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Re-Naming Texas: Competing Mexican and Anglo Placenaming in Texas, 1821–1836

Gene Rhea Tucker
University of Texas at Arlington, USA

When Mexico gained its independence from the Spanish Empire in 1821, numerous placenames across the country changed to become uniquely "Mexican." This "national project" of Mexicanization attempted to foster a nation-wide sense of *mexicanidad*, highlighting the country's Amerindian past and commemorating its patriotic heroes. Communities and provinces of the former New Spain chose new toponyms to emphasize their newfound Mexican identity. This process extended to the northern province of Texas, as officials and settlers tried to utilize typically Mexican placenames in an attempt to Mexicanize the province. The toponyms used by settlers in Texas, however, reflected the stresses between its Mexican and Anglo inhabitants. Though some settlers tried to prove their loyalty to Mexico, most immigrants from the United States, with little respect for their new homeland, clung tenaciously to their culture and refused to assimilate. This included their use of the English language and typically American placenames. Mexico lost the power to name Texas, and it eventually lost power in Texas.

KEYWORDS Mexico, Texas, toponyms, Mexicanization, nationalism

Toponyms, like any other cultural artifact, can illustrate the history of a place and the people who lived there. Nation-states have utilized placenames to project their power over the landscape and the population under their control. They can use the power of names to create a sense of nationalism, honoring heroes and history. One popular example is the Russian city of St Petersburg, which, for political reasons, went from St Petersburg to Petrograd to Leningrad and back to St Petersburg over eight decades in the twentieth century. Regions claimed by two peoples often carry competing placenames. Areas in conflict today, like Cyprus, Kashmir, and the Holy Land, often bear two sets of names, as towns, topographical features, and even the regions themselves are named and re-named to further the political aims of one group

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or another. Geographer Mark Monmonier has stated that: "Feuding neighbors, especially close neighbors with a history of animosity aggravated by differences in language and religion, fight over toponyms as well as borders" (2006: 106). Similarly, the placenames of Texas demonstrate more than just the diverse heritage of its inhabitants, but the complex political history of the state as well. The names given to Texas settlements by Mexican settlers, soldiers, and government officials between 1821 and 1836 highlight the efforts of the young Mexican state to first differentiate itself from Spain, its recent colonial master, and then try to counter the pervasive influx of Anglo-Americans spilling over its borders. The re-naming of Texas was part of a deliberate, but seldom studied, endeavor to "Mexicanize" Texas, an undertaking that failed as colonists with no ties or allegiance to Mexico placed their names on the map.

The Mexicanization of toponyms throughout the new nation of Mexico was associated with what historian Timothy E. Anna called a "national project" to promote *mexicanidad*, a Mexican identity, and foster nationalistic sentiment (1998: ix, 10). There was a spate of renaming in the newly independent areas of Spanish North America. Even the name *Mexico* for the new country had an interesting history. When Juan O'Donojú, the last Spanish ruler of New Spain, and Agustín de Iturbide, president of the Imperial Regency, signed the "Acta de independencia" on September 28 1821, the idea of a "nation" called Mexico was relatively new. In general, before 1821, the Spanish-speaking world referred to the inhabitants of the Viceroyalty of New Spain as *americanos*, calling only the residents of Mexico City and its environs *mexicanos* (Rodríguez O., 1994: 100 n. 8). During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the *criollos* (whites of Spanish extraction born in the New World) of Mexico City and the larger population centers in the cultural orbit of the capital began to define themselves, in opposition to the *peninsulares* (white Spaniards born in Spain), as a product of both American and European culture. When Pope Benedict XIV declared the Virgin of Guadalupe the patroness of New Spain in 1754, *criollo* devotion to the particularly American "goddess of patriotic religion" surpassed that of Jesus (Florescano, 1994: 188). By this time, too, the symbol of the eagle and prickly pear appeared on many semi-official documents, supplanting the arms that Emperor Carlos V had granted to the city. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, the *criollos* of Central Mexico viewed themselves as heirs to the Aztec Empire, adopting and celebrating the Indian history of New Spain as their own. This typically *criollo* "neo-Aztecism" and devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe reached full flower during the Mexican War of Independence, and began to filter down to the more well-to-do *mestizos* (those of mixed Spanish and Amerindian ancestry). Miguel Hidalgo pronounced his 1810 *Grito de Dolores*, his call to revolution, in the name of the Virgin of Guadalupe; José María Morelos placed both the Virgin and Aztec eagle on insurgent flags; and Miguel Fernández y Félix changed his name to Guadalupe Victoria. The Congress of Chilpancingo, called by Morelos in 1813, declared independence and referred to the country as *Anáhuac*, the ancient Nahuatl name for the Valley of Mexico (Florescano, 2006: 232–233, 240; Anna, 1998: 7, 39).

