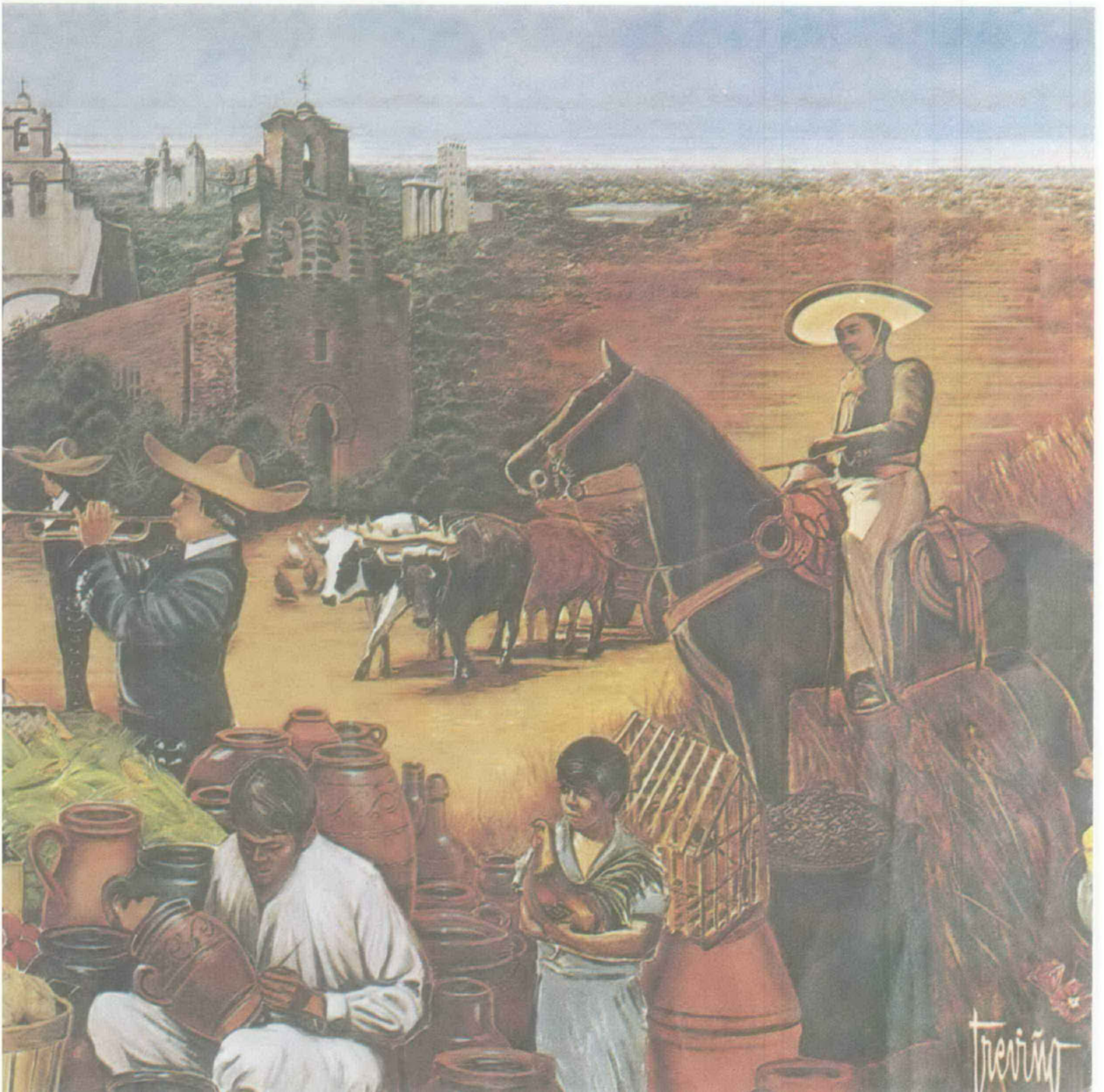
PROCEEDINGS
of the
SECOND ANNUAL MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE
1983

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park
San Antonio, Texas



COVER DRAWING

Entitled "Imagines de mi Pueblo," was drawn by Jesse Treviño, 1980-1981, and presently the mural is displayed at the Exchange National Bank, San Antonio, Texas.

The complete painting is included as a fold out in this publication with the permission of Jesse Treviño and through the courtesy of Dagen Galleria, Inc. and Debra Gish, Sosa and Associates, both of San Antonio, Texas.

©1981, Jesse Treviño, San Antonio, Texas. "Imagines de mi Pueblo" is not to be reproduced either in part or totally except with written permission from Jesse Treviño.

472/D-74

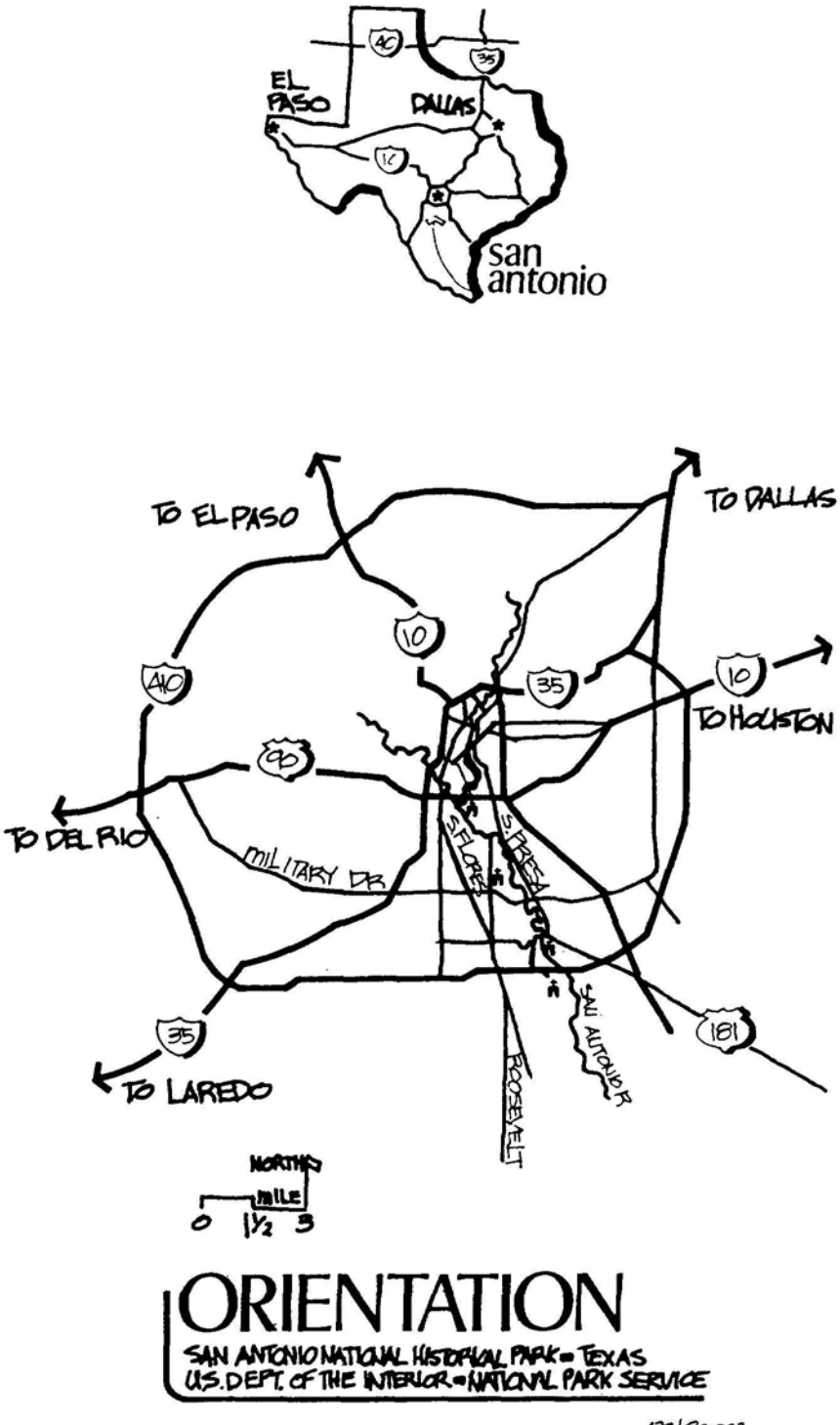
PROCEEDINGS
of the
SECOND ANNUAL MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE

edited
by
Gilberto R. Cruz
Park Historian
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park
1984

TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

In Commemoration of the Tricentennial Celebration
of the founding
of
EL COLEGIO APOSTOLICO DE LA SANTA CRUZ DE QUERETARO
1683 — 1983

Home of Damian de Massanet, Isidro Felix de Espinosa, Antonio Margil de Jesús, Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares, and a host of courageous Franciscans who in establishing the Spanish Missions of Texas, gave rise to the first rays of European civilization in the Lone Star State.

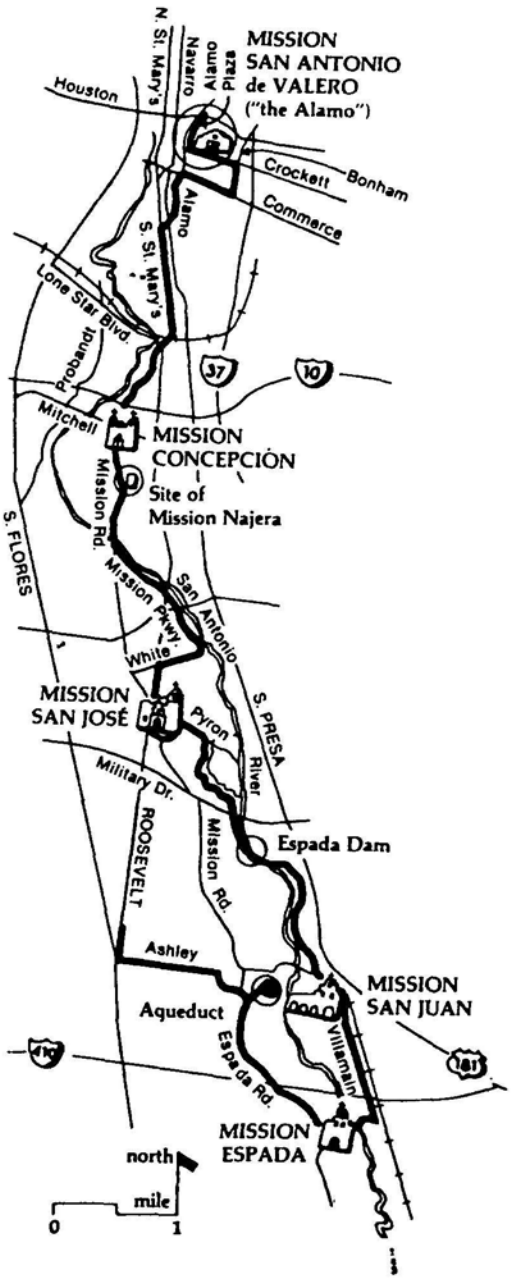


ORIENTATION

SAN ANTONIO NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK - TEXAS
U.S. DEPT. OF THE INTERIOR - NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

472/80,027
APRIL/ SWRO

Mission Trail



Map: San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

CONTENTS

Page

Editor's Preface 1

COLONIAL ACCOUNTS ON THE SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS

La Purísima Concepción 4

Frs. José Guadalupe Ramirez and
Pedro Parras, 1762

San José y San Miguel de Aguayo 6

Fr. José Gaspar de Solis, 1768

San Juan Capistrano 8

Frs. Benito Varela and
Manuel Rolan, 1762

San Francisco de La Espada 10

Frs. José Ygnacio Maria Alegre and
Tomás Arcayos, 1762

PRESENTATIONS AT THE SECOND ANNUAL
MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE, 1983

Welcome and Amenities 14

Dr. Albert J. Griffith
Vice President and Dean for Academic Affairs
Our Lady of the Lake University

Statement of Purpose 16

Msgr. Balthasar Janacek, Director
Old Spanish Missions Staff
Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio

The Role of Research in Efficient Management Planning: The
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in Operation 18

José A. Cisneros, Superintendent
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

The San Antonio Missions and the Contemporary Art of Jesse Treviño 23

J. Edward Ortiz, President and Chief Executive Officer
Exchange National Bank
San Antonio, Texas

Changes in Plant Communities of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park 28

O.W. Van Auken, Ph.D. and J.K. Bush, Ph.D.
Division of Life Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio

Early Investigations of the San Antonio and other Missions in Texas: A Historical and Archeological Review 34

Curtis Tunnel, Director
Texas Historical Commission
Austin, Texas

Research on the Landscape of the San Antonio Missions: Reflections a Year Later 40

Joel Gunn, Ph.D.
Environmental and Cultural Services, Inc.
San Antonio, Texas

Herbal Uses of Native and Imported Plants by the Inhabitants of the San Antonio Missions 44

Olin Fearing, Ph.D.
Biology Department
Trinity University
San Antonio, Texas

A Progress Report on the New Handbook of Texas: Gathering Information on the Missions and Texas Heritage in General 48

Thomas Cutrer, Ph.D., Managing Editor
The Handbook of Texas
Texas State Historical Association
Austin, Texas

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Application of Historical Photography in Structural Research of the San Antonio Missions 52

Santiago Escobedo, Archeologist
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

Movements Influencing the Heart and Mind of Franciscans in Missionary Activity in Texas 54

Patrick Foley, Ph.D.
Tarrant County Junior College, NW Campus
Fort Worth, Texas

The Tenure of the Brothers of Mary at Concepción Mission 1855-1911 57

Brother Paul Novosal, S.M.
Archivist of the St. Louis Province
St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

The Spanish Missions and the Origins of the Cattle Industry in Texas 62

Dan Kilgore, President 1976-1977
Texas State Historical Association
Corpus Christi, Texas

Identifying the San José Acequia and the Need to Preserve its Existing Parts: An Exercise in Research of Archival Resources 69

Richard Garray
Archival Specialist
San Antonio, Texas

The 1983 Search for Mission San Idelfonso, Milam County, Texas 75

Jimmy L. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Region Six Vice President
Texas Archeological Society

The Hispanic Missions of Texas: An Interpretation 81

Professor Manuel Mendoza, M.A.
Stephen F. Austin State University
Nacogdoches, Texas

EDITOR'S PREFACE

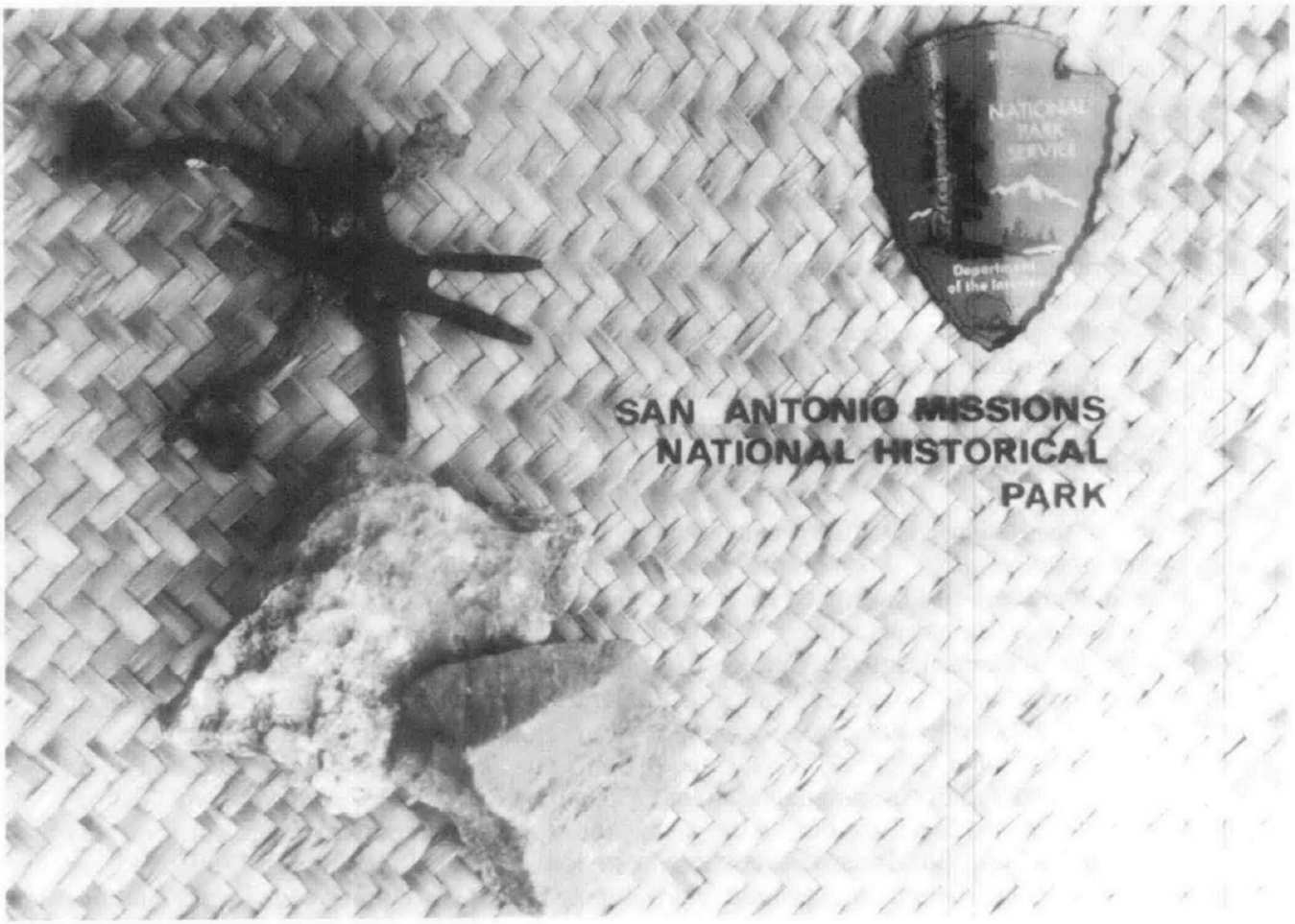
The first writers of the missions in the land of the waters of the Yanaguana were those remarkable Franciscans who, upon reaching the spring waters where San Antonio has now blossomed, started building their walled pueblos of Indian dwellings, conventos, plazas, churches, workshops and granaries in the early years of the 18th century. Some anthropologists, understandably enough, claim that the missionaries' message and way of life created an irreversible and harsh impact upon the lifestyle of the Coahuiltecos and other Indians in South Texas. But few scholars on the prehistoric natives in Texas assign motives less than generous service and spiritual care to the penniless missionaries. With the arrival of the Franciscans, Christianity and European values spread across the Texas landscape. A new civilization would absorb some of the ways of the Indians and incorporate them into the distinct community structure. Vestiges of other native customs were to continue for a while but, as so many mid-morning shadows, would fade away. For ill or good, the Indians were to see the ways of their ancestors disappear and their lives change with the Spanish mission system.

Traces of the Indians' new life brought about by the mission centers are vividly depicted by the missionary chronicles. In this volume, descriptions of Indian community life at Missions Concepción, San Juan, and La Espada are found in a report made by Fr. Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana, a veteran missionary who labored in Texas for 35 years. President from 1750-1763 of the Franciscans from the College of Queretaro and stationed in Texas, Fr. Mariano addressed his report to Fr. Guardian Francisco Xavier de Ortiz on March 6, 1762. The account of Concepción was written by Frs. José Guadalupe Ramirez and Pedro Parras, the latter stationed at Concepción from 1758-1765. The 1762 account of San Juan Capistrano was written by Fr. Benito Varela who resided at San Antonio de Valero in 1755 and by Fr. Manuel Rolan who, with Varela, cared for the Indians at San Juan during the year of the report. The report on Espada mission was written by Fr. José Ignacio Maria Alegre who was stationed at San Juan through 1759, and later reassigned to Espada where he was assisted in developing the 1762 account by Fr. Tomás Antonio Arcayos. Fr. Tomás was later stationed at Mission San Antonio de Valero at least through 1771.

This vivid 1762 report remains an unpublished document recently transcribed and translated in rough draft by Franciscan Fathers Benedict Leutenegger and Marion Habig. It was graciously made available to me and portions of their work are noted in this publication. Other sections of the report reflect my thoughts, based on my paleographical experience, on what the translation of the original document should be. Entitled, "Report from Missionaries at San Antonio on the Missions and their Labors," by Fr. Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana and Companions to R.P.G. Francisco Xavier Ortiz, Missions at San Antonio, Texas, March 6, 1762, this document is deposited in microfilm (Roll no. Caja 1, #33, frames 444-463, Archivo Franciscano, Departamento de Manuescritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico) at Old Spanish Missions Research Center, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.

The report of neophyte life at San José mission was written by Fr. Gaspar José de Solis while on an official inspection of the Zacatecan missions of Texas in 1768. Well done English translations of the document are easily available. Outstanding examples are seen in *Diario... en la Visita, 1767-1768*, by Peter Forrestal, Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society Preliminary Studies, I, No. 6, 1931, and another by Margaret Kenny Kress and annotations by Mattie Austin Hatcher. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* XXXV (July, 1931), No. 1, pp 28-76.

The contemporary talks preserved in this volume represent collaborative efforts on the part of scholars, administrators, and the institutions they represent along with a respectable number of Texans who zealously watch over their beloved missions. This publication is an anthology of



Designed by Betty Calzoncit
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

On November 10, 1978 President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 95-629 leading to the establishment of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park and authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the four missions and adjacent lands totaling 475 acres. The signing of the Cooperative Agreements of February 20, 1983 between the United States Department of the Interior, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, and the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, along with the one signed by the United States Department of the Interior and the San Antonio Conservation Society, for the purpose of activating the Park, culminates a half century of work among loyal San Antonians, to bring about national recognition to the Spanish missions of their city. The National Park Service began management operations on April 1, 1983.

presentations given on the occasion of the Second Annual Mission Research Conference sponsored by the National Park Service, Old Spanish Missions and Our Lady of the Lake University, on August 6, 1983. The conference enabled participants to dialogue, share and assess past research on the San Antonio Missions. The superintendent of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park foresaw the value of the Conference and directed that the proceedings be prepared for publication. The purpose of the volume is manifold: to acknowledge the speakers, to enlarge the NPS informational base on the missions, and to preserve this knowledge for future generations of Americans. The National Park Service is grateful to Deborah Large, Director of Library Services, Institute of Texan Cultures, who generously donated considerable time in meticulously reading the volume's set of galley proofs. Thanks are also in order for Mrs. Joann Archer, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, who gave time in reviewing the galley proofs.

Over the centuries, countless Texans have supported the leaders of the ancient church in restoring these venerable institutions. This is as it should be. The missions represent the proud heritage of Texans of all faiths, cultural backgrounds and ethnic lineages. This volume, in a sense, is a tribute to them. O'Neil Ford, the noted San Antonio architect, worded this sentiment by saying, "The Missions are the most important and most beautiful examples of Spanish Colonial architecture in the United States, and though once they were loved and admired by a few... now ... millions of persons from all over the world have come to San Antonio to wonder at them, to study their history and their great significance. Now we know that they are the jewels of our river valley and the greatest documentation of our eighteenth century beginning."

Gilberto R. Cruz
August 15, 1984

LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION

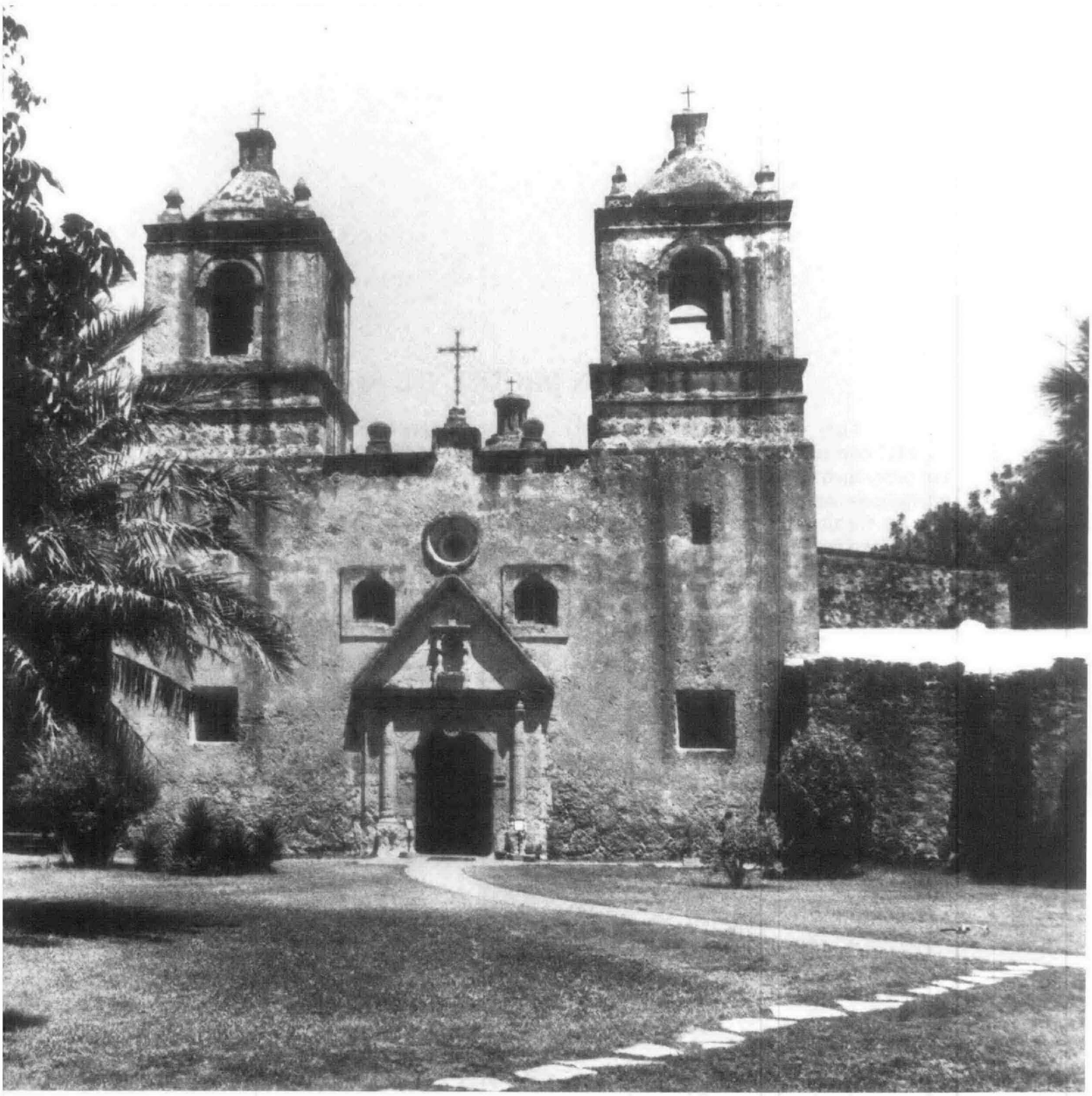
"La Purisima Concepción is located about one league[1] from Mission San Antonio de Valero due south with sufficient fields and water for its farmlands and livestock. Since its founding 792 persons, young and old, have been baptized. . . . There are 58 families belonging to the Pajalates, Tacamenes, Sanipoas tribes. . . . The mission has a church of masonry, 32 varas[2] long, 8 wide, and a dome, a cupola, two towers with bells. In the sanctuary . . . there is a gilded tabernacle with an oval retablo in front of which there is an elegantly carved image of Nuestra Señora de La Purísima Concepción with the Child in her arms and wearing her silver crown . . . below the two towers are two chapels, one to San Miguel and the other serves as a baptistry, where there is a copper baptismal font. . . . There are living areas for the missionaries with adequate offices appropriately built in a dome-type structure and fronted with an archway; (it is) sufficiently furnished for the management needs of the missionaries and with provisions for the Indians.

