virginia, which brought him home on August 2, 1854 (Beveridge and McLaughlin 471–482; Rybczynski 124–126, 131–132). Olmsted's original articles from Texas appeared as "A Tour in the Southwest" from March 6 through June 7, 1854, in the *New York Daily Times* (Beveridge 11; Beveridge and McLaughlin 460–461). Three years later, Olmsted published *A Journey through Texas*. Largely compiled by John Olmsted from his brother's notes and published articles, the volume consists of six chronological chapters charting the brothers' journey, along with an introduction and two systematic chapters (Beveridge 11–12, 17, 26; Rybczynski 146). The book informs readers about topography, flora and fauna, agriculture, weather and climate, infrastructure, settlements, and population groups.

As Witold Rybczynski remarks, Olmsted "was a perceptive observer" who cleverly made his point by blending descriptive passages with anecdotes, dialogues, and data. His recording of people's speech, including slang, dialect, and grammatical errors, "gives his reporting a lively, novelistic immediacy" (99, 123). References to nature and to works of literature or art from different continents that were likely to be known to educated New York readers familiarized the book's target audience with the alien landscapes, settlements, and population characteristics of Texas (Olmsted 69, 98, 131, 275). At times, the text recycles popular analogies such as Randolph Marcy's comparing the Llano Estacado to the Asian steppe, or a frontier town's main street to New York's Broadway (142, 448). To support his arguments, the narrator quotes from scholarly works on and travelogues of the Lone Star State, including writings by Jane Cazneau, William Parker, and US boundary commissioner John Russell Bartlett. The book further provides an appendix with historical and statistical

tables and documents (315, 422–423, 442, 459–516). Although he presents himself in his journey account as an "impartial recorder of events and attitudes," John Cox argues that Olmsted was always a partisan commentator on the institution of Black slavery in the American South (146). Signing his articles for the *Times* with the pen name "Yeoman" indicates his identification with the American cultural-economic ideal of the family farmer who works his own land (Beveridge 7; Cox 144). Similarly, the introduction to *A Journey through Texas*, titled "A Letter to a Southern Friend" and addressed to an unidentified southerner, uses the format of seemingly private correspondence to articulate his views. According to Witold Rybczynski, "the literary device … underlin[es] Olmsted's sympathy for Southerners," which, in turn, endows his critique of slavery with greater weight (146).

Like almost all travelers, Olmsted assesses Texas with a combination of utilitarian discourse, focused on the state's agricultural and commercial potential, and an aesthetic outlook that applies categories of sensory perception in order to familiarize readers with an unknown landscape. Typical for migration-promoting journey accounts of the region such as Mary Holley's or Ferdinand Roemer's narratives, Olmsted's travelogue adheres to the English and American romanticist idea that human intervention improves nature. *A Journey through Texas* depicts vast "untouched" stretches of land, such as dense woods or treeless prairies, as hostile, intimidating environments. To convey their monotony or the peril of getting lost in such terrain, the text repeatedly returns to striking images of an open sea, as in the following passage: "The groundswells were long and equal in height and similar in form as to bring to mind a tedious sea voyage" (Olmsted 147). In contrast, a varied and "tamed" smaller-scale landscape provides pleasurable experiences for the narrator, who employs a discourse of the beautiful or picturesque to describe such scenery. For example, echoing Roemer's travelogue, Olmsted's volume compares the vicinity of San Antonio to an English landscape garden: "[Its] beauty is greatly increased by frequent groves of live-oak, elm, and hackberry.… In the elements of turf and foliage, and their disposition, no English park-scenery could surpass [it]" (278). Similarly, this time recalling Stephen Austin's or Mary Holley's accounts, *A Journey through Texas* captures the economic prospects of the region in an image of idyllic scenery: "With … a gentle slope … of soil matched in any known equal area, and a climate tempered for either work or balmy enjoyment, Texas has an Arcadian preeminence of position among our States, and an opulent future before her" (357, 412, 411).

