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Editor
Bill Stein

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***From Coblenz to Colorado County,
1843-1844:
Early Leyendecker Letters
to the Old Country***

Translated and edited by
Jean Gross and Anders Saustrup

A recent quest for materials pertaining to the earliest German settlers in Austin County, Texas, produced unexpected fruit in the form of the serendipitous uncovering of the two letters presented here in annotated English version. They were found in the transcripts of the Solms-Braunfels Archiv¹ at the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, made more than half a century ago from photostatic copies in the Library of Congress. A quick perusal made obvious that these letters are of different origin than and separate from the recruiting activities of the German immigration society (often referred to as the Mainzer Adelsverein), which landed its first colonists on the Texas seaboard in November of 1844. Instead they relate to some of the earliest German colonists who had settled independently in Colorado County,² and even though the present

1 A set of this extensive and meticulously indexed collection, in seventy volumes, may be found at the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center (BTHC) on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. It represents a highly significant part, but far from all of the correspondence and business papers of the society often called simply the *Adelsverein*. The papers have had a somewhat complex and turbulent history of their own. See brief accounts by Jeanne R. Willson and Glen E. Lich, respectively, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly (SHQ)*, XC, No. 4 (Apr. 1987), 397-399, and XCI, No. 3 (Jan. 1988), 361-367. The Leyendecker letters translated here are in volume V, 2-17 and referenced as Fascicle C A 4 a 2 No. 6.

2 The beginnings of group settlement by Germans in present Colorado County cannot be exactly determined, but likely first occurred in early 1835. Before this time, however, there is evidence of individual settlers. A few valuable accounts by contemporaries are available, all of them with bearing on Colorado County. Thus the interview with Louise Ernst Stöhr (1800-1888), who arrived in April 1831, in *Die Texas Post*

edition does of necessity leave a number of details and questions unexplained and unanswered, the letters were still deemed of sufficient general interest to warrant publication at this time.

When Friedrich Adolph Zimmerscheidt (1785-1856), of Büdesheim-Bingen in the Rhineland Palatinate, with his wife, Margaretha (1795-1861), emigrated to the United States in 1828 or 1830,³ they left behind their only

(Galveston) July 1, 1884 (Vol. 15, No. 2699), entitled "Die erste deutsche Frau in Texas" [The first German woman in Texas]; in edited version it was reprinted, December 1884, in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Vol. 16, No. 9). This reprint, rather than the original, is the source invariably referred to in Texas studies. Her daughter, Caroline von Hinueber (1819-1902), also furnished a memoir, "Life of German Pioneers in Early Texas," edited in English language by Rudolph Ferdinand Kleberg (1874-1941), and published in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, II, No. 3 (Jan. 1899), 227-232. For the first fifteen years, this was the title of the present *SHQ*. Perhaps of even more immediate interest for Colorado County is the account by Rosalie Kleberg, née von Roeder (1817-1907), "Some of My Early Experiences in Texas", also in English edition by Rudolph Kleberg, who was her grandson, and similarly published in the *Quarterly*, I, No. 4 (Apr. 1898), 297-302; II, No. 2 (Oct. 1898), 170-173. To this account, the editor has added the memoranda of his grandfather, Robert Justus Kleberg (1803-1888), mentioning the "Oldenburgers on Cummins Creek who had come with the Roeder family..." The names are Stolje (Stoehlike), Reinerman, Bartels, Damke, Vrels, Hennike, and Herder. The Roeder and Kleberg families arrived in New Orleans on the ship *Congress*, December 1, 1834, from Bremen. On the passenger list, which has survived, are names, which in rather gross phonetic distortion, may represent names like the ones just above. Flora von Roeder has kindly pointed out the following similarities: Shotlige, Raneherman, Bartlett, Damker, Freich, all of them readings which a careful scrutiny may well improve upon.

3 The family gravesites are found in the Zimmerscheidt-Leyendecker cemetery, about eight miles north of Columbus, directly east of FM 109. An inscription indicates Zimmerscheidt's date and place of birth as October 17, 1784, in Büdesheim, Germany; he died September 12, 1856. This birthdate is at variance with that given in the 1988 edition of the International Genealogical Index (IGI), of which a set may be found at the Clayton Library in Houston. It is based on the original local records and states that Fredericus Adolphus Zimmerschidt [*sic*], a Roman Catholic, was born in Büdesheim, Rheinhessen [Rhenish Hesse], on March 29, 1785. The gravestone inscription also gives the dates of Margaret Davies Zimmerscheidt as July 5, 1795, and July 16, 1861.

The further inscription, "Emigrated to New York USA in 1828 And to Texas in 1833," may be open to question. Archival records from the city of Büdesheim state their year of emigration as 1830; see Arliss Treybig, editor, *Pilgrimage to the Past: A History of the Mentz-Bernardo Community, Colorado County* (n. p.: 1982), 57, with the variant spelling of Zimmerschött. Their names have not been found on passenger lists or in

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child, daughter Josephine (1816-1863). Eventually the Zimmerscheids settled in the Mexican state of Coahuila y Tejas in 1834, on a league of land in present Colorado County; but it would be some fifteen years before parents and daughter would meet again, in January of 1844. By then she was the wife of Johann Leyendecker (1803-1869) and mother of four.⁴

In the fall of 1843, the six Leyendeckers first traveled down the Rhine River from Coblenz to Rotterdam in the Netherlands, where they boarded the square-rigger Lady

the fifth federal census (1830). Several years later, on September 8, 1841, in the petition of his successful land litigation against the Republic of Texas, Zimmerscheidt stated that he obtained an order of survey "previous to the month of June," 1834; further, that he had "selected a league" and had it surveyed in June 1834 (Cause No. 168 Office of the District Clerk, Colorado County), at which time, according to the IGI, he would have been 49 years old. As it happens, this is also the age he stated upon arrival at the land office in San Felipe, in an undated entry in Stephen F. Austin's so-called Register of Families (Original in General Land Office, Austin). The entry, in the second volume (p. 4), reads, "Frederick Adolph Zimmerschitt native of Germany 49 years of age Married, wife in this Country." It is not known, of course, if Zimmerscheidt headed directly for the land office upon arrival in Texas, but that is assuredly what many colonists in comparable situations did. Thus the possibility does exist that the Zimmerscheids arrived in 1834, rather than in 1833.

4 According to gravestone inscriptions, Josephine Zimmerscheidt Leyendecker was born December 16, 1816 and died September 13, 1863. Johann, her husband, was born at Neuhäusel, June 3, 1803, and died August 29, 1869. In chronological order, the four children born to the marriage up to the time in question were: (1) Maria (Mary), December 24, 1836, to September 13, 1875; (2) Johann Friederich (John Frederick) Leyendecker, born October 3, 1838 at Neuhäusel, died August 8, 1908. He became a rather well-known and highly respected horticulturist; see Samuel Wood Geiser, *Horticulture and Horticulturists in Early Texas* (Dallas: University Press (SMU), 1945), 59-60. His wife was the former Frances Ann Stanger (1842-1902) of Wythe County, Virginia, who came to Texas in 1856; (3) Josephine Leyendecker, born June 3, 1841, died November 5, 1907, married to Otto A. Baring; (4) Johann Baptist Leyendecker, born July 1, 1843, died April 19, 1918; he was briefly sheriff of the county and for almost two decades engaged in copper mining in Mexico; see obituaries in *Eagle Lake Headlight*, April 27, 1918, and *Weimer Mercury*, April 26, 1918. During the Civil War, both brothers served in the 17th Texas Infantry, CSA, and later also held local office. Biographical files of families may be found at the Archives of the Nesbitt Memorial Library in Columbus. The Leyendecker Family Papers are housed at the University Archives, BTHC, The University of Texas at Austin, and have been carefully described and inventoried by Jeanne R. Willson.

Arabella for New Orleans. Following established trade routes, their ship traveled the prevailing currents. Off the coast of Portugal, it first pursued the Canaries Current, next the North Equatorial Current, and finally, before slipping into the Gulf of Mexico, the Antilles Current. After a wearisome voyage of six weeks and two days, they reached New Orleans, where it was quite easy and convenient, even then, to find opportunity to ship on to Texas. Though modern Galveston was a mere half-dozen years old by late 1843, steamboats had connected the city with New Orleans for virtually this entire span of time. The packet steamer Neptune, on which the Leyendecker party now continued its journey, had previously set an established record for traversing this quite considerable distance in an unprecedented forty hours.⁵ On Christmas Eve, the anxious travelers finally completed the fourth and shortest leg of their lengthy shipboard venture, from Galveston into the Texas mainland and once again by steam. On a far smaller packet, the Dayton, of a line with regular departures from the island city late afternoons and arrivals in the infant city of Houston (incorporated 1837) during early morning hours, Johann would have time to ponder the mighty exercise his legs would shortly receive, as he would next cover the distance from Houston to northern Colorado County on foot and eventually on horseback, to give word of their safe arrival to the Zimmerscheidts, his parents-in-law whom he had never met.

The two letters rendered here, the former and longer by Johann, the latter and shorter by Josephine, relate in vivid and poignant detail their 200-mile river trip by steam, transatlantic voyage under sail, and farther travel to and settlement in the Republic of Texas. They are addressed to

⁵ The early steamboat traffic between New Orleans and Galveston and Galveston and Houston, respectively, is described in William R. Hogan, *The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History*, reprint of 1946 edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 7-9, 71-74; see also David McComb, *Galveston: A History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 47, 50.

relatives in Germany, and no explanation has been encountered why they are found with the Adelsverein papers. The whereabouts of the original letters are not currently known to the editors. They may conceivably be among the voluminous Adelsverein papers now housed at Yale University.