"There is a room large enough to operate 3 looms which are kept there for weaving cotton cloth, skirts and blankets to clothe the Indians. . . . There are 45 yokes of oxen with harnesses, yokes, plows, plowshares, crowbars, hoes and other equipment to work the farmlands. . . . There is a storage room for tools, a smithy with all tools such as anvil, pincers, hammers . . .; for the masons and the carpenters, chisels, plummets, shovels, saws, jointer planes, brushes and other tools. . . . The pueblo consists of two rows of stone houses and huts where the Indians live and . . . are provided with domestic utensils. The town has its farmlands fenced, a water supply, its acequia for irrigation with a dam constructed of stone and a ranch (El Paistle, 28 miles east) with a home for families who care for 200 mares, 110 horses, 610 head of cattle and 2,200 goats and sheep. . . . In the granary . . . they keep about 800 fanegas of corn and 50 fanegas of beans."

Fr. José Guadalupe Ramirez and Fr. Pedro Parras, 1762

[1] League (Spanish, *Legua*), approximately 5,572.7 meters or 3 1/2 miles.

[2] Varas (Spanish, singular *vara*), a *vara* was between 834 and 835 millimeters, or slightly less than 32.9 inches. The decrees of Philip II in 1573 and 1581 designated the Castilian *vara* as the official Spanish standard and in 1801 Charles IV ordered its use in all overseas possessions.



Mission Nuestra Señora de La Purísima Concepción
San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

SAN JOSE Y SAN MIGUEL DE AGUAYO

"...this mission (compound)...is so attractive and well arranged ...that I have no voice... to describe its beauty. The structure consists of a perfect square of stone and lime, each side is two hundred and two varas long and has a gate; there are towers at the opposite corners, each one guarding its two sides. The dwellings of the Indians are built against the wall.... Within each there is a little kitchen... a chimney and loopholes which point outward for defence against the enemy; there is an arched granary of stone and lime.... there is a workshop where woolen blankets and very good cotton and woolen cloth are woven.

"This mission has... (a) ranch called El Atascoso (30 miles south) where there are close to ten droves of mares, four droves of burros consisting of about 30 pair, and about 1,500 head of cattle, some used as oxen for plowing. (The ranch) has... all that is necessary; and about 5,000 head of sheep and goats. The Indians take care of all of these... and serve in the textile shop, carpentry shop, smithy, tailor shop and at the stone quarry.

"The tribes... are the Pompoas, Mesquites, Pastias, Camamas, Cacames (Tacames), Canos, Aqustallas and Xuanes. There are about 350 men.... All men and women are very well trained in civilized customs... speak Spanish... and have been baptized. ... Most of them are skilled in playing guitar, some of them the violin and others on the harp. The Indians who are armed... patrol in two files for security.... The Indian women are comely and graceful.... The men occupy themselves with work.... Old men make arrows... young Indian women spin and untangle wool and sew... old women fish... boys and girls go to school and pray."

Fr. Gaspar José de Solis, 1768



Mission San José Y San Miguel de Aguayo,
San Antonio, Texas, established in 1720

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

"This mission is located about 3 short leagues from Mission San Antonio de Valero . . . which has lands although not sufficient for its cattle and horses. Since its founding 847 persons have been baptized. . . . There are 51 families of Orejones, Sayopines, Pamaques and Piquiques tribes consisting of 203 persons. The convento is next to the church sacristy and has four cells with their porch, two offices, refectory, kitchen, workshop and main entrance. These rooms are decoratively painted and well furnished for the management needs of the missionaries and with provisions for the Indians. Blankets as well as shawls, shirts and mantles are of cotton and wool to clothe the people. Cotton is planted, and wool is sheared from sheep and for this reason efforts are made to increase the herds. The workshop is a room large enough for 3 looms with their lathes, winches, cranks, combs and needles and other needed equipment.

"There are axes, bars, hoes, plowshares, yokes and plows to operate the farmland and to plant corn, beans, chili and cotton. . . . The pueblo . . . consists of huts well designed until the stone houses are built. Twelve oxen carts are in readiness for this purpose. The above mentioned houses are furnished with pots, griddles, metates and other domestic utensils. They have two stone-throwing weapons and 20 guns with ammunition.

"The carpenters and masons have tools needed for their crafts. In a large room which is the granary, there are a 1,000 fanegas of corn and beans needed for the sustenance of the Indians. Also for this purpose, there are 1,000 head of cattle (and) 3,500 sheep (San Juan Capistrano operated Rancho de Pataquilla, 40 miles southeast). To herd the livestock and to perform other mission work, there are 100 tame horses with 400 mares in eleven droves to maintain the number of horses.

Fr. Benito Varel and Fr. Manuel Rolan, 1762



Mission San Juan Capistrano,
San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

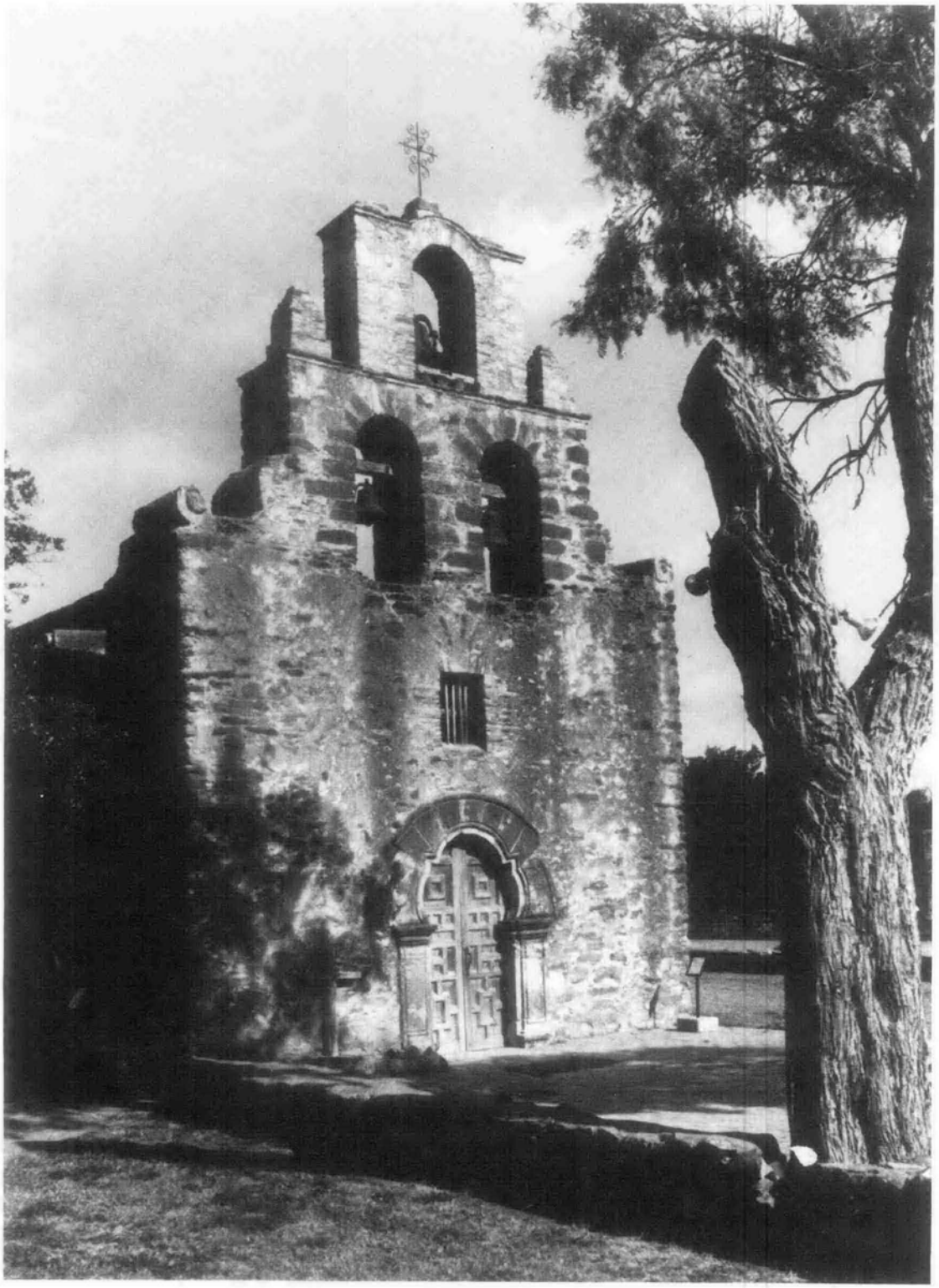
SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA (1731)

"The Mission of San Francisco de La Espada is located about a quarter of a league south of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Since its founding 815 children and adults have been baptized ... and 52 families remain, which including widows, singles and children number 207 persons from the Pacaos, Borrados and Maraquites tribes. More than 1000 fanegas of corn, 60 fanegas of beans, cotton, wool, chili and salt are stored in the granary for the Indians. Likewise, the workshop consists of 3 looms, textile warper, combs, needles, small cranks and other relevant equipment. There are 37 yokes of oxen, 40 plowshares, 58 hoes, 46 axes, 10 sickles, (and) 16 crowbars to operate the farmlands; all necessary tools for the smithy, the carpentry shop, and for the masons, also two stone cutters,... (and)... 16 guns with ammunition required for unexpected attacks.

"There is also a ranch (Las Cabras, 30 miles southeast) on which stands a stone house with all needed furniture for families who live there and take care of 262 head of cattle, 4,000 sheep, 145 saddle horses in 11 droves and 9 donkeys.

"The pueblo consist of three rows of stone houses where the families have metates, pots, kettles, earthenware, griddles and other kitchenware."

Fr. José Ignacio María Alegre and
Fr. Tomás Arcayos, 1762.



Mission San Francisco de La Espada,
San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park



The aqueduct, constructed in 1740's, comprises part of the acequia of Mission San Francisco de la Espada.

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

THE ACEQUIAS, AQUEDUCT AND FARMLANDS

They have a carpentry shop, a smithy, a tailor shop, a furnace in which to burn lime and brick, and an irrigating canal so large and carrying so much water that it seems like a small river and has a great number of fish in it. The canal waters many fertile fields. . . . In these fields they have sown corn, brown beans, lentils, melons, watermelons, peaches, sweet potatoes, potatoes, sugar cane."

Fray Gaspar José de Solis, 1768

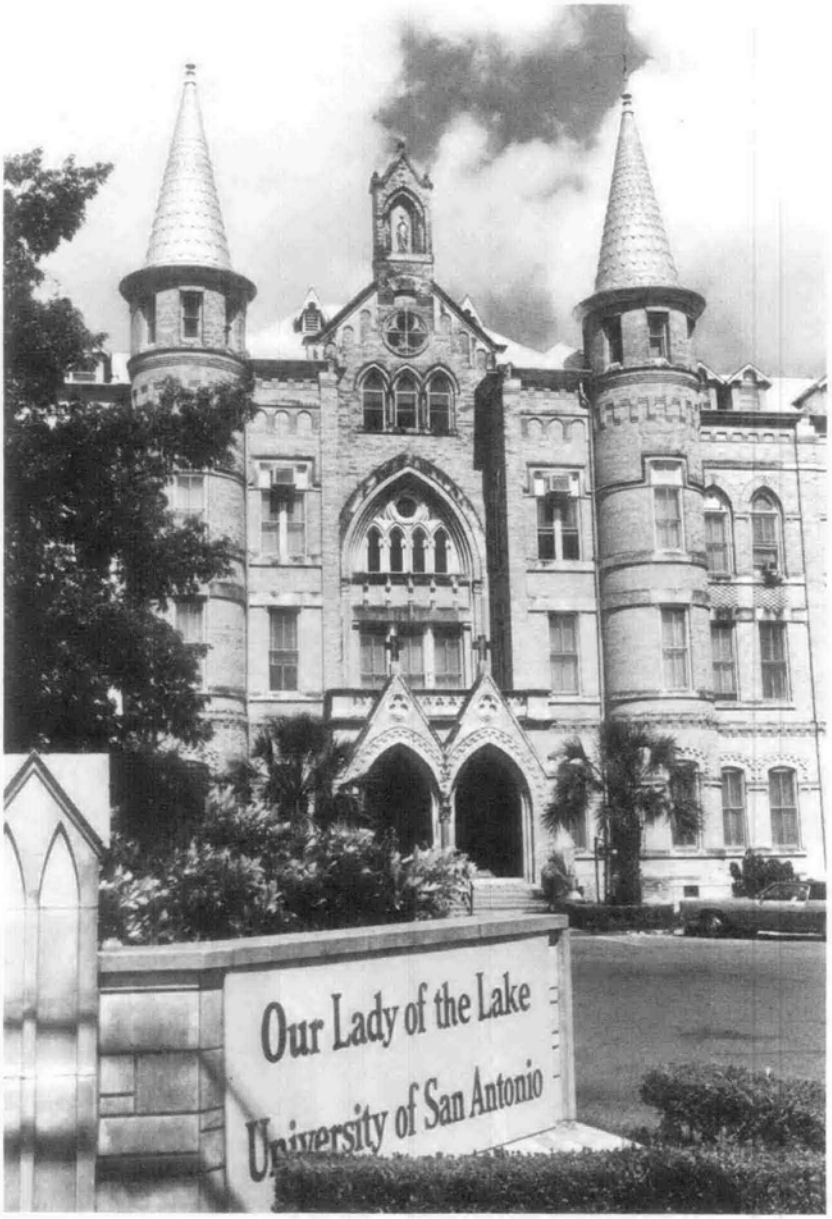


Photo courtesy Our Lady of the Lake University

SECOND ANNUAL MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Sponsored by

OLD SPANISH MISSIONS

OUR LADY OF THE LAKE UNIVERSITY

and

SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

August 6, 1983



Dr. Albert J. Griffith
Vice President and Dean of Academic Affairs
Our Lady of the Lake University

Photo courtesy Our Lady of the Lake University

Welcome and Amenities

by

Dr. Albert J. Griffith

Vice President and Dean for Academic Affairs

Our Lady of the Lake University

Our Lady of the Lake takes pride in its association with this conference and with the Missions of San Antonio. Whatever else we might say about the Missions, one thing stands out very clearly, I think, and that is that they were the first to do the things that they did in this area.

Our Lady of the Lake also has been the first in many things that it has attempted to do in this area. It was the first fully accredited institution of higher education in San Antonio; it was the first to have a School of Social Work in this whole region of the country; the first to have a bilingual-bicultural teacher education program; the first to recruit substantial numbers of minority students; the first to have extensive programs for nontraditional students, including the weekend college; the first to have a competency base for general education programs.

In short, we have been pioneering, too, we think. We have been kind of a missionary endeavor, maybe, in many parts of our history.

One of our recent innovations has been our Intra-Cultural Institute for Training and Research, which is a co-sponsor of this conference. We are very proud that the Institute has as one of its adjuncts the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, which we feel is a very valuable resource and which I am sure many of you have made use of.

We are very pleased at Our Lady of the Lake to have you here, to have this association with your research and with your activities and we welcome you and hope you enjoy the conference.



Msgr. Balthasar J. Janacek, Director
Old Spanish Missions
Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio

Photo courtesy of Old Spanish Missions

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Msgr. Balthasar J. Janacek, Director

Old Spanish Missions

Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio

Years ago, Pete DeVries, with the aid of Curtis Tunnel and others concerned with the missions, would get together over some tasty tacos at Mario's Restaurant and talk about the structural needs of our San Antonio missions. Once in a while we would also have the advantage of having O'Neil Ford to join in some of those sessions and that made our conversation even more picante than the sauce at Mario's.

To know that we had to do that a lot of times after everybody else's working hours and we really had to do all the thinking about the Missions for the future. — To know now that there is a National Park Service staff with all that competence working at the preservation and restoration of the Missions is certainly a dream devoutly to be wished, coming true.

I wanted to say just a little bit about the purpose of the conference by way of these words: The

Spanish Missions, as many other sites in the New World, are not just perishable, historical monuments but the residues of a complete past. These Missions, rather, are living voices, each of which speaks with its own particular eloquence of the presence within North America of a cultural heritage that is still alive and with us. This is a heritage of values and beliefs of saints and sinners, of sword and cross, of unique art forms, speaking of and from two worlds. Of a unique and creative religious presence and, above all, of encounter of this presence with these indigenous peoples who probably were so numerous in our area of North America.

The roots of this encounter between peoples of vastly contrasting, yet mutually rich cultures were planted and tended during some three centuries of Spanish presence in North America. In fact, permanent settlements commenced in our Spanish Southwest, 22 years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock and ten years before French Quebec and nine years before the English Jamestown.

Somebody once said that had the pilgrims notified the citizens from New Spain, they could have been waiting with some warm tacos for the pilgrims when they landed at Plymouth Rock on a bleak December day in 1620.

Whether we accept these earliest Spanish roots or not, they are nevertheless entwined in a living manner with the many threads which constitute the fabric of what America is. Documenting, illuminating and commenting on this Spanish presence in the New World is a wealth of literature, historical, scholarly, anthropological and romantic. Inevitably there are also those records and commentaries which through commission and omission and out of bias and prejudice falsify the true nature of this Spanish presence and mission in North America.

Many questions and problems therefore remain to be addressed, both with human understanding and with that critical sense which any problematic historical epoch demands. If the mood of America's present moment seeks to lay hold of roots which tell its origin, which speak of the sense and the meaning of place and of who we are in time and place pointing us, perhaps, to new and positive alternatives, then the reality of some three centuries of Spanish presence is not inconsequential. Any new, imaginative and careful study of the multiple dimensions of this presence is therefore to be applauded. Especially to be applauded is the human warmth of understanding which you, along with the author of this particular piece, are going to add to this whole area of thought.

The words that I spoke were taken from Dr. Bruce Barton's book, *The Tree at the Center of the World*,[1] and they were actually written about the California Missions, but they apply to our Missions as well. It seems to me that you are doing what Dr. Barton writes about in his introduction to *The Tree at the Center of the World.*

We want to thank you for coming to participate in this conference and wish you Godspeed, because that will be of benefit to all of us.

Thank you.

[1] Bruce Barton, *The Tree at the Center of the World*
Santa Barbara: Ross-Erickson Press, 1980.



Jose A. Cisneros, Superintendent
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

Photo courtesy of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

The Role of Research in Efficient Management Planning: The San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in Operation

by

José A. Cisneros, Superintendent

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

Before we begin, I want to introduce to you some of my staff members who are in the audience today. First of all, you have already met Dr. Gilbert Cruz. Dr. Cruz is our Park Historian. Felix Hernandez, recently transferred from Big Bend National Park. He is our Chief Ranger in charge of Visitor Services and Resource Management. Santiago Escobedo, is one of our archaeologists in the Division of Cultural Resources. He is on the program and will have some things to share with you.

Joann Archer, who will join the staff in a couple of weeks as my personal secretary, is also

present. I am glad you are here.

I want to welcome you to the Second Annual Research Conference on the San Antonio Missions. I want to thank Our Lady of the Lake University, Sister Sueltenfuss, and the Old Spanish Missions organization, Father Balty Janacek, for agreeing to co-sponsor this conference once more.

We are particularly appreciative of the opportunity that Father Janacek has given us in allowing us to join his Semana De Las Misiones celebration in the scheduling of this conference. Semana De Las Misiones, as you all know, has been ongoing for about six or seven years. When we came on the scene about four years ago, we became part of that celebration in an indirect manner. A couple of years ago we thought up the idea of maybe having a research conference with Semana. Last year, we were able to implement that idea. This, then, is our second conference.

I want to especially acknowledge in advance your interest and support in the objectives of this gathering by your attendance here today. I know that you are giving up your own time. We even have some people from out of town. We are very appreciative of that. We hope that you will learn some things that will make all that worthwhile.

Last year's conference was the beginning of what I hope is a long-term relationship between the National Park Service and the local community of researchers. We are grateful that that initial exposure has taken root and that we are gathered here once more to share information on the Missions of San Antonio.

My contribution today is to bring you up to date on where we are as a National Park Service unit in the implementation of the Congressional mandate to preserve, to interpret, and to restore the Spanish Missions of Concepción, San José, San Juan, and Espada.

Those of you who may have visited any of the Missions this summer have seen the NPS presence out there already, in the form of uniformed employees and in an improved appearance of the physical plant. We are finally operational after over four years and it has been long in coming. Those of you who have been following us have shared in our frustrations as we have negotiated back and forth and wrestled with the issue of church and state in trying to determine what would be the best relationship we could enter into, given the active parish status of the four Missions.

The fact that we have overcome that hurdle and we are now in operation of the Missions attests to the fact that we have done a lot of work and have enjoyed the support of many people in the community.

Some of you may have been present at the ceremony at San José on the 20th of February where the long-awaited relationship between the church and the state was formalized. Archbishop Patrick Flores, Director Russ Dickenson from the National Park Service, Director Jim Bell from the Texas State Parks and Wildlife, and Ms. Lynn Bobbitt from the Conservation Society, gathered in front of the Rose Window to sign the historic documents that allowed the implementation of the legislation that established the four Missions of San Antonio as the San Antonio Missions National Historic Park.

We are grateful for that and we were glad that finally the Missions of San Antonio have, at long last, officially joined that repository of national treasures known as the National Park System.

I do not have to tell you that they join such other prestigious entities as Yellowstone, Yosemite, the Liberty Bell, the Statue of Liberty, Independence Hall, and on and on. San Antonio is very fortunate in that I think what we have here is very unique. The Missions possess the greatest amount of integrity of any of the national historical parks in our system. We are cognizant of that and very fortunate but, to paraphrase the banking commercial, "we never forget they are your Missions" and we are simply the custodians that have been appointed to care for them.

Operationally, the action of the 20th of February signaled the beginning of a very hectic period for us. We had agreed that we would assume operational control of the Missions on April 1 and, as well-planned as we thought we were, there was much to do in the days ahead. To make a long story short, we recruited people, we trained them, we negotiated some maintenance contracts and we opened the doors on April 1st, April Fools' Day, and it was no joke. We had a series of ribbon-cutting ceremonies but the weather kind of turned sour towards the end of the day. It was

also Good Friday, so it was full of symbolism.

We have had a good summer, as Felix will attest. Visitors have not stopped coming and we are providing a modicum of visitor services, given the fact that coming in at the middle of the fiscal year, funds have been limited and we have not been able to hire the numbers and the kinds of people that we feel we need out there. Be that as it may, we have a good cadre of people. They are going a good job and we are maintaining the place.

We are now into the mundane operational problems of stopped-up commodes, paper towels, trash cans being stolen, and that sort of thing. It is really an operational park after all these years of planning.

We are slowly and painfully, as Father Balty will attest, learning to work with the Cooperative Agreements. We signed Cooperative Agreements with the Archdiocese, as with the state that recognized the fact that the Missions are now a part of the National Park System as mandated by Congress and approved by the President. We, therefore, must implement that legislation.

Over the past four years, we went back and forth as to the best arrangement for implementing the park legislation. We settled finally on a series of Cooperative Agreements that enables the National Park Service to operate and manage the Missions, while they remain in the ownership of the Archdiocese and, the State of Texas.

The Agreement allows the National Park Service to provide visitor information. It requires that we clean up after ourselves. Provide wear and tear maintenance. Provide security during hours of operation. It authorizes us the use of designated structures and buildings for staff space.

We did not address the much-needed preservation work that needs to be done. This Cooperative Agreement is an interim agreement, a beginning agreement. We felt that we needed to get something going. We needed to get some working experience under our belt and see how this arrangement was going to work out.

The issue of church/state was very real and I believe that we have broken ground here in terms of this kind of relationship. It is ironic when you consider that in Spanish colonial times, the whole Missionization process was a joint effort of the state and the church. Now the two entities are together once more. We do have this bundling board between us to ensure that we do not get too cozy, but nevertheless we are working on what is considered a proper church/state relationship, and I think we are getting the job done.

We are learning the basis of good communications and we have made a few mistakes. Any time you take action, you are liable to make mistakes and we have.

We have a number of people looking over our shoulders, including the parishioners who are most mindful of what we are doing to their Missions, to their parishes, and so far we have been able to stay clear of major controversies. Ours is not a bed of roses in that we need to do certain things that are necessary and required in most National Parks. By the same token, the authority to do that certain thing or things is often not there. We have to do things halfway, we have to do things in kind of a round-about way, but as I said before we are getting the job done, with the cooperation of many people.

On a more positive side, we are slowly accomplishing many things. Our planning is getting done as we have been planning for the past three years. Our General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan was issued in July of 1982 and it will guide us during the next ten to 15 years. It represents the best thinking of the time. The plan was done in 1980-81, and was the subject of a number of public meetings. It is a good plan and it sets out things that we want to do as an agency. It is not set in concrete, though, and this is what I have to keep reminding everyone, including ourselves. As we begin this operational stage we will learn new things, we will gain new information, we may see that things work better over here than over there, this way or that way. We will begin to look at the GMP in a new light. We will not be reluctant to revise the GMP as we go along.

We hope that we will not make wholesale revisions because it was a very thorough effort. It touched a lot of bases and it represents the best thinking of the time and we need to stay with it as much as we can. Where it says we can do one thing over here, maybe that will not work and we will

then back off and do something else.

Just last month, our Land Resources Protection Plan, or our Land Acquisition Plan by its former title, was finally issued. The plan outlines the strategies for the acquisition of lands and properties within the park. We began work on the plan, as some of you may recall, in 1980. We had a number of public meetings in 1981, as well, and then the Administration in Washington changed and we got caught by Secretary Watts' moratorium on land acquisition in the Department of Interior. That resulted in a wholesale change of emphasis and direction in the acquisition of lands by the Government. Our planning got caught in that.

Finally, new guidelines were issued. The plan was taken and revised according to the new guidelines. They do not change the essence of the plan in terms of what we acquire and how we acquire it, because I think we were ahead of the game. What has come out in the way of new guidelines is pretty much in line with what we had decided that we had to do at this park and that is to have a combination of acquisition interests representing the minimum needed. That included Cooperative Agreements where we leave the property in the owners' hands and just simply manage it for park purposes. Scenic easements, where we leave the property in the owners' hands, but we have acquired and bought a development right which freezes the use of that land which we feel is comparable with what we are looking for, but nevertheless allows the owner to continue to use it in that manner. He may sell it, he may pass it down, whatever the case might be.