When Mexico declared its official independence in September 1821, it was under the name Imperio Mexicano. But between that date and the promulgation of the first republican constitution in 1824, officials suggested several names before settling on

Estados Unidos Mexicanos, including: América Septentrional, America Mexicana, Nación Mexicana, México, República de México, Anáhuac, and República de los Estados Unidos de Anáhuac (Guzmán Betancourt, 1998: 57). Most of these incorporate the Nahuatl-Aztec words *México* or *Anáhuac*. The *criollo* and *mestizo* patriots in the outlying areas began a flurry of renaming, often choosing to replace the Spanish names of their provinces with indigenous ones. As historian John R. Chávez has noted: "Independence from Spain had fostered pride in Mexico's native background, and the symbols of that background were constantly used in attempts to unite the country and give the people a sense of nationality" (1984: 30). Most of the province of Neuva Vizcaya became *Chihuahua*, a name of either Tarahumara or Nahuatl origin meaning "a place dry or sandy." Legislators changed the name of the province of Nueva Extremadura to *Coahuila*, a Nahuatl word probably meaning the place of the "flying serpent." A major portion of Nueva Galicia took the name *Jalisco*, a Nahuatl word meaning "sandy plain." Nuevo Santander became *Tamaulipas*, a Huastec name meaning the "place of the Holipa" or "place where people pray often" (Anna, 1998: 39; Gavira, 1953: 17, 21, 40; Saldívar, 1945: 23; Meade, 1977: 29).

Besides adopting Indian placenames, the new state governments also replaced the names of several Spanish settlements with what toponymist George R. Stewart called "commemorative names" (1975: 118–126), honoring heroes of the War of Independence. Numerous examples of this re-naming exist. In Mexico today there are one state, two cities, and twelve villas named for Hidalgo, many of them renamed or founded in the two decades after independence. In 1825 the state of Chihuahua relabeled Valle de San Bartolomé to Valle de Allende, to venerate rebel leader Ignacio José de Allende. The legislature of Coahuila y Texas, the state that combined Coahuila with the province of Texas, paid tribute to one of the heroines of independence by changing the name of Saltillo to Leona Vicario in 1827 (before changing it back a few years later). In 1828 the state legislature of Michoacán honored Morelos by changing the name of Valladolid, named for the old capital of Spain, to Morelia. In the 1820s the government of Tamaulipas renamed several cities, exchanging their Spanish toponyms for patriotic ones honoring such figures as Guadalupe Victoria and Julián de Villagrán (García y Cubas, 1861: 40, 55).

This process of name-changing occurred in Texas as well, beginning with the name of the province itself. The official, but arcane, name of the province in Spanish officialdom was *Nuevas Filipinas*, "New Philippines." This moniker, used primarily on government documents and maps, was never as popular as *Tejas* or *Texas*, from an old Caddoan word meaning "friends" or "allies." Officials simply ignored the name on independence (De la Teja, 1996; Anon., 1773). Thus the old Spanish provinces of Nueva Extremadura and Nuevas Filipinas combined to form the state of *Coahuila y Texas* in 1824 (Alessio Robles, 1945: 168). When Mexico achieved its independence, the only settlements of any consequence in the province of Texas were San Antonio de Bexar, La Bahia, and Nacogdoches, the last of which settlers were only slowly returning to after a decade of filibustering and revolution (Barker, 1949: 33; Cantrell, 1999: 92). The names of these communities all descended from the names given to the missions and presidios by the Spanish. Like other regions of Mexico, the names of settlements in Texas began to reflect a Mexican character soon after independence.