The present translation faithfully follows the transcript in its entirety. Textual emendations are suggested in brackets; occasional corruptions are noted; punctuation practices have been modified very infrequently. At the top of the first page two notes have been added later: "not a member of the association [i. e., the Adelsverein]" and "Letter from Leyendecker." The letters are jointly paginated, but marked page 2 at the beginning, perhaps because of the initial sheet being used for mailing cover. The translation follows the transcript in noting the progress through the reverse of page 5.

The original passenger list of the Lady Arabella is now located in the National Archives; it gives the arrival date at New Orleans as December 14, 1843, whereas Johann states December 12. It also mistakenly identifies the family as arriving from Sweden. The four children are listed as Maria 6, Frederick 4, Josephine 2, and the infant J. [Johann] Baptist, with no age given. Two further entries on the passenger list also refer to individuals reoccurring in the letters: A. Eickel (or Eichel) and L. Wink, both twenty-five years old. Whereas nothing is currently known of the former, Ludwig (also Louis or Lewis) Wink, a blacksmith, is found in subsequent Colorado County documents and census records.⁶

Some uncertainty continues to exist concerning the precise location of the fledgling German community Leyendecker refers to as Cummins Creek.⁷ In late 1840, the

6 The Leyendecker party is recorded at the very beginning of the passenger list; Johann, 40, is designated as farmer, their two companions, Eickel and Wink, both 25, as laborers from Prussia.

7 The community took its name from the nearby watercourse by the same name, Cummins Creek, which rises in southern Lee County near

Reverend Louis Cachand Ervendberg (1809-1863) had established a Protestant congregation, seemingly without strict doctrinaire tenets, at the German community of Blumenthal in Colorado County.⁸ But another German name appears to have been in still older use, for when Ervendberg purchased land there (December 3, 1840), the legal instrument was signed at "West Munster." This name persisted in the so-called Saddlebag Records, registering itinerant Catholic activities.⁹ The earliest solemnities recorded there (November 5, 1843) took place at "Westmunster Colletterto County." So Cummins Creek, Westmünster, and Blumenthal may well have been overlapping or successive names for what was, in essence, one widespread rural community without any semblance of an urbanized center. Or there might have been micro-communities within a vague larger entity, perhaps with names along religious affiliations. Such community or communities would have been centered on or near the Zimmerscheidt and Peter Pieper leagues. Reverend

the county seat of Giddings, enters eastern Fayette County west of Ledbetter, flows generally south 23 miles, enters Colorado County north of Lone Oak, and then flows generally southwest 14 miles before emptying into the Colorado River about two miles east of Columbus. Its length is calculated at about 37 miles. See Glenn A. Gray, *Gazetteer of Streams of Texas*, United States Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper 448 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 72; *Handbook of Texas*, 3 volumes (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952-1976), I, 446. The Cummins Creek community is dealt with more extensively in the Appendix.

8 In many ways Ervendberg has remained a nebulous figure, who probably did not even use his true name. His origin is quite obscure. He stayed around Colorado County until late 1844, when he removed to New Braunfels as minister and eventual director of the orphanage. A touch of scandal later made him unwelcome there, and he spent his last years in Mexico, where he was murdered. See Samuel Wood Geiser, *Naturalists of the Frontier*, 2nd edition (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1948), 95-131.

9 Copies of these manuscript records were examined at the Chancery Archives of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston. A set has now also been placed in the Clayton Library in Houston. Scrutinizing all pertinent entries would undoubtedly be useful in reconstructing an informal census of the Westmünster community. In volume 1 (*Liber Baptismorum, Ecclesia Sti Vincenti A. Paulo in presidio Houston, Texas*), the earliest entries noted were nos. 39-52; in volume 3 (*Liber Matrimoniorum, Confirmatorium*), entries numbers 4-7.

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Ervendberg, shepherd of the Protestant Blumenthal congregation, purchased land within the Pieper league, whereas, according to the Saddlebag Records, the first Roman Catholic solemnity celebrated at Westmünster (entry no. 39) was the baptism of Elisabeth Piper [sic], daughter of Peter Pieper. He and other early German settlers nearby were natives of Münster, or at least of Westphalia, thus the name of Westmünster for their new community would readily have appeal. Though definitive documentation is not as yet available, it may reasonably be surmised that Cummins Creek, Blumenthal, and Westmünster were essentially the same loosely-knit minority community with ethnic and linguistic cohesion, or at least separate pockets or branches of the same community. But all three names appear to have been restricted to very local use among the German settlers there. Even at the nearby county seat of Columbus, a mere dozen miles away, the community at this time is actually nameless. In official records it is simply "the German neighborhood" (1842), "the German settlement" (1844), or even the Dutch settlement (1845). Or public events in that vicinity, such as elections, are designated, in official minutes, to take place at "Frels' Store" (1848) or at "Jordts Store" (1852). The appellation "the Cummins Creek Settlement" does occur in 1851, and in 1852 the name Frelsburg appears to have been used for the first time in Colorado County records. It may further be surmised that with a more tightly defined crossroads community at present Frelsburg, including a continuous post office after September 22, 1847,¹⁰ the earlier informal names gradually lapsed and fell into disuse.

As may be perceived from Josephine's letter, the matter of political annexation, of the Republic of Texas joining the United States of America, was a foremost issue of the day. It see-sawed for years, virtually throughout the full length of the ten-year existence of an independent

¹⁰ See Colorado County Historical Commission, *Colorado County Chronicles*, 2 volumes (Austin: Nortex Press, 1986), II, 906-907.

Texas. At the time of her writing, the annexation mood was on an upswing. What the Leyendeckers likely did not know was that a government courier had sailed on the *Neptune* and the *Dayton* with them, carrying dispatches for General William Sumter Murphy (1796-1844), the U. S. chargé d'affaires to Texas,¹¹ promoting annexation on behalf of the administration (1841- 1845) of President John Tyler (1790-1862). Later that summer, all hopes of annexation were again dashed, this time by the U.S. Senate, and Murphy's appointment not confirmed. It would be almost two years after the Leyendeckers' arrival before the U.S. Congress, in the waning days of 1845, approved of the annexation of Texas; the official ceremony of flag exchange and transfer of authority occurred on February 19, 1846.

Commerskrick, Colorado Counti
[Cummins Creek, Colorado County]
Texas, 14th May 1844

Dear Sir and Cousin,

Having a favorable wind, we left for America at six o'clock in the morning of 30th October, 1843, on the North Sea from Helfort [Hellevoetsluis, the Netherlands].¹² There were 50 persons on our ship [the *Lady Arabella*],¹³

11 "Mr. A. B. Abel, bearer of despatches from the United States Government to Gen. Murphy, arrived on the *Neptune*." Quoted from the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 27, 1843; see also *ibid.*, January 3, 1844. For Murphy, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, volume XIII (1934) *Handbook of Texas*, II, 251. Shortly after these developments, Murphy fell ill with yellow fever. He died on July 12, 1844 in Galveston.

12 Hellevoetsluis was the outer port of Rotterdam from 1829 until the establishment of the New Waterway (1866-1890). See *Grote Winkler Prins* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1969), IX, 261.

13 The passenger list of the *Lady Arabella* enumerates 49 passengers. See *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans 1820-1902*, National Archives Microfilm Publications, microcopy No. 259 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives, 1958) Roll 23, December 14, 1843 (No. 427), Captain Josiah Simpson.

emigrating to America, and 40-50 ships going to sea at the same time as ours; we had hardly put 6 hours behind us when the wind sprang up from the northeast; the waters got agitated, and now there were mountains and valleys of water; one moment we would be on a high mountain, the next in a deep valley, and within a span of 4 hours everybody on the ship was seasick; nor did a single person remain free of it – even our little [Johann] Baptist got it; however, by the 31st Oct., we were cheerful again, except for a few womenfolk; my wife [Josephine Zimmerscheidt Leyendecker] had to struggle with it for two weeks, but she did not have to take to her bed because of it. We crossed the North Sea in 1 ½ days, the English Channel in 2 ½; on the morning of 3rd Nov., we safely reached the great ocean; up to then we constantly had bad weather, but now it turned beautiful and we saw fishes 14-15 feet in length; on the 8th we saw as many as 30-40 together of 7 to 8 feet long; the 9th we passed by the coast of Portugall [Portugal] and for the first time ate dinner on deck; the 12th we had a good, persistent east wind, and in the normal course of an English mile¹⁴ actually covered 10.

On the 18th we had a temperature of 25°R.¹⁵ [88°F., 31°C.] and here we saw our first flying fishes; the 23rd we passed through the Tropic of Cancer, and in the evening, Neptune, the god of wind and sea, came to visit us; everybody who had not crossed this line before was

¹⁴ Since at this time, when states, principalities, and even cities often had their separate weights and measures, a German mile might range anywhere from more than three to more than six English miles, it was perfectly natural for Leyendecker to point out which kind of mile he was talking about. However, before and after the introduction of any uniform system, it did become increasingly more common to refer informally to the geographical mile as a "German" mile. This is calculated as one fifteenth of one degree of the meridian, or 4.6 English miles (7.41 kilometers).