Last, but not least it includes a fair amount of fee acquisition where we have felt and decided that we needed total control of some of the lands within the park for either development of necessary visitor facilities or simply to protect and interpret to the visitor.

To date, we have received $1.3 million to acquire land, and as of this month we will have spent all of that. We feel that we will need about $2 million more to complete the process. As far as the House of Representatives is concerned, we are not getting any money in Fiscal '84. I am not sure what the Senate has done, but we were hoping that the Senate might give us something. If they do not, then we are stuck until Fiscal '85. All and all we will bring the project in at a little over $3 million, which is a big change from the $10 million which was authorized in the legislation and which was thought to be the price of the land at that time. We are saving quite a bit of money.

Our Interpretive Prospectus, which is a planning document to guide the Interpretive and Visitor Information Program, has also been approved as of last February and we are working on implementing that.

The Historic Structures Report is also nearing completion. Marlys Thurber and her staff have spent over two years in its preparation and some of you here have provided information that will be part of that document. The Structures Report promises to be one of the more important documents that we will produce. It will document the structural history of the Mission structures. It has not been an easy task and Marlys and Santiago will attest to that. New information has had to be acquired, new conclusions have had to be reached. Some will be different and others will suggest additional research.

Later on in the program Santiago will share with you some of the work that he has done as part of that project.

This summer the Historic American Buildings Survey people selected our Missions as one of their, I believe, two or three projects in the whole National Park System. The HABS, as it is called, was a Depression-era work project designed to document the architectural history of the historic buildings in the country. They were in San Antonio in the 1930's and documented the Missions as they were at the time. This year they have agreed to update those drawings and to do a more complete job of documentation.

What they will produce will be another piece of information that we will then use. Before they leave, I am told that they will do an exhibit that we will then open to the public. I have seen some of the preliminary work that has already been done and it is excellent.

The HABS team is comprised of two recent college graduates and one college professor. With the cooperation of Father Balty, they are living and are working at the old convent at Mission Espada. They will be here until the end of the month and they will close it up at that point.

We have received half a million dollars out of the Jobs Bill to correct health and safety problems at all of the Missions and we will begin work on that sometime after October.

The City of San Antonio continues to be a good partner in our venture. Late in June, City Council approved the realignment of Mission Road by Concepción as part of the 9th year funding of the Community Development Block Program at a cost of $588,000. They will realign that section of Mission Road to the west and allow us to reconstitute the compound of the Mission.

In all of these accomplishments and in the ongoing work, we see the need for additional information. Gil, in his work in putting together a library, in terms of trying to get research done, has provided us with quite a bit of information that we did not have before. As these matters go, and you all know better than I, the more you know the more you need to know because that new knowledge raises new questions.

We have gaps in our research that we have yet to plug. We had a team of two people in Spain this summer, Dr. Joseph Sánchez from Santa Fe and Chuck Cutter from Albuquerque. They spent two whole months doing research on Missions and other Colonial Spanish forts. They brought back a wealth of information, but they were unable to bring back everything they were looking for. The elusive architectural plans of the Missions are still to be found.

Joe Sánchez says that in the basements of some of the libraries and depositories there are stacks and bundles of materials that have yet to be sorted out since they were placed there some 200 years ago. He feels that there is a lot of information yet that we will be getting as time goes by.

To make a long story short, this gets back to the objectives of this conference and what you can do for us and what we can do for you in terms of identifying the kinds of information that we feel we need and in terms of you cooperating in some manner in your own way in trying to provide that information to us. The community will be the beneficiary of all this new information. We have already learned a lot in the short time that we have been here but we know that there is lot more to learn. As we have these conferences, I think that we will get that done.

Without further adieu, Gil, I will turn it over to you and see what people have to share with us.



J. Edward Ortiz
President and Chief Executive Officer
Exchange National Bank

Photo courtesy of the Exchange National Bank

The San Antonio Missions and the Contemporary Art of Jesse Treviño

by

J. Edward Ortiz, President and Chief Executive Officer

Exchange National Bank

San Antonio, Texas

It is always my pleasure to be able to talk about two things that are very dear to me. That is the mural that is being passed around for you to see, and Jesse Treviño. This is one of Jesse's works that surrounds you. He painted this in 1974, I believe, while he was a student here.

I think this was a gloom period of Jesse's life, not because of the subject matter, but because of the colors he was using. The mural at Exchange Bank is his victory and I would like for you to come by and see it.

We have been asked time and time again why did the bank spend the money, the time, and the effort for the mural because businesses do not generally contribute that much to the arts. This is not necessarily true.

In our case, the building that now houses Exchange National Bank was being renovated in 1980. We were trying to bring something back to this quadrant of town that the people could be proud of, feel comfortable in, and enjoy. Over the tellers' counter there is a vast expanse of space approximately 54 feet in length and 12 feet high.

We wanted something that was going to be truly expressive of San Antonio and we set out to find a local artist. We wanted a San Antonian because so often, for some reason in our city when we want something accomplished, we go outside of the city limits to have it done and we have so many talented people right here in this city. I was determined to have someone from the local area to do our painting. I read an article about Jesse Treviño in the Sunday paper.

While most of you are probably familiar with Jesse's background, I was more taken by the quality of his work. I was impressed about his victory of losing the hand that he painted with when he was in Viet Nam and coming back, taking his Master's in this fine university and beginning to paint again with his left hand. The quality of work that he produces and the particular type of love and interest that he puts in it is what really caught my attention.

I had the opportunity to speak to Mr. Treviño and I told Jesse that we wanted to have his view of San Antonio and something that was very representative of San Antonio itself. After talking to him, it was his ballgame. We purchased Belgium linen that was one piece, rather than having it sectionalized like this mural is, so that it could be protected forever. Even if it comes to the point that it has to be dismantled from the frame and rolled up and put away, it can be protected for many, many years to come.

In talking with Jesse, I never saw a rendering, I never asked him what he was going to put on the canvas. I did not do anything but put the canvas up, the scaffolding up, and say, "Go ahead and start your work."

We wanted a gift for the people of San Antonio, but mainly we wanted a gift for the people of the quadrant of the city who deserve the attention that we were trying to give them. It was the wisest investment that our bank has made to date, both in the human element and in the publicity and attention that the bank and the artist himself have received from it.

To me, it was significant that the first thing that he painted on a mass of white was the outline of San Fernando Cathedral and the Missions. Those Missions I believe, to him, are representative of a basis of trust and belief in God and in mankind as something that is everlasting and that same theory is very important to the people of San Antonio.

I commend this organization for their research and knowing the true value and the importance of the Missions as a whole.

It took him 14 months to complete the mural. If any of you are interested in having a copy of the mural, please leave your name and address here. They will be forwarded to us and we will send you one.

This is a print and there are only 250 of them and, for some reason, I have No. 1 and nobody can have it. While I cannot contribute any expertise to the subject matter today, I can tell you that the importance of the Missions in the lives of everyday San Antonians that have taken the time to take pride in this city is overwhelming. I have known them and seen them all of my life.

My daughter, who is with me today, as a small child started taking a look at the Missions from the time she could walk and I think sometimes she got a little bored with me taking her back and forth and back and forth.

One day when she was in the fifth grade, she came in and said, "You know, in history today they were talking about San José Mission and I was the only one in the class that had been there." I thought how pathetic that was, that in such a grand place with so many things available to us we take so little advantage of them.

I commend you again and I wish I had some fantastic piece of information that none of you knew about that I could tell you, but I do not. I have no other remarks.

I might seem a little bit overly proud of the mural and of Mr. Treviño, but I have every right to be. It is a beautiful piece of work. He is a magnificent artist and a fine human being. I invite all of you to the bank any time that you can to see it, and you will find that all those people there are as



proud of it as I am.

Does anyone have any questions related to the mural?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Where is the bank?

MR. ORTIZ: The bank is right around the corner at 707 Castroville Road in Las Palmas Shopping Center. We opened in September of 1980.



Dr. O. W. Van Auken
Division of Life Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio

Photo courtesy of O. W. Van Auken

Changes in Plant Communities of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

By

O.W. Van Auken, Ph.D. and J.K. Bush, Ph.D.

Division of Life Sciences

The University of Texas at San Antonio

San Antonio, Texas 78285

When European man first came to South Texas he established a series of missions. Those missions were important in many ways to the spiritual and cultural development of the people of South Texas. The occupants of the missions did many things including changing the natural environment, which is the topic of this paper.

Early man found extensive grasslands in many parts of Texas, he did not find the thickets of

brush that cover so much of Texas today. Nor did he find extensive areas of mesquite thickets or broad tracts of acacia. He did find brush, but it was in much more limited areas. He also found mesquite, but usually along creeks and streams (Inglis, 1962).

Changes occurred in many of these plant communities between the coming of the Europeans to North America and today. Basically, these changes included the disappearance of a great deal of grassland or prairie, which was accompanied by the appearance of extensive thickets of brush and small trees. The causes of these changes were actually man and his animals. Specifically, too many cattle and too little fire. Fire suppresses brush development and maintains grasslands or prairies. Overgrazing reduces the dry grass fuel required for fire, consequently reducing the frequency and extent of fires and thus allowing brush species to develop and take over grasslands (Smith, 1977). Brush for the most part is not eaten by cattle, therefore it can outcompete the grasses when fire is suppressed.

We studied a series of changes in plant communities in Bexar and Wilson Counties, Texas, caused by overgrazing or farmland abandonment coupled with a lack of fire (Van Auken, 1982). These changes have probably occurred time and time again throughout this area and have been caused by the agricultural activities of man. The key to understanding the changes or the sequence of events, called secondary plant succession, is to understand the growth and development of a single species, the huisache (*Acadia smallii*) (Fig. 1A). It is a small tree or shrub that has beautiful yellow or golden flowers that bloom in early spring (Correll and Johnston, 1970). Huisache, a key species, is biologically very important because it is thought to be a nitrogen fixer. Huisache will invade an area that is overgrazed or abandoned, grow up, and finally be eliminated from that area by competition with other species (Van Auken and Bush, 1984).

A plant community that was examined near Mission San Juan (San Antonio, Texas) had a series of dead huisache trees under a Texas sugarberry (*Celtis Laevagta*) canopy (Fig. 1E). The dead huisache was the real clue to understanding the role of huisache in the successional process. The succession apparently proceeds from the open grassland stage, which occurs for about 5 years after abandonment (Fig. 1B), to an open huisache savanna which lasts for 10 - 20 years (Fig. 1C). Baccharis (*Baccharis Neglecta*), an invader shrub, will occur during this stage for a few years. During this entire time Texas sugarberry is present in the community as a seedling or shrub, but apparently it is suppressed or grows very slowly. In communities that are about 25 years old (Fig. 1D), the sugarberry begins rapid growth and by 35 years after abandonment, it is the community dominant. At this point, huisache begins to disappear (Fig. 1E). The huisache is not present in the mature forest, which is dominated by the sugarberry (Fig. 1F). Other important species in the mature community are cedar elm (*Ulmus crassifolia*), bumelia (*Bumelia lanuginosa*) and pecan (*Carya illinoinensis*) (Bush and Van Auken, 1984a).

When relative density, relative basal area, or relative importance are examined for these communities the same trends occur (Figs. 2,3,4). That is, huisache increases to its peak of dominance in communities that are about 25 years old and then declines and disappears. Texas sugarberry, on the other hand, which is present in the community as a seedling or shrub from the earliest time, begins rapid growth in stands that are about 25 years old and then quickly becomes a dominant and remains a community dominant in the mature stands (Van Auken and Bush, 1984a).

Why does the huisache disappear from the mature communities? Apparently because the Texas sugarberry over-grows the huisache and shades it out. The huisache is a shade-intolerant species (Bush and Van Auken, 1984b). Competition for some other resource may occur, but no one knows for sure at this time. A second more difficult question is why the Texas sugarberry grows so slowly for 25 years? Texas sugarberry could be inhibited by the high light intensity present in the early communities. That is, it may require shade for proper early growth and development. A second possibility is that Texas sugarberry is suppressed by chemicals present in the environment, possibly chemicals secreted by the huisache or other early community dominant. A third possibility would be the lack of a critical nutrient. The last hypothesis was tested. Texas sugarberry would not grow in native soil after farmland abandonment or excessive disturbance, unless supplemented with nitrogen. The huisache, a legume and probable nitrogen fixer, did not need added ammonia or

nitrate nitrogen, but grew fine without it.

The spread of huisache and other woody species in South Texas was probably caused by the activities of man. Nitrogen in the soil was used up by cattle grazing or cropping by farmers. Next, the nitrogen was transported out of the ecosystem giving huisache, a probable nitrogen fixer, a competitive edge over the grasses, which are not nitrogen fixers. When the nitrogen was added back to the soil by the nitrogen-fixing huisache, the huisache lost its competitive advantage to the Texas sugarberry. The sugarberry then became the community dominant and apparently caused the demise of the huisache. This succession sequence has probably occurred time and time again over the years. That is, forest or prairie was cleared, crops were raised, abandonment occurred, followed by forest regrowth. The overall cause of abandonment was soil nitrogen removal and export, which in turn caused soil nitrogen depletion and deficiency. The relationship to man seems obvious. When soil becomes nutrient depleted, productivity goes down. This may be followed by farm or ranch abandonment and emigration of the inhabitants.

MS. KALLISON: I have two questions. Could you please tell me the normal life span of mesquite and the normal life span of huisache?

DR. VAN AUKEN: It is hard to say because of differences in local conditions. The tree corings that we did showed the largest to be 55 years old.

The largest mesquite we cored was 125 years old. They are not real old trees.

MS. KALLISON: My next question concerns observations of my husband, who is going to be 80 years old in November. He remembers, as a boy, the oldtime ranchers telling the story that there were no huisache or mesquite this far north in Texas. Both species migrated from the south.

DR. VAN AUKEN: I think that the huisache and the mesquite have been present in central Texas here since before the arrival of the Spanish Explorers. However, the spread of the huisache and the mesquite into grasslands has occurred more recently. The reason for the spread of these woody species is directly related to the increase in the livestock industry in Texas.

Fuel for these prairie fires was reduced by grazing. Trees became established in the grasslands and were able to carry out their whole life cycle. Once trees are established, they are very difficult to kill with fire and consequently they remain, further reducing the possibility of fire.

Prairie fire kept the woody species out of many native grasslands and localized in creek or river bottoms.

MS. LIGHT: So many of the ranchers have been trying to control mesquite, so would your advice be to try to keep some of the mesquite or huisache?

DR. VAN AUKEN: Mesquite and huisache are very important species, and they appear to be nitrogen fixers. If you are grazing cattle, the cattle eat the grasses which use the nitrogen from the soil. If one then removes these cattle, sends them to market, the soil nitrogen is reduced. If the nitrogen is not put back into the soil the productivity of that land will decrease. To answer your question, yes, it is very important to keep some of those mesquite or huisache trees to replace soil nitrogen.

MS. FORD: As I remember growing up, the huisache would freeze and that was how we lost so many. We have a place near San José Mission and there was an area there called Huisache Bow. When a hard freeze occurred after the trees had bloomed, many of them would die.

DR. VAN AUKEN: That is true, the huisache is sensitive to cold weather and low temperatures reduce growth. Excessive periods of cold weather will kill them.

MS. FORD: Another thing that I have heard since I was a child is that the Indians had burned the prairie land, and that was one of the reasons why the brush was kept out.

Is that true, or is that just a tale?

DR. VAN AUKEN: I think it is probably very true. I think that the Indians, the early Americans and Native Americans knew that if the prairies were not burned that the brush would take over.

A lot of the early Spanish ranchers here, they would burn as well and the burning is very important. That practice has died out pretty much and now, because of the nature of fire, it seems

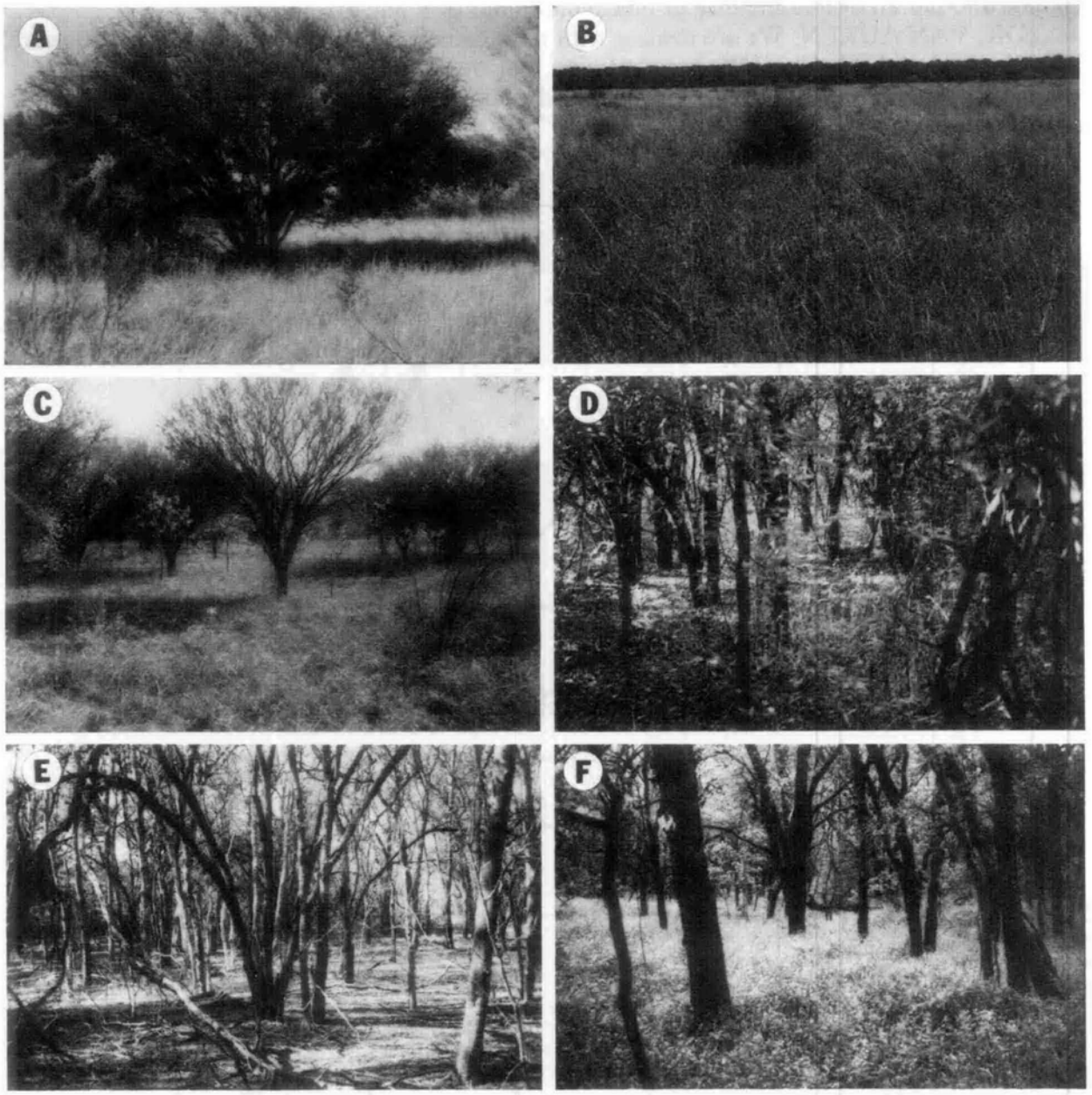


Figure 1 — Photographs of habitat or stages of secondary succession along the San Antonio River: A. An isolated huisache tree; B. Grassland stage being invaded by huisache; C. Open savanna stage with grasses in the understory and a few small Texas sugarberry shrubs; D. Thicket stage with huisache beginning to decline and many Texas sugarberry saplings beginning rapid growth to the canopy; E. Early mature forest state with most huisache dead or in poor health and the Texas sugarberry present in the overstory; F. Mature forest stage with Texas sugarberry as the dominant woody species.

that we are very afraid of it and do not use it. We do not use it very much at all.

MS. FORD: Well, we want the mesquite and the huisache.

DR. VAN AUKEN: The grasses and other plants need nitrogen and the huisache and the mesquite are very important nitrogen fixers.

MS. LIGHT: Why was 1983 such a bumper year for huisache flowers? Was it because we had a rather mild winter?

DR. VAN AUKEN: I think the mild winter was the key.

MR. ESCOBEDO: Yes. When you give the stand ages you are talking about a very stable

climate and not an overabundance of precipitation nor drought; am I correct?

DR. VAN AUKEN: We are dealing with the weather as it has been over the last 50 years including wet and dry years. We are assuming that over the past 50 years the climate has not changed in a major extent. Over a longer period of time we would certainly expect some major changes.

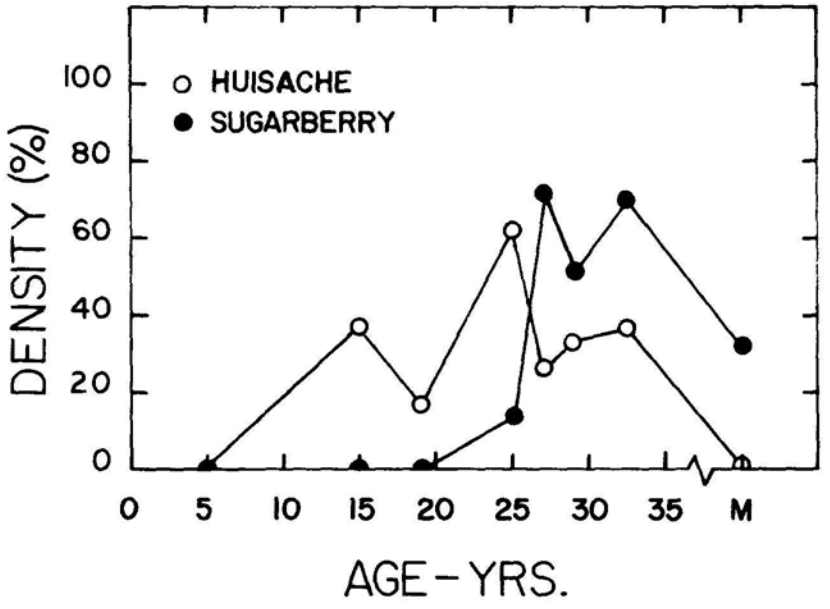


Figure 2 — Changes in mean relative density (plants/ha) for huisache and Texas sugarberry during secondary succession along the San Antonio River in south Texas. The mean density for huisache in the 25 year old community was 571±171 ($\bar{x}$±SE) plants/ha. The mean density for Texas sugarberry in the mature community (M) was 473±45 plants/ha.

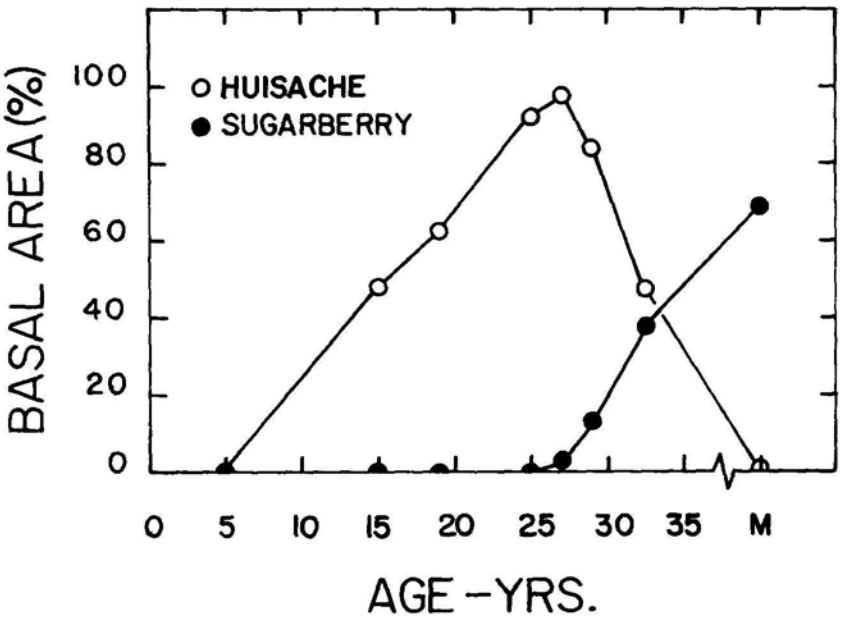


Figure 3 — Changes in mean relative basal area (m^2/ha) for huisache and Texas sugarberry during secondary succession along the San Antonio River in south Texas. The mean basal area for huisache in the 25 year old community was 13.5±0.6 m^2/ha. The mean basal area for Texas sugarberry in the mature community (M) was 10.6±0.8 m^2/ha.

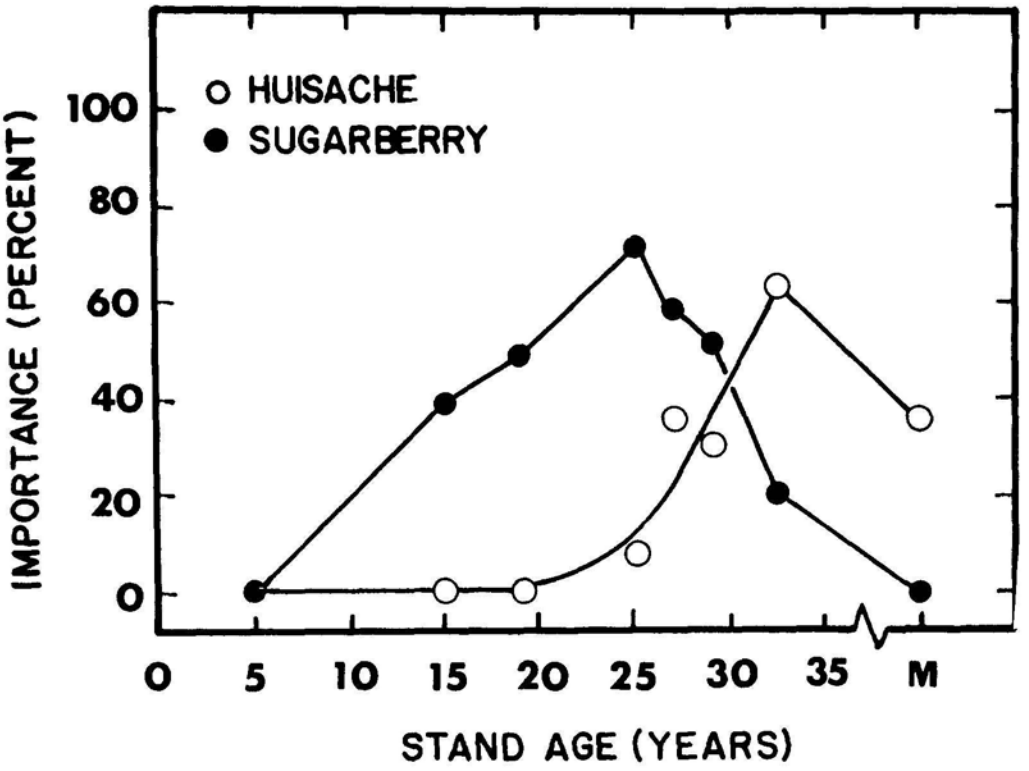


Figure 4 — Changes in mean importance values (relative density + relative basal area/2) in south Texas community succession for the early succession dominant (huisache) and the mature community dominant (Texas sugarberry). The mean and standard error for Texas sugarberry in the mature stands was 36.25±1.10. Huisache was not found in the mature stands, however, the mean and standard error for huisache in 25 year old stands was 72.5±6.5.