In addition to agricultural utility and aesthetic impressions, Olmsted's narrative looks for indicators of "civilization," namely, well-kept dwellings and cultivated lands, in the Texas countryside. What rendered one landscape "more pleasing" than others was that "the houses

were less rude, the negro-huts more comfortable, [and] the plantations altogether neater" (76). Above all, the text favorably views the well-kept gardens of German immigrants as a sign of a superior work ethic and domestic economy. Serving as evidence of what could be accomplished by yeoman farmers' diligence and free labor (140–143, 157, 281), they offered an economic alternative to the largely slavery-based Anglo agriculture. Labor and economic development were, indeed, the central lenses through which Olmsted looked at the peculiar institution. Although he shows awareness of its moral ills (92), the journalist sought to inspire social change via the economic transformation of the US South. Accordingly, his travelogues urge the ending of slavery for its inefficiency and corrupting force, which hindered the advancement of the South's society and economy (Beveridge 13–16, 33–35; Cox 141–164).

The texts do not blame slaves' lack of diligence and the poor agricultural production of plantations on the "natural indolence" of Black slaves but on the peculiar institution itself (Cox 153–154, 162; Rybczynski 117). Slaves "were the laziest things in creation," a slaveholder exclaims in *A Journey through Texas*, because "their time isn't any value to themselves" (Olmsted 120–121). Elsewhere, the narrator criticizes the harsh regime imposed by many Texas slaveholders. He argues that in contrast to the other southern states, where the peculiar institution had been entrenched for a long time, "in Texas … there seemed to be the consciousness of a wrong relation and a determination to face conscience down, and continue it; to work up the [slaves], with a sole eye to selfish profit" (123). Moreover, he repeatedly mentions slave escapes across the Rio Grande in order to show the limits of coercion in a southwestern border state (257, 323–327, 331). The geographic proximity to Mexico, the text concludes, successfully prevented West Texas from becoming "a great enslaving planting country" akin to other parts of the region (136).

Although Olmsted's Texas journey account characterizes runaway slaves as "lawless and … very mischievous and desperate" (328), it pays respect to their courage and desire for freedom:

> The impulse must be a strong one, the tyranny extremely cruel, the irksomeness of slavery keenly irritating, or the longing for liberty much greater than is usually attributed to the African race, which induces a slave to attempt an escape to Mexico.… He faces all that is terrible to man for the chance of liberty.… I pity the man whose sympathies would not warm to a dog under these odds. How can they be held back from the slave who is driven to assert his claim to manhood? (326–327)

The passage validates the Black struggle for liberty by framing it as a fight against despotism, on the one hand, and as a striving for manhood—in the sense of humanness and agency, although the masculine gender connotation of the two is present here as well—on the other. Since the American Revolution, the act of fighting for freedom from tyranny had been constitutive of US national identity. Through the voices of a group of slave catchers, *A Journey through Texas* presents the common proslavery argument that African Americans could not survive without white guardianship and that they thus fared better in bondage than in freedom. "How much happier that fellow'd 'a' been, if he'd just stayed and done his duty," one of the men says about a fugitive slave. "His master'd 'a' taken care of him.… Now, very likely, he'll starve to death, or get shot" (257). Another passage counters this line of reasoning by pointing out the intellectual capacities of slaves, intelligence being widely considered a prerequisite for liberty. "That which makes slavery possible at all [is] the want of sufficient intelligence and manliness: Enlighten the slave and slavery will end." The narrator further argues that true freedom entailed social agency in addition to physical liberty: "Even the miserable sort of liberty possessed by a laboring man in Mexico is, probably, more favorable to the development of manliness, than that nominal liberty meanly doled in most of our northern states to the African race" (335, 339).