Mexican soldiers established a small fort at the western side of the mouth of the Brazos and named it Quintana, honoring Andrés Quintana, a general and government official. Quintana became one of the major ports of entry for Stephen F. Austin's Colony in the mid-1820s (Jones, 1996; Kennedy, 1841: 35, 325).

The propensity for changing the names of towns in order to honor Mexican national heroes that swept most states of the republic reached Texas as well. In early 1829 Rafael Antonio Monchola, a resident of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, the little settlement that grew up around the old mission and presidio of the same name on the San Antonio River, requested that the state legislature of Coahuila y Texas give the place a new name and raise it from a *barrio* to a *villa*. He suggested the name *Goliad*, a pun on *Goliat* (the Spanish form of Goliath) and an anagram for Father Hidalgo (the name was sometimes spelled *Golhiad* or *Goliadh* to incorporate the silent "H") (Pruett and Cole, 1983: 8; Huson, 1974: 44; Sánchez Lamego, 1968: 9; Bancroft, 1889: 2: 110, 110 n. 24; Almonte, 2003: 236; Pereyra, 1904: 105). Monchola noted that there was no nationalistic attachment to the old Spanish name:

> In view of the great confusion and misunderstanding that have arisen [...] because of the meaningless name of the Presidio of La Bahia del Espiritu Santo which is not at all appropriate, I beg that this august Congress declare the place a town with the name Goliad, which is an anagram made from the surname (Hidalgo), of the heroic giant of our revolution. (O'Connor, 1966: 96)

On February 4 1829, the state government decreed that the presidio La Bahía del Espíritu Santo was now the Villa of Goliad (Viesca, 1829). The patriotic Mexican citizens of Texas, like their compatriots in other states, were using the power of names to Mexicanize some of the relics of Spanish rule.

In April 8 1824, Martín De León, a soldier and cattle rancher, petitioned authorities in Bexar for permission to found a colony on the Guadalupe River under terms similar to those just granted to Anglo empresario Stephen F. Austin. De León offered to bring colonists at his own expense from Tamaulipas and found a town named *Villa de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Jesús*. The government consented to his requests on April 13, making several changes to his scheme. The officials changed the name of his planned villa, adding the name *Victoria* to create *Villa de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Jesús Victoria*. They probably meant to curry favor with Guadalupe Victoria, then a member of the ruling triumvirate that had overthrown Iturbide. To strengthen this connection, when De León founded the town in October 1824, the month Guadalupe Victoria was installed as Mexico's first republican president, he referred to the site simply as *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Victoria* (Holley, 1836: 122; Crimm, 2003: 77–78, 82, 261 n. 36; Hammett, 1973: 15; Roell, 1996a). The villa appears as *Guadalupe Victoria* in many documents. Naturalist Jean Louis Berlandier referred to it as *Guadalupe Victoria* during his expedition through Texas in the late 1820s (Berlandier, 1980: 1:382). Though General Manuel de Mier y Terán called the settlement *Guadalupe*, most in the region called the city *Victoria* (Mier y Terán, 2000: 147). It appears as *Victoria* on most maps of the period as well (see Austin, 1829).

Other denizens of Mexican Texas took steps to prove their *mexicanidad* when naming settlements. When Stephen F. Austin finally secured his empresario contract in 1823, it allowed him to bring in settlers from the United States, provided they learn

