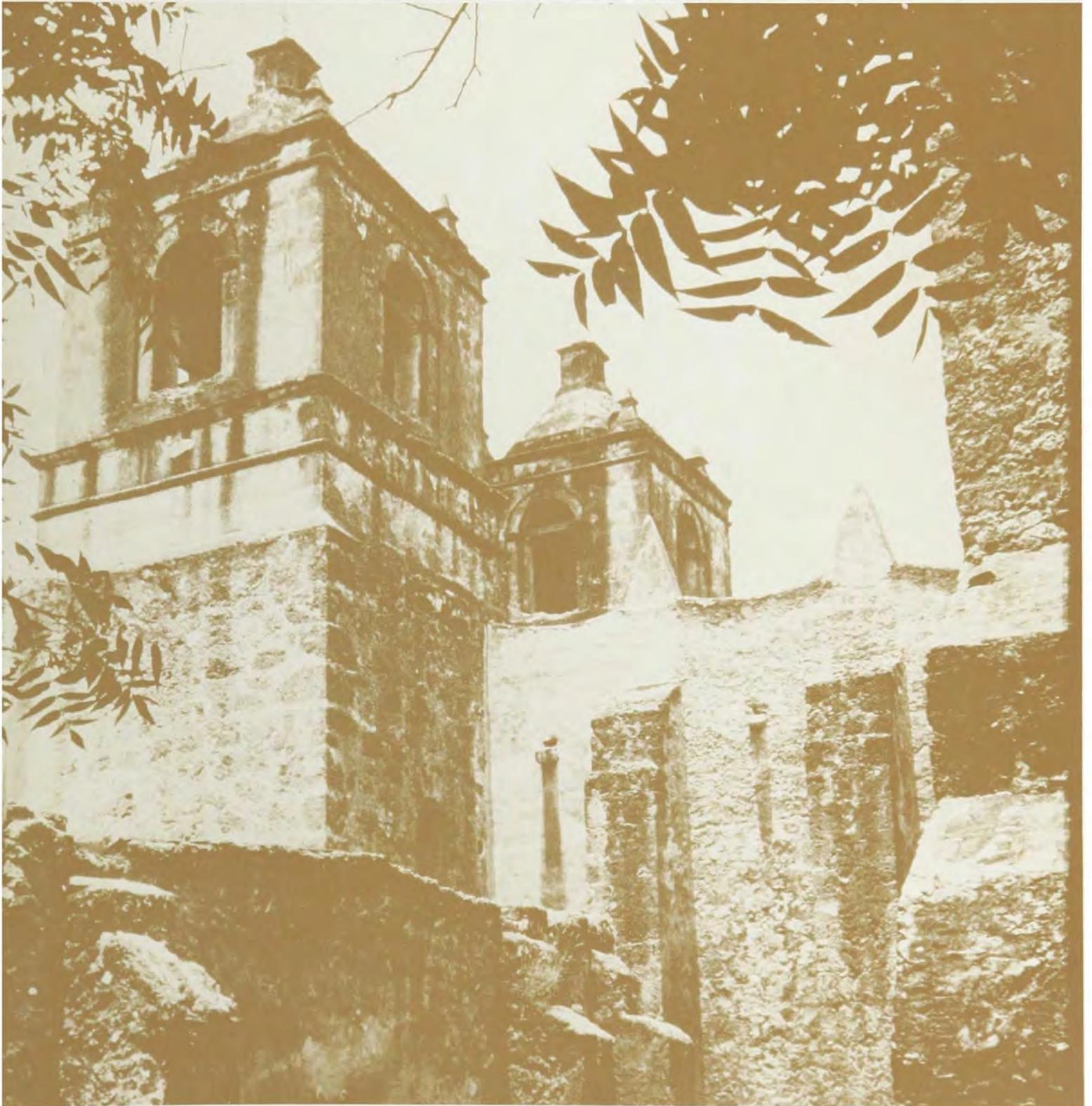




# PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1984 AND 1985 SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS RESEARCH CONFERENCES

*Commemorative Publication 1986 Texas Sesquicentennial*

San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas



PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1984 AND 1985  
SAN ANTONIO MISSIONS  
RESEARCH CONFERENCES



*Commemorative Publication 1986 Texas Sesquicentennial*

*Edited*

*by*

*GILBERT R. CRUZ*

*Park Historian*

*San Antonio Missions National Historical Park*

*1986*

*COVER PHOTO*

*Towers of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción. Established in 1731, this mission is the oldest unrestored church in the United States.*

*Photo, courtesy San Antonio Convention and Visitors Bureau.*



*Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, San Antonio, Texas, established in 1720. Photo courtesy Jo Anne Murphy.*



*Mission San Francisco de la Espada, San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731. Photo courtesy Jo Anne Murphy.*

*This publication was printed through  
a grant from Burlington Northern, Inc.*



*Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731. Photo courtesy Jo Anne Murphy.*



*Mission San Juan Capistrano, San Antonio, Texas, established in 1731. Photo courtesy Jo Anne Murphy.*

## IN MEMORIAM



*FATHER MARION A. HABIG, O.F.M.  
Noted Mission Author-Historian, St. Augustine Friary  
Chicago, Illinois  
1901-1984*

Born in St. Louis on June 28, 1901, Marion A. Habig was baptized and went to private school at St. Anthony's Church, a parish community administered by the Franciscan Fathers. The influence of the Franciscans was notable since he and his four brothers, all raised in a devout German-American family, joined the Religious Order of St. Francis. Habig completed his theological studies at a Franciscan Seminary in Teutopolis, Illinois and was ordained priest in 1927. He became a member of the Franciscan province of the Sacred Heart, also known as the St. Louis-Chicago province, which comprises the Mid-West and Texas.

After teaching one year at a College in Quincey, Illinois, he became assistant-editor of the Franciscan Herald Press, and later a professor at St. Joseph's Seminary, Oak Brook, Illinois near Chicago. Awarded a Master of Arts degree in history from Loyola University, Chicago, Father Habig pursued studies at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. where he studied under the Franciscan Historian, Francis Borges Steck. After one year, Father Habig, specializing in Spanish American history, moved to the University of California at Berkeley where he became a protégé of Hubert Eugene Bolton. Professor Bolton sent him to Mexico to microfilm select documents from the archives of *El Colegio Apostolico de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro*. At Bolton's request Father Habig again returned to Mexico in 1940, to copy select colonial documents on the Southwest and Northern Mexico found in the National Archives of the capital city. While at Berkeley, Father Habig wrote an article on Arizona's famous mission San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, in which he demonstrated that the present structure was built by the Franciscans. Father

Habig claimed that Eusebio Francisco Kino, the noted Jesuit missionary, had constructed a primitive structure at an earlier date by the same name but at a different site near the present mission.

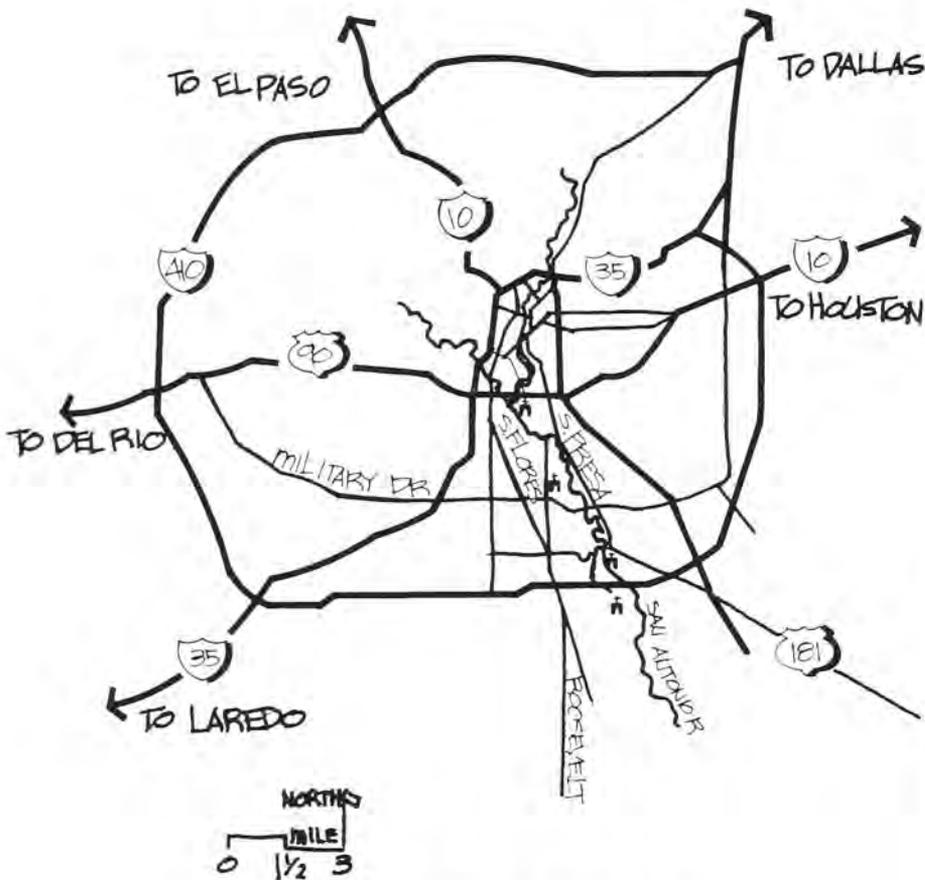
During World War II, Father Habig was assigned to serve as Secretary of the Franciscan General Delegation in New York City. The Delegation Headquarters included all Franciscan Houses in North America as well as those in three provinces in Mexico. In 1946, Father Habig was made Superior of the newly established Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D.C. A skillful paleographer and transcriber of colonial documents, he was versed in languages—in German since childhood, and later, in Latin, French, Spanish and Italian. He returned to California where he transcribed the letters of Father Mariano Payeras, the noted California missionary and President of the California missions during the Spanish years. These works by Father Habig are presently deposited in the Franciscan Academy in Washington, D.C.

In 1966, the citizens of San Antonio celebrated the 275th anniversary of the naming of their river. The Archbishop of San Antonio said Mass for those gathered at the Arneson River Theatre and Father Habig was asked to speak on the missionaries of the Spanish expedition of Domingo Teran de los Rios (1691) who were responsible for naming the river in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. Father Habig realized at the time that there was a deep interest for more information on the missions. Thus, at the age of 65, Father Habig embarked upon his new career as historian of the San Antonio missions. In two years, Father Habig completed his first book on the missions. Based largely in synthesizing into one text the information of the missions found throughout the Castañeda volumes, Habig's book was entitled, *San Antonio's Mission San José: State and National Historic Site* (1968). The author's volume was acclaimed by Archbishop Robert E. Lucey as "a very laudable contribution to our knowledge of the past and the courageous . . . who came here . . . years ago." At the same time Father Habig had a second book published which was entitled, *The Alamo Chain of the Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (1968), later revised and published anew in 1976.

These volumes were the beginning of his intense research and writing on the missions of San Antonio and, generally, Texas. Accompanied by Father Benjamin Leutenegger, O.F.M., Father Habig made additional trips to the archival centers in Mexico in quest of more primary source materials on the Spanish missions of Texas. In 1968, Habig—in keeping with the Bolton custom of visiting sites about which he wrote—toured 38 Franciscan mission sites in Texas covering about 4,000 miles. He later wrote about his mission tours. The Franciscan Herald Press (Chicago) proceeded to publish his memoirs of the trip in a book entitled, *Texas Pilgrimage* in 1987. Father Habig is also known for his writings in publications such as the *Southwest Historical Quarterly* (Texas State Historical Association), *Campanario* (Texas Old Missions and Forts Restoration), *Mission Documentary Series* (Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Our Lady of the Lake University), *Lesser Brothers* (Franciscan publication) and in the *San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: A Commitment to Research* (1983, National Park Service).

He was committed to the Franciscan rule, he claimed to own nothing yet enriched others by generously sharing his vast knowledge on Spanish Texas and its missions. Philosophy, languages, paleography, history and religion were disciplines he effectively used in helping to create priceless volumes on mission primary sources. Endowed with an eternal sense that man does not live with an endless supply of earthly days, he used time wisely in leaving his legacy on the missions. He is now a part of the sweeping grandeur of the historic missions he served so well.

Gilbert R. Cruz, Ph.D.  
Park Historian  
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park  
San Antonio, Texas

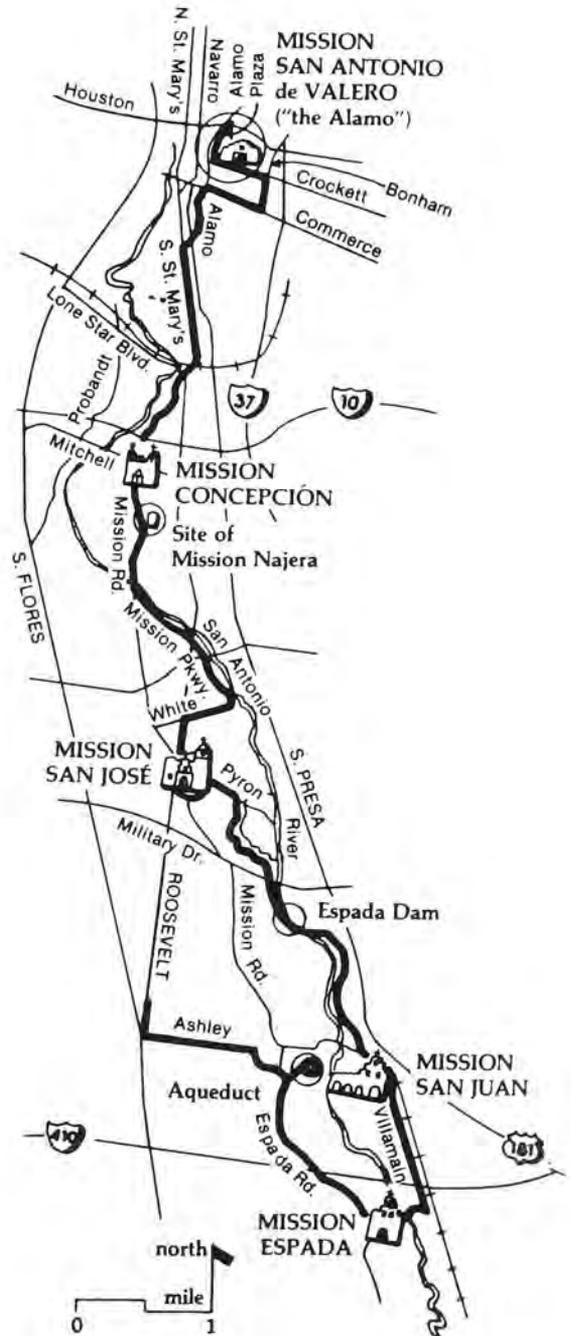


# ORIENTATION

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

472/80.027  
 APR 81/SW/PO

# Mission Trail



Map: San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

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## Editor's Preface

John E. Cook, Regional Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service, in a memorandum on steps to fulfill the NPS's 12 Point Plan recalled the words of William Penn Mott, Jr., National Director of the Park System;

"We intend to sustain the standard of excellence and personal commitment that the American public has come to expect from the National Park Service. We serve as guardians of vast public treasures, and we plan to pass them along to the next generation in even better condition than we find them today."

The San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, introduced into the Park System by Congressional legislation in 1978, are 18th Century monuments of art and architecture and significantly represent the public treasure of Texas and the Southwest. These magnificent missions are historically the first institutions to introduce Western Civilization, European values and the Christian tradition on Texas soil. They have generated an immeasurable spiritual, historical and cultural influence on the early development of the Southwest. They are the pillars of the community of San Antonio.

The purpose of this publication is to preserve the research of scholars and friends of the missions, presented at the 1984 and 1985 Mission Research Conferences. These assemblies rallied together proponents with interest in the San Antonio Missions and in the distinctive character of the American Spanish Southwest. Past research was reviewed, shared and assessed. Direction of future investigation was evaluated to enlarge the Park's informational base and to increase cooperative efforts in the preservation, restoration and interpretation of the San Antonio missions.

The San Antonio missions played a historical role in the successful struggle for Texas Independence. In turn, the Republic of Texas provided the legislation enabling the missions to serve as churches and as living symbols of the earliest days of colonial Texas. In view of these important events, José Cisneros, Superintendent, directed that the Park join the citizens of the Lone Star State in celebrating the 150th birthday (1836-1886) of the establishment of the Republic of Texas. This publication commemorates the 1986 Texas Sesquicentennial year.

This anthology represents the research and time of many friends of the San Antonio missions. The Park Historian has the ultimate responsibility for the printed product but he does so with the collaboration of his Park colleagues. A work of appreciation is due to Felix Hernandez III, Assistant Superintendent, and to Steve Adams, Chief, Interpretation and Resources Management for the support and encouragement needed to complete the project. For sage advice, I am grateful to Dr. Joseph Sanchez, Southwest Spanish Colonial Research Center - NPS Southwest Regional Office; Dr. Felix D. Almaráz, University of Texas at San Antonio; and Mary Ann Noonan Guerra, San Antonio, Texas. The Old Spanish Mission staff of the Archdiocese of San Antonio was also very helpful. I am especially thankful to Msgr. Balthasar J. Janacek and Sister Maria Carolina Flores, C.D.P.

The publication was made possible by a generous grant from Northern Burlington Inc. through the National Park Foundation. I wish to acknowledge their role and the efforts of others who made this publication a reality.



*Gilbert R. Cruz, Ph.D.*

G.R.C.  
November 1, 1986

# 1986 TEXAS SESQUICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

## The San Antonio Missions During The Texas Revolution

by

Gilbert R. Cruz



*Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción. Photo by Allen Richards, courtesy San Antonio Institute of Texan Cultures.*

The grand old missions of San Antonio were silent witnesses to dramatic events during the Texas Revolution. As the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Republic (1986) is celebrated, their venerable towers and sturdy walls, massive yet beautiful, recall the rumble of drums, the hooves of cavalry, and the sound of guns that encompassed them during the tumultuous revolution. Their story unfolds with the distant clamor of restless frontiersmen arriving from east Texas in late October 1835.

### The Texians are Coming

Each Texian carried a rifle made in the United States. Together, they formed the army of the people marching in jubilant disarray westward on the *camino real* from La Bahía to San Antonio. They were deadly efficient backwoodsmen who had maintained control over the Gonzales settlement and claimed victory at Goliad over a detachment of soldiers stationed there by Mexican General Martín Perfecto de Cós. For the Texas militia the time was actually propitious since the summer crops were harvested and they could afford time away from home. The Anglo-Texian rallying cry of October 1835, "On to San Antonio!", echoed across the coastal plains. Under General Stephen F. Austin, a motely force of 300 men increased as it headed toward San Antonio by way of its four Spanish missions down river.



General Martin Perfecto de Cós. Photo at Texas State Archives, courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures.

In San Antonio, General Cós and his embattled troops awaited. Assigned to ensure government control over Texas and to arrest rebel factions, Cós, brother-in-law to General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, was in a position to do neither. Cós's military role in Texas has been compared, by some scholars, to that of British General Thomas Gage in Massachusetts. The parallel is historically weak. In 1775, when Parliament declared Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, Gage's regulars caused the minute men to flee at Lexington and he marched on to Concord where he succeeded in destroying a patriot arsenal. Cós was not nearly as successful; his troops won no battles at Gonzales and his garrison at Goliad was forced to surrender. No one knows who fired the first shot at Lexington but no doubt remains that, in 1835, the Texians fired the first shot at Gonzales. Ultimately Gage's 700 redcoats were routed and forced to retreat to Boston by Continental sharpshooters. It is accurate to say that, sixty years later, Cós was in similar circumstances

in San Antonio. His cause was as unpopular as his situation was precarious. Texians claimed that the federal Constitution of 1824 was the basis for a republican form of government and had pledged to uphold it. They were not going to let Cós tell them differently.

When Austin reached the Salado Creek (near present day Brooks Aerospace Medical Center), he sent a delegation under the flag of truce to negotiate the surrender of government forces. When Cós refused, Austin marched his army to Mission San Francisco de la Espada, about eight miles south of downtown San Antonio. Austin established his headquarters at the mission and ordered Colonel Bowie, on October 27, to reconnoiter the area north of Espada with two companies under Captains James W. Fannin and Andrew Briscoe. Marching northward near the river bank, they entered missions San Juan Capistrano and San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, then proceeded to mission La Purísima Concepción where they selected a site to encamp for the evening.

## The Battle near Concepción

The area near Concepción was found to be almost level prairie with a few mesquite trees extending to the river bend just west of the mission. The bend "spirited with timber formed two sides of a triangle of nearly equal extent." Present river alterations make it difficult to pinpoint the location but very likely this site was about 500 yards to a mile west of Concepción, where the present river bank of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Children's Home is found.



Austin's Headquarters at Espada. Photo courtesy Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo.

In his communique of October 28, Bowie wrote, "we proceeded with the division composed of ninety-two men, rank and file . . . to examine the missions . . . we marched to Concepción, and selected our ground in a bend of the river San Antonio, within about five hundred yards of old Mission Concepción." On the evening of the 27th, the men were divided into two battle groups, one on each side of the triangle. Captain Fannin's company formed one battle group and secured the southside of the triangle. Thirty seven men in the companies of Captains Coleman, Goheen, and Bennet formed the second battle group. They were under the command of Colonel Bowie who positioned them on the north side of the triangle. Six night guards were posted while a seventh kept vigil from the copula of Mission Concepción which overlooked the whole countryside.

At dawn on the next day, heavy dense fog obscured the area so that even the guard on the mission roof was unable to detect enemy movements. At 8:00 a.m. the Mexican infantry supported by a large force of cavalry charged across the open prairie. Their continued blaze of fire was far less effective than the deadly aim of Texian riflemen camouflaged in the timber near the river banks. About 80 yards away a brass double-fortified four pounder discharged grape and cannister into the line of Fannin's men but sharpshooters quickly cleared the cannon. Twice again, Mexican artillery men bravely attempted to man the cannon in the open field and both times they were prevented by withering rifle fire from Texian marksman. Three additional times the infantry regrouped and charged across the prairie only to be repulsed. After four hours of battle, government troops were ordered to retreat. Colonel Bowie's detachment of 92 men had won a decisive victory over a force nearly four times its size. Bowie's strategy proved far superior to the European method of open warfare used by Mexican regulars. His troops even managed to capture a four-pounder cannon and some reports even claim that it was a sturdy six-pounder cannon. One gallant soldier from Bowie's command, Richard Andrews, was killed while two others were wounded. Cós's troops suffered 67 killed and many wounded. Valor was evident on both sides. Every Mexican soldier of an artillery group remained by their cannon until killed or wounded. Colonel Bowie in his report to General Austin on October 28 noted, "No invidious distinction can be drawn between any officer or private on this occasion. Every man was a soldier, and did his duty, agreeable to the situation and circumstances under which he was placed."