Literature Cited

Bush, J. K. and O. W. Van Auken. 1984a. Woody Species Composition of the Upper San Antonio River Gallery Forest. Texas Journal of Sciences (In Press).

_____ and _____ 1984b. Light requirements of *Acacia Smallii* and *Celtis Laevigatta* — Two successional species. Amer. Midl. Nat. (In Press.)

Correll, D.S. and M.C. Johnston. 1970. Manual of the Vascular Plants of Texas. Texas Res. Found., Renner, Texas.

Inglis, J.M. 1962. A history of Vegetation on the Rio Grande Plain. Bull. 45, Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, Austin.

Smith, R.L. 1977. Elements of Ecology and Field Biology. Harper and Row, Publishers, N.Y.

Van Auken, O.W. 1982. Landscape study of the San Antonio Missions: Botanical Aspects. Final Report submitted to the U.S. Dept. of Interior, National Park Service, San Antonio Missions Nat. Historical Park.

Van Auken, O.W. and J.K. Bush, 1984. Growth of Huisache (*Acacia smallii:* Leguminosae) in Early Successional Communities in South Texas. In: Tamaulipan Biotic Province, A Symposium — Resources, Management, Conservation; Eds. D.H. Riskind and G.W. Blacklock (In Press).



Curtis Tunnel, Executive Director
Texas Historical Commission

Photo courtesy Texas Historical Commission

Early Investigations of the San Antonio and Other Missions in Texas: A Historical and Archeological Review

by

Curtis Tunnel, Director

Texas Historical Commission

Austin, Texas

I would like to begin by echoing what Father Janacek had to say, that the creation of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park — I think I got the name right — is a dream come true for a great number of people who labored for decades to try to bring that about. I am pleased to have had a very small part in that undertaking.

I think the Missions Park is just a small focal point for our extensive Hispanic heritage in Texas.

I would like to give you one little hot tip here before I start. Yesterday afternoon I signed a letter announcing a grant of $50,000 from the Historical Commission for restoration work at the Missions and if the Post Office does their usual good work, you will have that letter within a couple of weeks.

I got up real early this morning, after staying up late last night and listening to the Texas Playboys down at Aquafest play San Antonio Rose. I could not resist staying up late for that. I got up real early this morning and sat down to make some notes and list some Spanish Colonial sites in Texas that I have done various kinds of work at through the years and have some stories to tell about.

Well, it turned out that my list got down to 30 different sites. Obviously, in the time allotted to me, I cannot do a very good job of telling a story about every one of those so I am going to be selective and pick a few and maybe at some future time I can bend your ear about some others.

Back in the late '50's, I worked with a man named Ed Jelks, who is an archaeologist and who had been interested in Spanish sites for many years. He had worked down at Falcón Reservoir when it was being built and had worked on some Spanish sites there and he first introduced me to various kinds of Spanish artifacts and sites and the importance of these sites.

He and I spent a great amount of time in the late '50's, early '60's, visiting and looking for a variety of Spanish Colonial sites across Texas. We came to the conclusion that two of our most important Spanish Colonial sites in Texas lie just across the Rio Grande in Mexico and just across the Sabine in Louisiana. Perhaps someday we will annex those sites.

In the early '60's I got a phone call — I was working at the Texas Memorial Museum, and I got a phone call from out at Real County and the people said, "We have just taken some machinery and graded out the site of Mission San Lorenzo. We stacked all the rocks and everything and now we are going to rebuild it. What should we do next?"

I said, "Well, don't do anything right now and I will come out and look at it."

I went out and they had done just exactly that. They had leveled a very important Spanish Colonial site occupied in the 1760's, but fortunately they had stopped a few inches above the floors of most of the buildings. Working with Dr. Newcomb, we got a small grant and in those days, $2,000 went a long ways. The University of Texas gave us $2,000 and we went out and hired the Falcón Brothers there in Campwood and proceeded over the next few months to do extensive excavation there at Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz. We recovered a great amount of information about that site which was only occupied for a very brief period in the 1760's.

Another early site that I visited and was fascinated with — I got a call from Maury Maverick about 1965 and he said, "I know a family down in Guerrero at San Juan Bautista and I am going down there and thought you might want to go along."

I said, "Yes, I sure do." We went down and spent the night and had a very pleasant trip there in San Juan Bautista. We stayed in a house that had a viga that said, "Viva Fernando, rey de las Españas." I could hardly believe that things like that — I had been looking at ruins of Spanish Colonial sites all those years and I could hardly believe the condition of those buildings.

The next morning we got up early and they brought in a wagon hitched behind a team and we got in that and they took us down to the ford across the Rio Grande. There is a beautiful rocky ledge there, natural ford, and there is a big stone, natural stone, that has been set up by this crossing as a — it looks like a flood marker or something. Most of the people that came into Texas during the Spanish period came across that ford.

I enjoyed very much visiting and photographing and looking around the site of San Juan Bautista.

I have spent many days searching for the site of San Clemente out on the Río Conchos and the Río Colorado unsuccessfully. I hope someday some of you will follow through and will find that site.

I did go one time — I got a call from Ike Connor up at Texas Tech, a historian, and he said, "I have found Mendoza's Bastion out on the San Sabá."

I said, "I will meet you out there." We went out and sure enough, there was a big rock

alignment and some little circular features and he was convinced; he announced this was Mendoza's Bastion.

We did some archeological investigation and I told Ike, "Well, my best conclusion is that this was probably the place where they kept the horse herd from Presidio San Sabá," which is a little ways down the river.

We also found some 19th century fort artifacts from Fort McKavett and it may have been reused by the soldiers from Fort McKavett. I said that would be my guess, rather than this being related to the Mendoza Expedition.

Well, Ike went ahead and eventually published his story about Mendoza's Bastion and he said the archeologists came out and did investigations, but he did not go on and say what my conclusion was about that particular site.

Presidio Ahumada, which lies down at the mouth of the Trinity River — I got a call one time from Mr. Clay, an amateur historian in Houston. He had found a map in the British archives that clearly showed the location of Presidio San Augustíne and Mission La Lúz there at the mouth of the Trinity.

I went down and almost everything that could happen to a site had happened to that one. An Interstate highway went through it; they had dug some big pits for fill there on the highway. There were seven big pipelines carrying various petroleum products all through the site area. In spite of all the disturbance, we were able to find hundreds of Spanish artifacts and demonstrate conclusively, archeologically, that this was the site of Presidio San Augustíne de Ahumada.

I will skip down and I am trying to be selective, which is kind of hard to do.

One of our early investigations in San Antonio was at Mission San Antonio de Valero when



Under the supervision of Curtis Tunnel, an archeological crew discovers in 1963 the adobe walls of the structures of Mission San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz dating back to the 1760's. (Photo: Courtesy Texas Historical Commission)



Archeological investigations directed by Curtis Tunnel reveal the remains of the adobe walls and the flagstone floor of the granary at Mission San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz (1760's) located in Real County, Texas, near Uvalde. (Photo courtesy Texas Historical Commission)

the Daughters of the Republic of Texas were going to put in a sprinkler system. We asked them to let us go in and do some archaeological work. John Greer, Mardith Schuetz were involved in that early work there. At that time I had begun working for the State of Texas under the State Building Commission and Admiral Neiman was head of it.

He said, "Look, to survive with something like an archeological program in state government, you have got to do something spectacular."

The Alamo came along right at the right time and we did some excavating and did find extensive deposits just full of all kinds of artifacts, going back to the first Colonial occupation. We also found adobe foundations and other things of importance there.

Of course, eventually we also did archeological work at Mission San Juan. The Archdiocese was going to do some restoration work with O'Neil Ford's firm and Mardith Schuetz wanted to do the archeological work. Well, we went and talked to Archbishop Fury and I told him, "I have about $4,000 that we could put into archaeological work there." He was kind of taken aback and said, "Well, people are always coming after money, but no one has ever come and said they have got some money they were going to put into the Missions." He was very supportive of that early archeological work at Mission San Juan.

We also did limited archeological work at San José and Concepción looking for the wall across the road over there. I am very pleased to know that that street is finally to be moved outside the compound at Mission Concepción.

Dan Scurlock and John Clark were some of the archaeologists that worked on those sites. We did very limited work at Mission Espada and, of course, worked beneath the floors at San Fernando Cathedral when they took up some of the terrazzo floors. Dan Scurlock did work there

and found interesting artifacts and part of an adobe foundation. A de la Garza coin and various other things were found there at San Fernando. There was quite a bit of involvement here in San Antonio.

Jumping back around to some other parts of the state, in the late '60's we got involved down on Padre Island with the 1554 shipwrecks. You all remember that Jerry Sadler controversy. You know, that incident led in part to the creation of the Texas Antiquities Committee and that Committee has been in court with Platoro ever since then. They are still in court at the present time on the suit over materials recovered from those shipwrecks.

The state eventually went in and recovered extensive collections from a second wreck and I hope you all have seen those in an exhibit that traveled around. That collection has now been placed with the Corpus Christi Museum and will be placed on permanent exhibit there at Corpus Christi.

The case with Platoro has been appealed to the United States Supreme Court and we will know sometime this fall if it will be heard by the Supreme Court.

As a result of part of the work on the shipwrecks — I can tell you some interesting stories about the work on those also, but I do not have time right now. We became involved in recovery of documentary type of information from various archives. I remember one memorable trip made with Father Leutenegger and Pete DeVries and Monsignor Janacek and I think perhaps Father Habig — we all went down to Mexico and took a microfilm camera to microfilm documents in Zacatecas and Queretaro. The first gas station we stopped at over there at midnight that night the electric window went down and refused to come back up. It died down in the door.

Well, it was pouring rain so we went the rest of that trip with a Pemex box taped over that window on that side of the car. We went down and worked long hours, all hours of the night and day, microfilming and untying bundles of documents and microfilming them there at Zacatecas and then at Celaya, which is where much of the historic documentation of the Queretaro archives is located.

I remember one time we had been working real late in the evening and we had been working long hours and so I walked out on a little balcony there in the convent at Celaya. I needed fresh air because we had been so steeped in the history of the documents. I looked down — went out to get a little fresh air, and I looked down and there was a bright light and there was a bingo game going on right in the plaza. There were tables covered with all of these brightly colored things and a bright electric light hanging over it and the announcer was saying, "Everything in this bingo game is pure plastic." They were so proud and I thought of the contrast between the modern world there and the historic world that we were living in inside the convent.

Also, work was done in the Spanish archives by people like Sister Mary Christine Morkovsky and Dave McDonald who went and recovered various documents relating to San Antonio and the San Antonio Missions from the archives in Spain.

I could mention many other sites: Mission Rosario, Presidio San Sabá, Presidio La Bahía and Mission Espíritu Santo in Goliad, Fort San Luis and La Bahía down on the coast; Mission Valley, all of these sites we have done various kinds of investigations on through the years.

In the Presidio area, some of the early archeological work on Mission sites in Texas took place at some of the early — these were Indian villages when the Spanish came there to La Junta de los Rios. They were very successful agricultural villages. We since have worked several times looking at it and investigating those sites. About six months ago we learned that one of them, believe it or not, was threatened by a housing development. It is kind of hard to think that outside of Presidio there is a housing development threatening a site, but that is the case.

Bob Mallouf, one of our archeologists, has been out there many times in the last few months and we are about to work out an agreement where those three very important Colonial sites will be donated to the state for permanent preservation as historic areas.

I have spent a lot of hours looking for the temporary sites of some of the missions at Barton Springs up at Austin, and never did find a single potsherd there. I looked at San Marcos and worked with Dr. Billy Poole, an historian there, and walked and looked and never found a single

potsherd there, either. We also made an extensive search for Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli over where the old road from San Antonio to Los Adaes crosses the Trinity River. There was an extensive settlement there at one time, Spanish settlement, and I have looked and dug post holes and spent many hours. I also hired a crop duster to take me up and thought, well, maybe if I can't find it on the ground, I can see it from the air.

This crop duster took me up and we went over and he would put that plane right over on its side and say, "There, look down there," and I was trying to point my camera and take pictures. We took a lot of pictures around that area, hoping that something — I also took infrared photographs, hoping something might show up.

All was to no avail. When we went back to land in this cropdusting plane, we came along and he turned up on the side and said, "There's our landing strip." Well, that little paved strip was about eight feet wide and about 200 yards long and he came down in this plane and when he started getting close to the ground the nose of the plane came up — I think it was a Lindbergh model, where you could not see the strip, and he came down and the nose of the plane came up and he hit that little paved strip perfectly and stopped just as we got to the end of it.

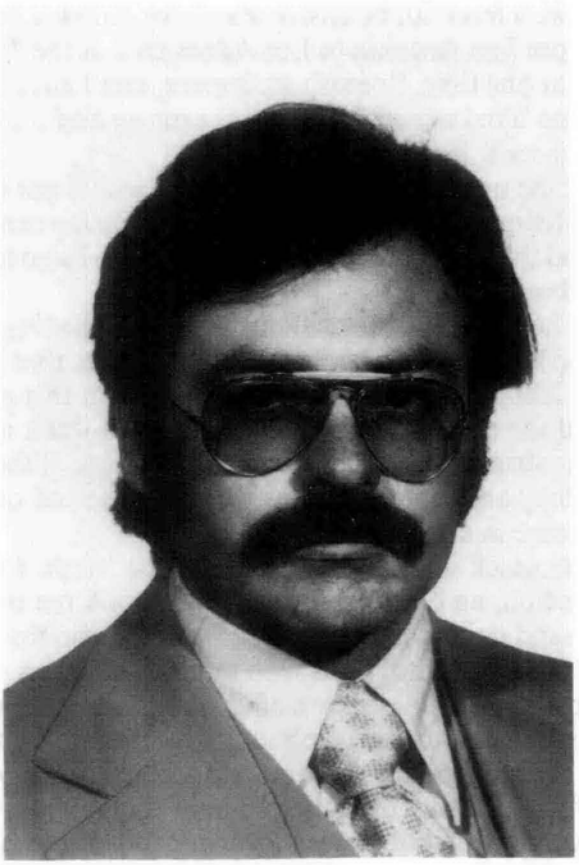
I have a lot of confidence in cropdusters.

I will tell you one more quick story about Presidio Aqua Verde. I went there one time with a veteran of the 1910 Revolution, an elderly gentleman who took me over and after considerable work and many dirt roads and going through fences, we finally did find the site of Presidio Aqua Verde. The site was made up of beautiful ruins with mounds of debris as much as three meters in height and with Spanish pottery and everything all over, littering the surface.

The next day I wanted to get some aerial photographs there so I got a guy in Del Rio to take me up and he seemed real nervous about it. We took off and started for Aqua Verde and he stayed right about tree top height all the way over there. I kept thinking we were going to find a high mesquite tree and not make it over it, but we went over and did take some real nice photographs of the square plan of the Presidio with the bastions on the corners and it showed up very clearly from the air.

We came back again and he went right down to a mesquite tree top height, and came back in and landed. Well, there was a Customs agent waiting for us. I guess they thought we had made some kind of a run over to Mexico for a nefarious purpose, so they looked us over real carefully and I think that is what the pilot was nervous about.

I believe my time has probably expired. I have enjoyed reminiscing a little bit with you about our extensive and very important Hispanic heritage here in Texas. I hope that I will be able to visit with you again sometime in the future.



Joel Gunn, Ph.D.
Environmental and Cultural Services, Inc.
San Antonio, Texas

Photo courtesy of Environmental and Cultural Services, Inc.

Research on the Landscape of the San Antonio Missions: Reflections a Year Later

by

Joel Gunn, Ph.D.

Environmental and Cultural Services, Inc.

San Antonio, Texas

It seems this is the day for reminiscence. Gil asked me to make a retrospective look at the historical and cultural landscape study which is nearly a year gone now and I have decided to use the occasion as incentive to prepare a paper for publication drawn from the Landscape Study which is for the most part a sort of cultural study in the economic anthropology of the Missions or economic geography of the Missions.

The paper, as I envision it now, will have two parts. The first part will deal with the interaction of the environment and Missions and the second part will have more to do with the cultural

backgrounds of the people who came to the Missions and how that influenced their manipulation of that environment and eventually the form of the Missions.

I will just briefly discuss some of the first part of the paper. We found a number of things that I think are of importance to the Missions and I reveal quite a bit about the people who established and built them. They, for instance, built the Missions near to, but not on, important agricultural land, at least agricultural land as defined by their particular agricultural perspectives. On the other hand, they avoided building the Missions on vertic soils; that is, soils that have montmorillonite clays in them that expand and contract with moisture. That bit of foresight probably accounts in part for the fact that the Missions are still standing today.

There are a lot of other things about the establishment of the Missions, where they are located and so on, that are important to understand. For instance, they did not simply come in and build the Missions. The establishment and building of a Mission was in many cases nearly a two-decade experiment in where to locate the Missions. First attempts place all the Missions within 50 to 100 meters of water. They soon found out that would not work because of flooding in certain areas; they were forced to move some of them away from the flooded plain of the San Antonio River.

They also worked on the irrigation canals. The Mission had to be in proper relationship to a set of fields that could be irrigated from a choke point in the San Antonio River. It was a complicated systemic process that had to be worked out.

They had a building program that went along with this. They did not immediately build buildings; they lived in less impressive structures until they decided exactly where the Mission was going to be and then they built rock structures.

The thing that I would like to discuss in some detail with you today comes from the paleographic studies of documents from the Mission period. There was an Early and Late Mission Period, which are best separated by about 1760. At least climatically those two periods are very different. The earlier one is rather warm and probably conducive to the Spanish type of agriculture and after 1760 conditions deteriorated quite a bit toward a colder regime which was what we know climatically as the Little Ice Age. I think that some of the more interesting things about the study had to do with how that change of conditions affected the Missions.

Another aspect of the environment that pertains is the valleys contained a soft sandy soil that was easily worked. Immediately adjacent to those soils were uplands which have clays, and are much more difficult to work than the Blackland Prairies.

Into this physical setting came the ideas about how Missions should be constructed and lived in from a number of sources. The most obvious was the Spanish, who initiated the concept of the Missions. Their architectural roots stemmed from one of the melting pots of Europe.

During the reported history of Spain, it has received influences from Romans, Moors, and medieval religious orders, to name a few. This includes landscaping and agricultural methods, of course. The Moors played the preeminent role in laying the groundwork for post-Middle Age of Spain's technology.

Particularly important were the irrigation systems whose character shows Roman influence and contains elements as old as the Mediterranean agriculture itself in the Near East. This influence is particularly observed with the use of a scratch plow, a two-oxen affair with a metal tip which more disturbed the soil than plowed it, in the sense of modern agriculture. Such a plow is adapted to the softer soils of the Mediterranean basin.

By the time of the Missions, the mold board plow had been used in the tougher clay soils of Central and Northern Europe for a thousand years. It required eight oxen and was therefore best adapted to use by communal organizations of farmers who could combine their respective yokes of oxen.

The proximity of the clay terraces and the sandy valley bottoms at San Pedro Springs in San Antonio offered the missionaries a discreet set of choices between existing European technologies. The fact that they wholly opted for the scratch plow in irrigation must reflect in part their Mediterranean heritage. Also, the previous experiences of the Spanish in the New World are largely to the south and west in arid environments.

At the time the Missions were established, the warm and dry climate of the early Mission period favored the extension of these techniques into the San Antonio area. On the other hand, mold board-style argiculture was a viable option in Texas soils. The mold board plow and related techniques in farming the hard clays of blackland prairies came with Anglo settlers almost exactly a century later. Methods ranged from the classic plow of four yokes of oxen, to crude plowing, which consisted of loosening the soil in some fashion and then chopping seed holes with an axe. Because clay soils hold water longer, irrigation systems are not a necessary component of the Anglo system.

You have here two different systems, one adapted to more arid conditions, and one adapted to moister conditions. I think that if you examine the times when those two modes of operation flourished, perhaps you can suggest that the Early Mission Period was a much better time for the arid land, Spanish-type agriculture with the scratch plow and irrigation. When the Anglos appeared in the South Texas area in the early 1800s, it was apparently a much moister and cooler period and their techniques were probably adapted to that altered situation.

Some of the ups and downs of the Spanish and Anglo settlements in the area should perhaps be examined in the light of those developments.

Turning to the Missions themselves, one might expect that the landscape design of the grounds of the Missions would show European influence, like the courtyards and fountains and plants. However, limited evidence indicates that the courtyards of the Missions were utilitarian in character, containing chicken coops, horse pens, and so on. Such designs were no doubt concessions to the facts of frontier life. Horses were the primary target of the northern Indians as they came into the area to hunt livestock. It may have also been a factor of the incomplete status of the Missions during their active history.

In spite of such conditions, San José drew praises as one of the most beautiful Missions. San José was the wealthiest and most successful of the Missions and it may be that unrecorded embellishments of the grounds existed. The priests' quarters were frequently finished first and one might speculate that their grounds were attended to, but no evidence has yet emerged to confirm this.

The people who lived in the Indian quarters and worked in the shops at the Missions were quite another matter relative to their cultural heritage. Through the lives of the Missions, there was a continuous influx of Indians from South Texas and these included the so-called Coahuiltecans. They were the earlier inhabitants of the regions, who appear to have arrived around A.D. 1200. The Apaches arrived later as did the Comanches. They all held in common a Stone Age culture which was nowhere more apparent than in the archeology of the Missions.

Excavations of the Missions have shown that the Mission Indians used stone tools as a matter of course in their daily lives. This may reflect in part the difficulty of obtaining metal on the frontier. Metal tools were reworked and recycled in the blacksmith shops until they were worn away.

Inventories of the Mission shops show that at one time there were three hammers among seven shops. On the other hand, the Indians were skilled in the making and the use of stone tools and materials from their manufacture were plentiful in the San Antonio creeks and the outcrops of the Edwards plateau limestones.

Rather than being a dying art, the manufacture and use of stone tools was a dynamic and evolving process during the Mission period. Long triangular stone points were developed during the Mission period, perhaps emulating the metal knives of the Spaniards. The Coahuiltecans were reported to have used a short, powerful bow. The presence of wild game in the bone collections from the Missions excavations suggested bows and arrows and wild game continued to be a part of the diet and practice of the inhabitants.

Scrapers and cutting tools for skinning and processing made of stone are frequently found. The Indians may have even assisted the Spanish in their more modern technology by making gun points for them.

The Indians were not entirely conservative in their technological outlook. They immediately adopted metal and ceramic containers imported or locally manufactured by the Spanish, apparently containers of Spanish origin which were superior to anything the Indians possessed.

With regard to historic sequences of the Missions, the individual Missions were not founded at the same time, nor did they develop in concert. They are, however, parallel between the development of the various Missions. The sequences of development can be discussed in general. The first priority of a new Mission was to establish a workable irrigation system, and I discussed that a minute ago and do not need to reiterate that.

A study of the demographic data provided by Father Habig shows that the structures of Missions changed radically over their active period. The early period before 1760 when the Missions were being founded and growing, as characterized by rather normal demography, adults and children in reasonable proportions. The later period reveals a shift toward an older population. Studies of the Missions populations shows a remarkably high infant and child mortality rate, so any disruptions of normal reproductive processes can be expected to cause problems.

As I reported above, there were considerable disruptions in Mission life beginning in the 1760s, due to direct and indirect effects of the notable climatic change. Inspectors' reports before that time note the Missions humming with activity, lands, gardens, ranches, and so on.

During the 1760s the scene changes. The records show substantial concern for military preparations. At San José the Indians practiced military drills every day and considerable interest is expressed in the armaments of the Missions. By the late 1760s, many of the ranches had to be abandoned and looms were no longer mentioned in the reports. There were barely enough people, or not enough people, to care for the gardens and fields. Military drills were no longer mentioned, although guards were posted.

There was an aging of the population. Only those persons who remembered the prosperous years of the Missions remained to tend their decline. What population there was at the Missions was augmented by Europeans and mulattos.

Some kind of disease, perhaps respiratory in nature, is reported almost every other year during the 1780s which, according to Governor Caballo, was related to the cool and wet winters. Naturally, other factors were involved in the decline of the Mission. In 1785, the Spanish governor of New Mexico concluded a treaty with the Comanches which shifted the interests of the Spanish government away from San Antonio, the center of control for the northern Indians. This resulted in the reduction of military staff and competence of administrators in San Antonio.

Also, secularization of the Missions began in the 1770s which appears to have changed the course and momentum of the Missions. These actions, combined with deterioration of the environment from the perspective of the Mission system of agriculture in a wide way appears to have weakened the Spanish presence in South Texas and prepared the way for Anglo settlers with another technology better adapted to that cooler and wetter Little Ice Age conditions.

It is of interest that impetus to Anglo settlement west of the Appalachians is also in part related to climatic change. Very cool climate in the first quarter of the 1800s, especially 1816, the co-called year without summer, convinced many to look for land in the central lowlands of North America and in the south. Probably a lot of that momentum ended up in San Antonio, naturally.



Olin Fearing, Ph.D.
Biology Department
Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas

Photo courtesy of Olin Fearing

Herbal Uses of Native and Imported Plants by the Inhabitants of the San Antonio Missions

by
Olin Fearing, Ph.D.
Biology Department, Trinity University
San Antonio, Texas

To speak with you immediately before the break may be somewhat of a challenge, because I know rigor mortis is setting in. I will try to keep my comments somewhat brief.

The studies that I have been undertaking have been basically botanic studies of the Missions, Mission citizens, populations of Mission people. The information that I have been gathering has come basically from translated materials that have been available to me from Spanish records, early clerics that came into the Mission field, from the records of the customs houses that were functioning at that time, and from the reports and records of explorers from the northeastern part of the United States after secularization or after 1800.

I have been attempting to develop some type of an understanding of the types of plants that were used and the ways in which those plants were used.

Let me digress slightly to point out that the study of plants by the Spanish had quite a significant historical development. The early study of plants by the Spanish in the New World commenced with the early work of Hernándo Hernández, which dates back about to 1570.

Now, I do not intend to review the botanical studies of the New World from 1570 on to the Mission era. But I would point out that the work of Hernández was very significant in establishing a framework of understanding the plants of the New World and the variety of organisms that occurred, particularly in Mexico and Central America, and of forming in the minds of the Mission settlers and the clerics coming north from the mission field an awareness of the natural flora and the value of the natural flora.

In fact, they were informed as they came north to record carefully the topographic and floriferous region through which they traveled and to record those on their return, of their Mission efforts. As a result of the early excitement, there was evidence among the early Spanish explorers that there was unique and peculiar flora in the New World and we see that there has been some record then of the early plants that are available to the Mission inhabitants from the early translated writing.