Spanish, convert to Catholicism, and pledge allegiance to their new homeland. Austin founded a town on the west bank of the Brazos River at the crossing of the old Atascosito Road in July 1824 to serve as the unofficial capital of his colony. The governor of Coahuila y Texas, Luciano García, with possible help from General Felipe de la Garza, proclaimed that the town should carry the name *San Felipe de Austin*. This name honored Garza's patron saint and Austin (Gammel, 1898: 1:1:34; Cantrell, 1999: 147–149, 418 n. 35; Hoff, 1938: 6; Barker, 1965: 116). Austin recognized the need to placate officials in the new nation of his allegiance. Besides adopting Spanish-language nomenclature, Hispanicizing his first name to Estevan, and learning the official language of Mexico, Austin honored important Mexican dignitaries by naming streets after them. Streets in San Felipe de Austin carried names venerating national figures like Guadalupe Victoria, Vicente Guerrero, Nicolás Bravo, Lucas Alamán, and Mier de Terán. Other streets were named after *coahuilatexano* politicians (Cantrell, 1999: 143, 149, 418 n. 37). Austin's respect for Spanish-language toponyms may have been learned at his father's knee. Moses Austin changed the name of his mining settlement in present-day Missouri, then part of Spanish Louisiana, from Mine à Breton to *Potosí*, in honor of the famed silver mine in Bolivia and the namesake of mine-rich San Luis Potosí in Mexico (Barker, 1949: 9, 15; Gracy, 1987: 131). Austin even assiduously Hispanicized English toponyms in his 1829 manuscript map of Texas that he had copied and submitted to various Mexican officials. For instance, he used *Harrisburgo* for Harrisburg and created the odd *Punta Pacina* for Point Pecan (he had used *Punta Apecon* in 1822), an illegal settlement of Anglo traders on the Red River (Robert S. Martin, 1982: 391–395; Austin, 1822; 1829).

The influx of Anglos, legally and illegally, into Texas in the 1820s caused much concern among several Mexican officials. Unlike Austin, who loudly proclaimed his loyalty to Mexico, and attempted to adopt facets of Mexican culture, many of these newer settlers cared more for the United States than their new homeland (Cantrell, 1999: 249; Barker, 1949: 364; Bugbee, 1900: 106–108). This led to what several historians have called a "clash of cultures," an "ethnic clash between two very different peoples and ways of life as they met in Texas" (Fehrenbach, 2000: 152–153). Whatever the validity of "cultural conflict" as a historical model (Lowrie, 1932; Anderson, 2005), many Anglo settlers brought their culture with them, including their notions of town-building and placenaming (Murley, 1966: 10). The Mexicans inherited, from their Spanish forebears, a complicated notion of settlement. Only the government, through duly appointed and empowered officials, could found and name towns, following established patterns (Gammel, 1898: 1:1:45; Tijerina, 1994: 25–45). For a settler in the United States, founding and naming a town was a comparatively easy task: survey a parcel of land, sell lots, and name the town (Stewart, 2008: 188–205).

Anglo settlers founded and christened several settlements without the imprimatur of Mexican or *coahuilatexano* officials. Near Pecan Point on the Red River stood the village of Jonesborough, named for local hunter and trader Henry Jones. Jones had lived there since 1815 and there were several Anglo-American families living there by 1825 (Bugbee, 1900: 106; Strickland, 1996). John Austin, a distant relation to Stephen F. Austin, laid out a town on his own land along the Brazos, naming it Brazoria "for the single reason that I know of none like it in the world" (Hallstein, 1996). At least

Brazoria could be conceivably be mistaken for a Spanish word, but there was no mistaking the provenance of Harrisburg. In 1826 entrepreneur John Richardson Harris named the town that had sprung up on his league of land along Buffalo Bayou, to honor himself and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, founded by his great-grandfather (Muir, 1952: 39; 1996). Also in 1826, John Hughes Bell founded a settlement on his own land near the Brazos, calling it Columbia (Weir and Kleiner, 1996). Columbia, especially spelled with an English "u" instead of a Spanish "o," did not directly reference Christopher Columbus or the South American Republic of Colombia, but, instead, the female personification of the United States (Fischer, 2005: 233–242; Stewart, 2008: 169–174). As Americans poured into Texas, they brought many English names to the countryside, often supplanting Indian, Spanish, or Mexican toponyms. Many Mexicans believed that Texas would soon be lost to the United States.

Manuel de Mier y Terán, commandant general of the Eastern Interior Provinces (which included Texas), recognized the threat of unchecked Anglo settlement in Texas. In 1829 Terán sent several proposals to his superiors suggesting ways to counter the influx of immigrants. In one letter (Mier y Terán, 2000: 178) he noted that:

> The department of Texas is contiguous to the most avid nation in the world. The North Americans have conquered whatever territory adjoins them. [. . .] There is no power like that to the north, which by silent means has made conquests of momentous importance. Such dexterity, such constancy in their designs, such uniformity of means of execution which always are completely successful, arouses admiration. Instead of armies, battles, or invasions — which make a great noise and for the most part are unsuccessful — these men lay hand on means that, if considered one by one, would be rejected as slow, ineffective, and at times palpably absurd. They begin by assuming rights, as in Texas [. . .] In the meantime, the territory against which these machinations are directed, and which has usually remained unsettled, begins to be visited by adventurers and empresarios [. . .] They incite uprisings in the territory in question and usually manifest a deep concern for the rights of the inhabitants. [. . .]