## The Fall of San Antonio

About one hour after the enemy had retreated into San Antonio, General Austin arrived with the main army from Mission Espada. More than four hundred Texians now encamped on the banks of the San Antonio River near Mission Concepción. Four wagons arrived with additional supplies and 100 men were expected from Nacogdoches with three or four artillery pieces. The Texians were held together by their siege of San Antonio. As the noose tightened, Cós divided his troops by stationing some at the Villa de San Fernando, the area around present day San Fernando



*Colonel James Bowie. Photo at Texas Capitol, Austin, courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures.*

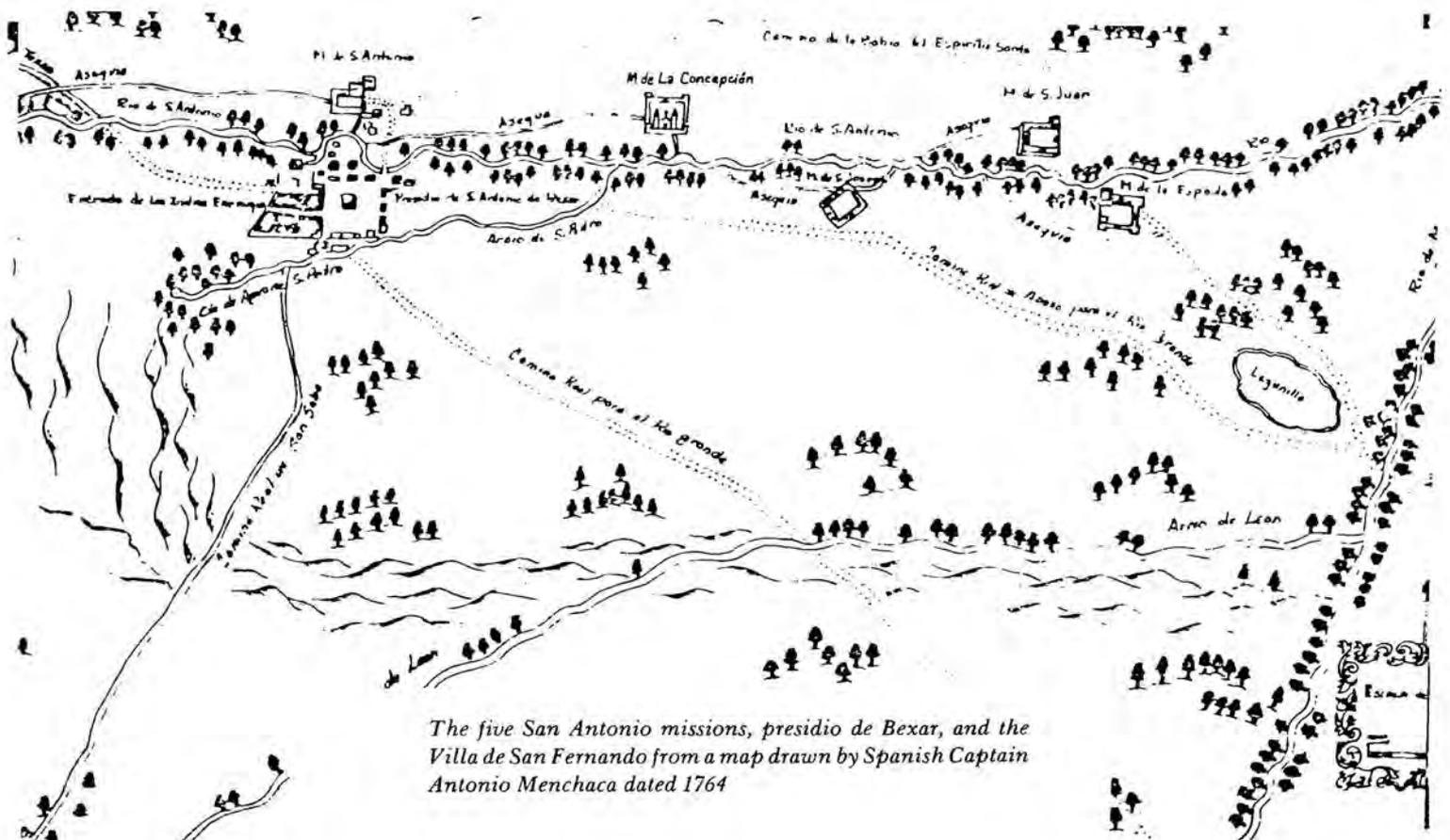


General Stephen F. Austin. Photo at Texas Capitol, Austin, courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures.

Cathedral, and others across the river at Mission San Antonio de Valero, now popularly known as the Alamo. By November, Cós's hungry soldiers were low on supplies and their horses had little fodder. Moreover, the countryside, infiltrated by colonial sharpshooters, proved to be hostile. The muskets of the regulars proved no match against the rifles with which grimly efficient frontiersmen were equipped.

When Austin left on a diplomatic mission to gain support for the revolution in the United States, Colonels Ben Milam, Frank Johnson and Edward Burleson planned strategy for the final assault on San Antonio. Milam, moreover, rallied the Texians with his famous call, "Who will go with old Ben Milam into San Antonio?" Milam and Johnson with more than 300 volunteers attacked the Villa from the north while Burleson held the rest of the army in reserve on the outskirts of town. The assault commenced at three o'clock in the morning on December

5. After five days of bitter fighting, Cós surrendered. Whatever reinforcements he might have received, arrived too late to assist his demoralized troops. In the final assault Ben Milam was killed but Colonel Burleson took charge, ended the shooting and gave Cós the honors of war. Cós agreed never to fight against the colonists and their stand for the Constitution of 1824.



The five San Antonio missions, presidio de Bexar, and the Villa de San Fernando from a map drawn by Spanish Captain Antonio Menchaca dated 1764

## Farewell to the Missions

“General Coś left this morning for Mission San José,” noted Burluson in a communique dated December 14th, “and tomorrow, commences his march to the Rio Grande, after complying with all that had been stipulated.” The Mexican General’s exhausted army slowly marched on to Laredo. The last structural images of San Antonio that Cós was to behold as he rode south, were the omnipresent towers and cupolas of Missions La Purísima Concepción and San José.

This was the year 1835, and to whatever General Cós agreed would have little importance in Mexico City. The following Spring, General Santa Anna would arrive with a far larger army and crush all Texian resistance in San Antonio with the successful siege of the Alamo. General Cós would return also. His final rendezvous with Texians in San Antonio was yet to come.



*The site at La Villita, San Antonio, Texas, where General Cós surrendered. Photo courtesy Ellen Quillan Collection, Institute of Texan Cultures.*

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# San Antonio Missions Declared Property of the Church by The Republic of Texas

Gilbert R. Cruz

The Texas Senate and the House of Representatives, when scarcely four years old, enacted a law on January 13, 1841 declaring Missions Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada, properties of the Catholic Church in Texas for religious and educational uses. Five days later, the legislature enacted a second law declaring that mission San Antonio de Valero (Alamo) was property of the Church for similar purposes.<sup>1</sup>



*Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo after its restoration had been completed in 1947. Photo courtesy Jo Anne Murphy.*

Texas, an infant nation based on constitutional principles that give preference to no religion, defined those properties where the Church for more than a century, had carried out the spiritual care of souls. The flags of five nations relating to the missions have flown in the brisk Texas skies yet the Texas national government alone has related to the San Antonio missions in this uniquely democratic way. Spanish monarchs claimed ownership over all ecclesiastical properties in Texas and the rest of their world empire. Years later, the Mexican Republic secularized the San Antonio Missions converting them into government property. In the last half of the 19th century, the American federal government and the short-lived Confederacy were oblivious of the missions and took no measures to recognize them or to promote their historical significance.

It was the legislature of the sovereign nation of Texas, by virtue of the powers invested in it by the Constitution of 1836 that, in effect, laid down the legal foundations for virtually all which now characterizes the San Antonio missions: namely Churches with freedom to worship; religious institutions unincumbered by government ownership; historical monuments to the first missionaries who brought Christianity and civilization to Texas; proud symbols of Texas independence and particular way of life; and ultimately, the first of many steps leading to a National Park where, today, our American heritage is appropriately enshrined.

On receiving General Sam Houston's report of the victory at the battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, President David G. Burnet sighed relief. His *ad interim* government had successfully

brought Texas through eight most turbulent months of its existence. Sam Houston, the newly elected president of the young Republic, brought measured stability to the government. When Mirabeau Bounaparte Lamar succeeded Houston on December 10, 1838, he enthusiastically embarked upon a course of policies that would lead to a public educational system, national growth and international recognition. His policies became milestones in Texas history even though some were not entirely successful. During Lamar's Administration (December 10, 1838-December 14, 1841), the American Catholic hierarchy desperately reached across the vast Texas landscape to care for the large number of immigrants from the United States, Europe as well as native born members of the Church who had practiced their faith since colonial times. During the Spanish period, the San Antonio missions originated as Church-state owned educational centers designed to Christianize the Indians of South Texas, to teach them European values, the Spanish language, and vocational skills to make them useful citizens of the community. After 1821, the Mexican government claimed dominion over the missions, and in 1836, the Republic of Texas inherited them by right of sovereign succession. During the Christmas tide of 1840, Father John Timon, the official representative (Apostolic Prefect) along with Father John M. Odin, brought before the Texas government at the Austin village capital, a petition for the return of the San Antonio missions. The mission structures had not been attended for many years. Unauthorized persons had moved into some of the abandoned churches and appropriated parcels of adjacent lands.

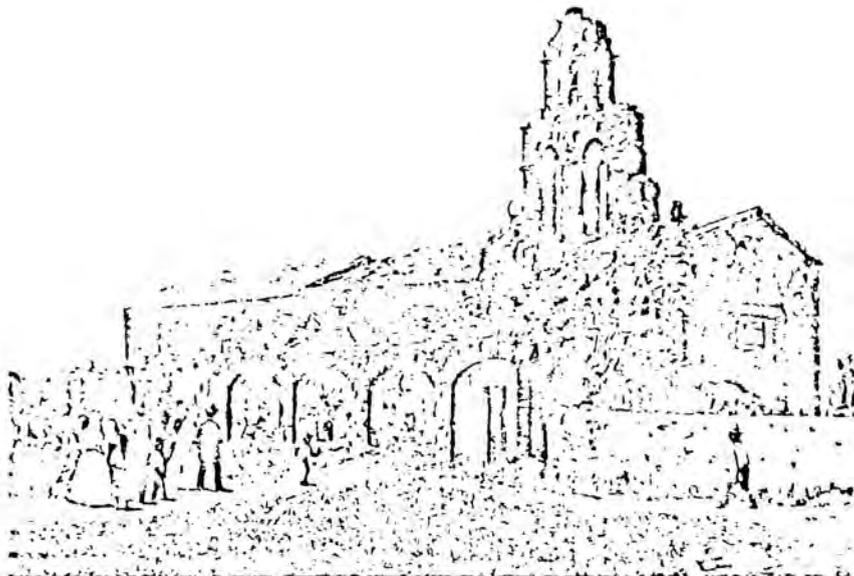
Texas lawmakers studied the petition. Congressman William N. Porter, a young attorney representing Bowie County, praised the contributions of the Church. On December 28, Isaac Van Zandt presented the motion before the House for the first time that the missions be returned to the Church. Van Zandt, an eminent statesman representing Harrison County, later served as Charge d' Affairs to the United States until 1844. Peter J. Menard, Representative of Galveston County, was a prominent businessman who was on hand to see that measures were not taken to stall the bill. A former Tennessean, James S. Mayfield, who was an attorney representing Nacogdoches County, urged prompt action on the bill. Sam Houston, who had formerly served as President of the

Republic (1836-1838), continued his political life as Representative from San Augustine County. Houston assured Father Timon that he would support the return of the mission churches. Endorsement by this prestigious statesman hastened the passage of the bill.

Even so, the bill was not without debate or modification. Greenbury Horras Harrison, Representative from Houston County, proposed a limited clause stating that the lots on which the churches are situated were not to exceed fifteen acres. Cornelious Van Ness, Senior Representative from Bexar County, moved that Mission San Antonio de Valero be removed from the bill because of its preponderant historical significance. Both the Van Ness and Harrison measures carried. Albert J. Latimer, Representative from Red River County, moved that the public domain or the depleted coffers of the treasury be enjoined to buy lots for all major denominations in Texas, a measure that was quickly rebuked. George Blow, the Junior Representative from



*Mirabeau Bounaparte Lamar. Photo at Texas State Library, Austin, courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures.*



*Mission San Juan Capistrano. Painting by Theodore Gentilz, courtesy Daughters of Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo.*

majority vote. Classically educated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey, Kaufman was appointed Charge d' Affairs of Texas in the United States in 1845, and, later, served as United States Congressman. Houston, a Baptist since his marriage in 1840, gave spontaneous proof for the bill which returned the missions to the Chief Pastor of the Catholic Church in Texas for the spiritual care of his people. Houston, in fact, had expressed dissatisfaction with the votes of his colleagues which excluded Mission San Antonio de Valero. Van Ness relented and prompted a bill in the House that also gave mission San Antonio de Valero to the Church. Sam Houston then pushed the Senate to pass the bill. The measure turned out to be far more equitable than expected. On January 13, 1841, Speaker of the House David S. Kaufman and the President pro-tem of the Senate, Anson Jones, signed the bill not only including the San Antonio missions but returning similar Churches in Goliad, Victoria, Refugio and Nacogdoches:

#### AN ACT<sup>2</sup>

Confirming the Use and Occupation and Enjoyment of the Churches, Church Lots, and Mission Churches to the Roman Catholic Congregations, living in or near the vicinity of the same.

Sec. 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas, in Congress assembled, That the churches of San Antonio, Goliad and Victoria, the church lot at Nacogdoches, the churches at the Mission of Concepción, San José, San Juan, Espada, and the Mission of Refugio, with out-buildings and lots, if any belonging to them, be, and they are hereby acknowledged and declared the property

Bexar County, introduced an amendment to exclude Mission Concepción because of the nearby revolutionary battle that took place in 1835. The bill carried without the Blow amendment. Latimer; Clement R. Johns, Representative of Red River County; Nathan Thomas Representative of Austin County and Samuel G. Haynie, Representative of Travis County voted against the measure.

All the same, House Speaker David S. Kaufman, an ardent but unbiased Mason, representing Nacogdoches County, headed the



*Sam Houston. Photo courtesy Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo.*

of the present chief pastor of the Roman Catholic Church, in the Republic of Texas, and his successors in office, in trust forever, for the use and benefit of the congregations residing near the same, or who may hereafter reside near the same, for religious purposes and purposes of education, and none other; provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to give title to any lands except the lots upon which the churches are situated, which shall not exceed fifteen acres.

David S. Kaufman  
Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Anson Jones  
President pro tem of the Senate

Approved January 13th, 1841

David G. Burnet  
Vice-President of the Republic of Texas

On the 18th of January, by an Act of the Texas legislature, Mission San Antonio de Valero joined its sister missions, along the banks of the San Antonio River, when it was returned to the Church.



Anson Jones. Photo courtesy Institute of Texan Cultures.

Approved January 18th, 1841.

### AN ACT<sup>3</sup>

Granting the Alamo Church to the use and benefit of the Catholic Church.

Sec. 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas, in Congress assembled, That the Church of the Alamo, in the city of San Antonio, be, and the same is hereby yielded and granted, for the use of the Catholic Church, upon the same terms and conditions as the Churches of Concepcion, San Jose, San Juan and others.

David S. Kaufman,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Anson Jones  
President pro-tem of the Senate

David G. Burnett  
Vice-President of the Republic of Texas

<sup>1</sup>Subsequent administrative history on the Alamo reveals that this mission was placed under custodial care of the city of San Antonio, after it was purchased from the Church by the State of Texas under the legislative act of April 23, 1883. Other parts of the Alamo grounds occupied by a business concern were also purchased when the Texas legislature passed a resolution on January 25, 1905 ordering the governor to obtain the land. It was further ordered that the Alamo and the newly acquired land should be delivered to the Daughters of the Republic of Texas for preservation and care.

<sup>2</sup>*Laws of the Republic of Texas Passed at the Session of the Fifth Congress* Printed by Order of the Secretary of the State. Houston: The Telegraph Power Press, 1841. P. 28.

<sup>3</sup>An Act Granting the Alamo Church to use and benefit of the Catholic Church. Document # 368, File No. 1927, 5th Congress, 1841. *Texas State Archives*, Texas State Library and Archives Building, Austin, Texas.

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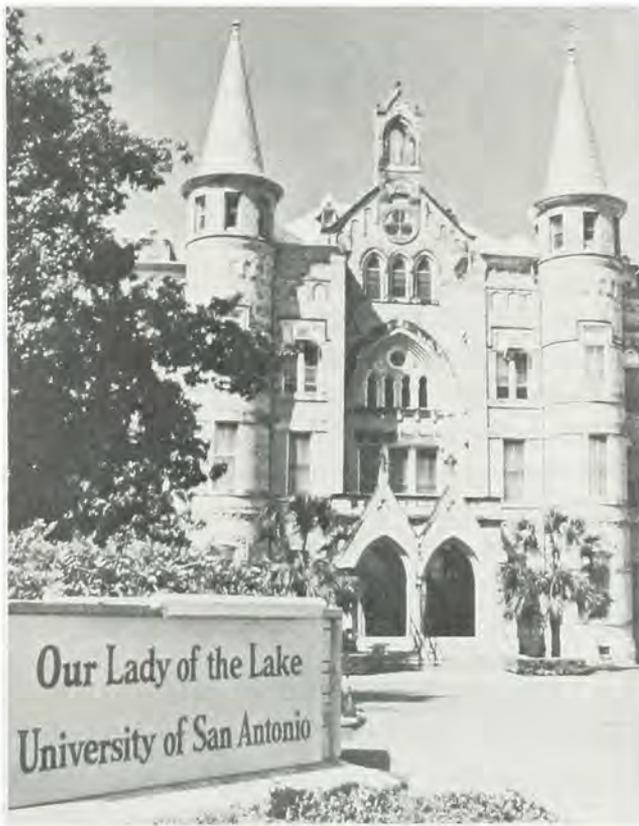
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# PRESENTATIONS MADE AT THE THIRD ANNUAL MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE, 1984

Welcome



*Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.  
Photo courtesy Our Lady of the Lake University*



*M. Antoinette Garza, photo courtesy Our  
Lady of the Lake University*

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, scholars all. On behalf of Sister Elizabeth Ann Sueltenfuss, President of Our Lady of the Lake University, I welcome you to our campus and I welcome you to our university library. We are most happy to host this conference for the third year.

It is especially gratifying to me as I sincerely believe that it is in meaningful research, it is your investigations, your writings and your deliberations, discussions, that aid in learning and understanding and in keeping alive the traditions of the missions. Our Lady of the Lake is proud to lend its support to your activities. Have a very successful conference. And once again, bienvenidos.

M. Antoinette Garza  
Director, Library Services  
Our Lady of the Lake University

# San Antonio Missions National Historical Park: Highlights in Administration, 1978 - 1984

by

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



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

I want to welcome you on behalf of the San Antonio Missions National Park Service and on behalf of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park to this third annual conference on the San Antonio Missions. I want to thank Our Lady of the Lake University for their cooperation in co-hosting this conference. Before I go any further, I would like to introduce some of the Park staff that are in attendance here today. I believe we have Steve Adams. Steve,

would you please stand? Steve Adams is our Chief of Resources Management and an archeologist.

Standing in the back is Betty Calzoncit, the park's Management Assistant; Reed Johnston in uniform is one of our interpreters at Mission Concepción; and Delia Arzola who is Personnel Assistant in the headquarters office. I would like to acknowledge the presence of General William Harris, one of the biggest supporters the San Antonio Missions has ever had. Carolyn Peterson who is no stranger to the missions is also here, and I am sure that there are many others in the audience who over the years have spent much of their time in the service of the missions.

During the course of the conference, the presenters will have much information on the missions that will be of special interest to you. What I propose to say should leave you with the impression that the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park is alive and well. We are in our fifth year of having a Park Service presence in the city, having opened an office in September of 1979, almost a year after the park was established. A lot has been achieved since then.



*The Park's first Management Staff in 1980: L. to R., Naomi Wiley, Administrative Officer; Delia Arzola, Secretary; Betty Calzoncit, Park Ranger; Ernest Ortega, Chief Ranger; Marlys Thurber, Chief, Cultural Resources; Bernie Valencia, Park Ranger; José Cisneros, Superintendent (Center).*

Those of you who have visited the missions recently will agree with me that they are looking better. We are cooperating with two entities, namely the Archdiocese and the Bexar County Historical Foundation. This collaboration is making it possible for the old structures to look much better than before. A number of projects of interest to you include the realignment of that section of Mission Road by Mission Concepción. As you all know, that section of Mission Road bisects the old compound of the mission. The project to realign that road west of the mission and allow the reconstitution of the old compound has been off the city books even before the National Park Service came on the scene.

We are fortunate in that the city last year agreed to fund the realignment out of that year's Community Development Block Grant. I'm

happy to report that the project is underway. The engineering design has been completed. The acquisition of a small area of private property is going to begin soon and the city plans to have the work out for bid sometime at the end of the calendar year; so, hopefully, by this time next year we will see real progress on the realignment of Mission Road.

We have an on-going project, namely the updating of the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) work that was first done in the 1930s at the inception of the HABS program. The HABS program was one of the many WPA projects back in those days. The missions were among the first structures to be documented. The documentation has helped tremendously in the preservation and restoration of the missions over the years. But updating the work of the HABS project is necessary since, for example, not all structures were documented the first time around. So last year, we asked those in charge of the HABS program to include us in their summer project. They came in last year and did a lot of work, especially at Mission Concepción. They also did site plans of all missions. This year they are working exclusively at Mission San José. They have another summer's work to do, and we are hoping that we can bring them back next year.

We have just completed a substantial health and safety project at all the missions whereby we repaired areas of walls and structures which we felt were in danger of falling. The work included the complete repointing of the compound walls of Mission San José, both inside and out. The contractor tells us that it will be good for the next 25 years, and it really makes the old compound look good. For those of you who have not been by, we invite you to visit and see the work. I know that Carolyn Peterson, through funding of the Bexar County Historical Foundation, has also just finished a large amount of work on all the churches. They are looking very nice. Between the Archdiocese and what funding the Park Service has been able to muster, the structural maintenance and the physical well-being of the park has improved.

Another project of interest is the funding in the next year city budget of the implementation of a park zoning scheme that City Council adopted two years ago. It had not been implemented for lack of funding. We are gratified that in next year's city budget there is an amount to hire additional staff. We look forward to the implementation of the zoning plan. Last, but not least, is the Park's program of land acquisition which is about 60 to 70 percent complete. We look forward to completing it in the next fiscal year.