Many of these writings appear to be almost litany however, in nature. The travelers and early clerics seem to have perhaps somewhat dutifully recorded plants in almost the same order, under some cases, so we wonder exactly how accurate their observations were. They obviously were not trained botanists in that sense, but trained observers and consequently there is much to be wondered about in the writings that we do see available from these historic accounts.

The Missions had a number of reasons for existence, obviously, and it is not my purpose to go into this. You know much more about this, perhaps, than I do but certainly one of the things that they were attempting to do is demonstrate Spanish technology and to allow that technology to be used in the Mission areas.

One of the main aspects of that technology, of course, was agriculture and hydrometry which was necessary to sustain Mission life. For this reason, it seems quite clear that many of the plants

that were used during certainly the latter part of Mission life were plants that were being introduced from European origin. When I say European origin, I mean origin from Europe and, perhaps in a secondary fashion, coming possibly from as far afield as China or Africa, cultivated in Europe and transported then to the New World by Spanish settlers.

There are a number of different types of plants that we can categorize insofar as the Mission uses are concerned. We would look, certainly, first, I suspect, at the indigenous plants — those plants that are part of the native flora — that were used by the Indians in this area as the Spanish settlers came in.

The second type of plants that we might want to look at would be those plants that were brought by the Spanish themselves and increased the technology then of the Mission itself and increased production within the Missions.

I can see that Dr. Cruz has very carefully put the titles together, as I see considerable connection between what I have been doing and what the previous speaker was talking about.

Those organisms that we might be talking about, as far as natural flora is concerned, would include, as far as I have been able to tell, a wide variety of herbal plants. If I could run through very briefly a few of these with a comment or two regarding them, perhaps it would be — it would give you some idea of what I am thinking of.

Insofar as herbal plants, meaning small plants of a basic nature, several of these, many of these that we see from the plant uses described in literature were aquatics and this would include such things as arrowheads, which is Sagittaria, Sagittaria-like creatures that would be found in the streams and water courses in the San Antonio area; watercress; such things as cattails, a wide variety of uses for things of this nature.

Many of these can be dug and the roots eaten or the rhizomes eaten and many of the young shoots can be dug and eaten themselves, either raw or cooked. Cattails can be used in a myriad of ways, as you may well know, either the pollen or the fruit or the shoots eaten in that fashion. Watercress, as we are well aware of in this immediate area, we can still see it existing in the water courses south of town particularly here.

In addition to this, there are a number of other types of herbaceous plants. If I can include cacti as being herbaceous, a wide variety of cacti were used by indigenous populations. Class Filicineae, one of the medicinal plants that we would find in this area; a wide variety of other medicinal plants, perhaps, such as ephedra known to be an astringent and used for a considerable period of time by both folk medicine and modern medicine as an additive to medicinal compounds of one type or another.

This list would include a wide variety of things which I am not going to attempt to go through at this late hour, but suffice to say that there are probably as many as 20 to 25 different herbaceous plants of indigenous origin to be identified as part of the local flora used by Indians and were used undoubtedly in association with the Missions themselves.

In addition to the native trees and shrubs that we were trying as part of the Indian technology and available within the Missions would be such things as acacias, ashes, barberry, which you have heard of on other occasions, wild cherries, crabapples. Of course, as far as trees are concerned, cypress, elms, hackberries, which we have heard of earlier today, junipers, mesquites, a wide variety of trees and shrubby plants which were part of the Indian technology and undoubtedly served as part of the Mission technology.

In addition to this, and perhaps equally important in Mission life, were those types of things that would be coming as part of the introduced vegetation from Spanish origin. Basically, some of those plants that would be coming in with the Spanish and introduced as part of their technology from, say, the Middle East and Europe or the Mediterranean area would include things like apples, apricots, beets, cabbage, carrots, celery, figs, garlic, a wide variety of different varieties of grapes.

Incidentally, in the middle 1880s the Germans were growing as many as 30 to 35 different varieties of grapes. The Spanish used grapes quite clearly, the native grapes or introduced grapes; probably the introduced ones were during the later part of the Mission period. Lentils, lettuce, peas, pears, pomegranate, wheat, and this type of thing would be basically European and being brought

in by the Spanish as part of the technology of that particular era.

In addition, the introduced plants brought by the Spanish would include from the north or from Central and South America such things as amaranthus, cana. These are New World creatures — cotton, lima beans, peanuts, potatos, tobacco, yams, which would constitute part of the New World flora that would be used in agriculture.

In addition, of course, such things as agave, either wild or cultivated. Again, amaranthus, corn — obviously a major Indian crop. Interestingly enough, the corn that was grown mostly in the Mission fields here is believed not to be the cold, tepid corn, but probably corn that came from Durango over in the northwestern part of Mexico of Spanish introduction. Cotton, Jerusalem artichoke, or sunflowers of one type or another. Sweet potatos and tomatoes.

It is quite clear that this could be carried on in quite greater detail, but I think probably this gives you some idea of the types of directions in which I will be going with this and some of the things that I have been attempting to uncover here.

DR. CRUZ: Olin, I think there is one question.

This is Richard Garay.

MR. GARAY: I just have one question. Perhaps you may have seen the anaqua tree. You are familiar with it, the anaqua tree — rough-leafed tree.

I have visited many of the Missions in Texas that are recognized as Missions and those that are not recognized as having been Missions and in every site I find an anaqua tree. There must be some medicinal or religious or some custom that the — I think it bears a little berry. It is not a very good berry.

There is one at the Alamo and one at every Mission in San Antonio. It may just be folklore or something, but it is an interesting point at every Mission and I have been from El Paso all the way to Louisiana and down to the Gulf Coast Missions and they all have an anaqua tree.

It is a very great favorite of bees.

DR. FEARING: Yes, It would be a honey plant, right. I do not know the answer to your question.

MR. GARAY: Okay. The largest anaqua tree is at Refugio Mission. When you go to Refugio, Texas, the Texas Forest Service put a — there are so many tree specialists here, I thought perhaps you or one of them could answer this.

DR. FEARING: I do not know that any of the rest of you know the answer to this. I do not know why that would be so widely — I will check that and see.

SISTER COOKE: The anaqua has a very, very high sugar content and the missionaries used them like plums. They are really very good, and children especially would eat them.

DR. FEARING: There are many seeds that are ground and they are quite good at grinding. That could well be the answer to this, but I am not sure.

MR. THOMAS: Is that not related to the sugarberry and appleberry?

SISTER COOKE: No, they are very, very juicy.

MR. THOMAS: I say, are they related to the appleberry and sugarberry?

SISTER COOKE: No, they are not.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: When was wheat growing in San Antonio?

DR. FEARING: I cannot give you a precise date, but wheat was part of the crop that was grown here in the Missions in this area, and I would presume fairly early in the Mission period.

I have no specific exact date in which the first wheat crop was grown.

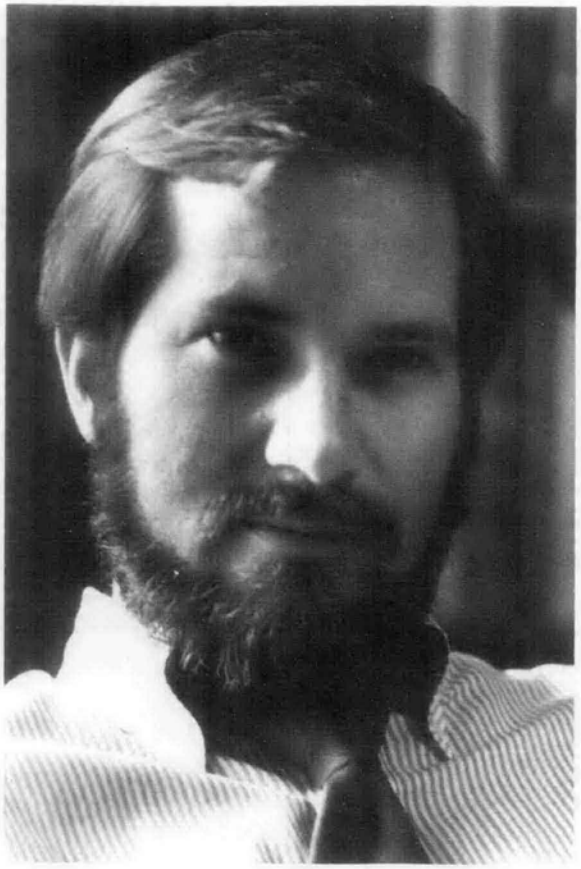
Yes?

MS. MENDOZA: Going back to the anaqua, maybe they wanted the anaqua to make some rosaries, you know, the little seeds? The missionaries could have made some rosaries.

DR. FEARING: Possibly; I do not know.

DR. CRUZ: Thank you very much, Olin.

We are going to ask Father Janacek now to show us where the refreshments and the goodies are.



Thomas W. Cutrer, Ph.D.
Managing Editor
The Handbook of Texas
TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Photo courtesy of the Texas State Historical Association

A Progress Report on the New Handbook of Texas: Gathering Information on the Missions and Texas Heritage in General

by

Thomas Cutrer, Ph.D., Managing Editor

The Handbook of Texas

Texas State Historical Association

Austin, Texas

The *Handbook of Texas* is the brainchild of the late Walter Prescott Webb. Conceived in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II while Webb was serving as director of the Texas State Historical Association, the idea was to bring into existence a general reference work from which the reader might obtain concise and accurate information on the significant people, places, and events which constitute the Texas experience. Encyclopedic in scope and format, the *Handbook of Texas* became the starting point for every inquiry into the state and its past.

Compiled through the 1940s under the editorial guidance of Webb and H. Bailey Carroll, the *Handbook* was issued in two volumes in 1952 to a hail of critical acclaim. To Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum, the *Handbook* was "the best systematic work of reference on any of the fifty United States." It is, he wrote in the *Times Literary Supplement* of London, "an invaluable reference tool for the scholar, the journalist, or anyone else." A Yale symposium on regional studies concluded that the *Handbook* "embodies the highest standards of scholarship, editing, and publication, and represents local history at its professional best." Testament to its popularity may be found in the several large printings which have been issued and in the well-used copies in any library — public or private — where the study of Texas is a serious concern.

For thirty years the *Handbook* has remained not only preeminent but unique in its field. No other state has even attempted to match the achievement of Webb and his colleagues, and the *Handbook* remains to this day the most important single work ever published on Texas. As the years have passed, however, new people and events have come to significance in this history of our state, and the cities of Texas have become the fastest growing in the "Sun Belt," the fastest growing region of our country. With this dynamic rate of change, the *Handbook* clearly demanded modification to remain abreast of the times. In 1976, therefore, the Texas State Historical Association issued a 1,145 page supplement to the two original volumes. Population figures were brought to date, individuals who had risen to prominence since 1952 were represented, and major activities of the past fourteen years were added to those of Texas' deeper past. Even at the time, however, all concerned with Volume III were aware that soon the venerable old *Handbook* would require a complete overhaul.

Although much of the original edition remains of timeless value, and although Volume III very handsomely up-dated those aspects of Webb's work which were vulnerable to the passage of time, the overwhelming consensus of scholars, teachers, librarians, and other frequent users of the *Handbook* is that a totally revised and expanded edition would be of the greatest possible benefit to the world of Texas studies. The scope of volumes one through three, although admirably encompassing the most important of Texas' citizens, almost all of her cities, towns and villages, a large share of her natural features, and the most significant events of her history, will profit greatly from broadening. Texas in the second half of the twentieth century has become a world leader in industry, in the arts, and the health sciences. Texas popular culture and folklore have captured the attention of all of western civilization, and her plant and animal life offer interesting and often unique examples of nature in a great variety of environments. All of these fields of study and many others as well will find a place in the new *Handbook* beside revised and greatly expanded entries on

topics already represented in the current edition.

For this reason, we have brought in quite a number of very fine Hispanic scholars. For example, Dr. Arnoldo de León at San Angelo State University, is our advisory editor for the Hispanic period in Texas. Dr. Felix Almaráz of UTSA is one of the advisors. Dr. Ricardo Romo at the University of Texas at Austin is a very big help to us in making quite sure that the Hispanic culture in Texas is given its proper share in the new *Handbook*.

Of course, nothing that the Hispanic culture gave to Texas overshadows the role of the Spanish Missions in Texas. They, therefore, are going to be a special part of the new *Handbook* and Dr. Gilbert Cruz has very kindly agreed to serve as our advisory editor for the Spanish Missions of Texas. Really, Dr. Cruz, rather than I, should be making this progress report since he is the one who is doing the work.

The present *Handbook* will be expanded and updated, specific topics on each of the Missions, biographical sketches of the most important missionaries, entries on the most important Indian tribes in the Missions, specific entries on Mission architecture, Mission farming techniques, arts and crafts of the Missions, architectural research being done presently at the Missions.

We want to be quite sure that the Missions are totally and completely covered. Dr. Cruz is doing the general thematic entry and also doing an essay on San José Mission, which will, I am sure, prove the model for all of the writers who will be doing work on the Missions.

In addition, it is the special goal of the editors to correct the cultural imbalance of the present work. A product of its times, the current *Handbook* places considerable emphasis upon the achievements of the Anglo-American Texans at the expense of other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups whose contributions to Texas have also been great. The role of women in the development of Texas will receive the proper emphasis. The editorial staff of the new *Handbook* has identified among its highest priorities the rectification of these flaws.

As an initial step toward these ends, the staff of the Texas State Historical Association set about identifying leading authorities in fields of Texas studies to serve as an advisory editorial council. These individuals are top professionals from all areas of the state, with specialties as diverse as agriculture, music, archeology, literature, ethnic studies, legal history, folklore, architecture, religion, urbanization, anthropology, ranching, fine arts, geography, and business history. This board has been charged with the responsibility of selecting the most significant people, institutions, and events identified with their fields of study and with recommending the foremost expert on each of those topics to prepare the entries for the *Handbook*.

In many cases these authorities will be highly regarded academic scholars who have published the outstanding monograph on a particular topic. In other instances, the best authority will be a "grass roots" historian with a great interest in his or her home town, an important local figure, or some other aspect of the writer's own region. Thus, it is our hope that the *Handbook* revision process will draw talented and committed amateurs into the researching and writing of Texas history, all spreading an enthusiasm for local history and culture to a broad segment of their communities.

All suggestions for topics and authors and all manuscripts received are programmed into the University of Texas' mainframe IBM computer for storage, sorting, and retrieval. Not only does the computer serve as an indispensable aid to the management of topics, authors, assignments, due dates, and word limitation data, but manuscripts are permanently stored, automatically indexed and alphabetized,and electronically typeset. The automated data control process will not only save hundreds of hours of editorial time and correct or prevent countless errors, it will also remain as a permanent and easily accessible repository to all computer users. It is our hope that the data base created for the publication of the second edition of the *Handbook of Texas* will continue to be expanded, corrected, and made current for as long as there is an interest in the state, her past, her present, and her potential.

As a measure of the great value that the *Handbook* has for the academic community, fourteen of Texas' finest institutions of higher learning, Lamar University, North Texas State University, Sam Houston State University, Southwest Texas State University, Stephen F. Austin State

University, Texas A&M University, Texas Tech University, University of Houston, University of Texas at Austin, University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston, University of Texas System Cancer Center, University of Texas Health Science at San Antonio, University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, the University of Texas Health Center at Dallas, West Texas State Historical Association, and the Institute of Texan Cultures, each have funded at least one position, from senior editor to research assistant, to serve on the *Handbook* staff. Research assistants, graduate students pursuing degrees in some aspects of Texas studies, are granted half-time appointments to check *Handbook* articles for factual accuracy, serve in computer operations, and research and prepare articles in their particular fields of expertise. Working closely with senior editorial board members, advisory editors, and contributors, they will acquire a great knowledge of editorial procedures, computer operations, and Texas history, culture, and natural sciences. As a by-product of the *Handbook of Texas* we are also producing in these research assistants the next generation of Texas' top historians, anthropologists, geographers, and folklorists.

The Handbook of Texas has been, from the day that Walter Prescott Webb first discussed it with his colleagues at the Texas State Historical Association, a "people's reference book." Although scrupulously accurate in its presentation of fact and rigorous in its pursuit of the best possible authority to provide each of its 23,000 entries, the *Handbook* remains one of the most approachable of all works of reference. Prized in the academic community as a highly authoritative source of information on Texas' past, it is equally the delight of every casual researcher into his or her town, county, region, or family history. Not only does the *Handbook* provide easy access to the significant facts of Texas history to a very wide variety of readers, it is also the product of a great many minds and hands, some of which are normally employed in the classrooms of the region's great universities and many more of which are those of businessmen and women, doctors, lawyers, housewives, accountants and members of other trades and professions whose role is not generally the researching and writing of history. In Webb's words, *The Handbook of Texas* will be "the product of the combined literary genius and scholarly ability of the people of Texas. It will be written by the people of Texas and will be the most adequate representation of the state yet made in book form."

The present edition of the *Handbook* represents the labor of nearly 1,000 writers — a healthy mix of professionals and laymen — and the revised edition is following in that tradition. Already the *Handbook's* editors are receiving a very strong response from all regions of the state, from representatives of a great many businesses and professions, and from most of Texas' racial, ethnic, and cultural groups to our invitation to submit ideas for topics and contributors. It is our firm belief that, as occurred with the production of the *Handbook's* present edition, the revision and expansion will ignite a renaissance of enthusiasm for the study of state, local, regional, and ethnic history. The process will, we believe, produce not only a new generation of writers and teachers of Texas history, but a much greater appreciation at the "grass roots" level for the labor of those who endeavor to perpetuate the memory and the values of Texas experience.

The revised *Handbook of Texas* is to be the primary reference guide to every aspect of the Texas experience. A perusal of the general categories to be treated in the new *Handbook* or of the areas of expertise of the members of the Advisory Editorial Board will quickly indicate the scope of the project. Literally all fields of the humanities as they relate to Texas will be represented in detail. Such a broad-ranging reference work, designed for the easy accessibility of any interested researcher, will be — as the 1952 and 1976 volumes have proved — the single most important resource in all of Texas studies. Production of the *Handbook* will involve a projected 2,000 historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, folklorists, and other humanists and scientists, at both the professional and laymen levels, in research and writing activities. The products of their labor will be made available to the broadest possible array of researchers and general readers. A recent TSHA poll of reference librarians from throughout the state has indicated that the present *Handbook of Texas* is overwhelmingly the most often consulted source on questions concerning Texas history. The goal of the present editorial board is not only to perpetuate that record but to expand the *Handbook's* usefulness into many other phases of the state's cultural heritage.

Application of Historical Photography in Structural Research of the San Antonio Missions

by

Santiago Escobedo, Archeologist

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

The importance of historic photographs can be realized simply by their absence. Without these photographs, historical interpretations of the 19th century would parallel the story of the blind Indian fakirs, each describing the newly discovered elephants themselves.

Without these visual replicas, researchers would have to rely exclusively on personal perceptions or on the interpretation of an artist to know what people or places we could never see, look like.

Our image of the 19th century would be severely limited, but, more importantly, would be our lack of visual history associated with the San Antonio Missions. The public's fascination with the magic of photography in the 1800s served as a stimulus for photographers to find new subjects to focus their attention. The San Antonio Missions proved to be romantic ruins suited to fit the bill for this time period.

As early as 1855, photos had been taken of these structures thereby initiating a recording trend which is still popular today. For the research staff at San Antonio Missions, these photographs reveal much of the original construction techniques which have since been masked by 20th century restorations.

The slides you are about to see represent just a few examples as to how history and photography are combined to present an accurate interpretation of your city's past.

(Whereupon, there was a slide presentation at this time.)

[Slide] These first two slides illustrate an example of Spanish Colonial wall and roof construction. This is a Frank Hardesty photograph of San José's north wall taken in 1886. Note the thick wall construction and how it thins as it reaches the springline of the vaulted roof with the wall continuing to form the parapet.

[Slide] The same construction technique is seen in the bedroom ruins in the convento at Concepción, again a very thick wall merging into a vaulted roof and parapet.

Also, note the absence of the present day buttress and this arched projection toward the east, indicates that another corridor existed on this side similar to the one on the west.

[Slide] In 1846, a soldier climbed onto the roof of San José, a common practice even ten years later when this photograph was taken, and described the crack which had formed between the first and the second bay of the roof of the Mission church. "There is a broad fissure on one of these arches," he said, "which must be constantly widening and unless it is arrested, will hence bring the edifice to the ground."

Well, 23 years later, in 1868, the roof does collapse and this structure remained in this condition for the following 63 years. This same soldier also described the altar in the church at this time. Again, his words: "The altar still preserves its elaborate workmanship, but the rich gilding is seen in a few of these spots, which have eluded the corroding touch of time."

With his description in mind, we can see in this 1877 photograph post holes in the church's east

wall where the retablo or altar was attached. This and other photographs of the same wall also can be used to reconstruct the framework of this altar. It has been said that the elaboration of the church's facade could only have been equaled by its altar, an object of which there are no visual representations.

[Slide] This is another detailed photo at San José. Again, note the post holes on the back wall. Through the doorway can be seen a dark object protruding just to the east of the sacristy's north door. On closer examination, it was revealed to have been a support beam.

Again, this is just one slide of many photographs which show this detail much clearer; a detail which was uncovered after the slides had been made.

The Díaz de León description of the church in 1824 says, "To one side of this sanctuary is a flying tribune of wood with a turned bannister which through a door communicates to the second story patio of one room adjoining the church which has served, or can serve, as a convenient hospice for its celebrants." This 1885 photo shows all that remains of this flying tribune.

At San Juan, the object in the window was described by a note on the back of an 1895 photograph as a coffin lid. In 1936, a newspaper story by J. W. Schuchard recalls the story pertaining to a coffin and the chapel at San Juan. Briefly, the story tells of a northerner coming to San Antonio to seek relief from tuberculosis. He waited too long and died at San Juan. He was buried there in a wooden coffin.

His wife arrived sometime later and had the body disinterred and placed in a new coffin. She took the body for reburial in the man's hometown. The wooden coffin was left by the side of the grave.

Two enterprising young men loaded the coffin onto their wagon and took it into San Antonio in hopes of reselling it. They had no luck. Even the pawn shop owner who advertised, "We loan on anything," refused.

The coffin was returned to San Juan and left in the chapel, but why was its lid nailed to the window? On closer examination of the wall, notice the crack that begins at the roofline and extends downward next to the window. The placement of the lid across the window prevented the window jambs on either side from collapsing in on each other; this gesture stabilized the north wall structure. In 1907, the Claretians arrived at the site and began restoration of the chapel and the compound.

A 1772 inventory described this structure as originally being the sacristy of a large church. This 1877 photograph shows only the eastern elevation of the present day chapel standing. This photo and its date contradicts the popular notion that when Father Bouchu arived in Galveston in 1855, he hopped on his horse and raced immediately over to Espada to begin his restoration.

The current photo documentation now shows that the church or the chapel was not restored until sometime after 1885, but before 1891 as seen is this Mary Jacobson photograph of the same year. Well, what did Father Bouchu do up until 1885? Being the practical man that he was, he rebuilt and reconstructed the two-story structure that was located at Espada at that period of time and used it as his residence.

Before we go on to the next slide, please note that the chapel doors are whitewashed and there is a small, newly-planted tree.

Finally, as an example of how photographs if not properly interpreted can lead researchers astray, this photo has been attributed by many photobook authors of San Antonio's history as being representative of the restoration efforts by Father Bouchu. Now, look closely at the tree which has grown considerably and the whitewashed doors which have faded.

There are other details which date the photo at a much later period than the Bouchu restoration. This photo represents a Father Hume and Bishop Shaw's restoration of 1911 and 1915.

The value of photography in historic research has just begun to formulate. The most immediate asset of this new combination is that structures can now be compared side by side through time. This combination has provided the Park research staff an ability to verify or discount historic documentation, thereby allowing us to present you an accurate and informative description of the San Antonio Missions history.



Patrick Foley, Ph.D.
Tarrant County Junior College, NW Campus
Fort Worth, Texas

Photo courtesy of Patrick Foley

Movements Influencing the Heart and the Mind of the Early Franciscan Missionaries in Texas

by

Patrick Foley, Ph.D.

Tarrant County Junior College, NW Campus

Fort Worth, Texas

As attention is focused upon the main driving forces which lay behind those Franciscans who missionized Texas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two characteristics of these men stand out. They brought to the land of the Tejas a Roman Catholicism shaped by both their religious order's particular approach to experiencing the Christian ideal as well as the historical evolution of the Catholic Church in Spain. In the past, Europe periodically had witnessed revivals of spiritual and intellectual zeal, which phenomena, among their other forms, matured in an outpouring of the appearance of new religious communities. These clusters of religious invariably

inherited from their founder a commitment (carefully outlined in the order's rule) to serve the Church in a specific way. In the beginning, these clerics usually exhibited a great enthusiasm for service to God with an intensity sometimes found lacking in the Church throughout. More often than not, the rule of the order helped to inflame this religious fervor among the community's membership by having profiled clearly the latter's mission in the world.

Such was the case in the thirteenth century when St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) founded his order of friars. Perhaps that feature of the saint's rule which most directly influenced later missionary activity of the Franciscans in Texas was the mandate that his followers were to remain mendicants, or beggars. By way of contrast with Europe's great landed monastic orders, the friars of St. Francis held no property in common as their community was being organized. It is true, however, that Francis's original prohibition against property ownership by the friars was later compromised. By the beginning of the fourteenth century though individual Franciscans still were forbidden to own property, the order, itself, through one means or another, could corporately possess title to land holdings.

This resistance to personal attachment to property worked to make the Franciscans — four centuries later — more effective missionaries. In the first place, the mendicants had a long tradition from which to draw of moving about among the populace rather than remaining secluded on monastic lands. This seemed to work to their advantage when they entered into the mission fields, in that even though they did out of necessity acquire property, the Franciscans never concentrated on building up vast holdings. As a result, they were able — in the eighteenth century — to adjust more easily to governmental secularization of the missions. (It should be remembered that according to original plans each mission was to be secularized after ten years anyway.)

Developing further the theme that certain characteristics marked the Franciscans as peculiarly effective missionaries, some attention must be given now to intellectual currents which affected these men. History seems to have judged the friars, generally, as being light-hearted and at times somewhat removed from the more serious theological and philosophical debates of the times. While such a portrayal is, on the whole, an inaccurate one, it does contain certain elements of truthfulness. The effect of Franciscan gaiety was that the friars, as a group, were consistently able to resist being consumed by the theological polemics of the day while at the same time turning their attention to the more mundane aspects of missionary work.

There is little doubt that St. Francis, himself, set the example for his followers cheerfulness; even today the Franciscans strive to emulate this aspect of their founder's nature. Others too, however, contributed to the overall character of the Franciscan order. Although much of William of Ockham's thought found little acceptance within ecclesiastical circles of Europe in the fourteenth century, certain essentials of his ideas influenced later Franciscans, helping to release them from medieval scholasticism's predisposition to try to prove the existence of God through rational speculation drawn from experience through the senses (from St. Thomas Aquinas) and allowing them to develop a perception of the world more like that held by their founder. This Franciscan (ca. 1285-1349) lived a century after St. Francis and his philosophical nominalism, which argued that religious truth was not ascertainable through reason, but could be realized only by intuitive faith, had some influence upon the Franciscan order.