¹⁵ R. pertains to readings on the Réaumur temperature scale. René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757), French scientist, in 1731 invented an alcohol thermometer, according to which water freezes at zero degrees R. and boils at eighty degrees R. For the convenience of the reader, all readings have been converted within brackets to Fahrenheit and Celsius equivalents.

baptized by him;¹⁶ here we were at 20° latitude and 350° northern and 10° southern longitude; the 24th we saw the first shorebirds; the 25th we passed by the West Indian island of Portorica [Puerto Rico]; the evening of the 29th we saw the island of st. [Santa] Domingo and 1st Dec. the island of Cuba; on the 2nd we had 24 degrees R. [86°F., 30°C.] inside the ship and on deck 28 [95°F., 35°C.] in the shade; the grapes from Neuhausel and Linderheim¹⁷ which I got from you I kept in a small tub; here they really began to thrive and grew up to 13 inches. Between the islands, the wind was so calm for 10 days that we hardly covered 100 miles; the 3rd we got a fresh breeze again; on the 4th, particularly at Barbara [the Bahamas?], we encountered such a strong east wind that in the duration of one mile we covered 12; the 5th we entered the Gulf of Mexico, and the evening of the 8th we saw the lighthouse on the Misisippi [Mississippi River]; the 12th we arrived in New Orleans. I won't have to describe this city, since you already know it from travel accounts. On the 14th a three-masted sailing ship ran aground in the Misisippi [Mississippi] below [New] Orleans, and by the 15th, 1,600 sailing ships and 300 steamships [2 verso] detained at [New] Orleans; we were there for 4 days.¹⁸ The afternoon of the 16th at 4 o'clock we left for

16 Though the maritime mock-ceremony of Neptune baptizing novices first crossing the line is more commonly associated with the Equator, it was also widely practiced at the Tropic of Cancer (23° 27" N latitude), the northern boundary of the tropics. However, Leyendecker's indication of the position of the ship is inexplicable.

17 Neuhausel, Johann Leyendecker's home town, is located east of the Rhine River, about seven miles (ten kilometers) northeast of Coblenz. Linderheim has not been identified.

18 This account of a ship grounding might superficially be read to mean that the departure of the Leyendecker party from New Orleans was delayed for four days because of it, but that is hardly the intent. The 15th of each month was one of the scheduled days of sailing of the *Neptune* (see advertisement in *Telegraph and Texas Register*, June 7, 1843), so possibly there was a delay of one day, provided the writer has the date right. Moreover, it may seriously be questioned if such an enormous number of ships could be calling at New Orleans at one time. Upon request, Mr. John D. Barbry of the Historic New Orleans Collection kindly checked the newspapers of the day and reported (January 25, 1990) that neither the *Daily Picayune*, the *Daily Tropic*, the *Louisiana Courier*, nor the *New*

Galveston on a steamboat [the *Neptune*]; at 11 o'clock that night our ship received a jolt from two three-masted sailing ships being towed upriver by a steamboat. This collision was so powerful that we were within two inches of being lost; one side as well as the engine of our ship was broken, and all the passengers came running from their bedrooms to the deck in a state of undress. The other ships lost their entire bows; also the engine in the towship had exploded because of the abrupt collision. The following day we returned to [New] Orleans again, where our ship was repaired.¹⁹ You must not imagine anything like a steamboat on the Rhine, since this ship was at least half again as large as the three-masted sailing ship we left Europe on; it was three-storied, 100 feet long and 24 wide;²⁰ we traveled from [New] Orleans to Galveston in 2 days. Passage costs 12 dollars per person with board and 6 dollars without board. Children half fare.²¹ The food was good but not in the European manner. Meat and fish of every kind were on the table, but hardly a trace of anything green; Americans don't know the first thing about soup. Coffee and tea, as well as butter and cheese are served at table with both the noon meal and the evening meal. We arrived in Galveston on the 23rd, and the 24th we traveled with the steamboat [*Dayton*] on Buklo-Bayou [Buffalo Bayou] to Houston, where we arrived Christmas the 25th at six o'clock in the morning.²²

Orleans Bee mentioned any maritime incident such as described by Leyendecker. Perhaps he was troubled by language difficulties.

19 "The *Neptune* arrived at Galveston on the 23d inst. ... She was detained in New Orleans three days to repair the damage received by her coming in contact with a steam towboat near the mouth of the Mississippi." *Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 27, 1843. William Rollins was captain of the *Neptune* at this time.

20 The *Neptune* "carried thirty cabin passengers and about forty in the steerage," according to Hogan, *The Texas Republic*, 9. The steamboat *Neptune*, built in New York City in 1836, was, in fact, more than twice as long as Leyendecker indicated: 215 feet. She was of 746 tons, had two masts, one deck, and was 25 feet wide. See Ship Registers and Enrollments of New Orleans, Louisiana, 4 volumes (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1942), III, 154, IV, 205.

21 The fares stated in the advertisement mentioned above (Note 18) were: \$12.00 steerage, \$8.00 on deck; Negroes-grown \$8.00.

22 The arrival, December 25, from Galveston, of the steamer

A man from Mainz [Germany] by the name of Schmitt²³ told me on the trip from Galveston that in Houston there was an old man waiting for a German by the name of Leyendecker; when we had arrived, Schmitt took me to him, and whom did I see? [The] old Baron of Ems,²⁴ who had already been in Houston for 2 weeks; I rented a room there and had my things brought over right away. The 27th, together with [A.] Eickel, I started the trip on foot to my parents-in-law's [the Zimmerscheidts']. The 31st we arrived at Ernst Millcreek [Friedrich Ernst's on Mill Creek],²⁵ where, as it happened,

Dayton, Captain John H. Sterrett, is reported in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, January 3, 1844. The *Dayton* was most likely the steamboat described in the New Orleans Ship Registers, III, 59 (see Note 20). She was built in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1835, measured 111 tons, and was 125 feet long.

23 This person has not been identified.

24 From the German context, it is not possible to determine whether "Baron" is a name, a title, or even a nickname. He has not been identified.

25 For German colonization in Texas for at least a decade after ca. 1832, Friedrich Ernst (1796-1848) was perhaps the most pivotal figure. In 1838 he had laid out the town of Industry, the first Texas-German town, on the east side of the league he had received in 1831, on the west fork of Mill Creek in present Austin County. But even before the founding of a town, Ernst had attracted many countrymen from his native Oldenburg and elsewhere. By all accounts, he was a man of good reports, invariably lauded for helpfulness and neighborliness. As a farmer and horticulturist he was innovative and imaginative. His hospitality was widely praised.

Even as the Leyendeckers were crossing the Atlantic Ocean on the *Lady Arabella*, an article on "The German Settlements in Austin and Colorado Counties" appeared in the *Civilian and Galveston Gazette* (December 2, 1843), which, without mention of name, unmistakably singled out Ernst for high marks. He is termed "an intelligent, accomplished gentleman," who had arrived with "not one dollar at his command," whereas after a dozen years of toil and determination, he had so improved his estate that "now, in neatness, comfort and tasteful arrangement, it approaches as near a terrestrial Paradise as any spot it has been our lot to visit." Thanks are due to Miriam York for having provided a transcript of this article. This, then, is where Johann Leyendecker, just a few weeks later, joined in the merrymaking of New Year's Eve. Only in recent years has it come to light that there was an inexplicable dark side to the past of Friedrich Ernst, whose original name was Christian Friedrich Ernst Dierks. As a senior postal clerk in the service of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, he had most abruptly fled his native grounds (September 1829), with his entire family, eluding an intensive international search and grave charges of embezzlement of sums quite considerable for his circumstances. Though Dierks left highly incriminating evidence behind, there was no official prosecution, as he was successful in getting lickety-split to France and

many Germans had gathered to have a good time. Ernst, a good friend of my father-in-law's, insisted that we not travel on; we stayed there, and in the evening we were also joined by Thomä,²⁶ who at this time was staying at my father-in-law's; he stayed with him for 5 months. On the first of January [1844] Mr. Ernst gave us two horses, and, accompanied by Thomä, we rode to my parents-in-law's; from Ernst's we still had 12 [English] miles to go and got there by noon. Thomä said I was his cousin from Braubach²⁷ and had brought a small tub of grapevines. When my father-in-law heard this, he jumped out of bed – he had just been about to start his after-dinner nap – [p. 3] and looked me over with wide eyes. Then he asked me if I knew Leyendecker, and whether he would be coming soon; I told him a great deal about this man Leyendecker, and now he positioned himself directly in front of me and did not take his eyes off me, until Thomä finally said I was Leyendecker; he then immediately shook my hand and turned about: there stood my mother-in-law as if struck by lightning. The following day [January 2] I rode back to Houston with Thomä to fetch my wife and children; there it took 4 wagons to get all my things loaded, and for each wagon we had 5 yokes of oxen; from Houston we had 90 more miles to go.²⁸ In [New] Orleans I had paid 100 dollars for bellows, vise, iron for blacksmithing, and various tools for Ludwig [Wink]; I also bought 2 barrels of flour there at 4½ dollars per barrel. On 18th Jan. we all arrived safely at my parents-in-law's. That is enough for now about the journey – we also want to say something about Texas.

aboard a packet for New York, where he assumed the name by which he was later known in Texas (Records of investigation and search in Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Oldenburg).

26 Thomä has not been identified. His name does not occur in conventional sources.

27 Braubach is a small town on the east bank of the Rhine River, about seven miles (ten kilometers) upstream from Coblenz. Linderheim has not been identified.

28 "A load for several yoke was three thousand to five thousand pounds, which could be transported at a rate of ten to fifteen miles per day in dry weather." Quoted from Hogan, *The Texas Republic*, 66.