So, as you can see, the park is alive and well. What we are doing today at this Mission Research



*Superintendent José A. Cisneros hosting speakers at the 1984 Annual Mission Research Conference. On his left: T. N. Campbell, Ph.D., Roy R. Barkley, Ph.D., both from the University of Texas at Austin, and Gilbert R. Cruz, Ph.D., Park Historian. Photo, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.*



*Steve Adams, Chief, Interpretation and Resources Management, 1986. Photo courtesy San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.*

Conference rounds out our efforts in terms of getting more information on the history of the missions especially the various points of view that will be presented. As we indicated at the first meeting and again last year, we don't have the staff nor the funding to ever do all the research that needs to be done. Your help and interest are needed. We are grateful for people such as you who will be presenting papers today to help us in that regard. All I can say is the more, the information, the better are our chances to care for the missions and to explain them to the American public. We'll see you again next year.

# Our Lady of the Lake University and Historical Preservation: A Tradition of Support for the San Antonio Missions

by

Sister Maria Carolina Flores, C.D.P., M.A.  
Our Lady of the Lake University

Last night, Semana De Las Misiones activities took place in Mission San Antonio de Valero. It was a rather historic evening, for it's been a long time since the mission period of the Alamo was acknowledged to the public. Charles Long, curator of the Alamo, gave us a brief talk on the mission, on its founding and on its purposes and its development.

We then walked with candles in hand -- candles lit for a brief time, anyway -- and we went to the library where Sharon Crutchfield and her staff and the members of the library committee had prepared a display of drawings of the missions, of documents of the founding of the missions and of maps. And then we completed the evening with refreshments.

Now, it seems to me that a candle-lit tour of the Alamo, of Misión de San Antonio de Valero, and the library, would be a fitting prelude to next year's research conference. Perhaps the first talk should be presented there in that room that is very lovely and in which the refreshments were very excellent right next to the library.

But for this year: Seven years ago, the Old Spanish Missions of the Archdiocese of San Antonio and Our Lady of the Lake University first began to celebrate Semana de las Misiones, that is after having celebrated for seven years Dia de las Misiones. But seven years ago, we were encouraged by the success of Felix Almaráz's bicentennial colloquium on the missions and also because we had a long association with the Old Spanish Missions; we decided then to begin celebrating for a whole week. Each night we went to a different mission and we had a speaker; we had a lecturer present some kind of information that she or he had discovered while visiting or working with the missions.

And some of those talks were similar to what you will hear today; they were scholarly, they were formal; they were well presented, some were rather informal, reminiscent of folklore and the missions.

But the whole idea then, as now, was to try to get that information out to the public, to make the missions, their history and their purposes better known and better appreciated; so we look back then in our history and in our Lady of the Lake's association with the Missions and we realize that it's a long tradition that we have been associated with.

Back in the thirties, I think it was, Carlos Castañeda was given a commission to write the Catholic heritage of Texas and endeavoring to do so, he had to try to make ends meet somehow; so he applied for part-time teaching at Our Lady of the Lake College. And in the summer of 1934, the Sisters of Divine Providence gave him space in the library where he could have an office, keep his manuscripts and work without being distracted. And so there, he began to work on the *Catholic Heritage*.

In subsequent years, we have had many really good opportunities to be associated with the missions, among them the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library. Pete De Vries, known to most of you, had the crazy idea, as Pete always has, of establishing a Spanish Missions Library; and so he managed to get a grant from the Texas Antiquities Committee and he sent two researchers who were faculty members at Our Lady of the Lake University to Spain.

They were looking for documents on the shipwrecks of 1550, but being very good researchers and being very loyal to the Old Spanish Missions, they managed to get about 30 reels of microfilm

from Sevilla that dealt with the missions of Texas and Texas history. And then once again being fortunate, we inherited the Old Spanish Missions Library; and so that now it is located on our campus in this very building and that library grows not by leaps and bounds, but by one microfilm reel after another.

We have a little arrangement with the Franciscan Fathers in Zacatecas; Father Leonardo Sanchez, who teaches in Monterey, spends his Christmas holidays and other holidays in Zacatecas doing microfilm work for us and he sends it to us a little at a time, so that we have a few more volumes now than we did last year.

That microfilm is unique. Father Benedict Leutenegger had provided us with a very general index to the microfilm, so that we knew that there was a letter, perhaps written in 17 something, but that's about all. And so a couple of years ago the National Park Service became associated with the library and they provided a small grant to Dr. Rosalind Rock in New Mexico and she did a comprehensive index to that microfilm. It's 30 volumes. So anyone that wants to start this afternoon, you are welcome. It is a long, substantial reading assignment for any researcher.

One of those researchers turned out to be Dr. Hinojosa from UTSA. And speaking with him, I convinced him, I think he was halfway convinced, that maybe we should do something to make that more accessible to researchers. He has begun a small project of computerizing that index. He began the topic index this summer with a small grant from the Texas Catholic Historical Society.

So all of that, as background to the conference; that's where we've been as a university and as a library with the missions and now forward to set the conference for this year and for subsequent years, we hope.

We wanted to focus on the missions of Texas, certainly with San Antonio as a center of that focus. We hope sometime to have speakers, researchers from El Paso, from east Texas, from San Saba and maybe extend that a little bit and talk about the mission era in Texas and the southwest and northern Mexico -- I think this afternoon we will have a speaker from northern Mexico -- so that we could have an international meeting on missions in the future.

That, then, to say again, as Mrs. Garza said, that you are welcome here and we certainly hope that you will enjoy it and also to say that Semana de las Misiones after seven years is concerned still with presenting not only the research that you have to contribute, but to acknowledge that it is your research that makes Semana possible, because it is Semana, a celebration of the living mission, the mission that is still today, the people who reside there, who carry on those traditions; and it's only possible to do that, because you spend a great deal of time with those documents, with that archeology, to make us realize how it happened and how it continues to happen; so that Semana concludes this day with this research conference, but I think it really begins, because after today then, we can plan for the next year and continue to celebrate it day by day. Thank you.

# Mission Colonial Influence On Architectural Design in Contemporary San Antonio

by

Jesse Fernandez, M. Arch.



*Jesse Fernandez, photo courtesy of  
Jesse Fernandez and Associates*

Thank you. I am a bit awed by the long list of distinguished speakers and participants who are here today. Some of you have spent almost a whole lifetime providing support or research while I am a fairly newcomer. I am not an architectural historian but I have a special interest in Spanish colonial history. I have not taken a major role in the restoration of our local Spanish colonial and architectural treasures but my interests go back to my college days when I concentrated in learning about border architecture along the Rio Bravo.

I hope that this brief and informal presentation will inform and entertain you, especially since I know that Sister Maria Carolina talked about all of the scholars at these conferences and how well they presented. Architects will note on their architectural drawings, whether we are doing restoration or modification, that the contractors have to verify the drawings. We also put in our specifications and in the drawings, that should the contractors find something wrong with the drawings, and/or specifications they will bring it to our attention. We then negotiate and make allowances for construction adjustments. Professional historians tend to confirm events of history as facts only when they have documented virtually all they have written. So long as they are speculating, they find it easy to say, "I stand to be corrected." Well today, I, as an architect prepared to make adjustments, or as a historian who enjoys speculating, come before you with an abundance of enthusiasm for my subject. I also, come before you with perhaps far more slides than will be needed for a fifteen or twenty minute presentation.

First I will go through about 5,000 years of architecture, influences upon European architecture. I will focus on pre-Columbian, Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico and in Texas and the neighboring Spanish borderlands. Then I will go through examples of Mission and Spanish colonial revival structures in San Antonio. And last I will discuss our most recent additions of the popular Spanish revival.

In order for us to understand the influences of Spanish colonial architecture on our contemporary architecture, we must understand "style" since it is the basis at which architecture is understood. Architects do not like the word "style" since we associate that to being a superficial level of perception, but it is that visual character which, when it is repeated in a required frequency, that it becomes known as a "style."

As architects, we describe stylistic elements in terms of scale, shape, proportion, placement, materials and/or purely decorative application. Such elements can be very obvious or significantly obscure.

Historic architectural styles flourished between the baroque and modern 20th century architecture. We know this period as "eclecticism." Architecture during this time was nothing more than using and copying older types. In the United States, the Anglo Saxon profoundly adopted styles for practical or symbolic reasons, which reflected the domination of their own culture.

It was through the development of the railroads which made it easier to travel and settle in the western and southwestern parts of the United States that led to the discovery of Hispanic history. Before the 1900's, railroad companies had begun to construct their own architecture in the Spanish mission styles. By the 1920's, railroad traveling was possible into Mexico and across the United States to the eastern coast where architects boarded on ocean liners headed for Spain and Central and South America. They would return with photographs and plates of styles to publish them or to become their reference design file, their creations then to be printed in leading architectural presentations.

In order to understand the Spanish colonial style, we need to start with the beginning; so I am going to try to go, like I said, through about 5,000 years of architecture very fast. I will need the slides and I hope that from the center of the room I will be able to talk loud enough so that everyone can hear.

Five thousand years ago, people in the house of the dead, the pyramids, this was a very basic construction type, briefly, just stacking. The second oldest were the temples. Here we have post and lintel construction. The two-river countries, the Tigris and the Euphrates, gave us what we call the invention of the arch but because of the lack of wood centering, they were not able to develop this enough. So here, we have the basic arches, the barrel vault, cross vaulting and the dome.

The fourth step was Greek architecture which gave new development to the architectural styles.

Next the Roman architecture changed the orders placing boxed bases. They engaged columns, but they were able to take the arch and through the development of centering accomplished wide spans.

Early Christian architecture, Constantine being the first Roman to be a Christian, brought to us what we call early Christian architecture. Here they took the basilica, which was basically the Greek bathhouse and began to use it for religious purposes. After that, we go to the Byzantine before we get to the Dark Ages.

The next step was the Dark Ages-the wars, the monks went into monasteries; and here we have a compound very much like our missions where there was education, land farming, and animals. It was basically a self-contained unit.

Then we go to Romanesque architecture. Here, we begin to have rounded arches above the windows and after this period we go into the age of the castles.

Gothic architecture came next and here we have the pointed arch, ribbed vaults, stained glass, and flying buttresses.

Mohammedan architecture and the onion domes, during the Moorish conquest took control of Spain, and here we also find that up to the time of Columbus that the Moors influence in Spanish architecture is to be noted.

Next we go to Renaissance architecture. Here, Brunelleschi developed the large dome without using centering but by using chains and they went back to discover the ancient Greek and Roman forms.

This leads us to Baroque Architecture where in Spain and later in Mexico it flourished to its height. But in order for us to understand what we call Spanish colonial, we need to look at what was happening in Spain. And here we can see on this chart, (it is a little difficult to see all the dates on there) what was happening from the Moorish influence, Brunelleschi, then we go down to the Baroque and what we call the Ultra Baroque.

Now, we must think back to when the Spaniards came to discover the new world that there was already a great civilization there. There were pyramids and things of this sort, a culture that had already been highly developed.

The architecture of the central regions, especially Mexico, can be basically cut into three parts.

the first one being pre-Columbian, which we see here, and then Spanish, which occurred from 1521 through about 1810, and thirdly between 1810 and 1910. Because of all the wars and the chaos that was happening, there was nothing really done until after 1910 when we go into modern architecture.

The styles and ways of construction here were very much different than that which religious orders brought with them when they came into Mexico. These are the three religious orders which came into Mexico and were able to develop the architecture there.

Here is a basic, typical monastery plan in the 16th century where you can see the typical plan of these churches. Here we can begin to see some Gothic as well as some Plateresque details in the buildings.

A little sketch of the development of the religious architecture, the cathedral in Mexico and where we have the typical 16th century Monastic church and a very, very simple building. Then we go into the 17th century plan and elevation and then up to the 18th century. Those on the right are altar screens indicating the changes there.

The Baroque really went to its height in Mexico and here we started seeing that the columns began to be twisted and drastically changed from the Greek order.

Next we go to Spanish Texas. While the Baroque was being developed in Central Mexico, and since Texas was one of the border areas at the end or northern part of Mexico, the sparse few missions in Texas, were needing a central base, which became the San Antonio area. The typical Texas plan of the mission, a compound. Here we have, because of protection from the Indians and so on, it's different than having, let's say a monastery in the center of Mexico where they didn't have problems with the Apaches and Comanches, which begins our mission era period-- the revolt in New Mexico and the first church -- well, this slide is not the first one, there is one before this, but I have this on the slide.

The religious orders that came in, of course, wanted to bring their baroque and to establish what was a Spanish colony, but it was because of the environment and also the unskilled Indian, it was very difficult to do that. Now, it was in the Texas missions that they did bring some skilled craftsmen and they were able to be a little more successful here than they were in New Mexico in terms of the baroque style. We have fluted columns, twisted columns, very elaborate carvings of the doors. The Spanish governor's palace here where this was typical construction, maybe not necessarily baroque, but this was possible, because of the environment.

We go to the queen of the missions there.

Concepción, still with some of the elements that you can see of high pilasters, the lanterns.

Espada, with the Moorish influence, segmented arches. About this time, the Canary Islanders came and started their villa, their municipality, established their own church about 1838 or 1839. They wanted their parish church; so we have the parish church San Fernando before it became the cathedral, there being a presidio, not a mission, nearby.

All this is happening in Texas. You must realize there are other things happening in northern California and we also have some things happening in the New Mexico area, the eastern part of Texas, as well as the central part of Texas. In the eastern part, of course, because of the Indians we were unable to keep many missions there, little evidence there.

The New Mexico style, of course, in Sante Fe, that was here before the conquerors came; they already had a style of architecture, the stylish way that they were accustomed to; so when the religious orders came to try to put their baroque influences upon their type of construction and their use of materials, we got a different type of baroque. And then we have of course, the California missions, built a little later than ours. It was a better place, it was not as hard, it did not have the Indian problems that we (in Texas) had. They had much more rains, steeper roofs, tile roofs. These were their churches, their missions.

So with the development of the railroads, we go into the mission revivals. We had a lot of

suburban areas, we were going into Olmos Park, Terrell Hills, the Alamo Heights area, Jefferson area and the Art Institute, whether the houses were large or small; there was influence there. I have to go through these (slides) very fast.

We were able to go out into new building activities; and so we had new service (From here forward many slides were shown) stations and I think we need a mermaid or something in the area there. I didn't get a picture of the Rose Window. The schools, the bases, Randolph as well as Ft. Sam; theaters, uptown, the Majestic, Municipal Auditorium after the fire, the fire stations, Blue Bonnet Hotel. Now, we can pick up whatever style we want; so here, you see all these styles --Japanese styles, if you want, Spanish styles; this is called Di Jon; animal hospitals; you store it, keep the key; motels, hotels, homotels, retirement centers, office parks. This is a housing development, country clubs, commercial -- I don't know what that is -- then we have this across from Jefferson High School and we have our own acequia; the Alamo, a few years ago, today; and I think I have to end with these last two slides. (Slide of Taco Bell) and this one displays Petroleum Products Tiles. (Slide of gas/convenient store)

DR. FEARING: Mr. Fernandez will be glad to take any questions, or you may make any comments that you might have.

(Speaker from floor.) When these parties came up from Mexico to establish missions, did they bring the floor plans for the chapel, walls, quarters and so on?

## The Franciscan Experience of the Misiones Pimeria Alta 1767 - 1821

by

James M. Murphy

Pimeria Alta is a geographical area, the northern portion of which is in the present state of Arizona, and the southern portion in the present state of Sonora, Mexico. Geographically, the area is bounded on the north by the Gila River, by the San Pedro River on the east, the Altar River on the south, and the Gulf of California and Colorado River on the west. Thus, within this water bound area is a beautiful portion of the Sonoran Desert with its high mountains, valleys, once flowing rivers and large desert areas.

It was into these areas that the Jesuits of the Society of Jesus, coming northerly from Mexico City, entered the Pimeria Alta area in the 1690s. The Jesuits established many missions and churches in the area, several of which still exist and are now being used as Catholic Churches. Probably one of the best known of this group of missions, mostly built along the streams and rivers of the area, is San Xavier del Bac, the nationally known mission south of Tucson.

The mission churches in Pimeria Alta were operated by the Jesuits from the time of their entry until the Order was expelled in 1767 by the Spanish government from its nation and wide spread



*James M. Murphy, photo courtesy Murphy, Clausen & Goering, P.C., Tucson, Arizona*

colonies. So, for reasons having nothing to do with the Jesuit operation in Pimeria Alta, they were quickly and suddenly removed from the missions leaving the area, with possibly only one or two Diocesan priests of the Diocese of Durango, to care for the religious life of the Indians and Spanish colonists living in the area.

At the time they left, there were 53 Jesuits living in Sonora.

In time they were supplanted by the Order of Friars Minor from the Franciscan Queretero College in Mexico. These were Franciscans who had initially been in Texas and then were transferred to Sonora. However, the Queretero College was only able to provide 15 Fathers to supplant the 53 Jesuits who had departed.

At that time the Pimeria Alta area was within the Diocese of Durango, Mexico. Initially, Bishop Pedro Tamaron of Durango indicated he would have sufficient Diocesan priests to supplant the Jesuits. However, it came to pass that there were not enough secular priests and those available were working mainly in the southern part of the Diocese and not up in the Pimeria Alta area.

So, the Queretero Franciscans started their long trek to Sonora, most of which was on foot. They began to arrive in the empty mission areas in 1768, anywhere from a year to a year and a half after the departure of the Jesuits. Parenthetically it is interesting to note that at the time of their departure, the Franciscans from the San Fernando College were supplying priests going to California under the guidance of Father Junipero Serra and the College of Jalisco was furnishing priests for the Opata Indians in eastern Sonora.

Because of the suddenness of the expulsion, the Jesuits were unable to pass on any of their valuable documents, translations, Indian dictionaries created by them, and other items which could have been of great help to the Franciscans. By the time the Franciscans arrived at the scene of their various appointments, all such records and documents were long gone and destroyed. During the period from the Jesuit departure to the Franciscan arrival, a great deal of vandalism and destruction had been suffered by the missions, their quarters, fields, and flocks, causing many of the Indians who had been cared for in the area to start roaming and departing from the mission influence.

When the Franciscans departed for Pimeria Alta, their leader, Father Buena, was created Prefect Apostolic with the same powers as given to a Bishop.

Meanwhile, rather major changes had been made in the Spanish policy of operating the missions in Pimeria Alta. For example, all the mission property was secularized; thus, no communal farming could be done by the missionaries with the help of the Indians; Franciscans were paid 300 pesos per year where the Jesuits had received 360 pesos. The Franciscans were provided with a cook, and a boy to gather wood and make pottery.

When the Franciscans arrived at their new mission posts, they were faced with deteriorating churches and other buildings, the fierce attacks of the Apaches which led to a great withdrawal of colonists, scattered Indian populations, a complete lack of any material goods to help them in their work and also in their support of the Indians, plus bad sources of water creating malaria and an unhealthy climate.

In the past, when the Indians were working on the mission improvements or in the fields, they were not only being paid for what they were doing, but also were being fed and cared for. With the Franciscans, this came to a halt to the harm of both the missionaries and the Indians themselves. The missionaries had no fields or land upon which to grow crops and the Indians themselves were without a source of food, something that was very difficult upon the aged, the very young, and the sick and infirm.

Another major change came from the Diocese of Durango. While Bishop Tameron did grant all of the Franciscans Diocesan faculties, nonetheless, he directed that only the Diocesan priests could minister to the needs of the Spaniards living in the area.

Of course, many of the Spanish colony were pleased with the new policy concerning the missions. No longer would the Indians be solely in the custody of the Franciscans, but would be available as a labor source for the Spaniards. The new policy also provided that the Indians could communicate with the Spanish, could live with them, could be a part of their towns and pueblos, and could also enter into free trade with the Spanish themselves. Of course, the ultimate result of such a situation between the so-called civilized and cultured and educated Spaniards and the primitive natives was obvious.

Another problem facing the Franciscans was the fact they were not allowed to teach the Indians under their charge in any language but Spanish. Since the native Indians had no theology of any kind in their background, it was almost impossible for the priests to teach the natives the mysteries of the Church. However, the well-known Franciscan Fray Francisco Garces, and some other of his compadres did learn the Indian language and did teach the tenants of the Church to the Indians in their own language. This was a course which had also been followed by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, the famed Jesuit whose statue was placed in the United States capitol by Arizona as one of the two statues allowed by law to each state.

Of course, failure to allow the Franciscans to enter into the commercial aspect of the planting and growing and flocks with the help of the Indians, deterred greatly the Franciscans although all of this was available to the Jesuits during their operations.

The records show that during this period there were only two Diocesan parishes in northern Sonora. These were on the Oposura River in present Sonora and were the churches of San Juan Bautista Horcasitas and Nacozari Nuestra Senora del Rosario.

Although short handed, the Franciscans continued to press their work as best they could. In many cases they were thwarted by the Spanish colonists and also the soldiers who had been sent to protect them. Many of these clashes came as a result of what the priests felt was bad and improper treatment of the Indians.

Some of the Franciscans, such as Father Garces, continued their exploring as had the Jesuits in attempting to secure new areas for missions to be built. Garces pressed very hard for missions to be created for the Pima villages along the Gila River and also at the crossing of the Colorado at present Yuma. These were also ignored recommendations which had been made to the Spanish authorities by Father Kino.

Garces also did a great deal of exploration work, all on foot, as far north as the Hopi Reservation and then across the Colorado to California with the group that eventually founded San Francisco.

The Diocese of Sonora was created in 1781 and a Franciscan named Antonio de los Reyes was named first Bishop of the Diocese. Although the Diocesan See was at Arizpe, the Apaches depredations forced the new bishop to move to the Spanish mining town of Alamos about 30 miles inland from the Gulf and about 250 south of Tucson, and in the present state of Sonora.

But try as they may, the Franciscan experience in Pimeria Alta continued to deteriorate, but not by any fault of the Franciscans. The Apache raids were intensified, independence was coming to Mexico, the government was not supporting either monetarily or in any other way the Franciscans in the work of their missions, colonists were not coming into the area, the Indians were wandering throughout the land and the population was greatly scattered. In addition to the unhealthy climate and epidemics, there was a great lack of material goods and the farms, herds, and other agricultural pursuits had been allowed to fall in great disarray.

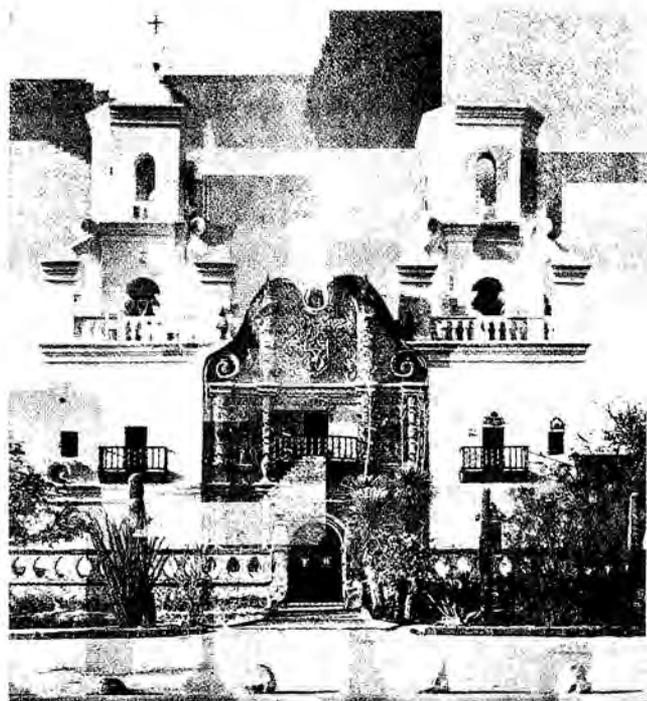
Many of the Franciscans in this group suffered martyrdom, as did Garces, yet replacements were not available either from the Franciscans or the secular priests. It finally reached the point where Bishop Garza could not furnish priests either for Tucson or San Xavier del Bac. When Mexico took over in 1821, the position of the Franciscans at Primera Alta worsened.