Despite his critique of slavery, Olmsted, like most northerners and foreign visitors to the southern United States (Lockard xviii), did not advocate the equality of Blacks and whites. Although African American individuals thrived in freedom, he argues, Blacks as a whole required white guidance in order to adapt to life in liberty (Olmsted 339; see also Honeck 59–60). According to Joe Lockard, acknowledging the human equality of African Americans would have necessitated questioning US society, which had been based on Black bondage and exploitation since the early colonial period (xxiii–xxv). This critical failure becomes manifest in Olmsted's principal concern about slavery, namely, its negative impact on the development of white civilization (Olmsted 517, 529; see also Cox 154; Honeck 47, 59–60). As John Cox points out, like the writers of American and European travelogues seeking to bring white settlement and trade to Texas, Olmsted belonged to the "capitalist vanguard" of visitors who promoted a rationalized free-market economy across the Americas on behalf of European or US capital (17, 161, 164). Mary Louise Pratt adds, "Ideologically, the vanguard's task [was] to reinvent America [i.e., the Americas] as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscape and societies as manifest in need of … rationalized exploitation" (148–149). For Olmsted, the US South was this "America" in need of reinvention, and his area of reference was New England. *A Journey through Texas* frequently laments the rough manners

of Anglo-Texans, their rugged individualism, unwillingness to work, and disregard for education. Farmers were "too lazy to milk" their cows, inns were badly kept, and children grew up "silly, rude, illiterate, and stupid" (Olmsted 118, 111, 369). Above all, slave owners used their entire surplus to "buy *more negroes* and enlarge their plantations" (51, original emphasis). The text attributes the condition of white society in Texas to the corrupting impact of the peculiar institution. Since it stimulated egotism instead of community spirit and "degrade[d] labor" by associating manual work with slaves, "an active intellectual life, and desire for knowledge and improvements among the masses of the people, like that which distinguishes the New-Englanders, … is unknown" where slavery prevails (179; see also Cox 154).

Since New England served as the antithesis of the slaveholding American South, it is no surprise that *A Journey through Texas* especially criticizes the white northern or European settlers who moved from abolitionism to a defense of slavery after relocating to Texas. Following popular thought of the time (Sibley 148), a passage of the text implies that integrating into a society based on slavery debased these migrants: "Northern people, when they come to the South, have less feeling for the negroes than Southerners themselves usually have" (Olmsted 119). Besides expressing disdain for people who "gave away" the antislavery cause, this critique articulates a typically northern white uneasiness with close contacts between the races in the southern United States (Cox 160; Sibley 146–147). *A Journey through Texas* particularly exposes the hypocrisy entailed in moral justifications of slavery based on the extended kinship of slave owners' families, whose white tutelage aided the slaves. Even "many cultivated, agreeable, and talented persons," the narrator complains, "honestly and confidently believe the institution to be a beneficial one[,] gradually and surely making the negroes a civilized and a Christian people, and … that all the cruelty, or most of it, is a necessary part of the process (Olmsted 112–113).

Olmsted's journey narrative seeks to tone down northern readers' anxieties about a possible US annexation of Mexican territories as slave states by pointing out the unsuitability of the terrain for a slave-based plantation economy as well as the likely Mexican resistance to such enterprises (454–457). Nonetheless, *A Journey through Texas* contributes to the US colonial discourse of expansion into Mexican territory, since it justifies the Anglo-American colonization and annexation of Texas. Resorting to elements of the Texas Creation Myth, the narrator characterizes the region while it was under Mexican rule as "idle lands" to which the Anglo settlers brought "wonderful progress." As they "subdued the lands, the savages, and … the impertinent Spaniards," they "asserted[ed] their natural rights as the smartest [population]

to the highest and fairest inheritance." Moreover, the travelogue draws on the political ideology of Manifest Destiny to defend the Anglo colonists' only superficial conversion to Catholicism and their circumventing of Mexico's antislavery laws as "stratagems likely to occur in the progress of any nation before its destiny has become sufficiently manifest to warrant the blunt use of force" (408–409).