Actually Texas breaks down into three parts:²⁹ the coastal region, the hilly region, and the mountain region.³⁰ The coastal region does indeed have an abundance of good soil and wooded areas; however, because it is flat and has a large number of mosquitoes – a torment for humans and animals, unhealthy and unpleasant – thus by no means salubrious for German immigrants either. The mountainous region, according to the reports of everybody visiting there, is healthy and uncommonly beautiful, especially in the northwestern parts, but so far is largely uninhabited. The hilly region begins at St. Felippo [San Felipe] and extends as far as Austin. Where we live, the land is hilly; we live 8 [English] miles from Colombia [Columbus], a tiny town on the Coloredo [Colorado River]; the soil is partly sandy, partly black marshy soil; along the rivers and small streams alluvial soil; generally speaking, the soil is altogether so good that it requires no fertilizer. There is great variety in the kinds of trees occurring here: several species of oak – among others the evergreen or live oak – ashes, elms, hickory, pecan with an excellent nut, black walnut, sycamore, poplar, and all sorts of shrubbery. The entire countryside has an exceedingly friendly aspect; you see large expanses or rather tracts of grassland – pasturage for thousands and thousands of sheep and cattle – interspersed with wooded areas without undergrowth; similarly splendid pasture and meadow lands and also, here and there, at the

29 It should be kept in mind that the political boundaries claimed by the Republic of Texas went way beyond those of the present state. They took in much of present New Mexico as well as parts of several other subsequent states (Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming). Leyendecker's reference is to the then settled and better known parts of present Texas.

30 As described here, the coastal region would include the marshes near sea level as well as low prairies and plains farther inland, with gradual elevation of up to some 150 feet, generally with poor drainage. Leyendecker's hilly region corresponds to the undulating mixture of deciduous woodlands (Post Oak Savannah) and open prairie (Blackland Prairies) still farther inland, with elevations that may rise well above 300-400 feet. His mountain region is not truly mountainous, but rather the Edwards Plateau (Hill Country) west of Austin in West Central Texas, rising considerably above 1000 feet.

edge of the woods or nearby, a spring, a settlement, or a place of business. Here nature has, as it were, in a sense already made preparations for man: it is not necessary first to clear impenetrable woodlands; instead you can simply set your plow in the splendid soil of the grasslands. Along the banks of the rivers and small streams there are mostly dense woodlands. Another extraordinary advantage is the fact that there are no mosquitoes.³¹

The air is rarely completely still here. In the summertime a gentle south breeze usually rises about 8 o'clock in the morning and keeps wafting steadily until 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Nights are cool; winter is [3 verso] by no means winter as in Germany; only once in a while, 4-6 times, a fierce north wind will come blowing in, which then chills you to the bone, but only persists for 3

31 Leyendecker's observations are quite compatible with later analyses and field surveys. The area is, in part, so-called Lagarto Hill Prairie, "consisting mainly of a rolling treeless prairie." This borders directly on the Lower Lissie Post Oak Belt, densely wooded and ranging from eight to fifteen miles in width. See T. L. Bailey, *The Geology and Natural Resources of Colorado County*, University Texas Bulletin No. 2333 (Austin: The University of Texas, 1923), 17-20.

"The soils of the Lagarto Hill Prairie are black clays and loams. The loamy soils occur where sandstones are interbedded with Lagarto clays. In a few areas the sandstones are more prominent than the clays, in which case the soil is sandy or even lacking. Cotton, corn and vegetables are the principal crops grown on the Lagarto Hill Prairie" (*ibid.*, 127).

"The poorest soil in Colorado County is that of the Lower Lissie Post Oak Belt" (*ibid.*). "The timber of the Lower Lissie Belt consists predominantly of post oaks with a considerable amount of shrubby undergrowth of yaupon..., hawthorn, buckthorn and other shrubs. This undergrowth is especially dense in the neighborhood of streams in the post oak belt. ... In the region between Cummins Creek and the Colorado River and more sparsely in other parts of the post oak woods are found a considerable number of small hickories... Live oaks...and smaller related species are quite common in much of the post oak belt..." (*ibid.*, 129).

Some amount of vegetational modification is certain to have occurred during the three quarters of a century between Leyendecker's letter and Bailey's investigations, and not merely because of the use of timber for construction and firewood. For example, the widespread introduction of livestock would, with mounting grazing pressure, have caused a decrease of the most palatable grasscover, with a concomitant increase or even invasion of less palatable grasses along with weedy and brushy species, such as yaupon. At present, a complete soil map of the county is in preparation by the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), U. S. Department of Agriculture.

days. Otherwise the air is pleasant, and there is no snow. For us here, spring mostly begins in February; one of my neighbors already had new potatoes by the middle of March; as for myself, I already ate my first strawberries on 25th March. All winter long salad greens are available, asparagus in February.³² So far the common agricultural products continue to be corn, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice. Wheat is just now being brought into cultivation and is very productive. Oats and rye do well.

The country is still very young, and we are convinced that there is still much to be discovered here. The grasslands are filled with the most beautiful flowers; cactus and wild grapes grow in abundance,³³ a certain indication that [cultivated] grapevines will thrive here. Some experimentation has been done with this, and the best available prospects indicate that good wine can be produced;³⁴ in Houston one German has a vineyard of 7,000 rootstocks; he obtained the vines from France, and during the first year they grew 5-7 feet.³⁵ Indigo grows wild here,³⁶ also splendid figs and peaches;³⁷ in addition to our German potatoes we also

32 Contemporary accounts indicate that the winter of 1843-1844 was uncommonly mild; see *Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 20, 1844. The same paper carried reports of strawberries in the January 17 issue, of early potatoes March 20, and of asparagus April 24.

33 Leyendecker, who was a keen observer, may readily have associated the presence of cacti with good drainage, an asset for grape culture. However, the phrase here translated as "wild grapes" might also refer to the common Virginia creeper (*Parthenocissus quinquefolia*), which botanically does belong to the grape family. In that case, the sentence would make good sense in a different manner.

34 One indication of such interest was in the form of several articles on grapevines and culture of the vine by John Carlos; see the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 13, 20, 1843; January 17, 1844.

35 This grower is likely to have been F. Jacob Rothhaas, who, beginning with the issue of January 17, 1844, regularly advertised grapevines for sale in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*.

36 The widely known indigo of trade, *Indigofera tinctoria*, is not native to Texas, but other members of the genus, yielding a far weaker dye, are. Two, or even three, species might occur in Leyendecker's general vicinity.

37 Figs and peaches were among the many kinds of fruit early introduced and widely cultivated in Stephen F. Austin's Colony. See the chapter "Fruit Culture in Early Texas (1820-1850)" in Geiser, *Horticulture...*, 4-8.

have sugar potatoes [i. e. sweet potatoes].³⁸ Mulberries also grow wild.³⁹ This past year the highest temperature is said to have been 87° [F.]; in other years it is supposed to have gone as high as 95°; however, the unbearable aspect of the heat is considerably mitigated by the breezes I already mentioned above. In this year we had a high temperature of 18°R. [73°F. 23°C.] in January, 18° in Feb., 21° [79°F., 26°C.] in March, 25° [88°F., 31°C.] in April, 26° [92°F., 33°C.] in May.

Reportedly an immigrant will have to endure a slight fever during the first year, but not everybody; usually it affects those who expose themselves too much to the noon sun or suffer from too much lack of regular and good nourishment, which regrettably is frequently the case with poor immigrants; or it may happen that, with the intention of getting rich right away, you work too hard. I'll be on my guard against all of this.⁴⁰

38 The common white potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) originated in South America and is not at all "Irish." By this time it was also such an established constituent of the German diet that Leyendecker, quite naturally, could refer to it as "our German potato." The sweet potato (*Ipomea batata*), on the other hand, belongs to the morning-glory family (*Convolvulaceae*). See also Note 60.

39 In addition to the red mulberry (*Morus rubra*), Leyendecker might have noticed the smaller Texas mulberry (*M. microphylla*).

40 As the very name suggests, malaria was once attributed to *mala aria*, bad air – but also to other factors. Here, as in the case of yellow fever, it was not realized until far later that mosquitoes are carriers and spreaders of what was then referred to as intermittent fever, remittent fever, ague, or bilious fever. Hogan's observations in *The Texas Republic* (224-227) are as if tailor-made to corroborate Leyendecker's report: "Most new arrivals, especially those from the northern United States and Germany, found it necessary to experience suffering from malarial fevers, or at least loss of energy and weight, during habituation to a new climate." This setback, "with its accompanying chills and "shakes" and general debility usually occurred in the first warm season the newcomer spent in Texas. ... Some ascribed the malarial fevers to overexertion, exposure to the sun, and unwholesome food. ... The routine Texas diet of corn bread, beef, bacon, and potatoes...also [was] thought to be among the real causes of fevers and other diseases among whites as well as Negroes. ... Mosquitoes – one genus of which [Anopheles] is now known to be responsible for spreading malaria – were noted, but they were regarded chiefly as an intolerable nuisance, along with the flies which infested the unscreened houses." See also Pat Ireland Nixon, *The Medical Story of Early Texas, 1528-1853* (San Antonio: Mollie Bennett Lupe Memorial Fund,

Other diseases are not even said to be known here. Our kind of country is excellently suited for cattle raising, since feed is available in abundance, and the cattle will find sufficient sustenance even in winter; consequently you don't have the laborious task of making hay and such for the winter. Only the actual working cattle are fed somewhat in the wintertime in order to have them available at all times. Hogs are mostly fattened on fallen acorns. Wild animals, i. e. panthers,⁴¹ bears,⁴² and grass wolves – the latter like a German fox – are indeed to be found here,⁴³ but the two former only where no humans are living as yet. The grass wolves are only dangerous for young hogs. There are many snakes, but they flee from humans; this spring we have killed more than 10 by our house and garden. Scorpions are said to sting somewhat like bees. Generally speaking, people in Germany form too bad a notion of the wild animals that are said to dwell here; we don't even give any thought to them.