By 1836, there were only six friars working in the entire area. This was reduced to two by 1841.

The following year there was only one priest available who was attempting to cover the area from Tucson southerly to San Ignacio, which is approximately 120 miles south of Tucson. Then this poor Franciscan finally gave up and returned to his convent in Queretaro, Mexico.

In the 1980s, the Franciscan Order is again serving the famous mission of San Xavier del Bac. This mission is also a parish in the Diocese of Tucson and serves the Indians of the San Xavier Reservation and the Papago Indian Reservation. The onslaught of growth in Tucson is creating more and more white members as parishioners in this ancient church. In Mexico, many of these ancient missions which had been administered by the Franciscans are currently active Catholic parishes in the Archdiocese of Sonora, such as those of San Ignacio, San Francisco del Ati, San Miguel at Ures, and San Pedro at Tubutama.

In the preparation of this talk, I have leaned very heavily and gratefully on Reverend Kieran McCarty, O.F.M., a former pastor of San Xavier del Bac mission, both in conferences with Father McCarty and from his book *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age, Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770*, John Kessel's great work of *Friars, Soldiers and Reformers*, and David Webber's *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1864, American Southwest Under Mexico*.



*Mission San Xavier del Bac was founded in 1700 by Fr. Eusebio Kino, S.J. After 1767, the Franciscans took charge of the mission and completed the present structure in 1797. Photo courtesy Bernard L. Fontana, University of Arizona, Tucson.*

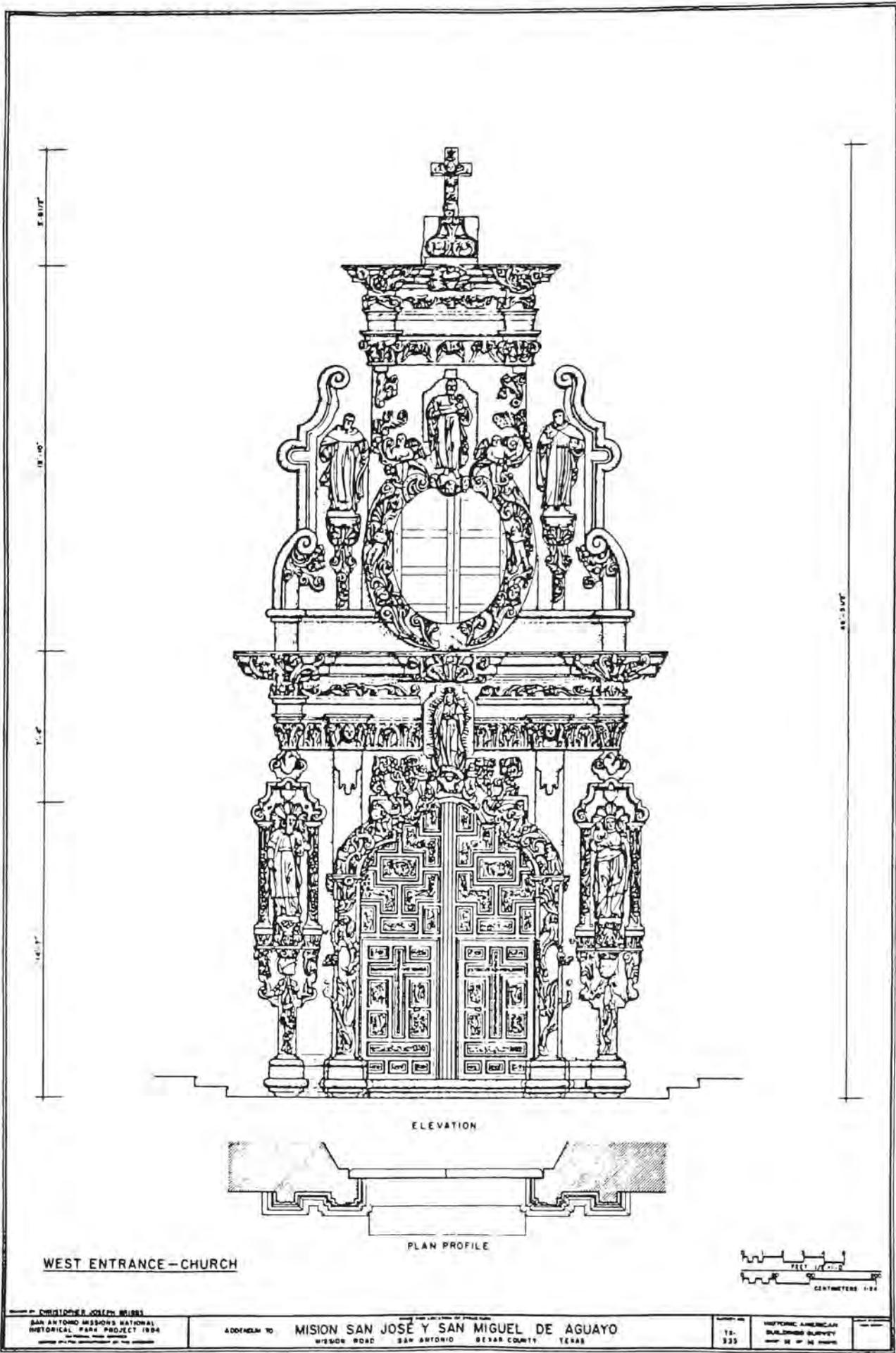


*Eraclito Lenarduzzi, photo, courtesy Nella Pia L. Zambon*

## Eraclito Lenarduzzi and the Restoration of the San Jose Mission Facade in 1947: The Man and His Mission

by  
Gilbert R. Cruz

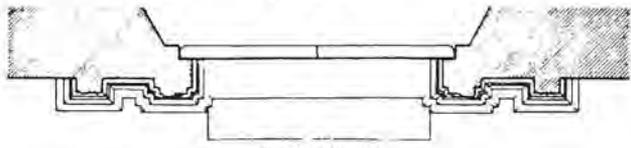
Eraclito Lenarduzzi was born in 1884. His parents, Francesco and Anna Lenaduzzi lived in the town of Pinzano Atagliamento located in the Julian alps in the region of Fuili in what is now known as the Province of Portenone. Eraclito grew into manhood in this region.<sup>1</sup> He married Cesira Frare in 1909, and they had their first child, a daughter named Nella Pia. Times were hard in the old country so three months before the birth of his daughter, he migrated to Mexico where his brother Francesco lived with his wife Lucia.<sup>2</sup> Francesco was a successful engineer



8'-8 1/2"  
 18'-0"  
 7'-6"  
 14'-1 1/2"

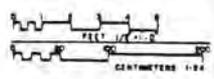
14'-3 1/2"

ELEVATION



PLAN PROFILE

WEST ENTRANCE—CHURCH



CHRISTOPHER COLEMAN WHEELER  
 SAN ANTONIO MISIONS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK PROJECT 1984  
 ADDENDUM TO MISION SAN JOSE Y SAN MIGUEL DE AGUAYO  
 WISDOM ROAD SAN ANTONIO BEXAR COUNTY TEXAS  
 12-325 HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY  
 1/8" = 1'-0"

in constructing bridges at Zacatecas. In 1911, Eraclito sent for his wife, Cesira and their daughter. When Eraclito met his family at the port of Veracruz, the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917 was beginning to weigh heavily upon the nation. It compelled Lenarduzzi to move from Zacatecas to Aguascalientes then on to Guadalajara. During these turbulent times, the wife of Francesco died. After being widowed for a short time, Francesco courted a young lady named Laura whom he married.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, while Eraclito was sculpturing at churches in Guadalajara, all his tools and equipment was stolen. Troubled times in Mexico had taken their toll.

Lenarduzzi resolved to return to Italy by way of Texas.<sup>4</sup> While in San Antonio, Texas his wife, Dona Cesira, gave him a second son named Pompeo. Pompeo was the third child joining his sister Nella Pia and older brother, Nino, who had been born earlier in Zacatecas. In 1914, Lenarduzzi arrived in



*Cesira Frare Lenarduzzi and Nella Pia  
Photo, courtesy Nella Pia L. Zambon*

La Grange, Texas to cut marble and to sculpture crucifixes and other town statues in the town cemetery. There he labored for about four years at \$1.00 per day.<sup>6</sup> All the while, his family responsibilities grew with the birth of a new son, Camilo, and a daughter christened Ada Maria. Lenarduzzi moved his family to Beaumont where he contracted for ornamental carving on the city's Post Office and for sculpturing statues at cemeteries.<sup>7</sup> Life conditions were promising for his family in Beaumont. Lenarduzzi was now earning \$8.00 a day.<sup>8</sup> In 1921, he accepted a job in Austin, Texas where he worked for the Mortitz Sculpturing Co. for about two years. Lenarduzzi spent one year in Laredo but by 1925, was in Houston where he became a recognized sculptor.<sup>9</sup> He established himself in a comfortable home in Manvel, a small community south of Houston. Contracts for sculpturing on schools, churches and universities were now a part of his daily life.<sup>10</sup> Cemeteries across much of Texas paid tribute to his sculpture. Lenarduzzi was doing well as a professional sculptor.

#### LENARDUZZI: HIS MISSION

Providence may well have wanted notable success to come his way since now a very special job awaited him in San Antonio. At San Jose Mission, the situation was terrible. On December 15, 1947, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey dejectedly wrote, "For twelve months I have tried in vain to get some repair work on the outside walls of old Mission San Jose. Pieces of rock are falling down from walls or from arches in the cloister . . ." <sup>11</sup> Conditions at the mission were deteriorating rapidly. In fact, the following week, in a second letter addressed to Father Roy Rihn, the Archbishop wrote, "A piece of stone weighing perhaps ten or twelve pounds had fallen from the stone frieze around the front door of San Jose. Throughout, the facade is absorbing water and is disintegrating."<sup>12</sup>

The distraught prelate turned to Mrs. Ethel Harris, custodian of the Mission, to express his concern.<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Harris believed that help was possible, at least in the care of the facade, if a "certain Italian sculptor who possibly lives in Houston," could be found. Mrs. Harris located none other than Lenarduzzi and on January 6th wrote to him: "Archbishop Lucey has asked . . . whether it would be possible for you to come to San Antonio and restore the figures on the facade . . . at San Jose Mission . . . you (are) the man who could do the restoration in the manner in which it should be done. We feel sure that having lived in San Antonio, you know and love . . . old Mission San Jose."<sup>14</sup>

The extent to which Lenarduzzi reflected on the matter is not really known. Moreover, we do not know exactly what motivated him to consider the offer. We do know that on February 2, 1948, in a letter to the Archbishop's representative, Father Roy Rihn, he agreed to submit an estimate. "I am

herewith submitting my price for the work . . . at \$2,050.00. I will furnish everything to make the job complete. . . . For repairing the (facade) from top to bottom my price is \$2,600.00.<sup>15</sup> (The final contract was actually \$2,750.00). At the same time, he also made stone samples available. In a letter to Lenarduzzi on February 4th, Father Rihn wrote, "I wish to thank you for leaving stone samples . . . I spoke to (the) Archbishop about your report. He is well pleased with the figures you gave. He asked me to call you again at the Chancery Office to complete arrangement for beginning the work."<sup>16</sup>

With the details worked out, the contract was signed by the Archbishop and Lenarduzzi.<sup>17</sup> The agreement was reduced to 14 significant points. They read: I, Lenarduzzi,

1) will begin this work as soon as the scaffolding in front of the Mission facade shall have been erected, and I will remain on this job, working six days a week, weather permitting, until it is completed. I will not obligate myself to work for anyone else until this work on the Mission shall be satisfactorily completed.

2) will not remove or destroy any of the stone or sculptured work on the Mission facade except for the inserted concrete slab described below in section 7.

3) will make a new statue of the Virgin and the Child (actually, St. Ann and the child, Mary) to stand on the right of the front door, except for that portion of the original statue, will be made to conform with the original as it appears from the old prints still available.

4) I will replace the arms and head of the figure that stands to the left of the front door. (St. Joachim).

5) In the Guadalupe group:

a) I will touch up the face of the statue of the Virgin;

b) I will sculpture seven new figures of the cherubs that surround the Virgin, saving the still extant portions of the originals;

c) I will re-work the festoon-carving surrounding this group insofar as this is possible without removing or damaging any of the original work.

6) As for the figures in the upper portion of the facade: I will carve a new head for the center figure and arms and hands where needed for the side figures. I will clean all three of these figures. I will replace the destroyed portions of the angel and shell at the side of this group.

7) At the top of the facade I will replace the missing cap and will rework the five foot frieze. Below the left cap, I will remove the inserted concrete slab and replace this with a new stone carved to conform with the intact portion. Below the stone, I will sculpture and replace the angel and the shell.

8) Atop the upper window on the left side I will replace the missing angel and shell and re-work the four-foot square carving above the angel.

9) I will fix the molding in all the corners. I will rebuild the finiment on top of the facade, using brass  $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick for pins and anchors.

10) Throughout this work I shall use only select Austin Stone, as approved by the Archbishop, Father Rihn and Mr. Rufus Walker (a consultant to the Archbishop).

11) Upon completion of the carving and touching up, I will waterproof the entire facade, using hydrozo water-proofing materials. This water-proofing will be applied by hand with a brush.

12) I guarantee first class work, all complete, for the sum of \$2,750.00. This sum includes all materials, scaffolding, tools and labor.

13) Should I find in the course of this work that I will need any helpers, such helpers, should they work on Archdiocesan property, will be insured under Workmen's Compensation through the Chancery Office.

14) On the first day of each month, the contractor, after having submitted paid invoices and paid pay roll, may collect 50% of that amount due to him up to that date. Upon completion of the job to the satisfaction of the owner, the balance due on this contract shall be paid.

Witness our signature on this 2nd day of March, 1948.

(signed) E. Lenarduzzi  
contractor

(signed) Robert E. Lucey  
Archbishop

Accounts available at the time of presentation indicate that Lenarduzzi appears to have had three fundamental visuals from which to restore the facade: first, a painting named the Portal of San Jose Mission by Thomas Allen who had traveled to Texas from his studio in Boston in 1878-1879<sup>18</sup> and secondly, a picture by a photographer by the name of Raba in the 1880s.<sup>19</sup> Lastly, there was Lenarduzzi's visual comprehension of the facade as he experienced and studied it before restoration. This visual comprehension of the facade was influenced by several important aspects of his life. First, the unrivaled sculpturing traditions of his native Italy that permeated his being.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, his sculpturing experience in colonial churches such as El Templo Expiatorio in Guadalajara.<sup>21</sup> There were also Lenarduzzi's silent thoughts synthesizing the elements of detail and perceiving what the facade might have been in its earlier days of grandeur, what it was in his own time, and what his final work was to represent for the future. It was to be far more than restoration. It was the recreation of colonial sculptural art and the enhancement of its historical integrity by accentuating those areas that inspired him. It is not the role of a historian to canonize master sculptures. Providence and history form the great tribunals in which men's deeds are weighed. Even so, Lenarduzzi drew his conclusions. It is interesting to note, for example, that there is one cherub under the feet of Our Lady of Guadalupe and six cherubs around the upper curvature section of the front door frame. In the contract Lenarduzzi indicated, "I will sculptor seven new figures of . . . cherubs . . . saving still extent portions of the originals." What he does not note is whether there are seven distinct portions to represent seven original cherubs. From illustrations available not all cherubs are visible. Someday students of architecture will study the facade with this in mind. Perhaps then we will know if Lenarduzzi perceptively found indications where images of these angelic creatures were once carved before the became prey to the hands of vandals or whether, at least some of the cherubs were additions placed by the proposed master to embellish, to complete or even to make whole what was started centuries earlier.

#### LENARDUZZI: HIS LEGACY

Lenarduzzi completed his contract in just over three months, working six days a week. On June 9, 1948, he wrote to Father Rihn; "This is to

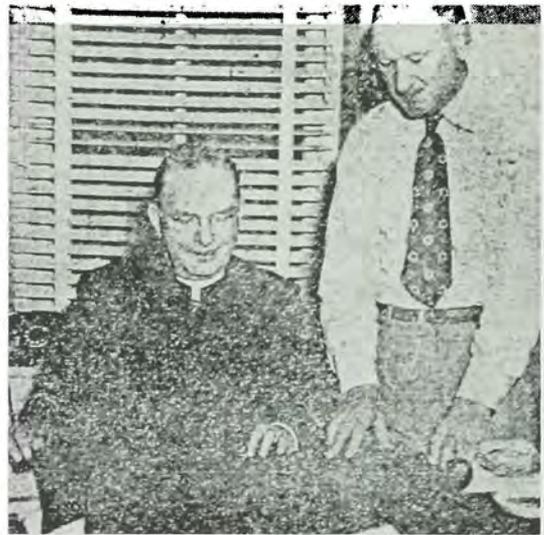


*The Portal of San José Mission drawn by Thomas Allen when he came to Texas from his studio in Boston in 1878-1879. Original painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*



Left: The top half of the statue of St. Ann is also stolen. Lenarduzzi retains the lower original half and replaces the upper half of the statue of St. Ann with her infant child, Mary, resting in her right arm. Photo courtesy San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

Right: Archbishop Robert E. Lucey and Eraclito Lenarduzzi reviewing details of a restoration project at San Jose Mission. After the restoration of the facade, the Archbishop contracted Lenarduzzi for the restoration of the ornate stone frame of the sacristy door and the construction of a new marble altar for the mission sanctuary. Photo courtesy San Antonio Express and News.



Left: The young angel at the feet of the statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe and the cherub at the angel's side were sculptured by Lenarduzzi in the restoration work in 1948. Photo courtesy San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

advise you that the job has been finished. Please phone Mrs. Harris and tell her when you can come over so that I will know when to meet you there. If you do not have any other work for me to do at this time I am ready to leave town."<sup>22</sup>

Declared a National Historical Site in 1947, Mission San José was closely monitored in questions of preservation and restoration of its historic structures. Ercih Reed, the regional archeologist from the National Park Service office in Santa Fe, began to draw up his 1948 annual report on San José mission while keeping the Archbishop informed about his report through correspondence dated April 30th and May 6th. On October 29th, Reed also sent a copy of a report to the Archbishop in which he praises Lenarduzzi.

The restoration of missing portions of the ornamental carved stone work of the facade has been accomplished with great care and skill and good taste by Mr. E. Lenarduzzi of Houston. It is beautiful work resembling closely and blending in excellently, accurate. Nothing original has been damaged and all replacements have been based on old photographs. The appearance of the church is much improved, with no sacrifice or loss, and I am glad that we imposed no objection or reservation to the Archbishop's proposal to have this work done.<sup>23</sup>



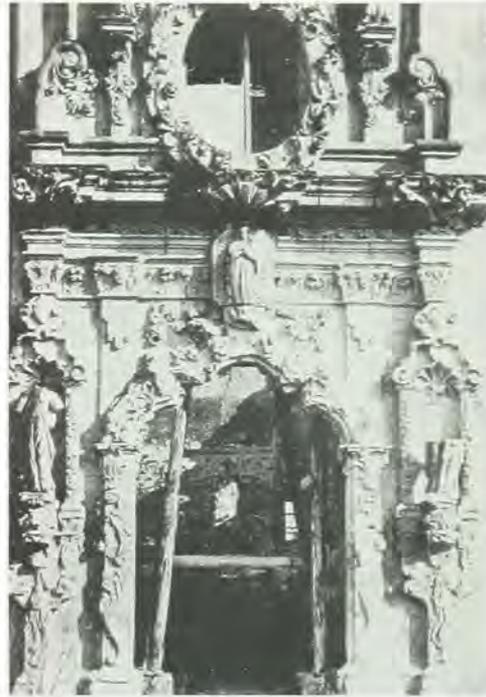
*Lenarduzzi working on the restoration of San José Mission in 1948.*

Lenarduzzi received additional praise from the Archbishop. People came from all around San Antonio to admire Lenarduzzi's restoration on the facade of their beloved mission. It was, in effect, a giant leap forward in attempts to restore the Queen of the Texas missions. The restoration of the facade on this timeless mission was bringing more fame to this unassuming man than all his other marvelous works across Texas. Lenarduzzi, his work completed, prepared to leave but the Archbishop would not have it so. On June 30, 1948, he persuaded Lenarduzzi to contract for restoration work on the ornate stone frame of the sacristy door.<sup>24</sup> On September 18, Lenarduzzi went on to sign a third contract with the Archbishop for the erection of a new marble altar at San José mission.<sup>25</sup> These events, of course, raise new questions. What, for example, were the scopes of work in the new contracts? What was the time factor? Where are the illustrations? And what analysis are we to make on these new adventures in the life of Lenarduzzi? But all these new

adventures in the life of Lenarduzzi are yet another story and it also must be told. Research at the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park is never done. With each answer that research provides, additional questions are laid open for investigation. In the case of Lenarduzzi's restoration work we are just now understanding its role in the care and explanation of the historic structures of the San Antonio missions.



Mrs. Ethel Wilson Harris. Photo courtesy San Antonio Conservation Society.



Sometime between 1880 and 1890 the large entrance doors are stolen from the facade of San José Mission. New doors, replicas of the old, are replaced in 1937. Lenarduzzi restores the facade in 1948.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Nella Pia Zambon to Gilbert R. Cruz, Park Historian, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, September 6, 1984. Letter deposited in *Special Library*, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas. (Hereinafter: "Zambon, September 6, 1984").

"Late Manuel Sculptor's Works Are Displayed," *The Alvin Sun*, June 10, 1975, Alvin, Texas. (Hereinafter: "Sculptor's Works, June 10, 1975").

Born in Italy, Nella Pia Zambon is the first child of Eraclito and Cesira Frare Lenarduzzi. She wrote to the Superintendent, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, indicating that she was willing to make available whatever information she had on the story of her father and his restoration work on the facade of Mission San José in 1948. See: Nella Pia Zambon to José Cisneros, Superintendent, San Antonio Mission NHP, January 28, 1984, Manvel, Texas. Letter deposited in *Special Library*, San Antonio Missions NHP, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>2</sup>Nella Pia Zambon to Gilbert R. Cruz, Park Historian, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, March 22, 1984. Letter deposited in *Special Library*, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. (Hereinafter: Zambon, May 22, 1984).

Sigman Byrd, "Dean of Texas Sculptors," *The Houston Press*, July 18, 1962, Houston, Texas. (Hereinafter: Byrd, "Dean," July 18, 1962).