Such is not to suggest that scholasticism was insignificant to the Franciscan missionaries. On the contrary, all Catholic seminaries and colleges established in Spanish America during the colonial era were modeled after Spain's seminaries as well as the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares, all centers of scholastic learning officially. It is intimated, though, that many Franciscan missionaries resisted scholasticism's intellectual obsession for proving God's existence and turned to the realities of work in the mission fields.

The reference to the Spanish personality of the colonial seminaries and universities serves to introduce the second distinguishing characteristic of Texas' early Franciscans, their Hispanic heritage. To be sure, not all of the early friars of New Spain were Spanish, but most were. Of even greater importance, the institutional Church of the colonial Americas (except for Brazil) was markedly Spanish. The Church in Spain was an established institution, whose inter-relationship

with the Crown the *patronato real* (a system of royal patronage whereby the Crown had pervasive control of ecclesiastical matters in the Spanish lands) most clearly mirrored. While this unique phenomenon first was established in Spain during the reign of the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, it formed the basis of royal suzerainty over church affairs in Spanish America throughout the Colonial era.

As a consequence, the Catholic Church in Mexico, and subsequently, Texas, became a standard-bearer for Spain's empirical interests as well as for the Hispanicization of the Indians. In other words, while the Spanish royal government promoted and protected Catholicism as the one true faith throughout Spanish lands, the Church stood firmly by the Crown in preaching obedience to royal authority and teaching the Hispanic culture. Thus it was in New Spain, as in the mother country, that to be Spanish was to be Catholic and vice versa. The altar and the throne were bound together in union to promote this condition.

The sixteenth-century Reformation crystalized the concept of this union in one sense by giving to the Spanish clergy, particularly the episcopacy and members of the religious orders, an intense feeling for the life and death struggle Catholicism seemed to be waging against Protestantism. This war carried over into the colonies and, therefore, the mission fields. As a result, from their earliest appearance in New Spain — and later in the land of the Tejas — the Spanish Franciscans as a group exhibited intense anti-Protestant as well as pro-Spanish sentiments.

Historians sometimes have lamented that in colonial Texas, as in other parts of New Spain, missionaries were often caught up in governmental policies and activities which worked to the disadvantage of the Indians whom the missionaries were trying to convert and teach. Yet, without the protection of the Spanish Crown, its governmental bureaucracy and military power, the Catholic Church would most likely never have been able to take hold in the land of the Tejas. While these early Franciscans in Texas were members of a world-wide missionary order, they were also subject to the established Church of Spain and, therefore, the Crown. As a consequence, the Spanish royal government was not hesitant to use the missionaries to promote its interests in the frontier areas, where strong resistance to potential interlopers in these lands (such as France) was absolutely necessary. Nowhere was such a situation seen more decisively than in the case of the foundation of Texas' first Franciscan mission, San Francisco de los Tejas in 1690. While this endeavor, just west of the Neches River, was essential to the Catholicization of the land of the Tejas, it was at the same time seen by the Spanish government as important to its efforts to resist French entry into the area.

These movements influencing the heart and the mind of Texas' early Franciscan missionaries represent only a few of the motivational factors of missionary Texas to be sure, but they constitute some of the most dominant themes distinguishing the period. Moreover, they remind once again that the story of missionary activity in Texas was never as simple as it may sometimes seem to have been. It was a narrative of men of the Church laboring to Catholicize natives in primitive frontier lands, but doing so with the advantages as well as the limitations imposed upon them by the Crown of Spain.



Brother Paul Novosal, S.M.
Archivist, St. Louis Province
St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

Photo courtesy of St. Mary's University

The Tenure of the Brothers of Mary at Mission Concepción 1855-1911

By

Brother Paul Novosal, S.M.

Archivist of the St. Louis Province

St. Mary's University

I am the Archivist for the Society of Mary, the Province of St. Louis, which includes everything west of the Mississippi excluding California and Hawaii.

The Brothers of Mary, a religious order of teaching men, came to Texas in 1852 at the invitation of Bishop Odin because he wanted a school. You will ask why did our teaching order come to Mission Concepción? The Bishop brought us here in 1852, being motivated by a lot of zeal but very little money. He needed some support for the brothers and the new school. Those are the reasons that he bought the 90 acres of the Mission Concepción property.

The director of the school at that time, Brother Edel, was a gardener. He did not want to be a director of a religious community or a principal of a school, but like a good religious he went because he was told. Being a gardener, he must have talked to Bishop Odin and Odin therefore acquired the 90 acres of Mission Concepción property with the idea that Brother Edel and the brothers could grow vegetables and fruit trees and use that in order to feed both the brothers and the students, which Brother Edel did.

He would get in his canoe at the bath house down on College Street, which is now La Mansión Motor Hotel, and paddle to the Mission Concepción property and then in the evening he would paddle all the way back to St. Mary's College.

He had to (portage) but twice. One time at Guenther's Mill and the other at what we used to call the Bishop's House. He did that until he almost drowned and then he was given orders not to go by water. After that, he took a buggy and would go to the Mission property and gather the produce and bring it down for the students and brothers, until one time Brother Edel did not arrive. In looking for him they found him almost dead and the buggy scattered all over the road. The horse was still there in pasture.

Well, after that he walked from College Street to the Mission and carried his produce that way.

Now, in 1859 a contract was made between Bishop Odin and the Society of Mary for a property in downtown San Antonio and Mission Concepción. At this time it was done because the Superior of the Brothers of Mary in Dayton, Ohio, was going to take the brothers out of Texas because the situation was rather poor for their welfare. The Bishop finally decided — he had talked about this but this action precipitated his making the actual contract whereby the property became the possession of the Society of Mary.

The Society owned the property from 1859 until 1911. The only condition was that the property would revert to the Bishop if we ever stopped operating the school. We really were not connected with the Mission in the same sense as the other missionaries, but the property was a means of sustaining the brothers while they were in San Antonio running the school.

After we received possession of the property, the Superiors in Europe gave the go-ahead sign for the brothers to work at the Mission themselves. Therefore, they had to clean up the Mission that had been used for various purposes, to some extent as a stable. I think it was a fellow by the name of Jim Harmon in 1880 who referred to it as the Augean Mess because it had been used as a stable. I suppose he was showing off his classical knowledge.

I forgot to tell you something about the beginning or permanent records of this period. Mainly because of the flood of 1921, we lost all the annals, all the diaries, all the records of the school, everything was lost whether in the water of the flood which got up to the second story of the school, which is now La Mansión Motor Hotel, or in the debris afterwards — there is a photograph of this — all this mess was put into the front yard until it dried and then they burned it.

What I am taking this from are letters and reports of some of the brothers who worked out at the Mission. We are in the process now of writing a history of the St. Louis Province, 75 years, and in doing this some of these letters and these reports are coming to light.

The reports likewise came from some of the brothers who were not teachers, but worked in the Mission fields. One of them reports that when they started cleaning the Mission, the walls were cracked, the cracks were full of snakes, and if he would shoot towards the ceiling he would get a full wheelbarrow of bats. This was the kind of condition into which the Mission had fallen.

In about 1861 they finally cleaned the church — the Mission, rather, and opened it as a church. The boys and the brothers from downtown on College Street, with some of the people, marched out to Mission Concepción with their banners and their candles and then spent the entire day out there singing hymns and having services and afterwards their refreshments. That was the beginning, therefore, of the church.

This whole 50-year period before, nothing had happened. It was simply standing there and deteriorating. Once again, it was a church. On every Thursday, one of the padres would say mass at Mission Concepción and the brothers would march the boys from downtown up to the Mission.

Now, during this period — we are talking now between 1861 and 1869 — Brother Edel purchased some more property. The Bishop originally had 90 acres and he bought some more which amounted to about 128.5 acres of property now, and the four-plus acres on which the Mission Concepción itself stood, so the acreage was a little bit larger.

Brother Edel was relieved of his duties as a principal and director of the school on the river downtown to spend his entire time out on the Mission property. He and three other brothers were living there. Now, they refer to the beautiful and picturesque San Antonio River. Brother Edel had his own little cabin that he built, and he was quite a hermit. He had put it in a cluster of mulberry trees which stood on the edge of the pecan wood that grew very easily in the bottom lands. The land itself was pretty well covered with trees of different kinds.

I wonder if it was the kind of mulberry tree I passed just before I came out here. There were three on the property of St. Mary's University where there used to be a little blacksmith shop and the workmen's cottages. I have wanted someone to sketch those for me because I have tried photographing them and they do not photograph too well, without some better equipment.

Now, during this period there were a number of candidates housed at the Mission in the order to get their training. This lasted possibly four or five years between, say, 1861 and 1869. Then the situation was not quite satisfactory so these candidates were sent to Dayton, Ohio, which was the headquarters for the Society of Mary.

That left Brother Edel and his three brothers there and eventually he, himself, was sent back to Dayton, Ohio. The reason for the Society of Mary being there almost stopped to exist. It was there to have produce in order to help feed the brothers and their students at the college — the school downtown on College Street.

Therefore, in 1869 — there is one thing I did forget. There was one brother also buried at Mission Concepción, Brother Uhlmann. He was buried there in 1867, but he was disinterred about 1873 when the Society bought a plot of ground in San Fernando Cemetery. At least, there was one burial.

In 1869, since the property was not producing very much income, the Society leased the Mission Concepción property to a Mr. Keller who, by the way, happens to be a great-grandfather, or great-grand-uncle of Father Louis Trawalter from San Antonio, who is now Chaplain at the V.A. Hospital here in San Antonio.

He had the contract which was drawn up between Mr. Keller and the Bishop for the Society of Mary, but he loaned it to Brother Joseph Schmitz when he was writing the Society of Mary in Texas and I have not been able to locate that contract again. I still have hopes, but — this was loaned by Father Trawalter to Brother Schmitz who is now dead and it was never recovered.

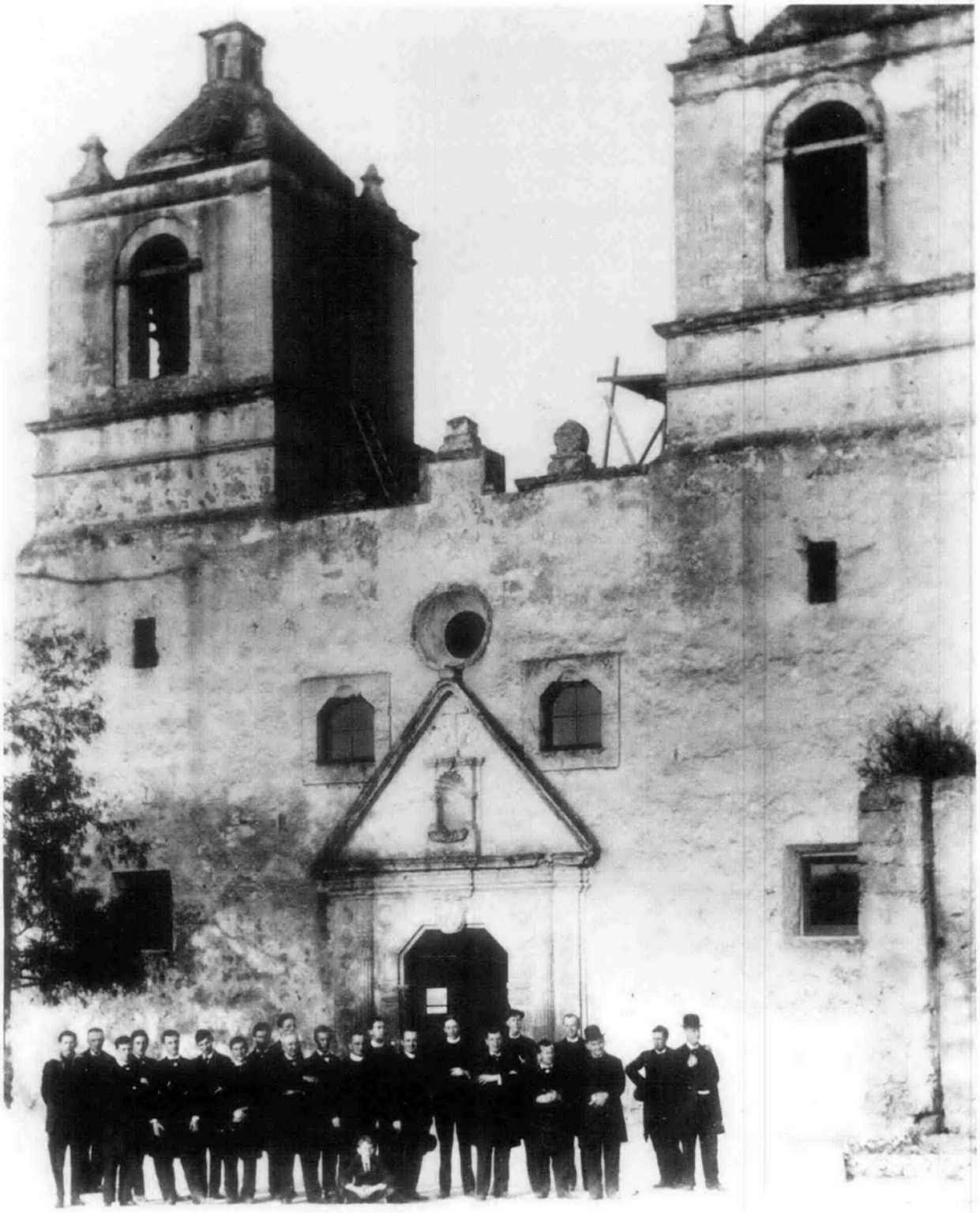
There were four other men or five to whom the property was leased for about $600 a year. This $600 furnished $120 to the Bishop for repairs and, as one of the brothers put it in his little report, the money was given to the Bishop for repairs, but no repairs were ever seen on the Mission. Money was that scarce and the Bishop did not have any repairs made on it unless it was absolutely necessary.

Then $280 went to taxes and about $200 was left for the Society of Mary for a whole year to help defray the expenses of the brothers who resided there or worked at the school downtown.

At this particular time also, during this period, the brothers were talking about operating an orphanage. The need was there. The Incarnate Word sisters were running St. John's orphanage, but at that time the Order of Incarnate Word — it was in their rules somehow, if I remember correctly — they were not allowed to keep boys beyond the age of eight, so they were trying to urge the brothers to start an orphanage for boys who would be over eight years old. There was much discussion of this going on at this particular time.

They thought they could have a garden here which would furnish produce for them and also the orphans could pick the pecans which would help make some money because if anyone else picked the pecans, whoever picked them got half of the crop.

These were some of the encouraging features that were put forth in order to have an orphanage started. This will bring us up to around 1911 when the Bishop — this is Bishop Shaw



The Marianist Brothers visited Mission La Purísima Concepción in April, 1914, where they were formerly stationed for more than a half century (1855-1911).

Photo courtesy of Louis J. Scherer, San Antonio, Texas

—was thinking now that he would like to start a parish and give the Mission Concepción back to the Franciscans and make that into a parish. He was also thinking of starting a seminary and then the orphanage and for that he needed this land, but the land belonged to the Society of Mary.

You must remember that in this whole period the land actually belonged to the Society of Mary. Now, if the Bishop makes up his mind that he would like to have his property back, he is usually going to get it back. What transpired, without all the legalities of it, the Bishop gave the Society of Mary unencumbered title to the property in downtown San Antonio and in turn the Society gave back to the Bishop all of the property encompassed by Mission Concepción.

This would then take the Society of Mary from 1855 up to 1911 when Bishop Shaw makes this exchange with the Society.

Now, a couple of things which one of the brothers has mentioned is in a letter I just discovered a couple of weeks ago, and he talked about the long rambling walls of the Mission Concepción and also the dark recesses of the convent, implying that there was quite a bit of the convent and corridors in existence at that particular time.

He does mention there was no plaster on the walls and refers to the place out there where they brought the brothers and the students sometimes as the summer villa, and which they used in the summertime for the students and for the faculty.

That is it; thank you.



Dan Kilgore, President
Texas State Historical Association, 1976-1977
Corpus Christi, Texas

Photo courtesy Dan Kilgore

The Spanish Missions and the Origins of the Cattle Industry in Texas*

by

Dan Kilgore, Author

President of the Texas State Historical Association, 1976-1977

Corpus Christi, Texas

* Dan Kilgore's fifteen minute presentation at the Conference highlighted the main ideas in this article which he wrote for *The Cattleman* magazine (January, 1983). The article is included in its entirety courtesy of *The Cattleman*, Fort Worth, Texas.

Christopher Columbus landed the first cattle in the Americas, probably fewer than one hundred head, on the island of Hispaniola in November 1493, during his second voyage. Very few additional shipments arrived before 1503, when Queen Isabella ordered all ships sailing for the Indies to carry livestock.

Because of the enormous difficulty of transporting large animals on long ocean voyages, fewer

than a thousand head were brought to the West Indies before 1512, and only minimal shipments arrived later. The natural increase of these limited imports stocked the Spanish colonies on both American continents.

The herds of Hispaniola, Spain's original base for settlement of the Western Hemisphere, reproduced phenomenally on the island's year-round growth of vegetation. By 1512 the herds had attained sufficient size to supply Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica. This amazing reproduction continued and the four islands provided the foundation stock for Mexico as well as Central and South America. In the succeeding centuries, millions of descendants of these few hundred head ranged from Argentina to Canada.[1]

The first cattle shipped from the islands to Mexico around 1521 were utilized exclusively as draft animals. Large exportations to Mexico did not start until 1527, when Nuño de Guzmán, governor of the Province of Pánuco, issued licenses to his settlers to capture Indians to exchange as slaves for livestock from the islands.

Although island officials then banned the export of cattle and horses, the desire for slaves on the islands equaled the demand for cattle on the mainland and a brisk trade developed in the two commodities. Indians rounded up and branded as slaves by Guzmán were shipped from Tampico at the mouth of the Pánuco River and traded for cattle rounded up and branded on Hispaniola and Cuba. An early rate of exchange was eighty Indians for one cow.[2]

The Spanish cattle found the same ideal climatic conditions on the mainland and enormous herds proliferated on Mexico's eastern coast. A contemporary observer, referring to the coastal zone from the Pánuco River south to Vera Cruz, remarked, "Cattle are being born and multiplying unbelievably. You cannot exaggerate their numbers."[3]

The explosive multiplication of livestock in the New World is one of the most astonishing biological phenomenon ever seen by modern man. Herds nearly doubled in fifteen months, overrunning the countryside and destroying Indian cornfields.

Stock raising expanded widely during the period of silver mining, which dominated Mexico's economy in the century following the conquest. Farming and ranching developed to supply the mines with food and draft animals and giant haciendas grew from these auxiliary operations to the mines.[4] But the early settlement of northern Mexico and the consequent growth of ranching was confined to the high central plateau, while the herds first to enter Texas in any numbers multiplied and roamed wild on the low Coastal Plains to the east.

No precious metals were discovered along the northern Gulf shore, and except for one aborted effort, settlement of these Coastal Plains was delayed for over two centuries. Luis de Carvajal initiated this single attempt at settlement north of the Pánuco River after he received a royal commission in 1579 to conquer and colonize a vast region two hundred leagues or approximately six hundred square miles. His enormous grant encompassed much of northern Mexico and southern Texas with its southeast corner fixed at the mouth of the Pánuco River and its northeast corner in the vicinity of San Antonio.

Carvajal, a converted Portuguese Jew, had pursued the Indians of the Coastal Plains and taken many as slaves to be sold in Mexico City. One allegation is that he purchased his grant from the king with the proceeds of his slaving expeditions. To finance the development of his grant, he continued expeditions as far north as the Rio Grande for several years, each time returning with 800 to 1,000 enslaved Indians.[5]

Around 1583 he located and settled his capital city of León, now the town of Cerralvo, near the geographic center of his grant, thirty-five miles southwest of the present town of Mier on the Rio Grande. Around 1590 he founded the town that is now Monclova about one hundred twenty miles west and slightly south of Laredo. Carvajal's grand venture terminated there with his arrest by the Inquisition for his failure to denounce his sister as a Jew. He died in prison penniless and unmourned in 1591, and the Indians drove his colonists back to civilization.[6]

Carvajal, like Cortéz and many other conquistadors, was a rancher and operated one ranch near Tampico and two others near the town of Pánuco. Stipulations of his grant obligated him to introduce cattle in his colony and he was the first to establish livestock near the lower border of

Texas.[7] The first cattle to wade the Rio Grande into southern Texas probably grazed down the Rio Alamo from herds he left behind at Cerralvo.

While some of Carvajal's abandoned cattle may have entered Texas, the earliest livestock to come in large numbers derived from extensive herds that developed on the nearly 300 miles of the Coastal Plains from the Pánuco River north to the Rio Grande. This part of Carvajal's grant lying east of the central plateau remained unsettled until explored and colonized by José de Escandón in the late 1740s.[8]

This region, now the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, is the great breeding ground where natural selection produced the variety of cattle known today as the Texas Longhorn. The dramatic multiplication of the original imports south of the Pánuco River is well documented and certainly was repeated north of the river. In an ideal environment, with few natural enemies other than Indians, large numbers of feral cattle had several centuries to reproduce virtually unmolested.

Even domesticated cattle of early Mexico ran at large and herds considered to be under control might never encounter human beings except at an occasional rodeo or roundup. But those between the Pánuco River and the Rio Grande reverted to a completely wild state. These feral animals retreated deep into the densest thickets and ventured out only at night to graze on the prairie, as described by a witness in 1875.

"South of San Fernando (some 85 miles south of Brownsville) cattle become wild and have to be shot as other wild animals. In some places they remain in the thickets during the day and come out at night. In that country they are hunted at night. It would be impossible to steal and drive these animals as they would not leave the thickets alive."[9]

As the herds proliferated, competition for grass pushed them northward from the tropic zone toward Texas. Extensive semi-arid plains along both banks of the lower Rio Grande created a barrier, but a route to the north lay open along the coast. Although no permanent stream beds cross the southern tip of Texas, rainfall from the Gulf provides waterholes and grass along the shore sufficient to sustain migrating cattle. North of the desert region, Texas rivers served as sheltered and well-watered highways that the wild cattle traveled along on their way into the interior.

Cattle entering southern Texas from Mexico found shelter in existing thickets which at that time grew primarily along the stream beds. Only a few scattered trees stood on the endless plain. As long as the native grasses remained undisturbed, the mesquite, huisache and other thorny plants that now cover much of South Texas did not encroach on the prairies.

As the wild cattle multiplied in the thickets, they overgrazed the nearby forage and their hooves trampled and damaged the brush-resisting turf. Like all cattle, they fed as near as possible to their water supply and placed the greatest stress near the thickets where they hid.

While they primarily grazed the prairie, they also browsed on seed pods of the brushy plants. The seeds they consumed, which were softened by passing through their digestive tracts, were deposited on the damaged turf in an ideal condition to germinate.

Some of the dropped seeds sprouted and took root in areas where the ground cover was destroyed. The effect of increasing numbers of cattle enabled the brushy plants to extend their range. The record they created on the land indicates that substantial numbers of wild cattle settled beyond the Rio Grande much earlier than the Spanish who introduced them in Mexico.[10]

Localities where wild cattle concentrated should be indicated by the spread of extensive thickets along the streams and outward onto the plains. Journals of the early Spanish entradas into Texas provide evidence of heavy stands of brush where the original developing herds caused an increase in the density and extent of their shelters.

The coasts of northeastern Mexico and southern Texas were virtually unexplored until the late 1680s and Texas might have remained unsettled much longer, had not the French explorer, La Salle, established Fort St. Louis near Lavaca Bay in 1684. News of his landing aroused the Spanish to search for the French intruders and also establish missions in East Texas.

In the summer of 1686, General Alonso de León led an expedition from Monterrey to determine if La Salle had located at the mouth of the Rio Grande. The expedition struck the river

near present Rio Grande City, then followed its course to the Gulf. During most of the twelve-day journey down river De León encountered dense thickets of thorny brush along its south banks. The thickets often extended from nine to 12 miles out and were so impenetrable that at times he rode miles to find access to water. In some places he could reach the river only by faint paths through the thorny jungle.[11]

On the expedition three years later which finally located La Salle's fort, De León reported heavy brush on the Nueces River. He crossed the Rio Grande above present Laredo in April, 1689, then discovered and named the Nueces when he reached it near present Cotulla. To cross the river, his men had to detour a mile and a half and then cut a passage with cutlasses and axes for almost three miles through a dense thicket of prickly pear and mesquite.[12]

In the following year, De León drove the first cattle herd across Texas on his expedition to establish the mission San Francisco de los Tejas among the Indians living near the Neches River. Most of the 200 cows authorized for the expedition were probably consumed along the way, since he left only twenty head for use by the mission at its consecration on June 1, 1690.These few head appear to be the first herd intentionally established in Texas.[13]

Domingo Terán de los Ríos brought an unknown but probably larger number of cattle on an expedition to the mission in the summer of 1691.[14] But this mission was doomed when the Indians refused to attend services, threatened to drive away or kill the priests, and raided the cattle and horses. The priests finally burned the mission and fled in October of 1693, abandoning many possessions, including their cattle.[15]

The mission was abandoned for over a quarter century until reestablished by the Spanish because of another French intruder, this time in the person of Louis Juchereau de St. Denis. When St. Denis arrived in East Texas in 1714 he reported much of the country literally covered with cattle and horses.[16] The old legend that De León left a "bull and a cow, a stallion and a mare" at each river he crossed does not explain the source of this livestock.[17] La Salle had found horses there in 1686, well before De León's visit, and traded with the Indians for five of these horses.

It is clear from accounts of La Salle's expedition that the East Texas Indians acquired the animals from the Jumano Indians of far western Texas who had begun trading with the Spanish in the 1650s. By the 1670s the Jumanos regularly visited the East Texas Indians at annual trade fairs to barter livestock and merchandise obtained from the Spanish. La Salle's five horses came through one of these fairs.[18]

From the best evidence, La Salle brought no cattle to Texas and there are only inconclusive indications that he found wild cattle. Henri Joutel, who kept the most reliable journal of his visit to Texas, wrote that La Salle brought hogs and poultry but no cattle.[19] The expedition did enbark with at least one head, as the hide of a cow they had killed was aboard ship when they arrived on the Texas coast.[20]

Joutel refers to boeufs, which translates as beeves, throughout his journal and while he is referring to buffalo, he may have used the word with reference to cattle in one instance. La Salle and several of his men, departing Texas for Canada, encountered Indians from a village in the Neches-Angelina area hunting boeufs with dogs in a river bottom. The dogs chased the animals close enough to the French for them to shoot one.[21] Since it seems unlikely that buffalo would remain in a river bottom in an area highly populated by Indians, these boeufs may have been wild cattle.