At present the Catholics are building a church, and the government [of the Republic of Texas] has [p. 4]

1946), 286-289. The season prior to the Leyendeckers' arrival, fevers were especially noticeable: "Although malarial fevers were expected every summer, certain years brought more sickness than others. The summer and fall of 1843 were particularly difficult for the settlers along the Brazos, Guadalupe, Colorado, and Trinity Rivers, and even the Indians were reported to be seriously afflicted." Quoted from Hogan, *ibid.*, 226, who (p. 224) considers malaria "one of the chief deterrents to the development of the Texas wilderness," and "a more consistently pressing problem than Indian and Mexican depredations." Nixon states (p. 286): "There were many factors which retarded development of the Texas Republic. Not the least of these factors was disease. And of these diseases, malaria was perhaps the most important."

41 Panther is one of several vernacular names (cougar, puma, mountain lion) used for the large predatory cat, *Felis concolor*, now extinct in eastern Texas. The last verified report from Colorado County dates from 1948. See David J. Schmidly, *Texas Mammals East of the Balcones Fault Zone* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1983), 311.

42 The black bear, *Ursus americanus*, is long since extinct in Colorado County. See Schmidly, 307-308; see also Texas Game, Fish and Oyster Commission, *Principal Game Birds and Mammals of Texas* (Austin, 1945), 138-143.

43 On the basis of this mention, it is not possible to determine whether Leyendecker refers to true wolves (two species of which are now extinct in the county) or to coyotes. See Schmidly, 234-245, 306.

given the Germans 4,444 acres [4,428 acres or one league] of land for the establishment of a German school;⁴⁴ 94 German families are living here, within a range of 4 hours' travel.⁴⁵ The Catholics have a priest who conducts services every Sunday; it is 4 [English] miles from where we live.⁴⁶

44 The German school referred to here was known as Hermann's University. As early as September 1842, a petition was forwarded to the Congress of the Republic of Texas, signed by 38 German-born Texans, who "have not been able, (nor have they desired,) to forget they [*sic*] many, and perhaps unequalled advantages for the education of Youth afforded by the schools and higher seminaries and universities of their native country." Since they were "unable..., at present, to educate their children in a manner agreeable to their wishes," they asked the Congress to incorporate an institution of learning to be known as "Hermann's Collegium" – this last word then crossed out and replaced with the loftier "University" (Original in Texas State Archives). The permanently impoverished Congress responded with a charter (January 27, 1844) and a grant of a league of land. The further history of the institution, which never got off the ground as a university, is too long and complex to be related here. Its name commemorated Arminius, or Hermann (died 21 A. D.), the celebrated German hero who, by defeating the Roman legions in the Teutoburger Wald (Teutoburg Forest) in 9 A. D., effectively halted Roman expansion east of the Rhine River. At the time of emerging nationalism and popular romanticism in the first half of the 19th century – a part of the cultural legacy of these Texas Germans – the figure of Hermann became a rallying point, embodying the German spirit of resistance and independence. It continues to be reflected to this day in the names of fraternal lodges and mutual-aid societies founded by German immigrants.

45 The *Civilian* article (December 2, 1843) mentioned above (Note 25) is useful for estimating the number of German colonists in Texas at the time. "They amount," it stated, "in Austin [County] alone, to some 60 families." This figure should be compared with Johann Leyendecker's statement of 94 families within a range of four hours' travel, indicating that a careful count had been made. Assuming that the 60 families in Austin County (presumably around Industry, Cat Spring, Rödersmühl) lay within this range, the number of Germans in Colorado can be rather neatly deduced. Some colonists in Fayette County (Biegel) should possibly be considered within Leyendecker's stated range, but their names and number are either known or calculable (Biegel, Scherrer, Gross, Wertzner, and not many more at this time), so the balance must fall within Colorado County, making a reconstructed informal German census, based on existing records, a feasible proposition. On the Biegel Settlement, see F. Lotto, *Fayette County: Her History and Her People* (Schulenburg: By the Author, 1902), 376; Marjorie L. Williams, editor, *Fayette County: Past & Present* (n.p.: 1976), 321.

46 The mention above may well be the earliest reference to church-building at present Frelsburg. Even more surprising is the subsequent statement that an established priest conducted weekly services at this time. This was written by February 6, 1844, only three months after the itinerant Father Ogé, as documented by the Saddlebag Records (No-

Any time we want to go to church, we saddle a horse and ride there. Here you never see anybody on foot – everybody rides horseback. My father-in-law has 2 horses, and for 25 dollars I bought a 5-year-old mare which presented me with a foal 8 weeks ago.

We have 30 head of cattle and 78 hogs; domestic fowl beyond count; we live on a hill and the main road passes by our house.⁴⁷ We have two log cabins; my parents-in-law live in one and I in the other.⁴⁸ Ludwig also has his workshop in the log cabin. In 2½ months Ludwig has earned 300 Gulden [\$120]⁴⁹ in ready money and still always has

vember 5, 1843), officiated there. The references encountered, in *Colorado County Chronicles*, II, 654, and Frelsburg Historical Committee, *The History of Frelsburg* (n.p., 1986), 7, that Fathers Stehlé and Ogé conducted services in private homes as early as 1836, are clearly in error, since neither was even in Texas at that time.

47 The homestead is at 280 feet on a gradual elevation, lower to the south and higher still to the north. Formerly the road ran farther east, between the present FM 109 and the site of the Zimmerscheidt cabins. Entire segments of the old road are still discernable. This was kindly pointed out by Mr. V. M. "Pet" Crawford during a field trip at the site. See U. S. G. S. 7.5" topographical map, Frelsburg, Texas Quadrangle.

48 The fact that two log cabins were already present on the site by 1843, revises the conclusions arrived at in 1976 by a team of students from the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin, working under the auspices of the Winedale Institute of Historical Preservation, Professor Wayne Bell, Director (Copy of report "The Zimmerscheidt-Leyendecker House", dated July 2, 1976, on file at the Archives of the Nesbitt Memorial Library, Columbus). The Institute students considered that at the time of the Leyendeckers' arrival, only one log structure was in existence, and that the new arrivals necessitated the building of a second one. The correct assumption must be that one of the already existing log cabins became the nucleus of a far more elaborate and larger structure. The other, farther to the east, eventually was relegated from residential to barn use. It was destroyed by fire in late 1938 (See *Colorado County Citizen*, December 15, 1938). The larger structure, as it was gradually added on to and refined, became a true treasure of vernacular frontier architecture, widely acclaimed beyond the community as a unique part of a Texas frontier legacy. Its wanton destruction by fire in 1981 was a grievous loss.

49 Here and elsewhere, Leyendecker used the monetary denominations of his native Duchy of Nassau, which remained an independent political entity until 1866, when it fell to Prussia. As a matter of fact, its young Duke Adolf (1817-1905), who in 1839 had succeeded his father, Duke William (ruled 1816-1839), was the protector of the recently formed (April 20, 1842) Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas. Nassau Plantation near Round Top in Fayette County has its name from this

more work than he can do. To shoe a horse he gets 10 Gulden [\$4]. Once again I bought 80 dollars worth of iron. Houston is a city where you can get anything, as well as in any city in Germany.⁵⁰ 3 [English] miles from here, 50 head of cattle are butchered every day and boiled down to render the tallow, all of which is shipped to Europe. They pay 5 dollars per head of cattle.⁵¹

I also have bought some red wine here at 2 bits

association. Only a few months later (November 23, 1844), the *Adelsverein* would land its first colonists in Galveston.

The basic monetary unit of Nassau was the Gulden (G) or Florin (Fl), consisting of 60 Kreuzer (Kr.). Between the Gulden and the U. S. dollar, Leyendecker consistently and accurately used the exchange rate of 5:2 (5 Gulden per 2 dollars). His practice is confirmed by the contemporary reference work, Horace Doursther, *Dictionnaire universel des poids et mesures anciens et modernes*, 1976 Amsterdam reprint (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1840), 336.

50 From its very inception as a product of brash real-estate speculation (advertised August 30, 1836), Houston was a boomtown and had some 700 inhabitants in a matter of months. See Kenneth W. Wheeler, *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 48. "Steamships plied Buffalo Bayou immediately, bringing in immigrants, adventurers, and consumer goods of almost every variety and returning with cotton, timber, hides, and general agricultural exports" (*ibid.*, 66). While a limited number of crafts were also represented early on, "Houston's existence was squarely based on commerce" and benefitted enormously from Buffalo Bayou, "the best inland waterway in the Republic" (*ibid.*, 68).

The well-travelled Englishman, William Bollaert (1807-1876) was a keen observer of the Texas scene in 1842-1844. Of Houston he commented early (July 8, 1842): "This is a large place and just now containing 2,000 inhabitants." See W. Eugene Hollon and Ruth Lapham Butler, editors, *William Bollaert's Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 110. But the following year (August 8, 1843), Bollaert considered that with the removal of the government, Houston was no longer "a gay and bustling place" (*ibid.*, 179). Trade had suffered setbacks for a variety of reason: "Cash is very scarce, barter is nearly the only medium of trade" (*ibid.*, 180). Such reverses could only be temporary, though Houston would continue to lag behind the island city. "The town of Galveston," Bollaert noted, (March 10, 1844) "is rapidly improving and may number 4,000 souls" (*ibid.*, 329). Houston would continue, however, to have an air of haste and improvisation about it; the following month (April 22, 1844), Bollaert recorded that there were still "only two brick houses in Houston" (*ibid.*, 333).