<sup>3</sup>Zambon, September 6, 1984.

<sup>4</sup>Zambon, May 22, 1984.

Byrd, "Dean," July 18, 1962.

<sup>5</sup>Zambon, September 6, 1984.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

"Sculptor's Works", June 10, 1975.

<sup>9</sup>Zambon, September 6, 1984.

<sup>10</sup>"How High Schools Take Form and Beauty," *The Houston Post*, February 14, 1937, Houston, Texas.  
Byrd, "Dean," July 18, 1962.

<sup>11</sup>Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, to Father Roy Rihn, December 15, 1947. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>12</sup>Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, to Father Roy Rihn, December 22, 1947. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>13</sup>Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, to Father Roy Rihn, January 5, 1948. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

"I wish you would go out to Old San José and talk to Mrs. Harris (phone her before you go) to inspect the stone over the Rose window and over the door in the front facade. You will see how the stone is disintegrating... It would be a great dishonor to all of us if when we come to die it would be said of us that we allowed the . . . most historic building in the United States to disintegrate and tumble down . . . Father de Prada will write to . . . Old San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles to see whether it might be possible to bring some expert from California to do this job . . . if we could get a local man I would prefer it. Mrs. Harris had already written to someone in Houston. Please try to get some action on this."

*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Ethel Harris to Eraclito Lenarduzzi, San Antonio, Texas, January 6, 1948, *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>15</sup>E. Lenarduzzi to Father Roy Rihn, San Antonio, Texas, February 2, 1948. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>16</sup>Roy Rihn to E. Lenarduzzi, San Antonio, Texas, February 4, 1948. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

"We . . . wish to know which of the two types of stone you prefer. The Archbishop also wishes me to show the samples to Mr. Rufus Walker and Mr. Harvey Smith. It will then be up to the three of you, all experts, to decide which type we will use. In that way we shall feel reasonably secure that we will not have made a poor choice."

*Ibid.*

"Since the names of Harvey Smith and Rufus Walker will recur through out this record, a brief introduction is in order. Harvey P. Smith, one of the finest architects in San Antonio, drew the specifications and supervised the difficult restoration of the cupola and nave of the Mission church in 1936. Through the years he has carried on extensive research not only a Mission San José but at all the old Spanish Missions in and around San Antonio. In an earlier memo the Archbishop referred to Mr. Smith as "the outstanding Mission architect of Texas." Rufus A. Walker is a well-known San Antonio contractor and is recognized as an expert in fine plastering and water proofing. He was recommended to Archbishop Lucey by Harvey Smith as the best qualified man to whom to entrust the projected repair work on the walls of the Mission structure."

Record of Re-integrating Project at Mission San José under His Excellency, the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D. (1948) *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>17</sup>The Contract for the Restoration of the San José Mission Facade. Signed E. Lenarduzzi, contractor, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, Contractee, March 2, 1948, San Antonio, Texas. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>18</sup>An illustration of the painting, Portal of San José Mission, can be found in Pauline A. Pinckney, *Paintings in Texas*, Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1967, p. 187. The original painting is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts. For a resume on the life of Thomas Allen see *Ibid.*, p. 185. For more details refer to the Boston Museum Art files.

The illustration, The Portal of San José Mission, is also in Frederick C. Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio*, San Antonio: Artes Graficas, 1937, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup>The Ernest Raba picture was made around 1898. It is actually a duplicate of a photo taken by H.L. Bingham, San Antonio, Texas in 1876. A copy of the photo is deposited in the *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

It has not been determined where these and possibly other illustrations were obtained. The assistance of the late H.L. Summerville is inferred.

"Without a model, it was impossible to restore them now as they were in the days of San José's glory. In response to His Excellency's request, the late H.L. Summerville brought from his collection a most interesting negative on a glass, dated, 1876, showing almost the entire facade. This was by far the oldest found and, fortunately, it pictured most of the figures intact. The re-print from this negative appears in this record as Plate No. 1. (It is pertinent to note that this glass negative was purchased by the Most Reverend Archbishop from Mrs. Summerville shortly after her husband's death). On January 22nd, Mrs. Josephine McInnis, the Archbishop's secretary, writes in a memo to Father Rihn: 'Herewith I am giving you three blown-up prints made by Mr. Summerville from some ancient negatives that he has in stock; one of the doorway (to the Mission) showing surrounding statues, one of the statue of Our Lady [probably means St. Ann and child Mary] and the other of an unknown saint [probably means St. Joachim] on the left-hand side as one enters the Mission.' These enlargements were used later by Lenarduzzi in executing the restoration."

Record of Re-integration Project at Mission San Jose under His Excellency, the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>20</sup>Lenarduzzi studied Italian renaissance sculpture at the Sola d'Arte in Venice. While in Florence, he studied sculpture under a noted professor named Andreina. He later worked under the famous Raffaello Batello in the marble quarries at Pietra Santa near Carara. He also came to admire German baroque and thus was motivated to travel to Germany to work and study in Berlin, Hamburg, Dusseldorf and Cologne.

Nella Pia Zambon to Gilbert R. Cruz, Park Historian, May 16, 1985, Manvel, Texas. Letter deposited in *Special Library*, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup>E. Lenarduzzi to Father Roy Rihn, June 9, 1948, San Antonio, Texas. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>23</sup>Annual Report on San José Mission National Historic Site. Memorandum for M. R. Tillotson, Regional Director, Region Three, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 29, 1948. Report by Erik K. Reed, Regional Archeologist, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>24</sup>Contract for Work on the Rose Window and Sacristy Door at Mission San José, June 30, 1948. Signed, E. Lenarduzzi, contractor, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, contractee, San Antonio, Texas. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

Roy Rihn to Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, June 17, 1948. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>25</sup>Contract for the Erection of a New Altar in San José Mission, September 18, 1948, Signed, E. Lenarduzzi, contractor, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, contractee, San Antonio, Texas. *Archives*, Catholic Chancery, Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

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# The Indians of the San Antonio Missions: Their Origin and Acculturation

by  
T. N. Campbell

Thank you very much for inviting me to be with you today. The most important thing to know about the Indian groups associated with the Spanish missions of San Antonio is that no one knows very much about any of them. The sad fact is that European documents do not contain very much information about specific Indian groups, particularly information of the kind we would like to have today. Another sad fact is that such bits of information as were recorded are widely scattered in numerous documents, mostly unpublished, and few scholars have been willing to devote their time to ferreting out such small amounts of information. The net result is that information retrieval for mission Indians is not very far advanced. Everybody seems to be waiting for someone else to do this tedious and time-consuming work. Those who are not aware of these facts sometimes assume that by now scholars have collected all the information that was recorded about Indians.

In various archives of Europe and America there are millions of documents written by European colonizers of North America. Scholars of one sort or another have examined most of these documents, but few of these scholars have had a deep interest in the obscure Indian groups represented at the San Antonio missions. Enough is known about Indians of the San Antonio missions to say that they were mainly remnants of numerous small, autonomous hunting-and-gathering population bands, not tribes, that had been displaced from their homelands by the northward movement of Spaniards in northeastern Mexico and by southward and eastward movement of Apache groups from the plains of northwestern Texas. In studies of such poorly recorded Indian groups it is necessary to be careful and not go too far beyond such factual information as has been found in primary documents written by European observers. Scholars who have written about these mission Indians have at times made statements that are not supported by documentary evidence.

Assumptions have sometimes been made that were not tested for validity. Interpretive opinions have often been presented without also presenting recorded information that confirms or contradicts. A plateau of consensus opinion about these mission Indians was reached several decades ago. Now that some scholars are re-examining the basic documentary evidence, and sometimes finding new evidence, it is becoming clear that serious mistakes have been made that need correction. Unscrambling the mixture of fact and fiction is a task that lies immediately ahead in research on the mission Indians of San Antonio. Some commonly accepted ideas about the Indians of southern Texas and adjacent areas are no longer tenable because the available evidence is either contradictory or insufficient for proof. It is, for example, no longer acceptable to state that most of the Indians of the San Antonio missions originally spoke the language now known as Coahuilteco. Some groups were displaced from other areas and learned Coahuilteco after being associated with Coahuilteco-speakers before or after entering missions.

The linguists of today are aware that many different languages were spoken in the area and that Europeans failed to record word lists for all of them. These linguists also no longer claim that



*T. N. Campbell, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus  
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Texas at Austin. Photo courtesy San  
Antonio Missions National Historical Park*

such recorded languages as Coahuilteco, Tonkawa, Karankawa, Comecrudo, and Cotoname were related. They point out that the evidence for relationship is not good enough to meet the more rigorous linguistic standards of today. Furthermore, Ruecking's composite picture of Coahuiltecan culture has been rejected by anthropologists because it is based on uncritical use of documents from much too large an area, and from too long a span of time, and includes information from Indian groups that were culturally unrelated. Some were agricultural Indians, not hunters and gatherers. These alterations are forcing scholars to go back and re-examine the primary sources. If we insist that the older views are correct, the burden of proof lies with us. Reiteration will get us nowhere.

As a mission center, San Antonio had more missions than other such centers, five missions in all and a sixth was authorized but never built. There are several reasons for this, but the principal reason is that there was a local abundance of uneasy Indians willing to enter missions. The missions of San Antonio were established between 1718 and 1731, a period during which Apaches of the central Texas highlands were making life increasingly difficult for hunting-and-gathering Indians who had not integrated the European horse into their cultures. A thoughtful missionary, Friar Vergara, acknowledged that the San Antonio missions were successful because of the widespread fear of Apaches.

For determining what Indian groups were represented at the San Antonio missions the most informative documents are the baptismal, marriage and burial registers that each mission routinely kept. In these registers the dated entries give the ethnic affiliation for most of the Indian individuals recorded. For Mission Valero all three registers have survived, but for Mission Concepción only the marriage register has survived. For the remaining three missions no early registers have yet been found. Loss of mission registers is a serious loss because it means that we do not know the names of all Indian groups represented at all five missions. When registers are missing, one has to rely on other kinds of documents, which usually give only the names of the numerically dominant Indian groups at some particular time. The loss is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the number of Indian groups recorded for Mission Valero exceeds the number of groups for all the other missions combined. Without registers it is difficult to determine when Indian individuals and families from a specific group begin to enter a mission, or to determine the total number of Indians from each group who actually lived at a mission. If we cannot identify all the Indian groups present, there are limitations to what we can say about the origins, languages, and cultures of Indians at that mission. In view of their importance in mission Indian studies, it is ironic to note that the surviving registers of the San Antonio missions have never been published.

We have fairly good information on the total number of Indians at the missions. This shows that, at any particular time, each mission never had more than a few hundred Indian individuals. In terms of total population, a mission was roughly equivalent to one flourishing hunting-and-gathering group when living in its homeland under aboriginal conditions. If, for example, individuals from 20 or 30 Indian groups were present at a mission, it is obvious that all of these groups could not have been represented in substantial numbers. The surviving mission registers show that many Indian groups were at no time represented by more than one, two or three individuals.

The average mission was a hodge-podge of remnant Indian groups whose social system were no longer functioning. Thus far we know that names of at least 150 Indian groups who were represented by one or more individuals at the five missions of San Antonio. If we had more and better records, the total number would probably exceed 200. Some Indian groups who entered missions in considerable numbers included small remnants of other groups who had previously merged with them and lost their ethnic identities.

We probably will never know the names of all ethnic units actually represented at the San

Antonio missions, but today some things are becoming clearer: Those mission Indian groups were not only numerous but also came from diverse areas at different times, spoke a variety of languages and in aboriginal times many of them had cultures whose patterns were dissimilar. It seems fair to day that all of us who have written about the mission Indians have at times, through sheer ignorance, been guilty of oversimplifying a very complex matter. When we determine where each of the mission Indian groups originally lived under native conditions, we run into all sorts of difficulty.

Some groups were never reported as being seen by Europeans anywhere at any time prior to mission entry. Others were seen once or twice in native encampments, and here we have to face the question: Were these encampments in the area where the groups originally lived, or had it already been displaced from another area? Still other groups are better documented, and we can sometimes find documents showing that a group had migrated from a distant area before entering a mission. Under these circumstances we do the best we can with such information as was recorded, realizing that some error is inevitable.

One thing we cannot ignore, the evidence showing that there was extensive group displacement during the few decades prior to establishment of the first mission at San Antonio. It is of course not feasible at this moment to specify the probable homeland of each Indian group, but we can point to major source areas. In general, Indian groups from the more westerly part of southern Texas entered missions earlier than those who lived farther to the east.

The area from which most of the earliest groups came was west and southwest of San Antonio and south of the Edwards Plateau. In addition to groups native to this area, there were also groups that had been displaced by Spaniards from Coahuila and parts of Nuevo Leon, as well as refugees from the mid-seventeenth century Spanish-Indian wars in the Chihuahua Desert, plus groups displaced southward from the Edwards Plateau by Apaches.

Somewhat later, groups began to come from areas to the south and to the east of San Antonio, reflecting further expansion of the Apaches. Still later many groups from extreme southern Texas and northern Tamaulipas. These were groups pushed out when the Apaches moved down to occupy the coastal plains of southern Texas, as well as groups displaced from the lower Rio Grande Valley after Jose de Escandon had established several colonies there shortly before and after the year 1750. These were the major source areas, but there were also refugees from more distant areas who found their way to the San Antonio missions.

When we consider the matter of Indian acculturation in missions, impressive obstacles must be faced. We do not know the names of all groups represented at the missions, nor do we have good cultural descriptions for groups known to have been there. For groups known to have been at missions we do not even know how much their oboriginal cultures had already changed before they arrived. We know next to nothing about the mix of Indian cultures that must have developed among the second-and-third generation mission Indians. Missions sometimes recorded Indian behavior they wanted to suppress, but they rarely gave us the kind of details we need for acculturation studies.



*Coahuilteco drawn by Frank Weir, Ph.D. in T. N. Campbell, Ethnohistoric Notes on Indian Groups Associated with Three Spanish Missions at Guerrero, Coahuila, 1979.*

Thus we can make some statement about culture changes among mission Indians in general, which is merely pooling our ignorance, but little or nothing about changes in the culture of specific groups or associated groups. So far as I know, no one has yet made a thorough analysis of documents to determine what is known to what is not known about culture change in specific missions. Until this is done, it is doubtful if anything of much value can be said about acculturation of mission Indians.

Although we lack precise information on how it was accomplished, the aim of missionaries to prepare mission Indians for participation in Spanish culture was ultimately successful. Near the end of the 18th century the missions were discontinued, and the relatively few surviving mission Indians passed into the lower economic levels of the Spanish speaking population of San Antonio. The missions were no longer supported because their Indian populations had not grown by natural increase, and in the surrounding area few Indians were left who were willing to enter the missions.

In conclusion, it may be said that the study of Indian groups associated with the San Antonio missions is much more difficult than has been generally realized, mainly because of the serious limitations imposed by a dearth of recorded information. These limitations have not been squarely faced and some scholars have presented conclusions that are not demonstratable. More caution, more realism in document evaluation, and more rigor in data analysis are needed if further progress is to be made.

## The Influence of the Beef Industry at the Spanish Missions in Texas on the Colonial American Revolution

by

Robert H. Thonhoff

I appreciate the opportunity to come before this group and relate the interesting, exciting, and unique story of how the Texas Longhorns helped win the American Revolution. A product of new information and new research, which some of you might already know, this story seemed to have been missed by the big-league historians and had to be picked up by a little peanut historian from Fashing, Texas. If you ask most people where Fashing, Texas is, they would be hard-put to tell you. It would probably take an earth-shaking experience for anyone to know anything about Fashing. But if you have read about the recent earthquakes in Texas, why, Fashing sits right above that earthquake zone. Really and truly though, I have lived in Fashing for 28 years, and the only thing I know about the earthquakes is what I read about them in the newspapers.

Now I would like to get into the background of my book, *The Texas Connection With the American Revolution*, which came out in 1981, and I will relay verbally the story that is told in this book. The idea for this book goes back many, many years to St. Mary's University, where Dr. Joe Schmitz inspired me to do something about the fantastic Spanish-Texas history that transpired between San Antonio and the Rio Grande and the Texas coast.



*Robert H. Thonhoff, author, The Texas Connection with the American Revolution.*

After I graduated from St. Mary's and went on up the road a bit to San Marcos and then to Austin, I had opportunity to delve into it a little bit more. One day in 1973, as Robert S. Weddle and I were at lunch at a Texas State Historical Association meeting, he leaned over the table and said, "Bob, (We are both named Bob), how about you and me writing a book about Texas in 1776 for the approaching Bicentennial?" I said, "That sounds great, Bob. Let's have at it." So we sat down together, and we outlined what we thought a work of this kind would take. He took the parts in which he had interest and knowledge. We kind of put two and two together and came up with four, you see.

In 1976, we came out with our book called *Drama and Conflict, the Texas Saga of 1776*, put out by Madrona Press in Austin. Many people, unfortunately, never knew about this book, because Madrona Press, a subsidiary of a management consultant firm in Austin, was busy at that time doing a tax study for the Texas Legislature, and they did not publicize this book. But I had a nice arrangement with them. I didn't receive any royalty or anything, but I could, like any book dealer, sell them. I was given the opportunity to give hundreds of talks on this book to Rotarians or whoever would listen to me. There were only 1500 copies of the book in print. As a result of the many talks I made between San Antonio and Victoria, I sold over 1200 of these myself. The last copy priced at \$12.95 was sold five years ago. Then I decided that I would save the last two boxes for old Bob Thonhoff, for someday he will retire, and he might need them.

I am proud and pleased to say that Our Lady of the Lake University and the Alamo Library have copies of this book, *Drama and Conflict*. Other than the few copies that I saved for myself, I know of no others available. My proudest contribution to this book is a chapter entitled, "The Birth of a Tradition," which tells about the ranching industry that grew up between San Antonio and the Texas coast which is the birthplace of ranching as we know it in America today. The people in Victoria know this fact well. Just a little while ago, my good friend Henry Hauschild presented me with this poster that plugs Victoria as the "Cradle of the American Cattle Industry," And it's true.

Ranching, as we know it in America today, developed in the San Antonio and Guadalupe River Valleys between San Antonio and the Texas coast. Much has been written about the cattle industry in the period after the Civil War and about the period after the Civil War and about the great cattle drives to the north and so forth. Bob Weddle and I, however, with the help of the Bexar Archives and other Spanish records, found that there were cattle drives much earlier than the ones for the period usually ascribed for cattle driving, indeed, nearly 75 years before. These first cattle drives went east, not north. And their purpose was to help win the American Revolution! Now, Bob Weddle --I've got to give him credit for this-- was the first to perceive that these Texas longhorn cattle were trailed from here to the Spanish forces commanded by Bernardo Galvez. Yes, the same Bernardo Galvez after whom Galveston, Texas, is named. And I will dare say that not ten people out of a thousand in Texas know about this great man, who is truly a forgotten hero of the American Revolution.

Galvez not only defeated the British along the whole Gulf Coast of the North American Continent during the American Revolution, but he has been given very little recognition for it. But I believe the time of Bernardo Galvez "has arrived." So in our book, *Drama and Conflict*, we barely scratched the surface of this fantastic story that had just been absolutely missed by the big-league historians. There are just four or five paragraphs in it about the Texas cattle going to Galvez, and that is all we knew in the time that we had to do the research and get the book out by 1976. I could not leave that story alone. Although I am a teaching school principal --I have been at Fashing for 28 years now-- I spent three more years doing research for this book in my spare time. For the most part, I used original Spanish documents and the Bexar Archives. I spent another year writing it up, and a little over another year in getting a publisher. It's not easy to find a publisher for an author that is not well known. Anyway, in 1981 this book, *The Texas Connection with the*



*American Revolution*, was published, and now I would like to relate its story to you.

All too often, when we think of the American Revolution, we think in terms of the events that occurred in the original 13 English colonies. Important as they were, they do not tell the whole story. An oft-neglected and virtually unknown part of the American Revolution is the part that Spain played in the winning of American independence. A very interesting sidelight is the Texas participation --the Texas Connection, if you will,-- with the American Revolution. Now let's go back over two hundred years ago to the founding of San Antonio in 1718 when the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar and the Mission of San Antonio de Valero were established. Not long after that, the Mission Espíritu Santo and the Presidio La Bahía were founded on the Texas coast, originally, and in the early 1720s, they were moved up to Mission Valley, and then in 1749 finally over to their third and present location at Goliad.

In the meantime, Mission San José had been established in San Antonio in 1720, and three other missions from East Texas, were relocated nearby San José Mission in 1731. At this time, the King of Spain made huge land grants to these missions for the purpose of raising livestock. In the following years of the 1700s, many private individuals, mainly Canary Islanders and their descendants or soldiers of the conquest of Texas and their descendants, because of some prior service for the crown, were given royal land grants for ranches along the San Antonio, Cibolo and Guadalupe Rivers in the region between Bexar and La Bahia. Interspersed within these huge, vaguely-defined land grants given to the missions were many private land grants given to individuals. Now, on this projected map, which is a transparency of a larger map that I spent many, many years putting together, I show many of these Spanish ranchos. This map is largely the result of accepting a challenge from the late historian, Carlos Castañeda.

In his great work, Castañeda said, "We know these ranches existed. It's not likely that we'll ever know where they were." Well, as I dug into this, I began to correlate information through the General Land Office, the Bexar Archives, that is the county records, and on-the-spot inspection. I love to go to the actual sites. I am not inclined to be an arm-chair historian. I like to go to these places and get the "feel" of them. As a result of many years of study, I was able to locate, identify and describe quite a few of these early Spanish 18th century ranches up and down the San Antonio, Cibilo, Guadalupe and Atascosa Rivers.

The biggest land grants were given to the missions. There were five in San Antonio and two at La Bahia (called Goliad, today). Quite interestingly, these mission lands were given names. The Alamo mission, for instance, had a ranch down in present Karnes County, not far from Fashing, called El Rancho de La Mora, on which it pastured many livestock. Mission San José had the Rancho del Atascosa, which was situated astride Atascosa River in present Atascosa and Medina counties. Mission Concepción had its Rancho del Paistle in present Wilson County, in the Stockdale-Sutherland Springs-La Vernia area. Mission San Francisco de la Espada, of course, had its Rancho de la Cabras, --the Goat Ranch-- in present Wilson County, which remains today as the best example, I believe of a ranch in these United States of America, and many of you will be privileged to go visit this ranch with Ann Fox this afternoon. I have been there several times before, even with all my school students. Now all these ranches were very prosperous and the picture I want you to get is that on these ranches from San Antonio down to the coast were grazing thousands upon thousands of head of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules and donkeys.

Sometime after the Battle of Saratoga, France, Spain, and Holland jumped into the war against the English on the side of the colonists. Spain declared war against England in May, 1779. Earlier King Carlos III whom I like to call "the best of the Bourbons," commissioned in 1776 a young man by the name of Bernardo de Galvez to be the governor of the Province of Louisiana. Initially, Galvez held open the Port of New Orleans so that only Spanish, French, and American commerce could go up and down the Mississippi River and its Ohio River tributary. Through this back door,

or over this "lifeline" great amounts of French muskets, powder, musket balls, supplies, ammunition, and money went to the forces of George Washington and George Clark. Even Patrick Henry had written three letters to Galvez asking for his help. General Charles Lee, who was General Washington's right-hand man, was also in correspondence with Galvez on the issue of assistance. Galvez also received a letter of appreciation from Thomas Jefferson.