Farther along the journey, La Salle's brother, Jean Cavelier, wrote that they saw "a great number of domesticated oxen and cows, which they milk as they do in Holland" at an Indian village near the Red River.[22] The more reliable Joutel said the Indians had "no domesticated cattle," and while the tale of Indians milking cows appears to be one of the earliest recorded Texas yarns, the statement does raise the possibility of the presence of wild cattle in eastern Texas in the 1680s.[23]

Another indication of feral cattle in the area is contained in the report of Domingo Terán de los Ríos on his return in January of 1692, from the mission San Francisco de los Tejas. The Father Superior of the mission had refused his request for thirty cows for provisions, and Terán's meat

supply ran out before he reached the Trinity River. He ordered four scouts to try to obtain meat without returning to the Indian villages and five days later his men returned driving some cows from an unidentified source.[24]

St. Denis said that the thousands of cattle and horses he found came from the natural increase of animals left behind when the mission was abandoned twenty-one years earlier, and this seems a logical explanation. However, his belief that the Indians had preserved them and had refused to kill any out of veneration for the Spaniards and hope for the restoration of the mission does not appear justified. Instead, the enormous increase demonstrates the remarkable capabilities of the animals to survive and reproduce.[25]

Whatever their origin, the country of the Tejas Indians in East Texas was literally covered with cattle and horses in 1714, according to the testimony of St. Denis. He entered Texas with a permit from the French governor at Mobile to obtain a supply of cattle and horses from Texas for Louisiana. But without asking permission from the Spanish, he organized the first cattle drive out of Texas.

He arrived in early 1714 with twenty-four men and spent six months among the Tejas Indians, trading them guns, beads, knives and cloth for buffalo hides, horses and cattle. From his testimony it appears that twenty-one of his men returned to Mobile with the hides and driving "many cattle." Since the cattle were traded for, rounded up, and then driven by his men, the animals must have been under some degree of control by the Indians.

With his remaining three men, along with twenty-five Indians and their chief, he left the Tejas villages for the Spanish presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. At the Colorado River his party encountered and soundly defeated 200 hostile Indians, said to be from the coast, who were accustomed to raiding the Tejas and stealing their livestock.[26]

The entry of St. Denis with his French permit to purchase cattle and horses was directly reponsible for the occupation and settlement of Texas by the Spanish. When he arrived at San Juan Bautista in 1714, Spanish authorities realized his ultimate design of obtaining a free trade treaty between the French and Mexico. They reacted to his visit as they had to that of La Salle and immediately prepared to forestall French encroachment by occupying Texas.

An expedition under Domingo Ramón in 1716 reestablished the mission San Francisco de los Tejas in East Texas, and a larger expedition under Martín de Alarcón in 1718 founded the permanent settlement at San Antonio. Journals of these and other Spanish entradas of this period contain the first specific references to the sighting of wild cattle in Texas and establish that wild cattle roamed well beyond the vicinity of the Tejas villages.[27]

In 1716, two men lost from the Ramón expedition survived by killing a fat cow as they wandered deep in dense thickets near present Rockdale, northeast of Austin. The two reappeared twelve days later, praising the Lord for providing the meat that sustained them. During the interval both they and the main party had traversed the Monte Grande, known today as the Cross Timbers, forty to fifty miles of impenetrable thickets of oak, brush and grapevines extending eastward to the Brazos River. So dense were some thickets that axes and knives were necessary to hack a passage for the expedition.[28]

A party of both French and Spanish, retracing Ramón's route from the east in 1717, found boeufs sauvages, literally "wild cattle" but the term used by the French for buffalo, at the Brazos River. Dense brush scratched their horses badly in the thickets of the Monte Grande,and at its western edge they came upon the "tree with thorns that the Spanish call mesquite." They also reported much thorny brush between the present towns of New Braunfels and San Antonio.[29]

Wild cattle were observed again the following year by members of the Alarcón expedition during two short inspection tours out of San Antonio. For three days in May of 1718, they saw many tracks thought to be those of buffalo, but then encountered a "black Castilian bull" in a thick wood below present San Marcos. This convinced them that all the numerous tracks were made by cattle rather than buffalo. In September, a small party exploring the Guadalupe River west of present Gonzales sighted two more bulls and killed a bull the following day.[30]

In 1722, soldiers of the Aguayo expedition, on their journey to East Texas, discovered

"footprints left by Castilian cattle" north of the San Marcos River but failed to hunt down any animals. They also found heavy mesquite thickets near the San Marcos River and between San Antonio and present New Braunfels.[31]

The numerous hoofprints reported indicate the presence of much larger numbers of cattle than the few head seen, since wild cattle tend to hide during daylight hours. How large an area the cattle occupied is not known as all the reports originated near the road from the Rio Grande to East Texas, the only part of the state traversed by the Spanish from 1716 to 1722. Evidence that they roamed a much wider area during this same time is in the report of a French visit to the lower Texas coast only a few miles north of the mouth of the Nueces River.

In the autumn of 1720, a French vessel from Louisiana under Captain Jean Beranger found Aransas Pass, the channel between St. Joseph and Mustang Islands. Beranger explored Aransas Bay and Live Oak Peninsula near present Rockport and wrote that the surrounding country was stocked with boeufs or "beeves." While ashore he found un corne du boeuf d'une grosseur prodigieuse, "an ox horn of enormous size." Since buffalo have small horns, his discovery appears to be the first specific reference to cattle with long horns in Texas.

In the following year, Beranger visited a bay to the north, probably Galveston Bay, and wrote that boeufs sauvages, literally wild cattle but the common French term for "buffalo," were abundant there. He had spent several years in America and his distinction between boeufs and boeufs sauvages along with his discovery of "an ox horn of enormous size" is strong evidence that the animals he reported on the Texas coast in 1720 were cattle.[32]

Reports of these various expeditions prove that many wild cattle roamed Texas before the founding of the first permanent settlement in southern Texas at San Antonio de Bexar in 1718. Some probably originated from herds abandoned in East Texas in 1693, but their presence near San Antonio and on the lower Texas coast indicates that others entered the state from the south.

The isolated and unsettled Coastal Plains of northeastern Mexico provided an ideal breeeding ground where the animal known today as the Texas Longhorn developed as a distinct type of the Spanish cattle imported to the Americas. Dense stands of brush reported by Spanish explorers indicate that by the late 1600s wild cattle had grazed along the lower Rio Grande for many decades and could have been established on the Nueces River. By the early 1700s they inhabited much of that part of Texas known to the Spanish.

During more than three centuries of natural selection, these Texas cattle acquired hardiness, fertility and the instinct to range wide for forage. Yet the horns that made them the symbol of the Ameican West, along with their cat-hams and slab sides, caused them to be bred away and brought nearer to extinction than the buffalo.

[1] Rouse, John E., *The Criollo, Spanish Cattle in the Americas.* University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1977. pp. 21-43

[2] Chipman, Donald E., *Nuno de Guzman and the Province of Panuco in New Spain, 1518-1533.* The Authur H. Clask Company: Glendale, 1967. pp. 198-210.

Reyes, Candelario, *Apuntes para la Historia de Tamaulipas en Los Siglos XVI & XVII.* Mexico 1944. p. 26.

[3] Chevalier, Francois, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda.* University of California Press: Berkley, 1970. p. 94.

[4] Brand, Donald D., "The Early History of the Range Cattle Industry in Northern Mexico." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 35 (July, 1961). pp. 132-134.

[5] Chevalier, op cit, pp. 156-157.

[6] Liebman, Seymour B., *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame and the Inquisition.* University of Miami Press: Coral Gables, 1970. pp. 141-151.

[7] Reyes, op cit, p. 33.

Duaine, Carl L. (translation and commentary), *Caverns of Oblivion.* Privately printed: Corpus Christi, Texas, 1971. p. 54.

[8] Reyes, op cit, p. 55.

Gerhard, Peter, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1972. p. 213.

[9] *Texas Frontier Troubles.* 44th Congress, 1st Session, H. of R. Report No. 343. Washington, 1876. p. 103.

[10] Bogusch, Edwin R., "A Bibliography on Mesquite." *The Texas Journal of Science*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December, 1950). pp. 533-535.

Dobie, J. Frank. *The Longhorns.* Little Brown and Company: Boston, 1941. pp. 11, 288-289.

Tharp, Benjamine C., *The Vegetation of Texas.* The Texas Academy of Science by the Anson Jones Press: Houston, 1939. p. 10.

Vigness, David M. (ed.), "Nuevo Santander in 1795; A Provincial Inspection by Felix Calleja." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 75, No. 4, (April, 1972). p. 473, 476.

[11] Duaine, op cit, pp. 188-195.

De Leon, Alonso, Juan Bautista Chapa, and Fernando Sanchez de Zamora, *Historia de Nuevo Leon, con noticias sobre Coahuila, Tamaulipas, y Nuevo Mexico.* Biblioteca de Nuevo Leon: Monterrey, 1961. pp. 193-202.

[12] Bolton, Herbert E. (ed.), *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* Barnes & Noble, Inc. New York, 1952. pp. 390-392.

[13] Ibid, pp. 367, 383.

[14] Hatcher, Mattie Austin (trans.), *The Expedition of Don Domingo Teran de los Rios into Texas.* Preliminary Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1. Texas Catholic Historical Society: Austin, 1932. pp. 7, 19.

[15] Dunn, William, E., *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States 1678-1702; The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola.* The University of Texas: Austin, 1917. pp. 139-143.

Clark, R. C., "Louis Juchereau de Sant-Denis and the Re-establishment of the Tejas Missions." *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* Vol. 6, No. 1, (July , 1902). p. 2.

[16] Pichardo, Jose Antonio (Trans. by Charles Wilson Hackett, Charmion Clair Selby, and Mary Ruth Splawn: Ed. and ann. by Charles Wilson Hackett), *Pichardo's Treastise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas.* (4 Vols.) The University of Texas Press: Austin, 1931-193. Vol. 4 p. 308.

[17] Dobie, J. Frannk "The First Cattle in Texas and the Southwest Progenitors of the Longhorns." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 42, No. 3 (January, 1939). pp. 175-176.

[18] Joutel, Henri, *A Journal of the Last Voyage Perform'd by Monsr. de la Sale, To the Gulph of Mexico, To Find out the Mouth of the Mississippi River.* London: 1714 (Readex Microprint reprint, 1966). pp. 74, 92.

Pichardo, op cit, Vol. 2, pp. 522-527.

Swanton, John R., *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians.* Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 132. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, 194. pp. 35-42.

[19] Joutel, op cit, p. 77.

[20] Ibid, p. 22.

[21] Ibid, p. 91.

[22] Delanglez, S. J. (Trans. and ann.), *The Journal of Jean Cavalier, The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688.* Institute of Jesuit History: Chicago, 1938. p. 119.

[23] Ibid, Note 81, p. 147.

[24] Hatcher, op cit, pp. 39-40.

[25] Pichardo, op cit, Vol. 2. pp. 526-527, Vol. 4. p. 308.

[26] Ibid, Vol. 1. pp. 218-222.
Clark, op cit, pp. 7-9, 12.

[27] Ibid, pp. 7-9.

Pichardo, op cit. Vol. 1. pp. 218-222.

Williams, J. W., *Old Texas Trails.* Eakin Press; Burnet, Texas, 1979. p. 74.

[28] Foik, Paul J., (trans.), *Captain Don Domingo Ramon's Diary of His Expedition into Texas in 1716.* Preliminary Studies, Vol. 2, No. 5. Texas Catholic Historical Society: Austin, 1933. pp. 15-17.

Tous, Gabriel, (trans.), *Ramon Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716.* Preliminary Studies, Vol. 1, No. 4. Texas Catholic Historical Society: Austin, 1930. pp. 15-17.

Williams, op cit, p. 50.

[29] Margry, Pierre (ed.), *Decouvertes et Establissments de Francais Dans L'Quest et Dans Le Sud de L'Amerique Septentrionale.* Paris; 1871-1880. (6 vols.) Vol. 6. pp. 204-207.

Allen, J. A., "History of the American Bison." *Ninth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories: Being a Report of Progress of the Exploration for the Year 1875.* Government Printing Office: Washington, 1877. pp. 455-456.

[30] Celiz, Francisco, Translated with Introduction by Fritz Leo Hoffman, *Diary of the Alarcon Expedition into Texas, 1718-1719.* The Quivira Society: Los Angeles, 1935. pp. 50, 52, 60.

Hoffman, Fritz L., (trans.), "The Mezquia Diary of the Alarcon Expedition into Texas, 1718." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 41, No. 4, (April, 1938). pp. 319, 321.

[31] Forrestal, Peter P., (trans.), *Pena's Diary of the Aguayo Expedition.* Preliminary Studies, Vol. 2, No. 7. Texas Catholic Historical Society: Austin, 1935. pp. 20-22.

[32] "Memories de la Louisiane: A Collection of Memoirs Concerning French Possessions. 1702-1750." MS No. 293, Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. pp. 63, 69, 7.

M. de Villiers and P. Rivet, "Les Indiens du Texas et les Expeditions Francaises de 1720 et 1721 a la Baie-Saint Bernard." *Journal de la Societe de Americanistes de Paris, Nouevelle Serie,* T. XI, (1919). pp. 409, 411.



Richard Garay, Archival Specialist
San Antonio, Texas

Photo courtesy of Richard Garay

Identifying the San José Acequia and the Need to Preserve its Existing Parts: An Exercise in Archival Research

by

Richard Garay, Archival Specialist

San Antonio, Texas

I am just going to pull my maps and I am going to speak from some maps I have constructed. — Can you see from there, most of you? I may need just a little bit of help.

The San José acequia is one of the longest of all seven acequias that we have here in San Antonio. Over 263 years ago, the need for irrigating the crops at Mission San José became a high priority. The Franciscan friars who established the early Missions built one of the most remarkable systems of irrigating canals, or acequia, which means irrigation canal.

Considering the times and the hardships under which they labored, the Franciscans, when one stops to picture the harsh character of the frontier wilderness in which these friars had to survey for a suitable location for their acequia, it is astounding. A previous speaker referred to a big thicket. In San Antonio, this was largely a big thicket as well.

How these friars could possibly go up the river two or three miles above each Mission and find the proper spot at which to divert the water from the river into the canal and then maintain a proper gradation for the water to continuously flow, you have to just walk the original portions that are left of our river to imagine the skill that that required.

To this present day, in one of our acequias water is still flowing, based on where these friars chose to locate the acequia, and that was the Espada ditch.

They dug seven, as I said, major acequias and at least one other which was a minor acequia, the Acequia de los Moches. It was down there near La Villita.

There were some very large lateral branches that extended from the main or madre ditch, and some of these laterals can still be identified today. One down there by Mission Concepción and several down there near Military Drive.

These early inhabitants of San Antonio were guided by some very skilled priests and religious brothers, in each instance with remarkable accuracy, and they trenched out each acequia. One of the speakers, I forget who it was, spoke of oxen pulling a specific type of plow. That is how they did them. The oxen broke the biggest part of the dirt and the Indian laborers came behind them with walnut shovels, because they moistened in dirt and they shoveled with walnut shovels because with walnut wood — mud does not adhere to it, it slips off easily.

In each instance, these priests were able to define the location best suited to draw water. The acequia at San José — the one specifically today that we want to look at — dates from around the year 1724. Now, everybody knows Father Marion Habig's writings and what he tells us of the early Franciscan missionary, Father Nuñez de Haro . Father de Haro is the builder of the first site and second site and the third site, in fact, of Mission San José.

Father de Haro is probably the one who chose the site where the dam was located, and I will point that out to you. General Pedro de Rivera, during his inspection of the northern frontier from 1724 through 1727, speaks of Mission San José. He indicates that there was an abundance of crops that were watered by this acequia. The San Jose ditch had its origin just inside, just north of the old city limits which would be present day Octavia Street which runs east of South Flores. That was the city limit until on or about 1913.

Remnants of the old wing-type diversion dam survived up until 1958 when the river rechanneling project was undertaken by the United States Corps of Engineers. They redredged and rechanneled what people now, who are not old enough to remember the original river, call the San Antonio River. What we have now is just a big drainage trench outlined in pink on my map here (indicating).

Ecologically speaking, as most of the speakers today have been describing, this was a disaster to the ecological balance along the banks and vicinity of the original river. One just has to go to the banks of the new rechanneled river today and count the number of dead trees and you do not have to be an ecologist to know that a dead tree has suffered the loss of water. You will be amazed how many dead trees there are. The water table, you must imagine, was about 45 feet higher on the original San Antonio River than it is now in that big drainage ditch that we now call the river. It was dropped too low beyond the reach of most of those beautiful trees and so they all died.

I have never been able to find the environmental impact study that they did before they dredged the river. I do not believe one was done. Now, all these things may seem like something we have no control over, but being an environmentalist or conservationist or preservationist, whatever you might call yourself, we need more of you. Just recently I was able to head off, with the aid of the Bexar County Historical Commission and with the intervention by the San Antonio Missions National Historical group people, the city's attempt to destroy an existing remnant of our San José Acequia that I will describe to you on the map.

I was astonished when I went to review the National Register of Historic Places in Texas, of

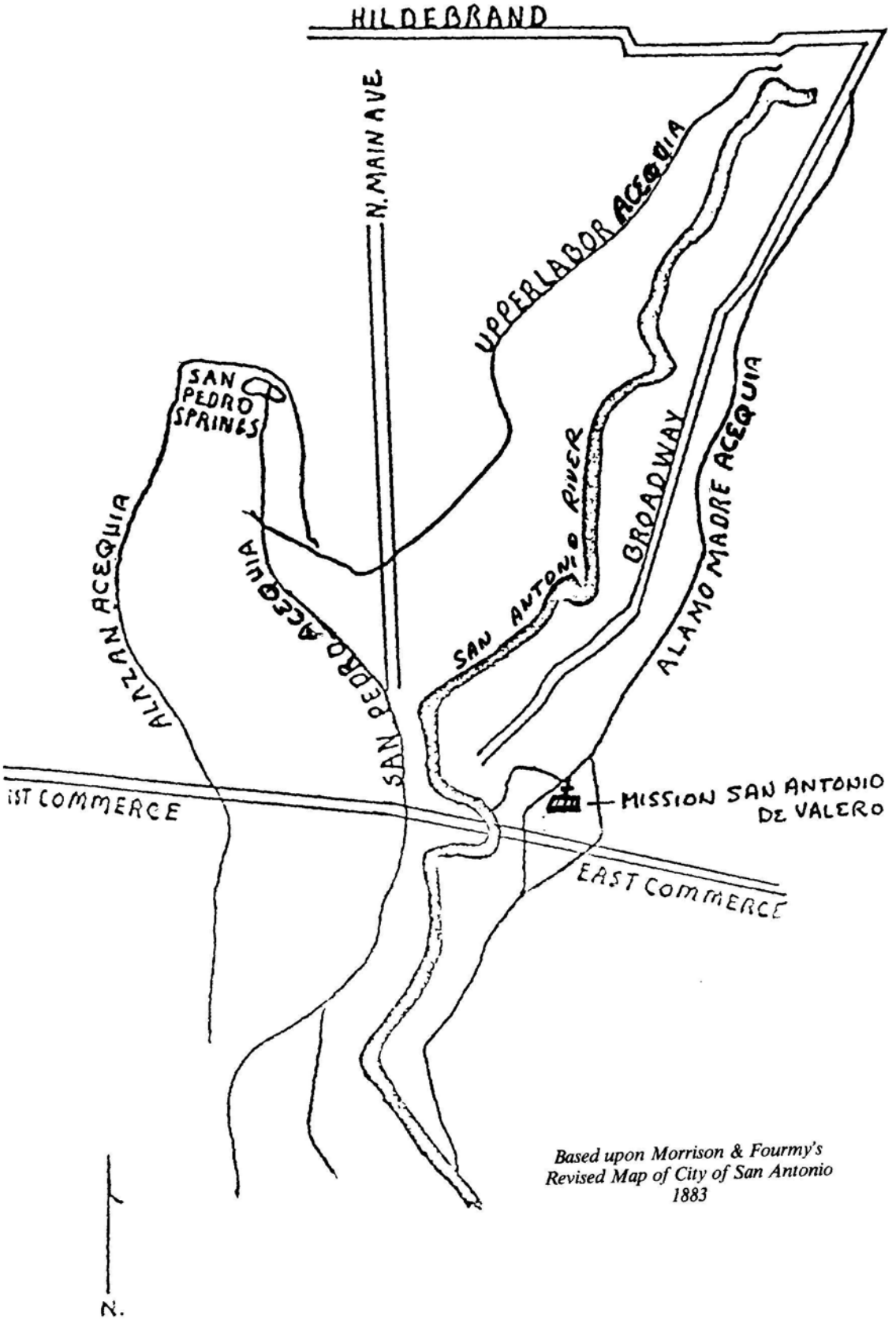
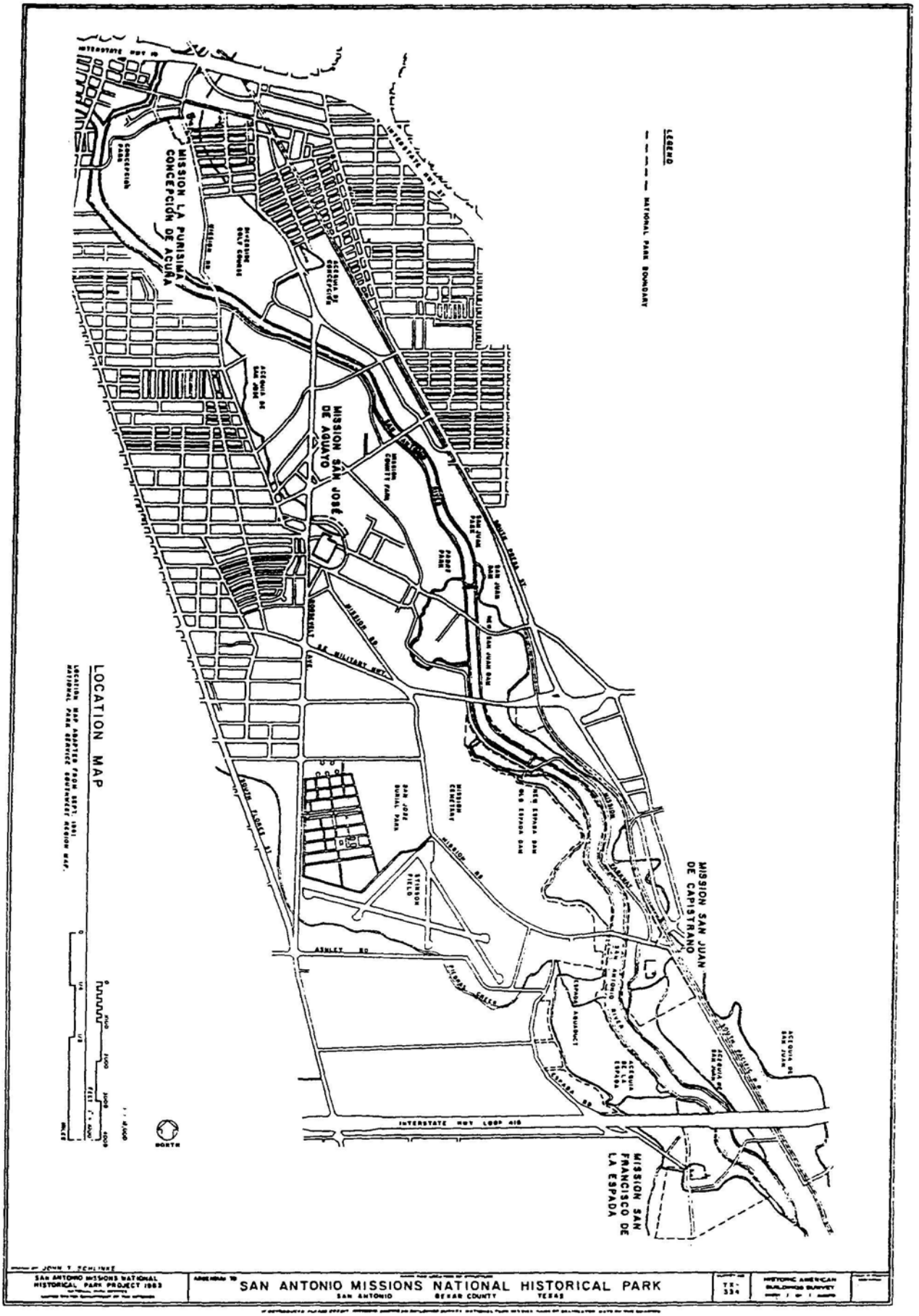


Figure 1 — Sketch map of the Alazan, Upper Labor, Alamo Madre and San Pedro Acequias in relation to the city of San Antonio.


LEGEND
NATIONAL PARK BOUNDARY
MISSION LA PURISIMA CONCEPCIÓN DE ACUÑA
MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE AQUAYO
MISSION SAN JUAN DE CAPISTRANO
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA
LOCATION MAP
LOCATION MAP ADAPTED FROM SEPT. 1981 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE TOPOGRAPHIC MISSION MAP.
NORTH
SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK PROJECT 1983
SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
SAN ANTONIO BEXAR COUNTY TEXAS
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

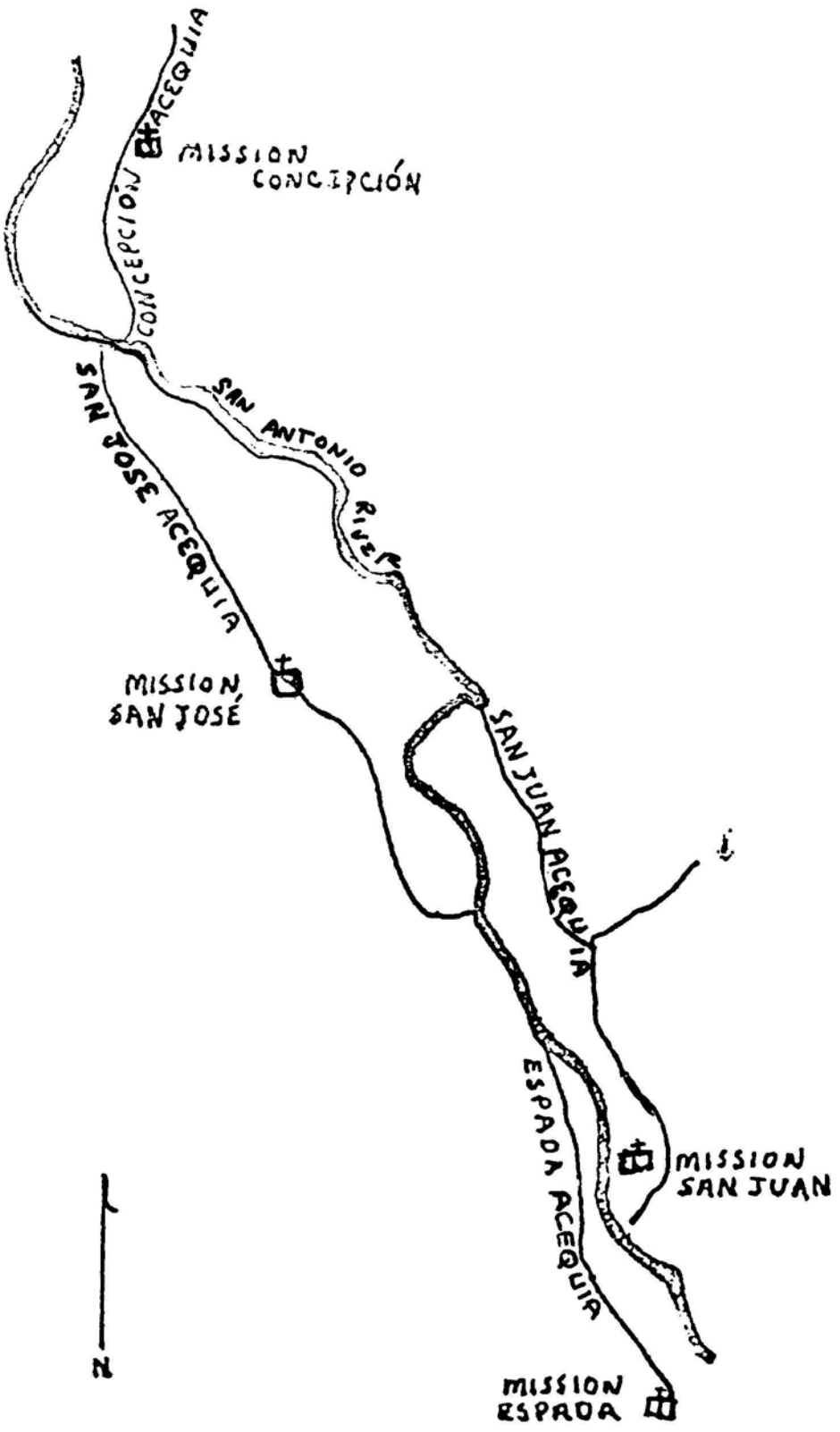


Figure 2 — Sketch of the approximate courses of the three lower Acequias on the San Antonio River.

which there are 40 in Bexar County — this has been updated; this is the 1979 version of the National Register of Historical Places. None of the acequias are in it. Hangar Nine at Stinson Field is, but none of the acequias. The Espada aqueduct is, but not the Espada acequia.