51 Nothing further has been ascertained about this enterprise, which may well have been one of the earliest industries in the county and quite likely its very first foreign-export business.

[25¢]⁵² per bottle, the same as 37½ kr. [Kreuzer]; I made a major mistake by not bringing a cask of wine from Europe, since the wine available here is poor.⁵³ I might almost have forgotten to write something about hunting. Hunting is very abundant here. We have 6 head of deer near our house and we see them every day; also Welsh chickens [i. e. wild turkeys]. Partridges [i. e. prairie chickens]⁵⁴ are running around in our yard, but we don't shoot any of the game staying around our house; instead, if we want to do any shooting, we ride a mile farther and shoot a deer or some Welsh chickens. I already got 2 with one shot; you don't have to go home empty-handed or run around for 2-3 days before sighting anything, as you are used to. 2 miles from our place you can see as many as 18-20 deer together. There are also many pheasants here, wild geese, ducks, and snipes. None of my neighbors goes hunting.

The taxes you have to pay here are slight; my father-in-law pays 5½ Dls. [dollars] a year on 4,444 Morgen.⁵⁵ Craftsmen and mechanics pay nothing. Day laborers get 1 Dlr. [dollar] per day and board. Women half of this. My

52 The concept of "bit" originated with the Spanish milled dollar (piece-of-eight, piaster, etc.), of eight reales, which for centuries was used beyond Spain and Spanish America as unofficial international currency. In the United States, it was legal tender until 1857, on parity with the domestic dollar. The accustomed practice of physically dividing the piaster into eight reales, or bits, resulted in 12½ cents being used as a monetary designation. This notion was eventually extended to the U. S. dollar. The U. S. government did not issue paper money until the Civil War. With further division, half a bit (6¼ cents) was known as a picayune.

53 The Leyendeckers' occasional comments about wine clearly indicate their habituation and preference for the white, fruity German wines over others. These were almost certainly not available in Texas at the time; hence their regrets about not having brought some. It would have been desirable to know if the wine they did obtain was locally made, or perhaps shipped from New Orleans.

54 Mention of these two game birds furnishes a good illustration of the constant adaptation, even in language, which was such a large part of the green colonist's experience. The new and unfamiliar would be described by approximation or similarity. Whereas the turkey and the prairie chicken (really a grouse) are New World birds, so is the partridge of the Old World. But Leyendecker did not know how to say turkey or prairie chicken; indeed, the very word prairie did not figure in the Leyendeckers' description of it; it became meadow, grassy expanse, etc.

55 Used mostly in German-speaking countries, Morgen was a

From Coblenz to Colorado County

father-in-law has sold 600 Morgen of land to a noble family.⁵⁶ To Houston our journey costs me 106 Gulden [\$42.40] per person with board; children half this amount. Do warn all emigrants against anybody paying the poll-tax or the poor-tax in Europe, because when you arrive in America, you have to pay it all over again. When we came to [New] Orleans, we were not let off the ship until we paid it. All the contractual agreements we had concluded in Europe did not help us [4 verso] at all; here we had to pay 2 dollars or 5 Gulden per adult – for the children I did not pay anything. It would be a good idea if you would demand to have the 20 Gulden [\$8] for poll-tax which I paid at Mr. Muller's in Coblenz returned.⁵⁷

6th Feb.

Dear Aunt Rienhard,⁵⁸

However much I should have liked to write to you, it was not possible since we were in great disarray from the long journey. Our [200-mile] trip [on the Rhine River] from Coblenz to Rotterdam was quite wretched; our ship was so crowded with people, and the bad weather did not permit us to go on deck. In Rotterdam we were taken to a German inn, which, however, only had bad food, bad beds, as well as dirty, miserable rooms for us, and where my children immediately fell ill, but fortunately only for one day. Even before nightfall, [my husband, Johann] Leyendecker

regionally variable unit of land, conceptually based on the amount of land normally plowed in the course of a morning (Morgen). In the present instance, Leyendecker clearly used it as the equivalent of acre, though in his native Nassau a Morgen was only .62 acre (2500 square meters). See Doursther, *Dictionnaire universel...*, 27.

56 No identifiable noble family is found among the buyers of Zimmerscheidt land in any of the county records; nor is a sale of 600 acres recorded. See also Note 63.

57 It is not known what taxes, German or American, Leyendecker referred to here.

58 In the inventory of the Leyendecker Family Papers (BTHC), this name occurs as Rienhardt.

took me to the ship [the *Lady Arabella*] we were supposed to travel on; it rained continuously and this made everything even more disagreeable. A steep gangway, where you had to pull yourself up by a rope, led to the ship, and everything was wet and dirty; since it had no cargo, the ship was just then in the process of being loaded with sand [for ballast]. There were already several families on board the ship, just then sitting on a trunk and eating their supper. I took it all in with wide eyes, and a great fear came over me. Those people, however, were quite content and spoke to me in a comforting manner; we left again, and when I looked at the large ship once again and the sailors, carrying out their chores to loud shouting, as they customarily do, I got terribly scared. I begged my husband to take us home again, which he also did promise me. When we got to the inn, I told Ludwig about it, who then made fun of me. A woman from the Odenwald,⁵⁹ who was also going along, gave me courage again. The following day we took our things to the ship, got settled in, slept on board in our beds, and did our own cooking. At this time things were already getting somewhat better; after a few days we got used to it all; with every day the ship also got cleaner, better organized, and more comfortable. The captain [Josiah Simpson] and the sailors were very friendly people; it was a pity, though, that we were not able to speak to them – they spoke English.

Since we intended to do our own cooking on the ship, we first had to purchase the necessary equipment; that is to say about as much as you need in a scanty kitchen; so that every housewife will know, in case others want to make the voyage, let me comment a little on the main concerns: first the necessary cooking utensils, such as a coffee pot, a skillet, a pot for meat, dumplings, noodles, peas, or whatever else you intend to cook; also a grating iron since you can still have potato pancakes at sea. Zwiebacks don't keep their taste for very long; it is best if people would cut the kind

⁵⁹ The Odenwald is an extensive forested region with elevations of more than 2000 feet (625 meters), extending between the Neckar and Main Rivers, generally northeast of Heidelberg.

of bread which they are used to eating, i. e. round loaves, into slices in the usual manner when it is dry, and then let it dry rather hard for a second time in the oven; then take 30 lbs. per person, [p. 5] half that quantity for children. It is also a good idea to take one third white bread at the same time, i. e. dinner rolls or breakfast rolls; these you also cut through and bake a second time in the oven – and then place in a clean, dry container so that it will not absorb other flavors, for after suffering seasickness you have a very delicate sense of taste and smell. Those who are able to do so might take some wine as well, but this should be in jugs; also mineral water, sugar, and a jug of lemon juice, or at least lemons to be used with water. Don't think this is not essential, for at sea you can't buy anything, and you need this rather vitally for your recovery. You should be well-supplied with sugar, but as to vinegar, take more than a three-month supply. Generally speaking, your entire supply should be aimed at a three-month duration, since you cannot buy more cheaply anywhere than at home; in Rotterdam only coffee and rice is cheap. As to potatoes, take one sack, or even two, per person, for if there are any left over, they can be sold profitably in [New] Orleans, or take them with you, since they are expensive. Here they only plant American potatoes;⁶⁰ they have a sweet taste, almost like chestnuts; children and Negroes eat them raw. It is a funny sort of plant: first the batatas are planted; when these grow they produce vines which in turn are replanted and yield the crop; they produce 2 times again as much as do potatoes. There are also [Irish] potatoes here, but as yet not many; people don't raise more than they need. Those planted this season are already quite large. Leyendecker told me that he already saw some in mounds two weeks ago. They are planted twice here. You should also take wheat flour, carefully packed eggs, tea, preserved [text corrupted], ham, salt, and quite a lot of dried fruit, since that is very expensive; also apples and

⁶⁰ By "American potatoes" she clearly meant what her husband earlier called "sugar potatoes," i.e. sweet potatoes. See Note 38.

pears, which will keep well, for nothing tastes better than fruit. For this purpose you should take a trunk which can be securely locked; on our ship nothing was stolen – everything was well looked after.