After the declaration of war in 1779, Galvez's aid could be open, and he was commissioned by the Spanish crown to move ahead and conduct a campaign against the British along the entire Gulf Coast. Galvez proceeded to raise an army, first of all about 1400 men, which eventually grew to about 7,000 men. Now, I want to ask you something. How would you like to have 1400 soldiers come to your house this evening for dinner? What would you feed them. Well, Texans of today know, as they once did in colonial times, how to feed a large gathering. And Galvez knew the military axiom: "An Army travels on its stomach." Isn't that right, General Harris? (General William Harris, U.S. Army Retired, a leader in the Korean War and versed in history, was in the audience at the time of the presentation.) Not only did Galvez know where there was a food supply for his army, but he knew also where there was a veritable traveling commissary. He knew where there was "beef on the hoof" from his military experience in the 1770s when he had been stationed in far away Chihuahua and had engaged in several campaigns against the Apaches. While there, he learned of the existence of all these ranches and cattle in the Bexar-La Bahía area.

From New Orleans, Galvez sent a letter with an emissary, Francisco Garcia, requesting and authorizing the very first delivery of cattle out of Texas for up to this time it was prohibited and cows weren't worth much, only about three or four pesos a head. They were valuable only for their hides, tallow, or local consumption, which could not make a dent in their great numbers. During the course of the war in 1779, 1780, 1781 and going on to 1782, between ten and fifteen thousand head of these Texas Longhorn cattle were rounded up and gathered on these ranches belonging to the missions and to private individuals. They were trailed by Spanish-Texas rancheros, some whose names you see displayed here on documents. The cattle were escorted by Spanish-Texas soldiers from the Presidios at San Antonio and La Bahía, some of whose names you can see back on the 4th of July documents for Texas on display in the back of this room. The Texas Longhorns were delivered to the Spanish forces of Bernardo de Galvez, who took to the field in 1779 and defeated the British in battles at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. This sounds like the Civil War, but it isn't. I refer to the American Revolution.

In 1780, with over two thousand men, he defeated the British in the Battle of Mobile (Fort Charlotte). In 1781, he defeated the British in the Battle of Pensacola, the site being a prize plumb. At the time of battle, Galvez had seven thousand men well fueled in part by these Texas Longhorn cattle that continued to be trailed to him. His military successes enabled the French Fleet in the area to sail for Virginia in time to help George Washington defeat General Cornwallis at the Battle of Yorktown. The War was over for the Americans, not for Bernardo de Galvez. Galvez regathered his forces and he defeated the British in the big battle at Providence, the British naval base in the Bahamas. He was preparing to go after the British in the biggest campaign of all, in Jamaica when the Peace Treaty of Paris negotiations were underway, so that never came to pass.

Therefore, as we continue to commemorate the American Bicentennial, which was recently celebrated, let's remember Bernardo de Galvez and his Spanish soldiers. Also, let us not forget our brave Spanish-Texas soldiers and our brave Spanish-Texas rancheros who drove these first Texas Longhorn cattle, which helped win our independence.

So, muchas gracias, danke schon, and thank you for being a kind and receptive audience.

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

by  
Roy R. Barkley

If you were elated to find out that someone on the program hadn't shown up for their presentation and this event was going to be shorter than you thought it was going to be, then perhaps I can allay your disappointment now a little bit by saying I don't think I have more than ten minutes of material on hand to talk about. The first thing I want to talk about, I think, is parameters --I believe that is the word. We have had some set of parameters presented to us today. One of those is formal-informal, and I am going to use both.

When Gil Cruz asked me to do this, he noted that my talk could be informal. But like a stuffy academic, I wrote part of it out, and I am going to get to that in a few minutes. I also would like to say that I like that designation of having a Ph.D. in English Literature before 1500, because it serves as a pad in case anybody asks a question. Now, anything after the introduction of printing in England, I'm not responsible for. But you may ask questions, if you wish.

Another set of parameters that has not actually been presented, as such, is that so far we have talked about two things, basically; one, we have talked about historic events and entities; and two, we have talked about the preservation of artifacts.

Now, I would like to take yet a third point of view of the missions for just a few minutes and that is the point of view of an editor and writer, which is what I am, not formally a historian. First of all, I suppose that most of you know about the *Handbook of Texas* that is being revised, that we are planning to publish it in 1995 or so in celebration, we hope, of the sesquicentennial of Texas statehood. Some people in Austin and perhaps some people in San Antonio think that Texas statehood is not something to celebrate. Some people want to secede. We reserve judgment on that.

The *Handbook* will have 25,000 to 30,000 articles in it, some of them very short and simple, some of them very long and complex. It happens the ones about the missions are long and complex. What we have done so far is try to seek out the best people that we could find across the state and out of the state, as the case may be, to write articles for us for the *Handbook of Texas*. And as our ground list of topics we have used articles in the old book, which came out, as you know, in 1952 and then received a one-volume supplement in 1976.

So far, we have only one of those long articles on one of the San Antonio missions. Dr. Cruz is the author of our new article on Mission San José. Now, we have a couple of other articles about much more obscure missions in other parts of the state, but nothing at all to compare with the length and complexity of the subject of Dr. Cruz's article on the Mission San José. We have also only a couple of articles about missionaries and the like. Father Habig has contributed a couple of those and I am kind of disappointed that he couldn't make it today because I wanted to meet him. I have corresponded with him a good deal. And that's where we stand on the missions and missionary right now.

Of those 25,000 to 30,000 articles, I have in my office, all that we have so far received -- and that's 600 or so -- already they are looking a little bit like a burden and I don't like to think about the



Roy R. Barkley, Research Editor, *Handbook of Texas*, Texas State Historical Association. Photo courtesy San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

thousands that are to come in. I want to say now to begin the more formal part of this and to start looking at my written text -- most of the time, you throw the written text away and make the speech without it -- well, I started without it and now I am going to use it. I want to say a few words about the context and purpose of the new *Handbook* and the kind of articles that we seek in general and how I as an editor of the *Handbook* see the nature of a mission as a topic.

Texas has always been an exciting place to live. When the Yankee general Sheridan said that if he owned hell and Texas, he would live in hell and rent out Texas, he at least didn't imply that this is a dull place. The excitement in Texas is mounting as the state increasingly becomes the focus of demographic *megatrends*, to use a word that was recently invented and has now become a part of our vocabulary. For scholars, this is true, not merely because we are growing, but because as we grow we are increasingly aware of our cultural heritage and increasingly sophisticated in our knowledge of how to preserve and explain the past. It is this new understanding, perhaps as much as the state's new growth, that has necessitated the making of a new *Handbook of Texas*.

Let me illustrate what I mean by comparing for you two articles about the same subject, one from the *Handbook* of 1952 and the other from the *Handbook* that will come in 1995. The article is about an archeological subject in southwest Texas, Seminole Canyon. I am going to read you part of the new version first. And you should know that we are using this article as a model for our articles about archeology. When we assign an article for somebody to write, we try to send him a model, if we have one, in order to clarify what we are after, for one thing, and it helps.

I will just read the first few paragraphs of this. "Seminole Canyon in Val Verde County, named for the Black-Indian, post-Civil-War Indian scouts based at Fort Clark, is a minor tributary of the Rio Grande fourteen river kilometers downstream from the mouth of the Pecos River and eight miles east of Comstock, Texas, on US 90. Seminole Canyon and its major tributary, Presa Canyon, contain examples of every defined prehistoric and historic pictograph style in the lower Pecos River region, in addition to styles found in numerous other archeological sites. The lower reaches of this canyon now form the nucleus of Seminole Canyon State Historical Park, established in 1980 as an archeological and historical preserve. The 2100-acre park holds 70 recorded sites ranging in age from Early Archaic, around 7,000 B.C., to historic, a span of 9,000 years.

"Prehistoric occupation of the region resulted in material remains ranging from deeply stratified occupied rock shelters and extensive rock art panels, through Archaic stage burned rock middens and hearth sites, to stone circles and cairn burials typical of the late prehistoric period, post A.D. 600. The majority of the historic sites can be attributed to the construction and operation of the Southern Pacific Railroad, 1881-1892, or the early ranching era.

"The predominant rock art style represented in Seminole Canyon is the Archaic age Pecos River style, exemplified by the pictographs of Fate Bell Shelter, its Annex and Panther Cave. Classic examples of the Red Linear pictograph, a miniature Late Archaic form, are found at the type site, Red Linear in Presa Canyon, and at Fate Bell Shelter. One of two extensive panels in Red Monochrome, a style probably brought into the region in the late prehistoric period, lies in the upper reaches of Seminole Canyon; and one of the most outstanding examples of historic aboriginal art, Vaquero Shelter, is in upper Presa Canyon."

Well, I think that is a pretty impressive sounding article. It's got so much information in it, much detail in it; there's so much, let's say, if it's not too paradoxical, there's so much what you would call introductory detail there. You can go from that article to an observation of the place itself, if you want to, and learn a great deal, because of the article. And it's this sort of general depth, the detailed kind of depth that you would find in the reports about these archeological sites, that we want. We are not going to substitute for the archeological survey at the university. What we want to do, though, is give people a much deeper view of things than we have given them before.

Let me read to you, and I know that this is, so far, pretty far, pretty far from the San Antonio

missions, but I am going to come back, I promise -- let me read you the article in the old *Handbook* about the same subject. "Seminole Canyon is approximately 4 miles east of the Pecos River in southern Val Verde County. It is 6 miles in length. The walls of the canyon have cave shelters and have yielded evidences of extensive occupation by the cave dwellers." That's it. Well, I'm just going to say that we can pat ourselves on the back for that one already. The difference between these two articles is, of course, not as a result of any great change that has occurred in the growth of Texas or anything like that; it's a result of new knowledge in the field of archeology.

Now, the application to the San Antonio missions is obvious. Because of the commitment to use all of the research techniques available in order to discover and preserve the history of the missions, the missions demand immensely more complex treatment than one finds in the original *Handbook*. As Dr. Cruz can testify, a new mission article must reflect the complexity of the subject from the points of view of numerous academic disciplines. The history of a mission is a topic for archeologists, for architects, for anthropologists, for political and military historians, for paleographers, archivists, and literary scholars, for art historians and church historians and so forth. And that is something you can't say about many of the articles in the *Handbook* -- the life of Lyndon Johnson, for instance, or the San Antonio Symphony. These are not accessible through such numerous disciplines.

Please don't misinterpret my attitude toward the old *Handbook*. We at the association have great respect for Webb and Carroll. If we attain any altitude, it's because we're on their shoulders. But from the 1980's, it's easy to see that the history in many of these articles of the 1952 handbook is a static history of dates, names and episodes whose articles were relatively inattentive to the cultural dynamics that produce historic phenomena. Thus, for instance, the Indians for whom the missions were built were hardly mentioned in the old articles. And the pictographs of Seminole Canyon, as we have seen, were unanalyzed.

In their origin, the missions were a meeting place of two worlds, Catholic Spanish and Indian pagan. They were an expression in part of the civilizing and humane intentions of an aggressive and exploitative people. Through the years, they have been the focus of conflicts and resolutions, of cultural achievements and destruction, of transcendent faith and worldly violence, of the confluence of many disparate elements.

We at the Texas State Historical Association are dependent upon the research of people like you and we are dedicated to producing in the *Handbook* a responsible, complex historical account of subjects like the San Antonio missions.

# Archeological Investigations and Findings at the San Antonio Missions: An Overview

by  
Daniel Fox

I have a different approach to the talk that I am going to give today. It is fortunate, I think, and sort of coincidental, that I grew up in San Antonio at about the same time that the archeological study of the missions was growing up, and I thought I would read a brief synopsis of my experiences with mission archeology so that I can save some time.

Growing up in San Antonio in the late 1950's and the early 1960's I had several opportunities to visit the Alamo, San José and other San Antonio missions on school field trips and family tours. And much like many other San Antonio people, I'm sure, I was impressed by San José's fortifications, her church and her brown-robed Franciscans.

When I became interested in archeology as a hobby in my early high school years, my mother, Anne Fox (being the supportive Mom that she is) introduced me to Mardith Schuetz, a friend of the missions, who in those days was a curator of the Witte Museum and the only professional archeologist in the San Antonio area. Mardith, in turn, introduced us to the Texas Archeological Society, of which my mother and I have been members ever since.

My first true fieldwork experience in mission archeology was under Mardith Schuetz's supervision in the mid-1960's, when I was put in charge of washing and cataloguing the artifacts recovered during excavations in the courtyard of the Alamo. A couple of years later, I worked with Mardith again, when we did some salvage excavations in a room near the chapel at Mission San Juan Capistrano, where restoration work was underway. When we carefully removed the layers of fill from the room, we found a rectangular cut in the old plaster floor which looked for-all-the-world like a burial chamber in the center of the room. But, despite our suspicions that something very historical, or someone very special, may be resting there, when we started to excavate the fill from the cut in the floor, we determined it was a disturbance made by a relic hunter who apparently had the same sort of idea that something might be buried, like gold or whatever, there in the center of the room. Unfortunately, the missions, like many other archeological sites, have been disturbed to varying degrees by untrained enthusiasts who don't realize the damage they do.

A couple of years later, while I was doing my undergraduate work at UT and working part-time for the Texas Historical Commission, Curtis Tunnell, another long-time friend of the missions, afforded me the opportunity to conduct my first solo field-work project at Mission San José. The project was very limited in scope and of short duration, but it did result in my first professional publication, for what it was worth in those days, and I learned a lot more about archeological techniques, how to identify features and what the artifacts meant. We found some remnants of the Indian quarters on the north side of the convento and also found out how frustrating it is to try to study a site in such a piecemeal way, in so little time. I know that's still a problem in mission archeology.

Later, after finishing my undergraduate work and gaining more practical experience in archeology, I was employed in 1975 as a graduate research assistant working with my mother in a



*Daniel Fox, author, *Traces of History: Archeological Evidence of Past 450 Years*, 1984. Photo courtesy Anne Fox.*

crew from the newly established UTSA Center for Archaeological Research. We were searching in Alamo Plaza for remains of the south compound wall of Mission San Antonio de Valero. We found bits and pieces of the lower wall foundation that happened to survive what had gone on in Alamo Plaza. And there was the usual assortment of artifacts that dated from the 18th century through the present. But, we also found a section of the fortification ditch that was used as part of the defense of the south gate of the Alamo during the 1836 battle. And in the layers of that section of the ditch that we uncovered, we found musket balls and also fragments of a bean pot, a wine bottle and a wine glass, which may have been used and discarded during the siege; but, I guess more likely after the battle when the ditch was filled in.

Later in 1975, I was employed by the Texas Historical Commission, again, this time to co-author reports on extensive archeological investigations by John Clark and Dan Scurlock at Mission Concepción and at the San Fernando Cathedral, which, of course, was originally the church of the 18th century secular community, the Villa San Fernando de Bexar. I learned more, much more, about 18th and 19th century artifacts and architectural features. I was amazed by the way that the Spanish Colonial church, the San Fernando Church, is still there, all sort of surrounded by later additions. What impressed me the most, I think, about the artifact collections was that, considering the remoteness of San Antonio from Mexico and from the Old World, there is such a variety of different origins of different sorts of artifacts that you find in the San Antonio missions.

The assemblage from Concepción, for example, was dominated by Indian-made items, especially bone-tempered, hand-molded pottery, which is known as Goliad Ware. But there also were glass beads from Italy, porcelain from China, chinaware from England, gunflints from France and various kinds of wheel-thrown pottery from Mexico.

While working with the Concepción and San Fernando Cathedral materials, I developed the basis for what later became my Master's Thesis topic, which was the identification of the stone tool making technology of the mission Indians. Of course, it was your standard graduate student thesis exercise. But I was able to suggest from the study that the acculturation of south Texas Indians occurred very rapidly in the mission haciendas, because the tools and technology of the mission Indians are different from late prehistoric Indian tools and technology, and because mission Indian stone tool forms appear to be more supplementary to European technology than a continuation of prehistoric Indian tool making traditions.

There are also indications that the mission Indians collected and reused stone tools that had been made by their ancestors centuries before, and in some cases, of course, not used for the same purposes as they were originally made. And more interesting, I thought, was that it even seems possible that many of the European inhabitants of the missions, as well as the rest of San Antonio, at times may have made not only gunflints, of course, but other stone tools that they needed, particularly on the remote Spanish Colonial frontier where metal tools and supplies for making them were very scarce.

Since the 1970's, I haven't had much direct contact with San Antonio Mission Archeology, although I have watched with great interest the work of other archeologists there, particularly those who work with UTSA, and I am anxious to see what comes out of the new project in the Alamo area. I have also been very supportive of the promotion of the Mission Parkway system and, of course, the development of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. I have dedicated a considerable amount of space in my book, *Traces of Texas History*, to the missions and other Spanish Colonial sites in the area. In fact, some people who are interested in other parts of the state and others in historical archeology thought I had put a little too much in there about San Antonio area archeology. My excuse is that that is where a lot of it has been done in Texas.

I hope that the book and what everybody here is doing not only promotes more public interest

in history and architectural history in the San Antonio area, but also increases the public's knowledge of the importance of archeological research at the missions and other sites, because they provide the only real, material evidence for the accurate reconstruction of the history and the architectural development of San Antonio.

As I said, I applaud the cooperation of the parties involved in the formation and maintenance of the San Antonio Missions Park and the ongoing programs of research and interpretation of the missions, and I hope someday that I will have the opportunity to visit my old friends, the missions, again, and be able to contribute more to their interpretation and preservation. Thank you very much.

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# Past and Present Perspectives on the Texas Missions

by

Gilberto M. Hinojosa

Ever since Franciscan friars planted the first missions on Texas soil in the late 1600s observers of these institutions have projected their personal and professional biases on their historical reflections. Each recorder has laid claims to objectivity, propositing to relate events “as they really happened.” But despite his or her assertions, unavoidably each has adopted a perspective that determined the criteria used to select some facts over others, to emphasize particular motives, and to convey one or another impression of the overall picture. Inevitably all scholars inject their biases into their historical accounts, and the best they can do is to admit and state them candidly to their readers. While some historians of the missions have assumed this responsibility, others have not, although their work reveals their perspective nonetheless.

The very first historians of the Texas missions were friars themselves, and generally they tended to discount the complaints of all the participants except those made by their fellow religious. The padres produced in-house histories that pictured government officials as interested only in reducing the state’s expenditures while increasing their personal fortunes. According to the friars, settlers wanted mission lands and Indian servants and the Indians were too backward to appreciate the labors of the padres. From their perspective, they (the missionaries) were dedicated to spiritual ideals, even when these were unobtainable.

But the padres were not the only ones to unsheath the pen; officials and settlers also recorded their observations. The authorities and the non-religious civilians competed with the friars for the land and labor resources and consequently had few words of praise for the missionaries. In their reports military captains and the governors often chastized the padres for meddling in governmental affairs. Settlers too, filed many complaints viruently accusing the friars of shameful exploitation of the Indians. These highly critical accounts reached not only Mexico City but also the peninsular governmental agencies.

Yet these reports could not outdo the records produced by the missionaries, not in content, nor in volume. Monumental works by Friars J. Manuel Espinosa, Juan Domingo Aricivita, and Diego Bringas circulated widely and eventually saw publication. These testimonials exemplify the missionaries zeal to immortalize the great and the martyred among their brothers in religion and their need to pay homage to even the lesser brethern. Many shorter historical sketches by other friars can be found in the archives. All of these accounts by historian-padres portray the labors of their fellow missionaries as divinely inspired and judge everything that interfered with the great task of saving souls of pagans as the work of satan.

Government officials saw other forces at play in Texas. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the Bourbon Reforms, the military governors argued that New Spain’s frontier needed more settlers and soldiers, not more neophytes in quasi-monasteries. In proposing a new Indian policy that deemphasized the role of the missions, Assistant Inspector Antonio Bonilla, author of *A Brief Compendium* of the history of Texas, reviewed past economic strategies in the province and actually blamed the Franciscans for retarding the development of Texas.



*Gilberto M. Hinojosa, Ph.D., College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Texas at San Antonio.*

As expected, a number of Franciscans rose to defend their brothers. The most famous of these defenders was Fray Agustin Morfi, whose "History of Texas" has influenced subsequent works on the missions immensely. Because few records have survived the ravages of time and because many historians have examined the extant documentary evidence very uncritically, Morfi's "History" and other chronicles by the friars have been taken as completely accurate descriptions of the missions long after the controversies that inspired those histories were forgotten.

In the American period, United States scholars did not contribute much to the historical understanding of the missions until this century. Influenced by the Black Legend, American historians at first tended to down play any Spanish contribution, particularly if made by clergymen. It was not until the late 1800s when Hubert Howe Bancroft began collecting, reproducing, and studying documents from the Spanish period that attention was given to mission history. Bancroft and his group of researchers in the History Company employed the then relatively new "scientific" techniques in the field as they unearthed and "objectively" analyzed the vast source materials available for studying the American Southwest and Mexico.

An heir to that tradition, Herbert Eugene Bolton made invaluable contributions to the history of the missions. He began his career at the turn of the century at the University of Texas at Austin where he discovered the rich archival resources that shed much light on many forgotten episodes. Bolton penned several important works, including his 1915 *Texas in the Eighteenth Century* and his later *Athenase de Mezieres*, both of which remain fundamental studies on the colonial period. Perhaps reacting against his American colleagues, Bolton developed deep sympathies for the Spanish viewpoint, although he veered away from this slightly as he studied Indian relations. In any event, Bolton's pro-Spanish perspective remained strong, a welcome balance in a sea of overt anti-Spanish historical treatment.

Bolton's essay on the mission as a frontier institution immediately became a landmark theoretical piece. The significance of this essay and of all his works for the history of the missions lies more on the impact of these institutions than on how they worked. Bolton and his followers, including William E. Dunn, who researched the Apache missions in Texas, were interested in the role of the frontier within the larger picture of imperial objectives. In this context they saw the mission as an instrument of the settlement of a buffer zone threatened by foreign powers.

The actual internal operation of the missions was left for others to research. Scholars such as Mattie Austin Hatcher, J. Villasana Haggard, Nettie Lee Benson and Carlos Eduardo Castañeda who dug through the University of Texas at Austin archives filled in the mosaic of the Spanish past in that far northeastern province. Castañeda produced what is perhaps the most outstanding history of the province's colonial past, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*. In this work, Castañeda built on and advanced Bolton's earlier work, researching many forgotten aspects of the area's history, including the therefore neglected San Antonio mission story.