Among his various recommendations, Terán suggested the encouragement of colonization by Mexicans, and, if necessary, Catholic Europeans. He also proposed that the government place a series of forts at strategic locations in Texas, surrounding Austin's Colony of Anglos and guarding the main roads from US-held Louisiana (Howren, 1913: 400–403; Morton, 1944: 197–199). The law that codified Terán's proposals, the Federal Law of April 6 1830, went one step further and banned immigration from the United States. Mexican officials then tasked Terán with the military occupation of Texas and the importation of Mexican colonists (Howren, 1913: 415–422; Barker, 1965: 56–59).

Terán's primary goal was to "Mexicanize" Texas, and he started working on the project soon after the promulgation of the April 6 law. Terán first strengthened the garrisons at San Antonio, Goliad, and Nacogdoches. Over the next eighteen months he then established six new garrisons at strategic locations that he intended to be the nucleus of Mexican settlement in Texas (Weber, 1982: 172; Barker, 1965: 56–59; Morton, 1944: 216; Edmondson, 2000: 134–135). One soldiers simply called Fort La Vaca because it lay on the river of the same name. Another, on the Neches River in eastern Texas was named after its ultimate commander: Fort Terán (Wheat, 1951: 11;

Martin, 1996). Other soldiers founded Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos, across from Quintana, naming it for an obscure Mexican general (Weir, 1996). Terán personally chose the names of the remaining three. *Lipantitlán* on the Nueces River combined the name of a local Apache tribe, the Lipan, with the Nahuatl suffix –*titlán*, meaning "land." To serve as a port and customs house, Terán had Colonel Juan Davis Bradburn found *Anáhuac* on the northeastern end of Galveston Bay. *Anáhuac*, of course, was the ancient Nahuatl name for the Valley of Mexico. Lieutenant Colonel José Francisco Ruiz, a native of San Antonio in command of the Álamo de Parras cavalry company, carried out Terán's commission to found a settlement where the Old San Antonio Road to Nacagdoches crossed the Brazos River. Terán named the place *Tenoxtitlán*, the old Aztec name (*Tenochtitlan*, "prickly pear place") for Mexico City, hoping it one day serve as the capital of Texas (McLean, 1966: 23–25; Morton, 1944: 216; Guthrie, 1996a; Henson, 1996; Ladd, 1996; Jackson, 1996).

These Nahuatl names, Lipantitlán, Anáhuac, and Tenoxtitlán, served as adjuncts to Terán's scheme to Mexicanize Texas. Historians have long noted this. Eugene C. Barker noted that "the time-honored Aztec names of the new posts were perhaps significant of Terán's determination to Mexicanize the province" (1949: 282). Malcolm D. McLean, who wrote the fullest account of Fort Tenoxtitlán, said that:

> The naming of this fort [Tenoxtitlán] was typical of Mier y Terán's effort to "Mexicanize" Texas, establishing a string of forts to keep out the Anglo-Americans and giving them names that had been popular in Nahuatl, the language spoken by the Aztecs at the time of the Conquest. (1977: 4:270 n. 1)

John R. Chávez has noted that:

> In using these names the central government was clearly promoting pride in the indigenous ethnic origins of the nation. By emphasizing the Indian background of the Mexican, the central government also hoped to strengthen its ties with the Indian tribes in Texas. (1984: 30)

Lt. Col. Ruiz and the soldiers of the Álamo Company under his command found the name Tenoxtitlán so agreeable that they cheered and repeated the name over three successive days (McLean, 1977: 4:360; McLean, 1966: 24). The immediate motive behind Mexicanizing the placenames of Texas was to counter the growing number of Anglos and their placenames, but this imposition of new names was part of a larger project to promote a common, nationalistic Mexican identity across the vast country.