We left Halfortschliess [Hellevoetsluis] on a beautiful morning; the young people were very cheerful and our ship so fleet that it overtook all those which had departed the day before, and it was quite steady; we were cooking our noon meal as usual, when all of a sudden the wind rose, and by the time we wanted to eat, many already had the seasickness; we still enjoyed our food, only Ludwig could not finish. Just then everything got into a state of great confusion; [shouts were heard such as] Oh, if only I were at home ... This is unbearable ... etc. So it went for two weeks; if we had had an opportunity to run away, not a single person would have remained on the ship, but we had to. I cursed the idea of going to America. After those 2 weeks, everything got better; you could do everything on board – it was so warm and lovely; the beautiful flying fishes on the clear bright ocean looked so fine. The sea air is so pure that you cannot get sick; the seasickness only emerges from your stomach when the wind blows hard. Otherwise everything is fine. [5 verso] [continuity broken] for young people it is quite agreeable, but for me it was a difficult voyage with the children. [Our two year old daughter] Little Josephine stayed with the captain, walking back and forth in the cabin like the captain. Sometimes the ship would be leaning at the same angle as a roof, on our side at the water level and on the other way up in the air – often for days and nights on end. Dear Aunt, we found my parents in good health and cheerful; my father is still as cheerful as he used to be; he still plays the flute and enjoys the children, the open country, and the livestock. It is quite beautiful here and it is such a lovely sight when the Welsh chickens come out from the woods and run around our house only a short distance away; the beautiful hummingbirds also make their home here – and such beautiful flowers. Many of them you see in gardens, but there are still many varieties, even more beautiful, which up

to now I never saw before at all. There are plenty of laurels⁶¹ in the woods and so are they filled with grapevines in many places; our grapestocks have grown, though not all of them – the smooth woody sections do best. We arrived here without bringing my parents a single drop of wine, which I was very sorry about. However, nothing could be done about that anymore. Wine may also be obtained here, but no Rhine wine. Thank God, my children are quite healthy and cheerful. Today our little Baptist came running to his grandfather for the first time. Leyendecker and my father will still be coming to visit you again sometime. We [i. e. the Republic of Texas] will now join the United States; our land will then double in value. My father has always had the opportunity to sell a good deal of land, but the price is still too low to suit him;⁶² he sold [600 acres] for 1,200 dollars to a noble family

61 It is not clear what was meant by "laurels." The aromatic laurel, traditional symbol of achievement, is the Mediterranean bay, *Laurus nobilis*. Quite likely, Josephine had in mind an altogether different plant with dark and glossy leaves of shape similar to those of laurels. The only native member of the laurel family possibly occurring in her general vicinity would almost have to be sassafras.

62 This is a puzzling statement, indicating that the daughter either did not know or chose not to reveal that her father, beginning five years earlier (1839), had already sold a great deal of the land to which he still did not hold title. Within a month of the Leyendeckers' arrival, publicly recorded dispositions amounted to about a third of Zimmerscheidt's league and would cause great distress for the family. It is not clear under what circumstances Zimmerscheidt eventually sold, on March 15, 1847, what was then estimated to be left of his land (2456, or about 55%, of the original 4428 acres) at a dollar an acre to his son-in-law (Deed Book F, p. 65, Office of the County Clerk, Colorado County). However, on March 17, only two days later, Johann Leyendecker promptly sold it, at the exact same price, to his mother-in-law (Deed Book F, p. 68), who next (April 10, 1847) filed a schedule of separate property (Bond and Mortgage Record Book C, p. 204, Office of the County Clerk). After these maneuvers, Zimmerscheidt was no longer legally able to dispose of "his" property. But the deep roots of domestic and personal disintegration did not become publicly apparent until Margaret Zimmerscheidt filed for divorce on May 24, 1848. Her petition (Cause No. 538 and Minutes, Volume C, p. 782, Office of the District Clerk, Colorado County) is a grim catalogue of abuse and violence, resulting in "permanently disabling her" and being driven from her home. This had been going on, she repeatedly claimed, "for a long time." Of her husband Mrs. Zimmerscheidt further claimed that he "has been and still is wasting away in intoxication & disipation all the property that he can so dispose of..." and "has spent about \$3000 in his disipation in the last three or four years." The time frame indicated in the petition would seem

arriving a week later than us and living half an hour from us; they are quite cultured and refined people.⁶³ Generally speaking, we have very respectable families in our vicinity. No riff-raff can get here, because travel is so expensive; from [New] Orleans to here costs more than from New York to [New] Orleans, and people are rather stylish here. Compared to the other women here, I am shabbily dressed. Give my regards to Sophie Seil⁶⁴ and tell her if she had come with us here, she would have had to marry a rich colonist. There are plenty of them here, you see, with 300-500 acre[s] of land, livestock, and all furnishings, but no wife; they go to Europe to fetch wives; they are quite well-conducted men.

If only you could see the beautiful cattle, how tame they are and come home to be milked without being tied up; even the young breeding bulls are peaceful as lambs. On the Misisippi [Mississippi River] we saw large herds of dappled sheep, not a single white one among them

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to suggest that these pathetic developments were already in progress at the time of the Leyendeckers' arrival. Two questions then arise: Whether the Leyendeckers, in the two letters presented here, were not viewing the Zimmerscheidt domestic scene through rose-colored glasses; also whether their motivation for going to Texas might have been a mixture of hoping to remedy an eroding situation and wanting to protect Josephine's legacy. For the present purposes it would be gratuitous to speculate why, seemingly without having taken further legal action, Margaret Zimmerscheidt two years later (April 6, 1850) requested that her divorce petition be dismissed.

63 As indicated in Note 56, there is no evidence in the public records of Zimmerscheidt making a 600-acre sale, whether by bond or deed, to anybody, nor of him selling any quantity of land to a noble family.

64 In the inventory of the Leyendecker Family Papers (BTHC), this name occurs as Seyl.

Appendix

The study of names, whether geographical or personal, may lead to unexpected rewards. In the case of the former, distinct landforms (hills, bluffs, streams, river bends, etc.), prominent flora and fauna (trees, birds, etc.), or names of early settlers and their practices may be commemorated, or perhaps affixed to urban indicators, suffixes such as -burg, -ville, or -to(w)n. The variations and customs of name-giving are numerous, but not beyond calculation and classification.

Early ethnic or historical transitions may continue to be reflected in, say, Indian or Spanish names. Non-Hispanic colonization of a later time shows in names of various language origins, be they English, Czech, Swedish, German, etc. So names on a county map are truly like highly visible windows to the past, which a practiced eye can survey and utilize in determining successive historical layers. A fuller picture is obviously available when older maps also are drawn upon, since names may change, their forms be modified, or phonetically distorted. Comparisons with maps of neighboring areas will quickly demonstrate that in its patterns of evolution of geographical names, each county has a physiognomy of its own.

Materials for name study also are found in public and private papers, such as land records, family correspondence, court minutes, postal records, etc., all of which ideally should be subjected to systematic chronological scrutiny, a process which, in point of practical fact, will regularly be frustrated, since it presupposes access to records likely beyond all availability, if they are even extant.

In the small and local instance touched upon here, no completeness of record will, of course, be claimed. It merely presents an informal sketch based on limited, but readily available public documents and printed sources. Nor should the possibility of oversight or default be ruled out, even within these few sources used.

Central for the development of the earliest

German community in present Colorado County is the location of two adjoining leagues in the northern part of the jurisdiction, east of Cummins Creek, allocated to individuals of immediate German origin. Friedrich Zimmerscheidt (1875-1856) took occupancy of his league in the summer of 1834, though it would take years of reapplication and litigation before he obtained clear and secure title (1846). To the north, the Zimmerscheidt league was partly contiguous with the league assigned to Peter Pieper (1793-1855), the western boundary of which was on Cummins Creek. Though there would be no politically unified Germany for almost another forty years (1871), Zimmerscheidt from Rheinhessen (Rhenish Hesse) and Pieper from Westfalen (Westphalia) were still countrymen in a cultural and linguistic sense; besides, both had been born into the Roman Catholic faith. However, Peter Pieper, originally a mason from Münster, did secure title to his league, on February 11, 1836, from the state of Coahuila and Texas.⁶⁵

With the arrival of still more Germans, at least by early 1835, under planned or improvised circumstances which still are not clear, the embryo of a community was viable and thriving. Many details of this development will become clear only after a careful chronological examination of arrivals, passenger lists, land records, bond transactions for lease or rent, etc., all of which still remains to be done.

There may well be evidence in private papers that the name Krähwinkel (German for crows' nook or corner) was used early by such Germans as found a new home here and developed a sense of community cohesion with shared or similar backgrounds, which mutually familiar habits and practices certainly would promote. So would their cultural insularity and struggle with at least one new language. But Krähwinkel has not been encountered in contemporary references or documents and likely may have been restricted to informal bantering use among the German settlers themselves. For reasons which will presently be

⁶⁵ Spanish Archives, General Land Office, Austin, volume 11, p. 521.

made clear, Krähwinkel would have been a nickname, never intended for serious use.⁶⁶

To Germans of today, as well as those of the time in question, Krähwinkel is an expression, a ready-made concept, not really a name. Since the appearance in print, in 1803 (first performed in 1802) of the enormously popular play, *Die deutschen Kleinstädter* [German small-town life] by August von Kotzebue (1761-1819), set in the imaginary small town of Krähwinkel, this conceptual usage of Krähwinkel has become unshakably established in the German language; it certainly was by 1835. Kotzebue's play is an amusing and entertaining persiflage of the gossipy, querulous aspects of narrow provincial life, with its insistence on status and pecking order. But so can the epithet be used merely in a tone of gentle self-mockery, as may partial equivalents in American English, such as boondocks, jerkwater, or hick town. To the extent the earliest German settlers in present Colorado County referred to their community by this name, they are virtually certain to have used Krähwinkel in the spirit of what is now called an inside joke. Germans use Krähwinkel the way Americans do Podunk.⁶⁷

It is far more likely that the first name-giving with serious intent involved the name of Westmünster, which, in contrast to Krähwinkel, also may be found in official records. As previously mentioned, Pieper was a native of Münster, capital of Westphalia, since 1816 a Prussian province. As German emigration records indicate, so were at least several of his first fellow settlers in Texas from Westphalia: Johann Bernhard Heimann, Johann Bernhard Kleikamp, Ferdinand Witte, and Bernhard Henrich Honermann, who seemingly went by the name of Schnieder. But in the present context, the name of Bernhard Henrich Silkenbäumer is of immediate

⁶⁶ The notion of Krähwinkel as an authentic name may be found, invariably in aberrant spelling, in *The History of Frelsburg*, 1.