Particularly in the passages on Anglo settlers' westward movement in the Lone Star State, the narrator sketches a distinctly western frontier culture, which was removed even further from his ideal of New England civic society than from the American South: "In the rapid settlement of the country, many an adventurer crossed the border, spurred by a love of liberty, forfeited at home, rather than drawn by the love of adventure or of rich soil." *A Journey through Texas* thus affirms the widely purported lawlessness of early Anglo-Texans (124). More recently established settlements such as Eagle Pass, the budding utopia of Jane Cazneau's travelogue, similarly thrived primarily on the vicious triad of gambling, drinking, and smuggling contraband, according to Olmsted (317–318). He exempts only the army officers stationed in Texas from his critique. "We found our hosts gentlemen of spirit and education, preserving on the rough and lazy border the cultivation belonging to a more brilliant position," he remarks about a visit to an army post (286). Yet, the positive role of the army was marred, in his eyes, by its inability to protect white settlements in Texas against Native raids (285, 298–299).

Indeed, the ongoing conflicts between settlers and Amerindians in the Lone Star State were another matter of the journalist's concern. *A Journey through Texas* always refers to the indigenous people as "Indians" or by their names, and it distinguishes between "semi-civilized" and "wandering tribes" (296). The text mentions the friendly relations between Natives and German immigrants, and admits that Anglo-Americans had driven the Amerindians from their ancestral lands and into a poor existence on infertile land, which aroused the latter's hatred and fears of further removal (176, 202, 296–297, 353). More prominently, however, the book resorts to stereotypes of the indigenous nations as postcontact "degenerate Indians"—notorious thieves, drunkards, and beggars whose coarse features "revealed" their vices (273, 290–295, 345). The narrator poignantly articulates their presumed "animalistic" character as he calls the Natives "red wolves" whose "young, like those of other animals, can be caught and tamed." He similarly conveys the violence of their conflicts with white settlers when he states, "A swarm of these vagabonds … [was] loose again upon the settlements, scalping, kidnapping, and throat-cutting" (297–298, 289–290). By framing the

indigenous nations as wild beasts and dangerous predators, he belittles and naturalizes their enforced removal and genocide at the hands of white settlers and soldiers.

Other passages of Olmsted's volume take up this view. The writer aligns himself with his fellow journalist Jane Cazneau in proposing the Spanish colonial missions of Latin America as a suitable model for pacifying the indigenous nations of the region. "The Jesuit mission-farms are an example for us," he remarks. "Our neighborly responsibility for these Lipans is certainly closer than those for [the Fijians], and if the glory of converting them to decency be less, the expense would certainly be in proportion" (298). Like the travelogues by Cazneau, Randolph Marcy, and Ferdinand Roemer, *Journey through Texas* appeals to readers who endorsed missionary labor among foreign nations to elicit their support for similar "civilizing missions" among the indigenous population of the United States. The volume, also echoing the journey accounts of Mexican military explorers as well as the Anglo writer Teresa Vielé, especially praises the labor of Spanish colonial missionaries among the Texas Natives: "The old Spanish fathers … pushed off alone into the heart of a savage and unknown country, converted the cruel brutes that occupied it, not only to nominal Christianity, but to actual hard labor, and persuaded and compelled them to construct these ponderous but rudely splendid edifices, serving, at the same time, for the glory of the faith, and for the defense of the faithful" (154). This scene strikingly echoes the narrator's depiction of the Anglo colonization of Texas, emphasizing the act of subjugating a wild terrain and its equally ferocious indigenous inhabitants. This passage thus frames the Spanish missionary efforts in the mold of the colonizing work of (subsequent) Anglo settlers, and as a model for future US Indian policy. In so doing, it validates the discourse and practice of American westward territorial expansion, including mandatory Native subjugation, removal, or assimilation.

As David Montejano observes, Olmsted's travelogue "touched on the significance of the Mexican War and annexation for the Mexican settlements" (11). *A Journey through Texas* recognizes the kindness, hospitality, faith, and strong family ties of the Tejanos and criticizes Anglo settlers for taking unfair advantage of them (Olmsted 161–163, 264–266, 455). Yet the volume reiterates the Black Legend–inspired Anglo cliché of Mexicans as ignorant and unambitious, yet simultaneously cruel, "bigoted, childish, and passionate" (456), and details their purported inclination to vice in a manner that casts doubt on their capacity for reason and self-governance (126–127, 159, 265, 268). Similarly, the narrator sums up the prospects of the Mexican Texans in an equally patronizing manner, which unmasks his ethnocultural bias. Most prominently, he concludes, "they make … docile and patient laborers, and, by dint of education and suitable management, are not incapable of being elevated into a class that shall

occupy a valuable position in the development of the resources of the region" (162, 427). *A Journey through Texas* further downplays the historical continuity of Spanish and Mexican culture in Texas. The book asserts that the Spanish missions were "beyond any connection with the present—weird remains of the silent past," and while it sketches the Spanish Catholic colonial missionaries as heroic, it deplores the fact that the Mexicans of Olmsted's time were "under control of their Church" (155, 427).