Terán's attempt to Mexicanize the province of Texas, however, was doomed to failure. Federal and state governments found that they could not induce Mexican settlers to migrate to Texas and a scheme to bring in convict-soldiers fell through. Within a few years, the military abandoned encampments at Terán, La Vaca, and Tenoxtitlán. A small detachment of troops remained at Lipantitlán until Texan rebels stormed the fort in 1835. Only Anáhuac and Velasco, both on the coast and occupied by merchants and traders, grew into towns of any mean significance. Most of their inhabitants, however, were Anglos: a reminder of the unchecked immigrants who kept moving into Texas (Wheat, 1951: 11; Guthrie, 1996a; Ladd, 1996; Weir,

1996; Henson, 1996). Settlers from the United States even began a slow Anglicization of these Mexicanized placenames. Anglos could not say *Anáhuac* correctly, moving the accent to the first syllable, making it *Ánahuac* (Rowe, 1903: 270 n. 4). Anglos mispronounced *Tenoxtitlán*, stressing the second syllable ("Ten-OCK-ti-tlan"), and even took to calling the place *Tenock Crossing* (McLean, 1966: 24; 1977: 4:42). Anglos called the *Lipantitlán* garrison *Le Panticlan* because they could not pronounce the Spanish correctly (O'Connor, 1966: 112–113). Terán's effort to "save Texas to the Mexican nation" was dead by 1832, when he committed suicide and the increasingly fractured Mexican government failed to fully implement the Law of April 6 1830 (Howren, 1913: 421; Henson, 1996). Mexican placenames were losing out to Anglo placenames, mirroring the drama that would soon lead to Texan independence.

There were some meaningful attempts by incomers to be good Mexican citizens and use appropriate, approving Mexican placenames. In 1825 Green DeWitt and James Kerr secured an empresario contract. Professing their loyalty to Mexico, Kerr named the colony's capital *Gonzales* for Rafael Gonzales, interim governor of Coahuila y Texas (Rather, 1904: 102; Crimm, 2003: 87; Moehring, 2004: 24; Hardin, 1996; Roell, 1996b). In 1830 a small contingent of Irish settlers, under the aegis of Irish-born empresarios James McGloin and John McMullen, founded a town on the Nueces near the garrison of Fort Lipantitlán. They named the settlement *Villa de San Patricio de Hibernia* to honor Ireland's patron saint. Irish settlement was encouraged because Mexican officials believed that, as good Catholics, they would help to counter the Americanization of Texas (Davis, 2002: 32, 85; Guthrie, 1996b). The Irish settlers acceded to the Spanish name, but Anglos in Texas took to calling the place *San Patrick* (Austin, 1836; Holley, 1836: 115). In 1834 Sterling C. Robertson convinced Agustín Viesca, governor of Coahuila y Texas, to grant him an empresario contract centered on the Brazos above Austin's Colony. He named the capital of the colony *Sarahville de Viesca*, to honor his mother, an investor, and the helpful governor. Residents commonly called the colony just *Viesca* (McLean, 1996a; 1996b).

These officially sanctioned settlements represented sincere attempts by non-Mexican colonizers to prove their fidelity to their adopted homeland. The government of Coahuila y Texas, faraway south of the Rio Grande, would also attempt to place Spanish toponyms on the map. In 1833 Anglo residents along Ayish Bayou in East Texas began building a town to serve as a seat of local government, a move that Mexican officials legitimized the next year, when they named the place *San Augustine* (Seale, 1969: 1; McCroskey, 1996). Austin had a town platted on the Colorado River in 1832 he named it *Bastrop* to honor his deceased friend Felipe Enrique Neri, the self-styled Baron de Bastrop. Two years later, when Austin was imprisoned in Mexico, a friend named Oliver Jones introduced a bill to the legislature of Coahuila y Texas to change the settlement's name to *Mina*, to pay tribute to Francisco Xavier Mina, a national hero and martyr. Anglo Texans used the move to prove their loyalty to Mexico; it is telling that after independence, in 1837, citizens reclaimed the old name of Bastrop (Fitzwilliam, 1955: 41; Jenkins, 1987: 5 n. 4; Marks, 1996). Anglo immigrants still had trouble with Spanish names. In 1831 a group of Anglo settlers, many of them squatters, wanted to build a town at Smith's Place on the Trinity River. Francisco Madero, a *coahuilatexano* official passing through the area, approved the measure, granting the villa the name *Santísima Trinidad de la Libertad*.