⁶⁷ See Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 160, 514, 515; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, volume 5 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1873), col. 1975.

interest.⁶⁸ In Texas he became Bernard Baeumer (also Beimer and other variants), under which name he sold 35 acres of land to the newly arrived German Protestant minister, C. F. Louis Cachand Ervendberg (1809-1863), late of Houston. Baeumer signed the bond transaction "this 3rd day of December 1840 AD, at my residence in West Munster..." This tract, in turn, was part of a larger purchase within the Pieper league, which Baeumer had made directly from Peter Pieper, so the location of Westmünster is really quite specific. It would be perfectly natural for a group of settlers in the New World with a shared background to name their new settlement for something familiar in the old country. This practice was widely followed in the Americas, frequently with a prefix such as "New", but also "East", "West", etc. There being already a German city by the name of Neumünster (in present Schleswig-Holstein), the German denizens of Colorado County may even have wanted to avoid name duplication.

With the advent of the Reverend Ervendberg, a new community or congregational name, Blumenthal, emerges, presumably, though Ervendberg pastored several congregations simultaneously, associated with the location of his domicile, which can be pinpointed quite exactly on the basis of the outline sketch map shown in the original 1840 bond transaction. But though Blumenthal (German for valley of flowers) does occur as a German place name in at least five locations, no connection has been shown between any of these and the new instance here. It may simply have been selected as a pretty name for a pretty place. In 1843 Ervendberg was also elected justice of the peace in Precinct 3 and performed at least one secular wedding in addition to several ecclesiastical ones during his Colorado County tenure; but in none of the certificates located and examined does the name of Blumenthal occur. In his capacity as

68 See Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert – Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Münster, I. Teil, 1803-1850)" in *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung*, Band 22-24 (Munster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1966), 65, 66, 275, 298.

minister, Ervendberg commonly signs himself as "minister of the German protestant church in Texas," without mention of any congregational affiliation. The most authoritative biographical work on Ervendberg so far has been that of the late Samuel W. Geiser (1890-1980), who unequivocally refers to "Blumenthal, or Cummins Creek, as it came to be called..."⁶⁹ Rudolph Bieseke (1886-1960), in his substantial documentation of early Texas-German settlements, cites only one printed source for the name of Blumenthal, found in an immigrants' guide from 1846.⁷⁰ So, within separate spheres of reference, the names of Westmünster and Blumenthal may well have coexisted for several years, and it does seem plausible to assume that religious affiliation may have had a bearing on the local naming practices. By the time a regular Catholic mission was established at present Frelsburg in 1847, both names may, in fact, have been largely superseded by the name of Cummins Creek. The earliest ledgers of both the Liber Mortuorum and the Liber bapisatorum have "Settlement Comings-Creek" inscribed on the first pages. However, for the present purposes, the third ledger of the Catholic parish of present Frelsburg, that of marriages, also initiated in 1847, is even more instructive. It is specifically entitled "marriage records of the St. Peter parish Cummins Creek" (Liber Matrimoniorum pro Parrocchia S^{ti} Petri Comingscreek).⁷¹

After the highly Americanized province of Texas successfully seceded (1835-1836) from the United States of Mexico with a late formal declaration of independence on March 2 of the latter year, Roman Catholics in the infant republic remained in the awkward position of still being

69 Geiser, *Naturalists of the Frontier*, 103.

70 *Texas: Ein Handbuch fuer deutsche Auswanderer* [A handbook for German emigrants] (Bremen, 1846), 45. Here from Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930), 52, 230.

71 Father Werner A. Bockholt of Sts. Peter & Paul Parish kindly permitted a quick perusal of the records. The subsequent ledgers are entitled Liber Mortuorum in Missione Frelsburg Texas and Liber bapisatorum in Missione Frelsburg, whereas the first ones, on pages 1 and 2, respectively, clearly and identically state "Settlement Comings-Creek."

under the clerical authority of the diocese of Monterrey in the former mother country. This was eventually remedied on April 12, 1840, with the appointment of the first Prefect Apostolic of Texas, the Pennsylvania-born Reverend John Timon (1797-1867). Timon, in turn, quickly appointed his French-born friend, Father Jean-Marie (John M.) Odin (1800-1870) as Vice-Prefect. According to one source, on their way to Houston, after a successful stay in Austin to secure restitution of church property from the Republic of Texas, the two dignitaries stopped and preached at "Cummins Creek" about January 4, 1841, assuredly one of the first events of its kind in the vicinity.⁷² With the arrival of circuit-riding priests, more Catholic attention could be given to isolated settlements. The first priest to have done so may well have been the Reverend Nicolas Stehlé, with whom however, frontier life was not compatible, and he returned to New Orleans as early as July 1841. By the fall of 1843, the first written records become available, the so-called Saddlebag Records of St. Vincent de Paul Church, after German-speaking priests, headquartered in Houston, initiated their rounds to the still churchless communities in the interior. Thus we find Father J. P. Ogé, a Frenchman, in "Westmunster Colloretto County" on November 5, 1843, performing a number of sacred duties.⁷³ The names of the individuals involved can clearly be identified with the German community near present Frelsburg, including Peter Pieper, who is specifically referred to as "citizen in Westmunster."

Thus, by early 1841, two or even three names appear to be in some circulation, but how widespread cannot

⁷² See Jesse Guy Smith, *Heroes of the Saddle Bags: A History of Christian Denominations in The Republic of Texas* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1951), 146, 155. The dates given in this work are at variance with those of Carlos E. Casteñeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas 1519-1936*, volume VII, *The Church in Texas Since Independence 1836-1950*, reprint of 1936-1950 edition (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 61-62. However, since Odin's diary of January 1 - February 8, 1841 reportedly is preserved in the Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, it should be possible to make a correct determination.

⁷³ See Note 9.

be ascertained.⁷⁴ However, a swift survey of contemporary county records will show that all three must have been very local and restricted, less than county-wide.

Though Colorado County was created in 1836 as one of the twenty-three original Texas counties, a date of county organization does not appear to have been transmitted. The earliest date of the incomplete minutes of the county court may reasonably be interpolated as dated April 10, 1837.⁷⁵ Since the commissioners were dealing with practical matters, such as road construction and maintenance, court jurisdictions and boundaries, and election precincts, they may likely be depended on for the most widely used landmarks and generally recognizable directions. Nowhere in the minutes are Blumenthal, Neumünster, or Krähwinkel to be found. Instead, in connection with road work, there is mention (first noted in entry under April 12, 1842) of "the German neighborhood." Two years later (July 8, 1844), the court decrees that "the school house in the German settlement in Said County, in beat no. 3, be and is hereby Established as a precinct for Elections." The following year (July 7, 1845), the Minutes mention "the dutch settlement." But though "German settlement" continues to be in usage (July 7, 1845, January 11, 1847), often the local stores are used for road reference and unmistakably for the same precinct (No. 3). Thus, under date of January 10,

74 Further observations seem to substantiate the notions suggested in this survey. In the church records just mentioned (Note 71), the title sheet of the oldest ledger of marriage records (*Liber Matrimoniorum*) confirms that Nicolas Stehlé, J. P. Ogé, and J. A. Jacobs were the earliest priests ("Stehlé, Ogé, Jacobs missionarii primi hujus parocchie fuerunt"). Moreover, in the first marriage entry (April 5, 1847), the last-mentioned refers to himself, Joannes Adamus Jacobs, not as pastor of Neumünster, Blumenthal, or Frelsburg, but 'of this place named Cummings Creek' ("ego missionarius presbiter hujus loci Coming-Creek").

75 The earliest minutes of the Court are listed here in parenthetical Roman sequence, though the originals are not so numbered: (I) Minutes of the County Court 1840, A ([April 10, 1837] - April 7, 1845); (II) Minutes of the County Court of Colorado County, April 9th, 1848 (July 7, 1845 - July 19, 1849); (III) Minutes of the County Court, Book no. 2 (April 30, 1849 - July 15, 1862); (IV) Police Court Minutes 1862-1876 (October 25, 1862 - February 3, 1876). In the text, references are given by date rather than by volume and page.

1848, the Minutes set "a precinct of election held at Frels' Store and that Wm Frels be appointed presiding officer at said precinct." But not until two and a half years later (August 18, 1851) is there mention of a "petition of divers persons living in the Cummins Creek Settlement that Road be laid out from some point on the Brenham road near Wm Frels' ..." But a store other than Frels' also begins to find mention. The following year (May 17, 1852), directions are appointed for "Election Precinct No 3 held at Frels' or Jordts Store." However, the next day (May 18, 1852), there is suddenly reference to "the Road leading from Frelsburg to Sanfilipe." This would appear to be the first instance of the name of Frelsburg occurring in the Colorado County court records. In this same volume (volume III), Frelsburg occurs fully a dozen times. Nevertheless, the already established references do not suddenly fall out of usage. Mention is still found of "C. F. S. Jordts Store" (February 21, 1853), or, even years later, of "the Brenham road from Jordts store to the county line" (February 20, 1860), and, under the same date, to "the road from the old Fischer place to Jordts Store." That the name of Frelsburg does not yet prevail by the end of the Civil War (1861-1865), is clear from a reference (January 2, 1865) to election precinct "No 3 at Jordt Store Frels Burge." Usage still remained unsettled, as may be seen from the last three instances cited here, two from January 15, 1866, of "the Brenham road from Brushy Branch to Jordts Store," to "the Frelsburg and San Felipe Road from Frelsburg to Little Bernard," but also (May 15, 1866) to Precinct No 3 and W. Frels.

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