As was common in the racialist discourse of the time, the travelogue indigenizes the Tejanos in their physical appearance, dress, and behavior in order to convey their ethnocultural alterity and presumed inferiority to Anglo-Americans. For instance, in Nacogdoches the narrator watches "two or three [Mexicans], wrapped in blankets and *serapes* … leaning against posts, and looking on in grand decay" (78). Tejano families in San Antonio were "made up of black-eyed, olive girls, full of animation of tongue and glance, but sunk in a soft embonpoint"; by contrast, "the matrons [were] dark and wrinkled" (151–152). Another passage frames the Mexican Texans as a "naturally" debased mixture of Spanish, Amerindian, and African origins to justify their increasing marginalization in postannexation Texas: "The Mexican masses are vaguely considered as degenerate and degraded Spaniards; it is, at least, equally correct to think of them as improved and Christianized Indians. In their tastes and social instincts, the approximate the African.… There are many Mexicans of mixed negro blood" (454–455).

The less constrained interracial interactions and the intertwined race- and class-based hierarchies in Mexican society raised special anxieties among the supporters of African American slavery. Through the voice of another white traveler, *A Journey through Texas* captures their concern about "the danger to slavery in the West by the fraternizing of the blacks with the Mexicans," since the former "helped [the latter] in all their bad habits, married them, stole a living from them, and ran off every day to Mexico" (65). The volume confirms these fears by providing examples of unbiased Mexican behavior toward Blacks (163, 230, 323–325, 427). In Mexico "there are thousands in respectable social positions whose color and physiognomy would subject them, in Texas, to be sold by the sheriff as negro-astrays who cannot be allowed at large without detriment to the commonwealth" (455). Elsewhere Olmsted's journey account points out how the Texas Anglos used the entangled categories of race and nation to take unfair advantage of Mexican Texans in business matters and to repudiate Tejano rights (265, 272). "White folks and Mexicans were never made to live together … , and the Mexicans had no business here," a planter's wife exclaims in the text (245). By categorizing Tejanos as Mexicans and as people of color, Anglo-Texans disavowed

the Mexican Texans' US citizenship and historical presence in the region. In so doing, they justified denying Tejano land rights.

The traveler notes how German immigrants in San Antonio resisted Anglo efforts to expel large parts of the town's Mexican residents (Olmsted 164; see also Montejano 28–29). In writing about this population, Mischa Honeck observes, Olmsted "repeatedly crossed the line between ethnography and political journalism, helping to disseminate the myth of a German Texan population unanimously opposed to slavery" (42; see also Struve 76). The journalist was impressed particularly by a community of Forty-Eighters (supporters of the revolutions in Europe in 1848) he encountered near Sisterdale in Central Texas. In *A Journey through Texas*, he romanticizes these German intellectual farmers and exiles and presents them as a foil to the Anglo-Texan planters. The latter abused their freedom to cultivate "aristocratic" idleness yet often lacked cultural refinement. The former, in contrast, gave up their country rather than their freedom and happily upheld German high culture in the Texas wilderness (Olmsted 191–200, 202, 429–430). *A Journey through Texas* frames not only the Forty-Eighters but also the region's entire German community in striking contrast to the Anglo-Texans to demonstrate how free-labor capitalism and communitarianism enabled a slavery-free economy in the Lone Star State. In depicting thriving German yeoman farmers, the text seeks to demonstrate the profitability of free white labor in the region and particularly renounces the proslavery theory of climate, according to which only people of African descent could perform heavy physical work in the Texas summer heat (182, 198–199, 359; see also Sibley 141–142). Drawing on writings of the German political émigrés Friedrich Kapp and August Siemering, the volume critically reviews the activities of the Society for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas, whose naïveté in business matters "carried many emigrants only to beggary and miserable death" (174; see also Honeck 52, 195n34).