Castañeda and all of these authors published very scholarly and generally fair works. They valued a strict fidelity to their sources, and to that extent they often showed a bias for the viewpoint of those who had written the documents they researched. Castañeda, for example, worked from the friars' reports and thus presented their version, a fact sometimes lost, given the author's vast and impressive coverage. He was not alone in taking this point of view. Local chroniclers Frederick Chabot and Edward Huesinger who added to the mission portrait, adopted the same bias. Nevertheless, the contributions made by Castañeda and his contemporaries were significant and inspired other scholars, archivists, and translators to continue enriching Texas' historical studies.

Twentieth century Franciscan scholars have also reexamined mission history and have followed the perspective taken by Castañeda and set by the friars in the eighteenth century. Operating since 1931 in their former San Antonio missions, these modern religious historians have been more sophisticated than their brothers in the 1700s, but not any less candid or argumentative. Yet they

have produced solid, standard works, which have survived time. Father Marion Habig's *Alamo Chain of Missions* and Father Benedict Leutenegger's *Guidelines for a Texas Missionary*, one of many of his translations, are indispensable for studying the work of the friars and for the area's overall history. These scholars' underlying assumption that the missions were beneficial for the Indians is basically identical to the perspective that colored the original reports of the friars who sought to "civilize" the natives.

The Indians did not record their acceptance or rejection of the missions, but scholars researching areas of the Southwest other than Texas have concluded that these institutions were detrimental to the natives' welfare. In *The Conflict Between the California Indians and White Civilization* Sherburne Cook studied the decimation of the Indians, documenting the results of the changes in their dietary, cultural, and work traditions and in their general living habits. Anthropologist Edward H. Spicer, in *Cycles of Conquest*, described the disruption of native societies in north-central Mexico caused by the imposition of Spanish culture on Indian religion, social organization, law, dress, behavior, and family life. While the pro-Indian sympathies of these researchers led them to sketch a harsher portrait of the area's Spanish past than the one drawn by other twentieth century historians, but the bleak picture resulted from a new and legitimate scholarly interest: the cultural change produced by the meeting of peoples with very different lifestyles and economic goals.

Ethno-historians in Texas have also paid attention to these issues. Thomas N. Campbell has been focusing on native cultures, with particular interest in the pre-Spanish cultures. His work on the Coahuiltecan and the Rio Grande missions constitutes an invaluable contribution to Texas history. Another ethno-historian, Mardith Schuetz has provided perhaps the best description of life in the San Antonio missions. Her findings are rather similar to Cook's, although she is not as critical of the padres. Her study outlines the process of Hispanization of the mission population, and to that extent confirms the ultimate success of the original objectives of the mission system.

Incorporating the ethno-historian perspective to some extent, Elizabeth A. H. John has focused on Spanish-Indian relations beyond the mission walls where most of the native population resided. John's scope in *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* includes East Texas French and New Mexican trade enterprises as well as Texas topics. Her attention to Indian interests sheds considerable light on Spanish policy-making, which heretofore had been considered as unaffected by native concerns. John's pro-Indian viewpoint, along with Campbell's and Schuetz', did not necessarily result in anti-Spanish and anti-clerical histories.

Indeed, treatment of the Texas missions has generally been only mildly critical of work of the friars. Works by writer-historians such as William Coroner, Adina De Zavala, Chabot, and Heusinger have actually been romantically admiring. This perspective has inspired great effort for the preservation of the missions, although it has not always contributed greatly to our understanding of them.

Despite the great effort of the pro-Indian historians, the view of the Indian is still missing from the Texas mission picture. Perhaps understandably, this perspective is largely absent from the Spanish record and can only be inferred at the great risk of violating traditional historical methodological standards. To portray those left out of prominent governmental records historians need to employ demographic techniques such as those used by Schuetz and Cook and trace the bits and pieces of information utilized by social historians.

Undoubtedly the historians that provide those much-needed insights on the Texas missions will have their own biases, much like the missionaries, government officials, archivists, historians, anthropologists, and ethno-historians have had theirs. There is no possible way to be completely and anesthetically objective. What is imperative is that all who reflect on the past recognize and admit their own perspectives so that these biases do not get in the way of our understanding the past. Only in that manner can the historical mosaic of the missions be clearly presented.

# PRESENTATIONS MADE AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL MISSION RESEARCH CONFERENCE, 1985

## Introductory Remarks

by

José A. Cisneros

I want to welcome everyone to this Fourth Annual Research Conference on the San Antonio Missions. Our appreciation to Sister Elizabeth Ann Sueltenfuss and Our Lady of the Lake University and to Monsignor Balthasar Janacek and the Old Spanish Missions Organization for their continued cooperation and support in putting this conference together. Last but not least, to Dr. Gilbert Cruz, Park Historian, who in reality is the mainstay and force behind this whole effort.

This year for the first time, we are devoting an entire day to this gathering of friends of the San Antonio Missions. Dr. Cruz has constructed an agenda which not only streamlines past efforts but which provides for a more indepth look at the subject. This evening, we will close things up at Mission Espada with a small social.

Since my time is short and everyone is really here to listen to our panelists of scholars, let me take a couple of minutes to share with you the state of the Historical Park. We are continuing our efforts to implement our Management Plan and in the process, carry out the Congressional mandate to preserve, restore, and interpret the Spanish Missions of San Antonio.

We recently completed a rehabilitation project of the Bastion rooms at Mission Espada. You will see the results of that work this evening. At Espada also, we have stabilized the old classroom structure at the parish entrance to the mission compound. Our plan to rehabilitate the classroom is back on the drawing board because of what we found on taking down hazardous elements of the structure.

Our project to document the mission structures through the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) program is on schedule. The third and final phase of the project is due to be completed this month. A team of young architects has been diligently working on San Juan and Espada all summer. Their work and that of the first two teams will be an invaluable asset for future work and study on the missions.

Earlier this year we also completed a total rehabilitation of the old Espada Aqueduct. With the help of the San Antonio River Authority, we were able to drain the Aqueduct's channel and after a thorough cleaning, we parged the channel lining. We also repointed parts of the outside channel wall and rebuilt a section of another wall. All in all, we found the old Aqueduct in pretty good condition. The work we did will keep it going for many years to come.



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



*Treasurer of the United States visits the San Antonio Missions in 1984. L. to r.: Gay Pirozzi, New York City; Gilbert R. Cruz, Ph.D., Park Historian; José A. Cisneros, Park Superintendent; Katherine Ortega, Treasurer of the United States; and Patricia Somers, Canyon Lake, Texas.*



*Management Staff, 1986: L. to R. Felix Hernandez III, Assistant Superintendent; Brenda Joan Landon, Administrative Officer; and José Cisneros, Superintendent. Photo, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.*

*L. to R. Donald Dayton, Deputy Regional Director NPS Southwest Region; José Cisneros, Superintendent, San Antonio Missions National Historical Parks; and Msgr. Balthasar Janacek, Director, Old Spanish Missions, Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio.*



Work on the Historic Structure Report (HSR) is finally nearing completion. Some of you have received notices from our Regional office of its forthcoming availability for review. That will happen in about 2-3 months. After that, another 2-3 months will be spent in digesting your comments and finalizing the document. It will then go to the printers. I wish I could say that at the next conference it would be available but don't hold me to it.

In our review of the first draft, I can safely say that the Historic Structures Report (HSR) will be one of the major works this park will have done in documenting the history of the mission structures and at the same time the entire missionization process. We look forward to its completion.

We are also doing our bit for the Texas 1986 Sesquicentennial. Dr. Cruz has assembled a package of information which will be published before the end of the calendar year. It tells the story of the mission's role during the events since 1835 and during the period of the Texas Republic when the infant nation legislated exclusive title of the Mission religious structures to the Church.

Last but not least, we are getting ready for the Quincentennial celebrations in 1992. As the premier park in the Park Service which represents Spain's influence in this country, we are moving ahead with several projects to celebrate this status. More on that later.

These are the highlights of our accomplishments over the past year. I want to again welcome you and hope that you will return for future conferences. Thank you.

# Indians and Missionaries of the Southwest During the Spanish Years: Cross Cultural Perceptions and Misperceptions

by

Bernard L. Fontana



*Bernard L. Fontana, Ph.D., Field Historian, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona. Photo courtesy Wade Sherbrooke.*

Historian John Kessell, surely one of our brightest scholars and best writers on the Spanish-period history of the American Southwest, has among his many credits a fine book on the Franciscan-period history of the Pimeria Alta, today's northern Sonora and southern Arizona. It is called *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1976), and it spans the years 1767 to 1856. In his preface, John acknowledges that, "Indians, especially as individuals, do get short shrift, though not by design. ...A friar's lament over the persistence of native ceremonialism or a captain's praise of his Pima auxiliaries provides some insight, but always in another's words. Too few Indians emerge above the collectives 'friendly' and 'hostile.' Though I regularly assign the term hostile to the Spaniards' enemies, whether Seris, Piatos, or Apaches, I am fully aware that hostility was not often confined to one side or the other. When I use 'children,' 'wards,' and 'these poor souls' to describe mission Indians, I do so to convey the friars' feelings, not my own. Soldiers and settlers called some Apaches "tame," as they would a broken horse, precisely because to their way of thinking the others were "wild" (pp. xiii-xiv).

It turns out that what John wrote, and he would agree, was a one-sided history of this particular missionary enterprise. And his assumption that one cannot use documentary sources by non-Indians to make valid historical and cultural statements about Indians led him to play the historical game of cards with half a deck. A missionary enterprise, after all, takes place between two parties: the missionaries and those who are missionized. To know one without knowing all we can about the other may provide us with a lot of knowledge but not with much understanding.

In the case of *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers* the situation is particularly lamentable because the Pimas and the Papagos, who were the natives of the Pimeria Alta among whom the Franciscans labored, are still very much alive, well, and participating in cultural traditions that are distinct from those of their non-Indian neighbors. There is, moreover, a vast ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature concerning these Piman peoples, one which John chose to ignore.

I am not picking on my friend John Kessell. What I would suggest is that he is typical in his approach. The kind of training traditionally proffered students of history in our groves of academe does not prepare them to deal with cross cultural encounters, especially encounters in which one or both of the parties involved are of a non-literate tradition. Our historians are taught, above all, to deal with documentary evidence, with the written word. And if Pimas or Papagos or Apaches or Comanches or Coalhuitecan speakers left us with no written record, how can their history be inferred?

It turns out that a great deal can be said about the Indian side of the historical equation if one knows how to go about it. In fact, this is what ethnohistory is all about. In practice, if not strictly in theory, "ethnohistory" tends to be the history of non-literate peoples. It is a history discerned through the use of archaeology; through oral history; through pictorial history (that is, the use of drawings, paintings, photographs, etc.); through an understanding of ecological relationships; through a knowledge of principles of social, political, and economic organization; through comparative and historical linguistics; via specific knowledge of the ethnographies of the groups under consideration, thereby enabling one to indulge in "upstreaming," or proceeding from a recent "known" to an earlier "unknown," and, above all, through informed use of documents written about the non-literate peoples by outsiders to their cultures, a feat which may require at least a modicum of training in cultural anthropology.

As those of us who are members of different cultural traditions come into contact, we almost inevitably project our cultural predilections on one another. It is not necessarily because we are consciously prejudiced. It is simply because we tend to conceptualize people and situations, just as we conceptualize material objects, in ways that are familiar and therefore comfortable. We are filled with anxiety or even fear when confronted by the unknown, and one way to alleviate those feelings is to force the unknown into familiar molds.

There is a second principle that needs consideration. It is that what we most readily perceive when we look at one another cross-culturally are the forms of the other's culture. We can readily see the shapes, the outward, tangible forms of people, things, and even institutions. What is hidden from our view, however, are the uses, meanings, and functions other people attach to those same forms. A Hopi Indian once told me, for example, that he saw no harm in an organization of white men in Prescott, Arizona, who annually stage public performances of sacred Hopi dances. He said that even if the costumes, the dance steps, the music, and the words to the songs were identical to those in Hopi, it would still not be the same. It could never be the same because the meanings to Hopis of those dances are exclusive to Hopis; the meanings of those same dances performed by white men were obviously altogether different to their performers and observers. And in this Hopi's view, at least, it is the meaning, the cultural significance of the dances that is important, not their outward, readily perceivable form.

In still another example, I have a piece of Papago Indian earthenware pottery that is modeled in the shape of a bird effigy. There are five small holes in the head of the bird which indicate that its maker intended it to be a saltshaker. The problem here, as with several additional vessels made by this same woman about fifty years ago, is that there is no place to put the salt in -- unless one has the patience of Job. The lady who made these pots came from a part of the reservation where people traditionally used hard salt that comes in crystal form. One simply crushed these salt crystals between one's fingers as needed. "It seems clear (this potter) had seen salt and pepper shakers on the shelves in stores, and she (understood) these were objects non-Indians used. She proceeded to copy what she had seen on the shelves, albeit in the manner of a native effigy form, but because its use was not familiar to her, she failed to allow for a way to fill it with salt. The form, use, and meaning of saltshakers in our culture are familiar to all of us. To this Papago potter, the meaning was purely an economic one: something to sell to non-Indians. The ceramic result is that this cross-cultural confusion has been fired into permanent form. It is, indeed, a social document" (Fontana 1973:7).

The missionary literature is replete with examples of these kinds of cross-cultural misperceptions. Let us take, for instance, the case of Father Joseph Och, a Jesuit missionary who served in Sonora in northern New Spain between 1755 and 1767, where he worked primarily among Piman Indians.

Father Och had a low opinion, as did virtually all European missionaries, of native medical.

practices. "There is no lack among the Indians or quacks," he wrote, "who pass themselves off as doctors. These are known as *curanderos*. They often kill the sick with savage remedies, if nature itself does not effect a cure. With pointed flint-stones they scratch the sick person's temples. They also open a vein on his forehead above the nose, or pick at different spots on his body. At the spot where the victim noticed his first pain they place a cane and suck or draw at the skin with the mouth, in the way that is done with cupping-glasses, rub the sore place, and at the same time make humming noises between their teeth. Not a few sick ones were relieved by these means, and therefore the ignorant Indians placed confidence in these doctors. However, I destroyed their handiwork with blows. Even Spaniards were deluded by them and had recourse to them, though they looked on these people as sorcerers and were cheated by them of their money or clothing" (Och 1965: 172-73).

This is the same Father Och who three paragraphs earlier informed his readers that, "For blood-spitting (hematemesis), which affects many because of their strenuous bodily movements in running, I found a good agent in mouse-droppings. These I administered in a considerable dose in dry powdered form mixed with sugar. For this purpose, as also to keep my books and other things from being gnawed by the many mice, I gladly fed them with gourd or melon-seeds and with some dishes of peach, apple, or quince preserves placed as a reward on various boards. Whether all mouse droppings are beneficial or only those from mice fed with these dainties would have to be tested" (Och 1965: 172).

Father Och fails to tell us how readily the Pimans accepted powdered mouse droppings as a cure. But they were probably about as enthusiastic as a Sonoran Indian cared for by another Jesuit missionary, Ignaz Pfefferkorn. Father Pfefferkorn tells us, "The Sonorans were completely indifferent to the saving of their own lives, and at first much talking, coaxing, and insistence was necessary to persuade these people to take a remedy. In time, however, the experience of being cured practically against their wills made them willing to submit to a given prescription. Nothing, however, was so distasteful and unbearable to them as the use of an enema. This I discovered myself when, for the first time, I prescribed this cure for a sick Indian. I sent him to a Spaniard who had volunteered his services for this work and who had been trained for it. Hardly had the Indian perceived the Spaniard's intention when he began to yell at the top of his voice and to resist with might and main. I was finally called to the sick person and tried at the greatest length to prevail upon him. All persuasion was in vain. At last I had to call upon four strong Indians to hold him down until the operation was completed. The results were so good that the sick person soon completely recovered his health. ...The success of this treatment ... gave (Indians) such faith in it that many of them came to me and requested an enema for headaches and other pains" (Pfefferkorn 1949: 278-80).

Pfefferkorn, like virtually every other colonial-period missionary who worked among Pimans, whether Jesuit or Franciscan, referred to their curers by such terms as "wicked imposters," "boasters," "braggarts," "quacks," and similar epithets. What none of them understood, nor is there any reason why they should have understood it, is the fact that Pimans had an extremely sophisticated theory of afflictions and had devised equally sophisticated means of coping with them. The theory and the means for cure were developed over centuries of experience. In brief, "there seem to be two kinds of afflictions: those which Pimans classify as 'sicknesses' and those which they do not. Of the 'sicknesses,' there are those that 'stay' -- which are peculiar to Piman Indians and are not shared by other human beings -- and there are those that 'wander' -- contagious afflictions which fail to respect race, culture, age, or sex. ...Staying sicknesses, in addition to being restricted to Piman Indians, are not contagious even from Piman to Piman. They are caused by the 'ways' and 'strengths' of 'dangerous objects.' Such sicknesses, which are the primary concern of Piman shamans, can affect only human beings and not other kinds of animals. More significantly,

they involve a sense of transgression against the dignity or propriety with which (the ways of potentially) dangerous objects were endowed at the time of creation. It is thus that sickness and morality become intertwined.

"The principal role of the Piman shaman is as diagnostician rather than as curer. A patient's body is the stratified repository of a lifetime's acquisitions of sickness-causing 'strengths.' It is the job of the shaman to divine which of these strengths are causing the sickness. Once divined, the curers -- who may be any Pimans -- can take over" (Fontana 1974: ix-x).

This knowledge of the Piman theory of afflictions and their cure was garnered in the late 1960's by Donald Bahr, an anthropologist collaborating with Papago linguists and a Papago shaman. Can such 20th-century data be "upstreamed" to the 17th and 18th centuries? There is no question that, with care, it can be. To read the 1974 book by Donald Bahr and his Papago coauthors concerning Piman shamanism is to enable one to understand better the forms of diagnosis and curing documented in the missionaries' writings, to allow us to arrive at an understanding of their meanings to Indians in a way that no 18th-century man, particularly a missionary, could have been expected to comprehend them.

What, you may be wondering, does any of this have to do with the San Antonio missions, the native populations of the region, the missionaries, and their mutual misunderstanding? The answer is that any objective overview of the literature concerning the missions of San Antonio reveals a one-sided emphasis on missionaries and other Spaniards and non-Indians. The natives have, as Kessell has said, gotten "short shrift." Part of the problem is that the cultures of these natives were gone long before ethnographers and oral historians arrived on the scene. Unlike many regions of Arizona and New Mexico, there are in San Antonio no longer viable populations of descendants of aborigines of the area who recognize themselves as such. And Tom Campbell (1983: 343) has lamented that "the Spanish immigrants did not describe Indians in much detail, and they had little interest in developing a formal classification of the numerous ethnic units. For these hunting and gathering peoples there was no obvious basis for classification. Major cultural contrasts were not noted, and a tribal form of organization was not evident. Few Europeans were able to recognize significant similarities and differences in native languages and dialects spoken. ...All this has made it difficult for modern scholars to achieve a sorting of these hunting and gathering groups that reflects valid differences in language and culture."

Such difficulties, though, have not prevented Campbell, Mardith Schuetz (1976, 1980), and such archaeologists as Daniel Fox (1979) from beginning to make strides in the direction of balancing the historical equation -- to give us an understanding of the cross-cultural situation in San Antonio in the 18th century. Knowing that the natives attracted to the San Antonio missions were Coahuiltecas, Caddoan-speaking Tejas, and Tonkawans is a beginning; and knowing that they were hunters and gatherers is certainly helpful. There is a huge body of anthropological literature concerning hunters and gatherers throughout the world, and there are some striking similarities in the cultures of all of such peoples. Knowing this literature would be a helpful step in gaining insights concerning these Texas Indians based on a reading of the admittedly scant written observations by missionaries and other Spaniards. The further removed from the original sources, the more treacherous ethnographic analogies become. But a knowledge of hunters and gatherers worldwide can only enhance one's understanding of colonial documents alluding to the natives of Texas.

It has been asserted in print that the "San Antonio mission complex was the most successful missionary enterprise in Texas" (Thurber and others 1975: 12). But the authors of this remark don't tell us what they mean by "successful." If the Indian cultures are extinct, is that success? And if so, how was that success achieved and by whose rules?

These and a million other fascinating questions, questions that enlighten us not only

concerning San Antonio but which tell us something about the universal human condition as well, await answers. We will all be closer to them when we strive to see the ancient world, as we should see our own, through the eyes of others as well as in our own light.

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# An Architectural Overview of the Spanish Missions of Texas

by

Eugene George

In 1511 at the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, a unique discovery was made. The discovery was a Roman treatise on architecture written by a Roman named Marcus Pollius Vitruvius during the second century, A.D., and was called the *Ten Books on Architecture*. In terms of architectural thinking, Vitruvius's book was to reawaken the world.

In the early part of the Conquest, even before Cortez entered Mexico, instructions were given by Ferdinand to one Pedrarias Davila during 1513 which encouraged utilization of Vitruvian techniques: town planning, building, and architectural design,

...and from the beginning it should be according to a definite arrangement, for the manner of setting up the *solares* will determine the pattern of the town, both in the position of the plaza and the church and in the pattern of streets, for towns being newly founded may be established according to plan without difficulty. *If not started with form, they will never attain it.*<sup>1</sup>

The *Law of the indies* thus established was later supplemented during 1573. Even in the most humble Mexican village today this inheritance continues to inspire us, the plaza-church relationship in centralized urban space -- the schema we enjoy established by ancient royal decree.

Implementation of the royal orders required skill of magnitude. Effects of the actions would be lasting and far reaching. When Cortez went into Mexico he had in his van a man, Alonso Garcia Bravo, which he called his "geometer," a person who made measured drawings of buildings and their positions. For military purposes, Bravo began to document the Indian buildings of central Mexico. Bravo received the assignment of laying out the new City of Mexico on the former site of Tenochtitlan, an assignment to which he responded with care and sensitivity.

Enter the Franciscans *circa* 1524. Others came.<sup>2</sup> The medieval guild system existing in Europe extended toward the New World. An influx of European artisans entered Mexico City, Guatemala, and other Hispanic areas. Thus, almost from the earliest periods of European intrusion there was an attempt to establish systems of artisanry based on European prototypes. The guilds were not successful. they did not often include the Indians who were already operating at high levels of craftsmanship, and the Indians saw no need to conform to the restrictions of the guilds.

However, an apprenticeship system was established and in some instances extends to the present: at age fourteen an embryo craftsman becomes apprenticed to a master. Following seven years of successful tutelage from the master, a hearing would be established by the public authorities. At this time the master would present the credentials of the apprentice and certify to his abilities. The proceedings of the inquiry would be placed in the public records, and the former apprentice was thereafter acknowledged publicly as a journeyman craftsman. You could imagine the dilemma today if a mason or a carpenter had such rigid requirements. In the Bejar archives there is mentioned the certification of a young blacksmith during the eighteenth century.

Other artisans came under unique circumstances. To the great concern of the Spanish authorities in San Antonio, word was received that a French blacksmith was working among the Taovayas in northeast Texas. To the amazed horror of these authorities, the Frenchman was teaching the Indians how to forge iron into knives and spears, how to repair guns. The Frenchman was 'persuaded' to work in San Antonio thereafter. This man may have been Juan Banul, a Fleming born in the city of Bruges, and known to have worked in San Antonio as early as 1730. Banul's apprentice may have been Cayetano Guerrero, who also served as a master blacksmith in San Antonio.