The locals quickly referred to the place with the simple English *Liberty* (Rowe, 1903: 271; Morton, 1945: 501, 507; Kleiner, 1996).

Saltillo and Mexico City were losing their grips on Texas, and the fact that Anglos were founding and naming unofficial settlements is a marker of the changing nature of the province. In 1834 settler Nathaniel Lynch platted a town around his ferry crossing at the confluence of Buffalo Bayou and the San Jacinto River. The place was known as Lynchburg (Muir, 1952: 39–40; Hazlewood, 1996). A settlement called La Bahía grew up around a ferry crossing the Brazos on the La Bahía Road in the 1820s. In 1833 John W. Hall surveyed part of his land around the ferry for a townsite, forming the Washington Town Company two years later with three other investors. One of them, Dr Asa Hoxey, christened the site Washington for his hometown in Georgia. The settlement later came to be known as Old Washington or Washington-on-the-Brazos (McLean, 1980: 7:357 n. 1; Christian, 1996). James Morgan, an agent for a New York firm, laid out the town of New Washington at the mouth of the San Jacinto River in 1835 (Holley, 1836: 118–119; Connor, 1996). It perhaps bode ill for Mexico that patriotic citizens of the United States in Mexican Texas were naming towns for the premier Founding Father of their homeland. Similarly, a ferry site on the Colorado near Washington, known locally as Beeson's Ferry, changed its name to Columbus in 1835, at the instigation of a former resident of Columbus, Ohio (Columbus Chamber of Commerce, 1950: 1; Hinton, 1996). Anglos in Texas were founding several settlements and giving them non-Mexican names all through the 1830s. Mary Austin Holley's 1836 book *Texas* records about a dozen such toponyms, including Marion, Cox's Point, and Cole's Settlement (1836: 109–125).

By 1835 Anglos comprised a majority of the population of the province of Texas. This is reflected in the placenames that dotted the region. Placenames can represent power, and governments often use placenames to project their power. The new nation of Mexico, in an attempt to foster nationalism and a sense of *mexicanidad*, highlighted the country's Amerindian past and commemorated its patriotic heroes. Communities and provinces of the former New Spain chose new names to emphasize their "Mexican-ness." This process extended to Texas and was called into service by Mexican officials such as Manuel de Mier y Terán, who used typically Mexican placenames in an attempt Mexicanize the province. While this "national project" tried to create ties between the far-flung Texas province and the center of Mexican identity, Anglo settlers, with no ties to the country they entered, flooded into the area and placed their names on the map. The toponyms used by the Mexican government and the settlers in Texas reflected the stresses between its Mexican and Anglo inhabitants. Though some settlers tried to prove their loyalty to Mexico, most immigrants from the United States, with little respect for their new homeland, clung tenaciously to their culture and refused to assimilate. This included their use of the English language and typically American placenames. In late 1835, the first skirmishes between Texans and the Mexican military took place, leading to full-fledged revolution the next year, a declaration of independence, and eventually the creation of the Lone Star Republic. The Province of Tejas severed its ties to Mexico, becoming an independent Republic of Texas, and eventually tied itself to the Anglo United States, which eventually annexed it in 1845. During the 1820s and 1830s Mexico lost the power to name Texas, and it eventually lost power in Texas.

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Notes on contributor

Gene Rhea Tucker, originally from Killeen, Texas, earned his BA and MA in history from Tarleton State University in Stephenville, Texas. He graduated from the Transatlantic History PhD program at the University of Texas at Arlington in Spring 2011, focusing on Spanish and Amerindian toponyms in the New World.

Correspondence to: Gene Rhea Tucker, The University of Texas at Arlington, 601 S. Nedderman Drive, 201 University Hall, Arlington, TX 76019, USA. Email: gene.tucker@mavs.uta.edu