Olmsted's travelogue further points to the economic success of German immigrants to prove the superiority of their ethic of hard work, enterprising spirit, democratic and antislavery persuasion, communitarianism, and regard for education (139–147, 177–190, 202–203, 429–433). A crucial way in which the Germans' civilization manifested itself to the Anglo traveler was their thriving towns and well-kept homes. For example, a description of New Braunfels indulges in clichés of German industry and homeliness: "The main street of the town … was … three times as wide … as Broadway in New York. The houses … were small, low cottages of no pretensions, yet generally looking neat and comfortable. Many were furnished with verandas and gardens, and the greater part were either stuccoed or painted. There were many workshops of mechanics and small stores, … and … women and men …

were seen everywhere at work" (142–143). Like Olmsted's model population, the New Englanders, the Germans brought a degree of "civic improvement" to the Lone Star State, which *A Journey through Texas* found lacking in the slavery-based Anglo civilization in the region.

But Olmsted's overwhelmingly positive impression of the Texas Germans is marred by their lack of politicization (except for the Forty-Eighters) and by his prejudices against their Jewish members. Although he admits to "know of no other spot in a Southern state … where the relative advantages of slave labor can be even discussed in peace," he voices his disappointment with the indifference of many Germans to the presence of slavery around them: "Few of them concern themselves with the theoretical right or wrong of the institution, and while it does not interfere with their own liberty or progress, are careless of its existence" (202, 432). With even greater disdain, he claims that German Jewish immigrants endorsed slavery. Rather than attempting to identify a rational cause for their attitude, he resorts to the anti-Semitic stereotype of the ruthlessly money-driven Jew: "In Texas, the Jews, as everywhere else, speculate in everything—in popular sympathies, prejudices, and bigotries, in politics, in slavery" (329). Although his references to the Jews are brief, they demonstrate how the writer's ethnocultural biases informed his judgment. Just as he rejects both the equality of African Americans and their enslavement, Olmsted ignores the motives of Jewish migration to Texas while acknowledging the desire of their Christian peers to obtain economic improvement or political freedom through migration. Although he criticizes the project of extending Anglo-American culture to the indigenous and Mexican periphery of the nation-state, such instances reveal how much the journalist's travelogue is indebted to idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The volume thus contributed to legitimizing an American colonial discourse about and politics in Texas that was soon to lead to the Lone Star State becoming a theater of the Civil War.

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Like the officer's wife Teresa Vielé, Jane Cazneau was fundamentally concerned with mid-nineteenth-century American territorial expansion. According to Susan Roberson, "In Cazneau's hands, Manifest Destiny means liberation from oppression and poverty and not the imperialistic domination often associated with it" (159). Understanding herself as "a kind of missionary for American civilization" (Kerrigan 279), Cazneau envisioned the future of the US slave population as lying in the colonization of Africa. Such massive forced relocation would "solve" the problem of Black liberation and integration in the United States and would

contribute to the country's increasingly imperial policy of extending its economic and political influence, in this case beyond the Western Hemisphere. In contrast to Cazneau, Frederick Law Olmsted in his travelogue unmasked the popular myth of a benign plantation regime in Texas, propaganda that was used to justify the extension of the peculiar institution to the Amerindian and Mexican contact zones. According to Broadus Mitchell, "No one understood better than Olmsted … that slavery was not only a system for the government of slaves under individual masters, but a system of colonization as well" (qtd. in Cox 151–152). Yet while his Texas travelogue wholeheartedly criticizes the colonial discourse and regime of African American slavery in the United States, the text never recognizes its structural parallels to the project of the country's westward territorial expansion, with its attendant agendas of Mexican and Amerindian subjugation, displacement, or coerced assimilation to Anglo culture.