During the process of measuring San Antonio de Valero for the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1961, a question continually reasserted itself: who designed the Texas Missions? The answer, I assumed, was that they were designed by the resident padres. Yet many of these buildings reveal knowledge of design principles of the highest order, knowledge requiring years of study in a specialized field -- hardly time for this during the demanding theological, language, and administrative studies required for a missionary. I knew that the apprenticeship requirements for carpenters and masons included a concern for stereotomy, the art of fitting together three-dimensional objects, a most important aspect of the designs and their execution. Master craftsmen occasionally expanded this knowledge into higher levels of the building arts and architecture.

While involved with the process of measuring, I began to browse archival materials, especially periodic inspection reports prepared by Church authorities. The reports would mention that the 'builder was bad,' or that the 'vaults collapsed due to some inadequacy on the part of the builder.' It was quite evident that the clergymen who were making these accusations were not accusing themselves or their brothers in service of being bad builders. The fault lay somewhere else.

Thanks to those here who made it possible for copies of the Bejar Archives to be placed in Austin, there is greater access to this thrilling historic resource identifying events that occurred in this part of the world. One item that recently surfaced concerned a scandal and murder included in



*The two tier staircase construction and the Moorish architectural design over the stairway at the sacristy portal infer the complexity of design that mason builders had mastered in building Mission Concepción in the 1700s. Photo by Sam Hauger, 1981, courtesy of Mary Ann Noonan Guerra.*

the court records of San Antonio during later summer, 1744. It accused of murder one Antonio de Tello, a Spaniard who had worked at Valero for about three years, was further identified as the 'builder of the mission.' With de Tello entering the scenario, one can begin to identify people and processes significant to the building of the missions of San Antonio.

The self-questioning process continued: How is it possible to create such good buildings in a remote wilderness far to the north? How does one establish and maintain construction quality? Again the question: who designed the buildings? How were plans prepared and how was construction information transferred -- especially to a non-literate construction crew. I continue to lament the fact that I feel when looking at a number of historic buildings we seem not to have progressed architecturally. Even with modern technology at our command, we are not accomplishing buildings today equal to those built two centuries ago.

When the Franciscan Father Antonio San Buenaventura y Olivares came to San Antonio to establish Mission Valero, he apparently came from the Rio Grande neighborhood. You will recall that predecessors of Valero had been located near San Juan Bautista near the Rio Grande. You will also recall that French elements through S. Denis had resolved, at least in that isolated portion of New Spain, Hispanic-French differences. The newly-assigned resident Father brought two artisans with him to San Antonio, both Frenchmen. One was Francisco el Frances, a talented stone sculptor. The Reverend Father had assembled the most important members of his building crew prior to arriving in San Antonio. As was the customary treatment to foreigners, civil authorities threw the two Frenchmen in jail, later deported them.

Antonio de Tello mentioned earlier, a Spaniard born during 1710, entered San Antonio to build Valero in 1741, escaped from jail to the wilderness during late summer, 1744, and was never again mentioned. Progress at Valero continued, but under whose direction is unknown. Apparently a vaulted nave and two towers were completed, all of which collapsed about 1756.

The person who sorted out the debris following the collapse was an Indian maestro from Aguas Calientes, Estevan de Losoya (Estevan de el Oio). Building activity moved rapidly at Valero until Losoya died in 1767. Eventually, the vaulting over the nave was rebuilt, as had one tower positioned in the same location as is the single tower at San José.

The techniques of stone masonry and blacksmithing often indicate aspects of individual artistry, almost as if the individual had signed his work by signature. By comparison, it is possible that Losoya was the maestro in charge of both Concepción and Valero.

As a religious enterprise, Valero went into decline due to a reduction of its congregation. However, prior to the siege in 1836, an oil painting was made by a Mexican Colonel Sanchez-Navarro showing the intact vault as well as a single complete tower. If the painting exists, its location is unknown. From the painting, an artist named Vasquez made two line drawings showing different views prior to the 1836 battle.

I'm sure that you know the rest of the story. The debris was cleared by the army Quartermaster Corps a dozen years after the battle, a timber roof was installed so that it could serve as a warehouse, and the upper portion of the west front was rebuilt to its present shape. The profile of the rebuilt parapet, which was to serve as the architectural model for scores of tourist courts to be called 'Alamo,' was probably designed by a local architect, John Fries.

San Antonio de Valero, as do all of the other San Antonio missions, have what are known as harmonic proportions. By the use of simple line drawings, buildings were laid out three-dimensionally, all parts sized to relate to each other and to the whole building. The result was a design interrelationship of building spaces, structural and architectural components, and ornamentation. To do this required a minimal number of drawings. Though numerical dimensions were not necessary, one modular unit (usually in this instance the Spanish *vara*) would be required. Regulating lines on the drawing would show how the modular unit was to be

expanded or subdivided. Plans, which could be interpreted by non-literate artisans, could be laid out on the site, and precise structures could be built. These techniques extend beyond the dawn of history, have since been utilized in the construction of the great cathedrals of Europe. A recent study has revealed that the Old Cathedral at Cologne (completed c 900 AD) and that Mission San José in San Antonio, quite different buildings, are nevertheless based on almost identical utilization of regulating lines.<sup>3</sup>

At Concepción another master mason entered that project during the 1760s. He was known simply as Nicolas, an Indian from the Tilpacopal tribe. Concepción was built during a relatively short time period, and Nicolas very likely worked during the last stages.

San José has some dilemmas that may arouse old misconceptions. A master mason, presumably native born of Spanish parents, was probably recruited by the clergymen at the College of Zacatecas to work on San José. A native of Zacatecas, Antonio Salazar may have had his apprenticeship at nearby San Augustin. There are certain similarities between San Augustin and San José. After Salazar began working at San José, another younger man came from Aguas Calientes, a carpenter by trade. His name was Pedro Huizar. Salazar may have instructed the younger Huizar in certain construction techniques. After a period of time, Huizar moved on to greater responsibilities: was a surveyor and in time *juez subdelegado* to the local government.

In this extensive mosaic of productive relationships, another individual surfaces who may have made contributions to the design of religious structures. Fray José Cervantes, a lay brother in residence at the College of Guadalupe in Zacatecas had distinguished himself in architecture, had unsuccessfully petitioned for field trips to Italy. The college library included works on architecture which would have been valuable design resources.<sup>4</sup>

In the missionization and colonization enterprises, other forms of skilled experts were available as instructors. The Tlascalans, valuable allies to Cortez which the Spaniards never forgot, are a superior people, though they apparently did not assist the Franciscans in San Antonio, they had been important to New Mexico more than a century earlier, had moved with Escandon to found Nuevo Santander during the middle of the eighteenth century. There were incentives for the Tlascalans: they were awarded choice pieces of land, could use the title of 'Don,' had no taxes for ten years, among other things. The Tlascalans were known for the skills in the domestic, agricultural and building arts.<sup>5</sup>

The mission enterprise, including design techniques, professional artisanry which the Franciscans mustered and had at their disposal, the management of a non-literate, though intelligent labor crew, presents an accomplishment that we need to preserve forever.

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<sup>1</sup>see Dan Stanislawsky. "Early Spanish Town Planning." *Geographical Review*, Vol. XXXVII. 1947. pp 94-105.

also Zelia Nuttal. "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying out of New Towns." *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Volume 5. 1922. pp 249-254.

<sup>2</sup>for names of craftsmen revealed in the Bejar Archives, the speaker has drawn heavily on the following study: Mardith Schuetz. "Professional Artisans in the Hispanic Southwest." *The Americas*. Vol. XL. July, 1983, Number 1. (Academy of American Franciscan History, P.O. Box 34440, West Bethesda, MD.)

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*Harvey P. Smith, Architect, San Antonio, Texas.*

## Thirty Years of Service: Harvey Smith and Restoration of the San Antonio Missions, 1934-1964

by

Harvey Smith, Jr., M.A.

My father, Harvery Smith, had a love affair with five old stone ruins, the Missions of San Antonio, Texas. This love affair lasted a long time, long enough for him to study these old structures in detail, to lovingly sketch them in pen and ink, and to painstakingly restore them to their original historical beauty.

All of this began about 1907, when fate and a dart thrust in a map directed two young men to strike for adventure. Harvey Smith and his brother left their home in Minneapolis, Minnesota and, directed by the map, headed for San Antonio. Their first days were spent seeing the city. They liked it all --from the chili stands on Alamo Plaza -- the the Alamo, still standing -- to the San Pedro Springs and its sparkling water --the same water that had attracted Indians several thousand years before. After some time, Smith grew to truly admire the city and its multi-cultural atmosphere. He decided then to make it his home, to begin his practice of architecture here, and to continue to study the five old stone ruins.

By 1928, Smith was directing a lively architectural practice, with offices in San Antonio and the Rio Grande Valley. During the 1920's Smith had designed and built an extensive number of hotels, banks, office buildings and schools. His interest in historical preservation and restoration was well known. He had made many a public speech on this topic to local groups, and as early as 1918 his articles had appeared in newspapers and magazines. Not only the esthetics and cultural values, but also the economic considerations were given public attention. Smith urged saving all that remained of the rich historical heritage -- the architectural artifacts of the past. This was not an altogether popular position to take. At that time, big buildings and big cities were on the minds of many leading citizens. They envisioned a city comparable to Dallas or Houston that broke with the past. At one point, it was even advocated that the river be covered over and converted into a storm sewer, leaving room for more new construction and more automobiles. Fortunately, this never came to pass. Over a long period of time the struggle continued, but ultimately the conservationists made their point. Today these forces continue to successfully defend the historical heritage that is the unique city we all love.

By 1928 Smith had been commissioned to direct his first major architectural restoration project -- the Spanish Governors' Palace. Smith spent over a year researching this project, and even visited Mexico City, Queretaro and Austin, to find necessary information. Site excavation began in 1929, and by 1931 the Spanish Governors' Palace was open to the public. The practical knowledge gained from this project enhanced Mr. Smith's expertise as well as his reputation.

My father established several criteria that guided his preservation and restoration work:

1. To preserve or restore? This ubiquitous question must be settled at an early point in the project. Each situation must be studied and evaluated on the basis of existing conditions.

2. Research before excavation must be thorough and accurate to minimize disturbance of original, existing construction.
3. All architectural remains must be accurately recorded.
4. Authenticity must be carefully established as the work and research proceed.
5. A progression of architectural drawings including field drawings, measured drawings and restoration drawings are essential.

Some years after the completion of the Governors' Palace, Smith turned his attention to the Alamo and the other four missions. At the Alamo, stabilization of the Chapel walls was completed first. Roofing of the first floor of the Convent came later and was limited to the walls that remained standing. Smith believed these walls to be original.

The Alamo preservation project in 1963 afforded an opportunity to conduct a multi-disciplinary investigation. Knowing that extension of underground utility lines would be required, Smith contacted the State Archaeologist and explained that a valuable archaeological site would be destroyed if it were not excavated prior to this utility construction. They arranged for field investigation to be completed in advance by a team of archaeologists under the direction of the State Archaeologist. This team obtained significant information: The remnants of the floor and walls of an earlier structure were uncovered as well as segments of the original Alamo Acequia.

Ceramic potsherds found by controlled excavation resulted in a preliminary ceramic sequence being established. This was one of the earliest instances of architectural and archaeological coordinated research in this area.

Smith heard many folk tales from various interested people as the work on the Alamo progressed. Probably the most frequent were tales of an escape tunnel out from under the Alamo. One day a circular structure about six feet in diameter was discovered in the convent courtyard. At the same time what seemed to be a similar masonry construction was found across the street at construction in progress below the old Menger Hotel. A flurry of activity with transit sitings and much conversation followed. Could this be the long hidden tunnel? Sadly it was not. Workers soon uncovered a brick floor below the Menger Hotel inscribed "Indiana Brick Company." At about the same time the Alamo end of the "tunnel" was identified as a cistern!

The best preserved of all the Mission churches was Mission Concepción, lying approximately three miles south of the Alamo. However, no remains of the outer quadrangle were exposed. The best examples of fresco paintings are found in the church and adjacent rooms. Strong Moorish influence is seen in the front facade and other architectural details. Again archeological investigation located remnants of early adobe block construction west of the main church. Believing that almost all of Concepción was original, Smith limited his work to stabilization.

San José, referred to by many as Queen of all the missions of Texas, was surely Harvey Smith's favorite. In addition to the restoration he did three pen and ink sketches of this beautiful old Mission.

Having previously restored the Granary, with its unique flying buttresses, Smith prepared to direct restoration of the main church and convent, which were still standing. Careful, slow excavation, aided by written information from the Spanish Archives, uncovered the outer, stockade walls and Indian quarters. It was in this type of situation that Smith recorded in great detail the exposed construction. He reported that almost all of the outer walls were found to be in accord with the old records in the archival libraries of the Spanish priests.

Lack of funds prevented further research of the older remains including a smaller chapel which Smith believed to be the first church. After recording the location of all these foundations in the courtyard, Excavators carefully back-filled the area. Further investigation was left for others who would come later.

The main church, with its beautiful baroque facade and baptistry window, was in sad condition.

The vaulted roof had collapsed as well as the dome over the crossing. At least three of the walls had partially collapsed. Fortunately the entrance facade and the beautifully carved window were intact. Smith was able to replace the roof vaulting and the dome accurately by referring to the fragments of the arches that still remained in place above the spring-line. Since it would not be exposed, modern, re-enforced concrete construction was used for the roof and dome. In addition to restoring the church, my father had the attached cloister and friars' quarters stabilized.

After careful excavation and exposing of the outer stockade foundations, it was possible to establish an accurate floor plan for the complete enclosure. The architect, building directly on original foundations, located Indian quarters in the west and south stockade walls and soldiers quarters in the southeast portion of the stockade. These restorations completed the enclosure and the mission buildings as they had originally stood after their completion in 1768.

The use of painted decoration on the main church was quite evident. Smith called upon experts again to assist him. Rufus Walker, an expert on waterproofing and painted surfaces, gave generously of his time and advice, spending many hours in research and investigation at the mission. Ernst Schurchard, an expert on paint application, also spent considerable time researching these decorated surfaces.

A short distance outside of the north wall of the stockade, workers found an old mill while cleaning out the old acequia. Smith called upon Schurchard for his knowledge of old mills. They were able to direct excavation and research that led to the complete restoration of this unique feature. Careful, multi-discipline investigation rewarded this work in the early part of the 1930's. The completely restored mission stands today looking very much as it did when originally completed.

During the same period of time, that is the early 1930's, Mission San Juan Capistrano was investigated, excavated and recorded on measured drawings by my father. Because of lack of funds, however, further work was delayed for several years.

Mission Espada, with its stockade walls still standing, was the most complete of the five missions, when investigation began in the 1930's. It had many unique features of great interest to the architect. The small chapel remained standing, although the front facade was the only original construction. This facade extended above the roof line creating a free standing wall or gable. Three arched openings in the gable were designed to accommodate bells, although none now remain. The iron cross above the arches is thought to be original. The entrance itself has a strong Moorish influence, although rendered in a provincial translation. This has been described as a "keyhole arch." In original form the small chapel had a cruciform shape with transepts that were merely recesses in the nave.

A bastion or fortified tower stands watchfully at the southeast corner of the quadrangle. Smith found the rare circular tower intact in the 1930's when investigative work commenced. Exposed excavations of the granary foundation revealed a smaller bastion approximately three quarters round, located in the southeast corner of the Granary. Smith was intrigued by these defensive elements used in the construction of the stockade.

Numerous wall foundations were found in the stockade area. This implied that construction of the complete mission had been accomplished in two or three phases. When the record had been completed, Smith concluded that there had been at least three phases of construction. It would be logical to see the need for a protective enclosure completed as soon as possible, since the mission was dangerously exposed to marauding Indians. At the south end of the mission chain, Espada was the most vulnerable of all the missions. Since Architect Smith recorded all of this early construction, an accurate record remains that can be followed in future investigations.

In the mid-50's, my father was able to complete the restoration work at Espada that he had begun in the 1930's. Some of the buildings that remained partially completed were stabilized, while

others were entirely restored at this time.

Certainly no more fitting summary of Harvey Smith's career as a preservationist and architect can be found than in the words of Archbishop Lucey at the completion of the Espada Mission project:

"The beauty of this 'Gem of the Missions' is a tribute to the artistry and skill of that devoted friend of the Missions, Harvey Smith, who, over a period of twenty-three years made available to me his unique knowledge....Through the years that lie ahead the name of Harvey Smith will be remembered with gratitude by all who loved the old Missions in this dear and sunny land."

## Distant Roots of the Texas Mission Tradition

by

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Early in the fourth century of our Christian Era, two important things happened that eventually, in the strange turnings of history, had an impact on the Spanish Missions of Texas. In the year 306 A.D., the Roman emperor Diocletian launched the most severe persecution of Christianity ever recorded in its two thousand years of history. The oppression was particularly brutal in Asia Minor, and what would soon become known as the Eastern Church. Then in 312, a scarce six years later, the eastern branch of the Caesars under Constantine took control of the empire. Within ten months the Edict of Milan set Christianity on the road to becoming the state religion of the Roman empire.

That within three hundred years of its founding, Christianity would become a tool of empire, was certainly the farthest thing from the mind of its founder. When he said: "Give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," little did he dream that the authority of his own teaching would become Caesar's most cherished possession. His gentle doctrine of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood and equality for all societies and cultures would eventually become the world's most effective instrument for dominant societies to eliminate in the name of civilization other cultures and societies.

Hispania learned the lesson well from her Roman masters. Rome's use of Christianity for political purposes paled in comparison to Spain's cultivation of Spanish Catholicism for conquest and domination. The Texas mission system fell a helpless heir to this tradition.

The Spanish misuse of the benign teaching of Jesus of Nazareth was further exacerbated by seven centuries of conflictive confrontation with Islam and its regrettable but inevitable religious overtones. This distant conflict had an even more direct bearing on the Texas mission tradition, since the Spanish Christian-Islamic confrontation resulted in the founding of what might be called the first Franciscan missionary college in 1276. The founder was the famed Franciscan author and mystic, Raymond Lull. The place was the island of Majorca off the northeastern coast of Spain. High on that island's promontory of Miramar, Lull with thirteen Franciscan friars

developed the first Franciscan missionary methodology -- the Franciscan Order itself was only a half-century old -- and learned the Arabic language to dialogue with the Saracens. Five hundred years later, the Spanish Franciscans of Texas were familiar with and inspired by Lull's beginnings in methodology.

The same island of Majorca, of which Lull was a native, also gave birth to Antonio Llinaz, who founded the first of the New World missionary colleges at Queretaro, north of Mexico City, in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was this college that began the founding of the San Antonio river missions early in the next century by sending Fray Antonio Olivares to establish Mission San Antonio de Valero on its first site in 1718.

When Llinaz dedicated the Queretaro college in 1682, he was careful to give it the full title of: Colegio Apostolico de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro. The inclusion of "Propaganda Fide" introduced a note of diplomatic and political intrigue that goes unnoticed today in the many references to that full title in studies of the Texas missions. Propaganda Fide was an agency of papal government, or Roman Congregation, founded in 1622 for the purpose of promoting catechetical missions in non-Christian lands. Apart from this ostensible aim, the papal action was occasioned by an ulterior, if not more urgent, need of curtailing interference of the Spanish king -- and other national monarchs -- in the Church's self-styled paternalism and protection of the native tribes of the Americas. After fifty years of failure, the first success of this papal bureau against the watch-dogs of Spanish royal patronage came in 1682 with the Spanish crown's acceptance of Llinaz' Roman title as "Prefect of the Missions of the Indies." In the offices of Propaganda Fide in Rome, he received the papal commission, with corresponding ecclesiastical and sacramental privileges, to begin the historic movement that resulted eventually in twenty-eight Franciscan missionary colleges up and down the Americas.

Thus at the dawn of the Texas mission project, a new understanding between church and state in Europe augured well for greater efficiency in acculturating the native tribes of Texas, and the newly-founded Franciscan missionary colleges were the most up-to-date instrument to accomplish that task.

For an authentic perspective today, it is important to share the optimism of that historic moment. We cheat in our history test if we peek ahead three hundred years. Only when we see the past through the eyes of the past, can we properly compare it to the present. On the other hand, in viewing the past we must ask the question: "What can we see today, that at the time could not be seen or at least could not be realistically remedied?" In this way we accept the challenge of modern research, and through the past learn more than otherwise about the present.

Applying this approach to the missionary colleges, we can hardly fault them for not giving advanced courses in cultural anthropology, for there were no such at the time. The training was aimed instead at personal development, in keeping with the sound Spartan and Pythagorean traditions of our so-called Western Civilization. There was nothing uniquely Christian about this training. The schools of Aparta and Pythagoras flourished hundreds of years before Christ. The Spartans imposed unpleasant rigors upon themselves, and the Pythagoreans tacked a twist of mysticism upon the same.

This emphasis on personal discipline has its parallels today. A careful study of military history, for example, has revealed that shining one's shoes has absolutely no strategic value whatsoever in defending one's country, but Marine recruits are not reminded of this by their drill-sergeants. We might continue this parallel in exploring other miseries of the missionary colleges. Apart from personal discipline, what other disciplines or strategies were taught the friars to ready them for residence among the Texas tribes?

We might find the answer to our question, as well as considerable humor, in the very first class of the day at the Queretaro college. The professor or lector, as he was called, who taught the course

after breakfast, was given an option each day of teaching native languages or discoursing on mystical theology. Although mystical theology may have won out most of the time, there probably were some classes in *nahuatl*. Reports were very evasive about this, and with reason. It was not that the teaching of *nahuatl* was that rare or that difficult. Such classes were a solid tradition even in the diocesan seminaries of central Mexico. It was rather that *nahuatl* may have been a totally efficient *lingua franca* in catechizing the tribes of central Mexico -- and of some use for the cognate Uto-Aztecan languages of the northwest -- but the farther northeast the frontier moved the less effective *nahuatl* became. With entirely different language families drifting in from further north and east, the northeastern mission field, especially Texas, abounded in languages mutually unintelligible and totally unrelated. The cultural confusion followed apace. The problem of preparing a Queretaran missionary linguistically and culturally in advance would stump the most sophisticated techniques of modern education.

In conclusion, a word about the not so distant traditions that have grown up in hindsight to divinize or damn the mission past. Somewhere between the extreme positions taken during the last hundred years, there is a middle road that we can walk. On the one hand, no one seriously expects to see Helen Hunt Jackson or "Ramona by the waterfall" come around again in exactly the same way -- although we should appreciate them mightily in the perspective of their age. On the other, with apologies to Clint Eastwood, the flaming cause of doing a "Dirty Harry" job on the Spanish missions of Texas and California really should have gone out with the fads of the sixties. When the smoke clears, supercritics will realize that they too are saddled with a here and now that will send their great-great-grandchildren into a ridiculous rage.

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