That means that there is no state protection for what is left of any of our acequias. The first map I want to point out is 189 years old. When it was drawn, it was on orders of the Brigadier General Don Pedro de Nava who ordered the initial secularization of the San Antonio Missions and, of course, Valero Mission was permanently secularized then, in 1793 or '94.

At that time, they drew all of the acequias and the full length of them and all of the porciones or the apportionment that was going to be made of the Mission crop fields and Mission lands and land grants, one of them being a very big one, a very important one, belonging to Padre Gavino Valdez. His land grant, the northern, north-eastern boundary of his land grant, was the San José acequia. That was the northern boundary of his land grant. It extended all the way to León Creek. This grant comprised a lot of real estate.

Moving along, the other best map that I could locate that was of any value and could give credence to the importance of the San José acequia was Harvey P. Smith's map of the Depression years, 1934 through 1936. The map shows Concepción Mission right here, this little square, and then the distance from it to the dam and the origin of the San José acequia. He was off by over 225 feet, so if you want to try and locate the dam or the origin of the acequia based on this map, you would be off by too far. It also shows the Concepción acequia where it terminates at Riverside Golf Course today.

Now, I will just walk over to the big map. I outlined the original San Antonio River in blue and I put the metes and bounds of the river as best as I could find, as these are old maps.

Moving down along the rest of it, beginning at the Mission Road bridge all the way to the east side, the eastern curve of Roosevelt Avenue, just west of the granary there is 6,780 feet of acequia and all of this is just covered with dirt. However, the San José acequia is essentially gone when one gets to Southcross Street, Mission Road or to Roosevelt Avenue. These first almost 4,000 feet are intact; they are just covered with dirt. That is part of what is now the south part of the city-owned Riverside Golf Course.

Time being short, I will move quickly. This is just a blow-up of a very good scale of what is about 1,400 feet of acequia that surrounds — goes east from Roosevelt Avenue over behind the monastery at San José Mission all the way down to Napier Street. From there almost every inch of the San José acequia now is sadly gone. I drew it also, and there is 6,200 feet of acequia from Napier all the way to where the acequia re-enters the San Antonio River.

This is the scale and you can see the Mission very small, San José Mission, Napier. From here, it would have to be resurveyed because if you follow where Huizar Street is, that is where it sort of makes a loop and then goes south of Military Drive and it terminates back into the river at Mission Burial Park about 300 feet south of Military Drive.

This large drainage channel is what is now the San Antonio River. Now, 3,100 feet southwest of the southwest corner of Mission Concepción was the beginning of a 400-foot-long dam, the San José Dam. The acequia — I have blown this segment up to 60 feet to the inch and this is 100 feet to the inch. From the dam to the Mission Road bridge, we have almost 3,000 of acequia. Of those 3,000 feet, there is like 421 feet that has completely disappeared because of homes being on top of it and the like.

The Concepción arroyo is another important thing that has been rechannelized and all the early deeds and abstracts describe the distance to the dam from the Concepción arroyo and also the distance to the dam from Concepción Mission.

Now, this here is the 60-feet-to-the-inch blow-up that I made. If you were going there today and you wanted to see where the acequia was, this section here was threatened recently by this shaded area which is over 1,000 feet long. The shaded area is landfill. The city decided that they would put dirt there and they did. Now, when they come to remove this dirt they have to be very careful that they do not remove the remaining segments of our acequia. Before this unneeded landfill, there was essentially an undisturbed, original acequia and the original riverbed is also still there.



Lt. Col. Jim L. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Vice President, Texas Archeological Society
San Antonio, Texas

Photo courtesy of Jim L. Mitchell

THE 1983 SEARCH FOR MISSION SAN ILDEFONSO, MILAM COUNTY, TEXAS

Jimmy L. Mitchell, PhD
Region Six Vice President
Texas Archeological Society

ABSTRACT

During the 1983 Texas Archeological Society (TAS) Field School at Rowe Valley, northwest of Taylor, Texas, a group of TAS members, headed by Dr. Kathleen Gilmore of North Texas State University (and 1983 President of the TAS) conducted field work along the San Gabriel River in Milam County in an attempt to locate and document Missions San Ildefonso and Candelaria as well as the garrison and Presidio. Mission San Ildefonso was located through surface artifacts (majolica fragments, Indian pottery fragments, a brass side plate from a French musket); the location is further southeast than previously thought, at least a mile from the present state historical

marker (1936). Several possible sites of Mission Candelaria and the Presidio were examined but none are yet confirmed through artifactual evidence. The possible location of the garrison barracks was identified near the river where several majolica fragments were recovered. Testing was limited by time and a dense crop growth; further testing will probably be done this fall when the crop has been harvested or during the next TAS field school in June 1984.

INTRODUCTION

Last year at the first Annual Research Conference on the San Antonio Missions, the role of avocational archeologists was discussed with reference to Spanish Missions research (Mitchell 1982). In that report, I noted that the avocational archaeologists of southern Texas, and those in the state society (the Texas Archeological Society) were a potentially valuable resource which could and should be used in research on the Spanish Missions of Texas. In this paper, I would like to report on one small project undertaken by members of the TAS which was reasonably successful and which has improved our knowledge of the short-lived San Xavier complex of missions.

The San Xavier missions were founded in January 1746 along what is now called the San Gabriel River in central Texas. In 1745, several groups of Indians appeared in San Antonio requesting that Father Mariano de los Dolores y Viana establish a mission in their country. Father Mariano, along with several mission Indians and soldiers, met Indians of the four groups along with the Cocos on January 7, 1746, at a site along the San Gabriel. By January 19th, he had laid out a church and wrote enthusiastically of the natural abundance of wildlife and plants in the area. Over the next several years, he and others worked to establish three functioning missions in the area.

The San Xavier complex included Mission San Francisco Xavier for several groups related to the Tonkawa (according to a letter from Father Benito to the Marqués de Altamira), Mission San Ildefonso for the Orcoquisacs, Bidais, and Deadose, and Mission Candelaria for the Cocos and their relatives from the Texas coast (Gilmore 1982:5); a Presidio was also approved, to be built to the west near Apache Pass to protect the missions; it was to be manned with 48 soldiers.

These missions ultimately failed, and by August 1755, the people living in the missions had been removed to San Marcos (including 40 Indian neophytes). I will not detail the tragic history of this noble enterprise here (see Bolton 1915; Castaneda 1939; or Gilmore 1969 for a history of the missions). The very rich promise of the San Gabriel area was lost due to drought and human errors; the majority of the Indians who had sought the establishment of the missions drifted back to the wild or to other missions (such as Rosario). In any case, by the end of 1755, the area was abandoned.

ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Over the centuries, the exact location of the San Xavier Missions was lost. A number of historians recorded the existence of the missions but could only approximate their location (cf Bolton 1915). During the Texas Centennial in 1936, several markers were placed along the San Gabriel in the general area of the missions, but apparently no field excavations were undertaken to verify the exactness of the locations.

In the 1960s, Kathleen Gilmore worked in the area and using a combination of historical data and current topographical features, was able to identify Mission San Francisco on the Felton Farm (X-41 MM 1) in Milam County (Gilmore 1969: See Figure 1). Systematic testing confirmed the site and demonstrated the relationship of Mission walls and a number of burials. Thus, the exact location of this mission was documented through converging evidence from historical data, topographic features, and Spanish Mission period artifacts, as predicted by Gilmore's model (Gilmore 1969). The artifacts recovered included majolica sherds, red burnished ware, beads, mission arrow points, French gunparts, and the burials. Time and the funding available did not permit a confirmation of the other mission sites at that time.

In 1982, the Texas Archeological Society conducted its summer field school at Rowe Valley, about ten miles upriver from the Felton Farm Site. The TAS work at Rowe Valley was focused on

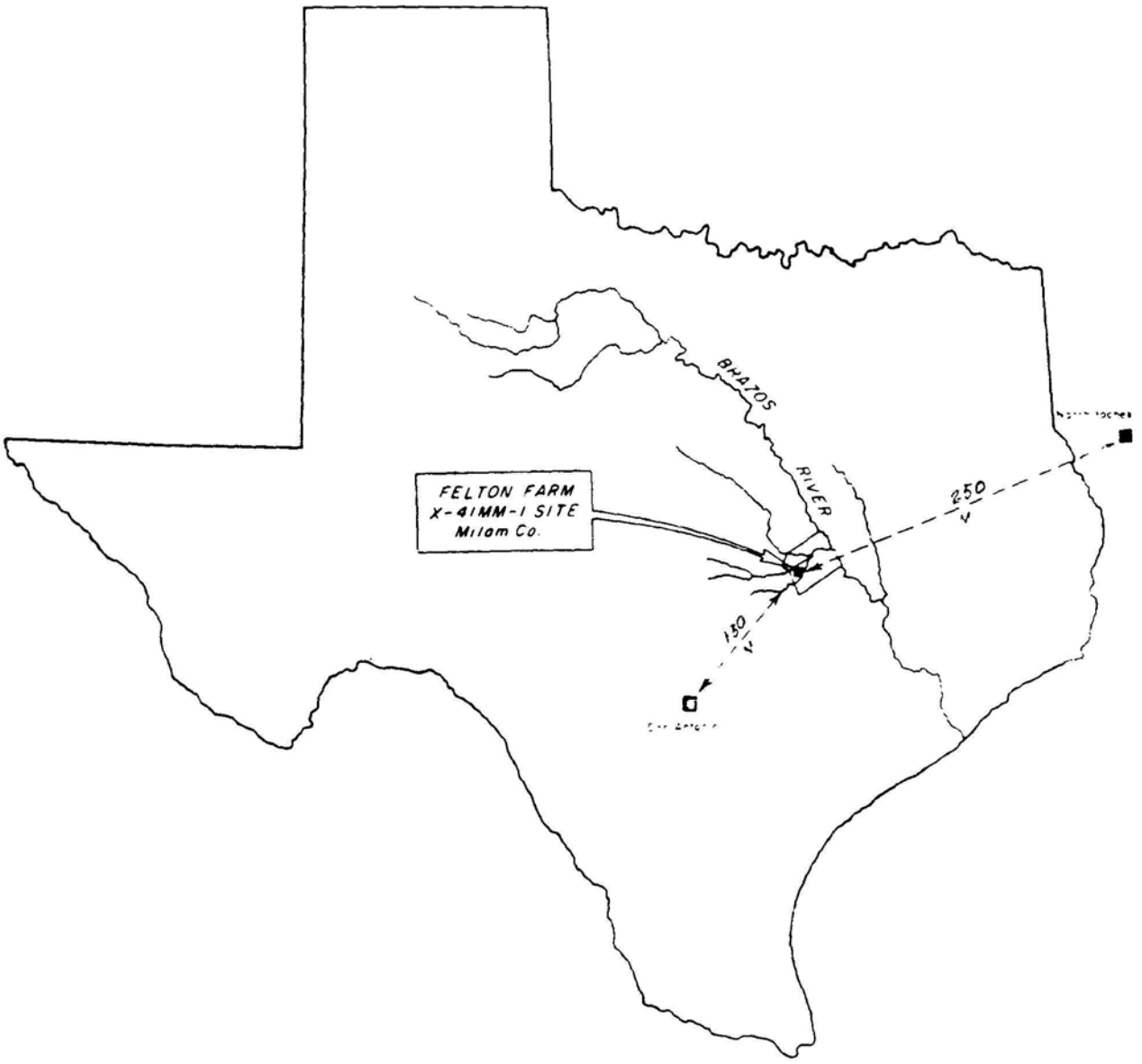


Figure 1 — Location of the Felton Farm Site (X-41 MM-1), Milam County, Texas, in relation to other Spanish Colonial areas. The Felton Farm Site is the Mission San Francisco, one of the three missions established along the San Xavier River in 1747-1748 at the request of the Yojuane, Deadose, Mayeye, and Yerbipiame Indians. (From Gilmore 1982: Figure 1)

the excavation of a late Toyah Phase occupation along the San Gabriel, which probably dates between 1650 and 1750; to date no Spanish artifacts have been recovered at the site which suggests that it probably predates Spanish penetration of this area. Excavations revealed two discrete Toyah occupations and an earlier Austin Phase level as well; the 1982 work was so successful that the group returned to the site in 1983 to continue the excavation.

During the 1982 field school, Dr. Gilmore returned to the Milam County area to search for the other missions. Based on her preliminary results, a separate crew was assigned for the 1983 field school, to attempt to verify the location of the other missions and the garrison or Presidio. During a week in June of this year, our crew of five to seven workers visited a number of sites in Milam County in an attempt to locate and document the San Xavier missions. The target sites had been identified through a search of historical records, by plotting the distances given in a Mission period survey, and through Dr. Gilmore's model for the positive identification of Spanish historical sites. Our 1983 project involved both surface surveys and some subsurface testing.

RESULTS

I am happy to be able to report that we were able to locate Mission San Ildefonso through specific artifactual evidence. The site is on the Leyendecker farm on a hilltop overlooking both the San Gabriel and Brushy Creek valleys (see Figure 2). It is about a mile southeast and on the other side of Highway 908 from the 1936 historical marker purporting to be the location of this mission. We surveyed several fields around Mrs. Leyendecker's house which yielded evidence of relatively recent historic structures. However, in her garden, we located an excellent sample of Spanish period artifacts. These included a number of sherds of majolica pottery, several dark red burnished sherds, Goliad Indian pottery, a mission (or Guerero) arrow point (Hester 1980:106), a small piece of engraved brass (which was identified as a side plate from a French musket), and a variety of flint artifacts (scrapers, flakes, etc.).

Based on this evidence, we believed that we have confirmed the location of Mission San Ildefonso. Much of the site is not available for further investigation since it lies under the farm house and garage. Nonetheless, we have seen enough evidence to verify the Leyendecker farm as the site of San Ildefonso.

For the rest of the week, our crew surveyed sites and dug test pits to attempt to verify the location of Mission Candelaria or the Presidio. Based on local landowner reports, we visited a hilltop site with several lines of stones, which appeared to be the remnants of walls. Stone is rare in the San Gabriel river valley; these stones were a hard yellowish sandstone with some reddened areas. The material is definitely not native to the immediate area. These stone alignments were on the Dorthy Allison farm; Mrs. Allison remembered playing around the "walls" as a child. She was extremely cooperative and gave us permission to dig test pits to examine the area around the stones.

After two days of digging, we had located a hearth area and traced out several lines of stones through the dense undergrowth. No Spanish period artifacts were recovered and some modern artifacts were found approximately fifty to sixty centimeters below the level of the stones (an iron pipe, and several pieces of discarded scrap iron). Since these are definitely recent materials, we concluded that the stone alignments must be of relatively recent times, and we turned out attention to the river valley itself.

In a planted field near the river on the property of Mrs. Lenki, just off State Highway 908, we examined another site which shows considerable promise. Based on earlier work and our estimates of the Spanish survey data, this could be the location of the temporary garrison barracks used by the soldiers. A survey line was laid out at the edge of the field and shallow test pits (50 by 50 cm) were excavated at 25 meter intervals. Several fragments of majolica were recovered and one sherd of Indian pottery as well. The dense crop growth prevented more extensive testing and we ran out of time as well. Based on these preliminary findings, it is possible that we have located the garrison site; however, this needs to be confirmed through additional testing at a time when the crops have been harvested.

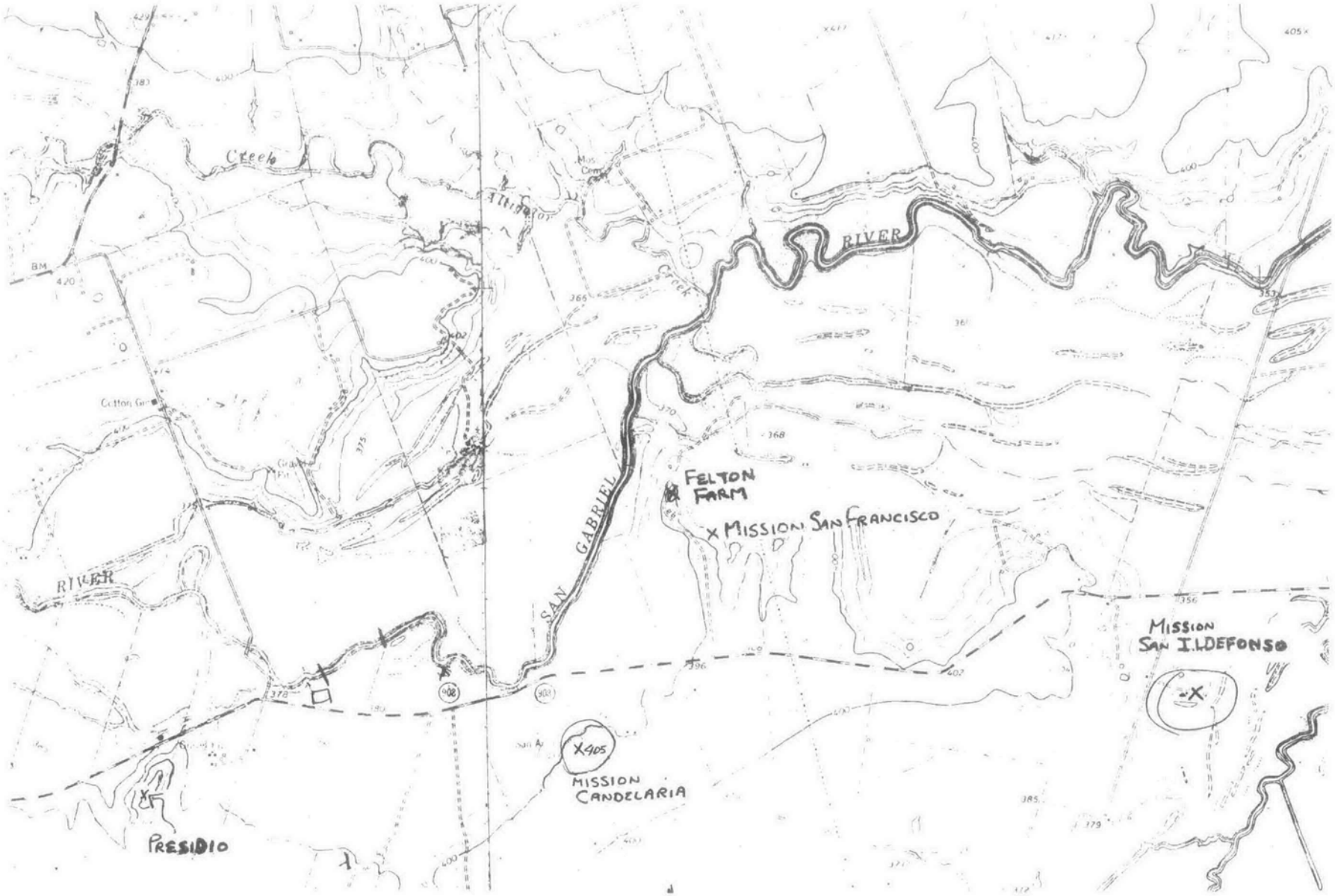


Figure 2 — Location of Mission San Ildefonso and the relationships with other San Xavier Mission Complex sites.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on one week's work during the 1983 TAS field school, we believe that we have located the site of Mission San Ildefonso on the Leyendecker farm, as well as the probable site of the garrison barracks on the Lenki farm. These findings need to be confirmed with additional evidence, when the sites become available for more extensive testing or excavation. Since the 1984 TAS field school will also be held at Rowe Valley, we are hopeful that additional surveying and testing can yield further data next summer.

Our short, one-week effort by a group of avocational archaeologists working under the guidance of Dr. Kathleen Gilmore, with the active support of the residents of this area of the San Gabriel River, proved valuable. You can not solve all archaeological problems in such a short period, but we have taken a big step forward in locating and documenting this important complex of Spanish Mission sites.

References

Bolton, H. E.
1915 *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century.* 1961 Edition, Russell and Russell, New York.

Castañeda, C. E.
1939 *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, Vol. 3, The Mission Era; The Missions at Work, 1731-1761.* Von Boeckmann-Jones, Austin.

Gilmore, Kathleen
1969 The San Xavier Missions: A Study in Historical Site Identification. *State Building Commission, Archaeological Program, Report No. 16.*
1982 So Shall Ye Reap: The San Xavier Missions. *La Tierra,* quarterly journal of the Southern Texas Archaeological Association, Vol. 9, No. 1:3-10.

Hester, Thomas R.
1980 *Digging Into South Texas Prehistory.* Corona Publishing Co., San Antonio.

Mitchell, Jimmy L.
1982 Avocational Archaeologists and Spanish Missions Research. Paper presented at the First Annual Research Conference on the San Antonio Missions, August 7, 1982.



Manuel Mendoza, M.A.
Stephen F. Austin State University
Nacogdoches, Texas

Photo courtesy of Manuel Mendoza

The Hispanic Missions of Texas: An Interpretation

by

Professor Manuel Mendoza, M.A.

Stephen F. Austin State University

Nacogdoches, Texas

My first question, as a language teacher, of course, deals with the fact that in almost all the information from historians and other scholars, I found the term "Spanish" applied to the colonial missions in Texas. The question is, would it be too much of a change if we dropped the word "Spanish" and looked for another adjective to use in this expression?

I will complete my question by trying to interpret its meaning this way: Within the contexts of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American cultural traditions, our Texas missions are related to Spain, Mexico, and the United States, respectively. Historically, they can be reviewed from their original Spanish and Mexican foundations all the way to their present reality in the American cultures of the Southwest.

Here I am not considering our missions in their Spanish and Mexican origins only, but reviewing them as they project themselves from these origins to their pluri-cultural situation here and now.

Also, while I was listening at this conference, I heard very little about Mexico or about the Indians who certainly contributed a lot, not passively, but actively, in the founding of these missions.

Three reasons lead me to suggest the use of a new term in reference to these institutions. These reasons are:

First: That the word "Spanish" refers only to a no longer existing factor, which used to be the colonial domination of Spain over Mexico.

Second: That Mexico, even as a colony of Spain, should be credited with her own contributions of missionaries and other people and resources from places like Querétaro, Zacatecas, etc.

The third, and possibly most important, is the fact that we should consider our own heritage as a present reality, not only as a past, that eventually might be lost in some respect. Actually, in our contemporary, pluri-cultural situation in Texas, the term "Hispanic" permits us to comprehend not only the Spanish but many other elements of Mexican and Indian cultures that are enriching us here and now.

This was my first question dealing with the expression "Spanish Missions". I made it as a language teacher. Spanish language is what I teach.

Now, for the other question, how an interpretation can be found which makes us better understand either conceptually or historically the meaning of the mission in Texas, the Catholic colonial missions in Texas? Many historians explain the founding of the Texas missions as some kind of frontier or borderland institutions, mainly in the eastern areas bordering Louisiana. Apparently, these institutions were means for the Spaniards to expand and colonize in confrontation with the French and conquer for themselves Indian lands and people. This is undeniable, but only a partial historical factor.

To fully understand these Catholic, colonial Spanish missions, we need more than just a factor. We need fact-based concepts that explain not only the initial foundation, but also the historical existence of these missions through the centuries.

A factual explanation of a historical institution should come from its own purpose as far as this purpose was built in and did materialize in that institution. The only purposes of a Christian and Catholic mission that we may think of and verify as historically valid and effective through time, are these: evangelization and service. In this "Semana de las Missiones" I will consider only the second purpose, which is "to serve" locally the people in the community.

"Serving people" may undoubtedly be considered a complete historical fact which explains the existence of our Hispanic missions in Texas, from their beginnings in the early 18th century on to our times (and the times to come in a foreseeable future). In this connection we do not need to remember the French.

Also, today, the 6th of August, is the 257th anniversary of Antonio Margil's death in Mexico City. This year, 1983, is the 300th anniversary of the coming to America of this same missionary. He was the founder of several missions in Texas, including San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, the "Queen of the Missions" here. We have not heard much about him on this occasion.

Another critical element I want to add is that we should also consider the people served by the missions, since these people have contributed to the building and conservation of the missions. They are not like children or some kind of intellectually underdeveloped people. Spanish "padres" and missioners used to consider Indians paternalistically, as their own children. On the other hand, the idea of being intellectually underdeveloped is thought of in relation mainly to some people served by Catholic rural missions, even today in several places in our state. What I think is that any individual in a Mission or anywhere, deserves to be considered, in any instance, as a whole and integral human person. It is precisely by the active and effective contributions of all these persons served by the missions, that our colonial buildings presently are and still will be of service in the future.

In conclusion, I want to present these two suggestions: First, that we should refer to our Texas missions as "Hispanic", rather than "Spanish", to include more cultural elements than the purely Spanish from Spain.

Second, that above and beyond any political, external reasons, we should emphasize the inner, spiritual structures of the Texas missions, as bases for a logical and historical explanation. This explanation will help us understand them better not only in their historical (artistic, cultural, religious) origins, but also in the preservation of their material constructions throughout the centuries.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1985-578-040/1000

