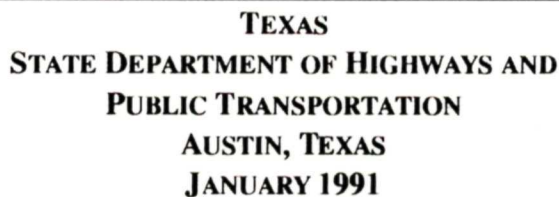


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ERRATA

Page	Comment
31	text line 20: "1819" should read: 1819-1828
102	text line 20: delete "...called San Pedro Creek..."
141	caption title should read: Surveyor's Field Notes of the H. A. Alsbury Survey, Bexar County.
197	text line 24: "northwestward" should read: northeastward
198	figure caption should read: Map of historical routes from San Pedro Creek to the Nacogdoches area.
199	text line 19: "northwest" should read: northeast
199	text line 29: delete sentence that begins "Neither does this spot..."
207	text line 36: reference should read: (Casteñeda 1950:118)
212	text line 29: Figure 30 should be Figure 29
213	delete: "Nacogdoches Road" label
214	text lines 26-28: sentence should read: ...Both of the later maps utilized data or previous maps which showed the location of the Davenport rancho San Patricio (see below).
215	figure caption should read: Map showing the Juan Pedro Walker crossing and Davenport rancho.
219	text line 14: delete: (Dolozel and Fuchs 1980)
221	text lines 24-25: delete sentence that begins: (This stretch is the same as...).
249	text line 29: "southeast" should read: northwest

**A TEXAS LEGACY
THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD
AND
THE CAMINOS REALES**

A TRICENTENNIAL HISTORY, 1691-1991

Edited by

A. Joachim McGraw, John W. Clark, Jr.,
and Elizabeth A. Robbins



Prepared in Response to

**SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 2
71st LEGISLATURE, FIRST CALLED SESSION
JULY 1989**

Texas
State Department of Highways and
Public Transportation
Highway Design Division
Austin, Texas
January 1991

1991

Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation

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OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD PROJECT
1989-1990**

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Cover: Detail from **New Map of Texas with the Contiguous American and Mexican States, 1837.** Courtesy of the Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

. . . En la mediania de las tres motas a este paraje hay una, en un alto, de
cuatro árboles blancos, donde dejamos hechas dos cruces en ellos . . .

Gregorio de Salinas Varona
Lunes veinte y cinco de mayo, 1693
(Gómez Cañedo 1968:289)

Three centuries past,
in an ageless era
born of fire and smoke,
a Christian cross
and a Spanish sword
flamed across the wild lands
north of the Rio Grande.

And a timeless south wind
that once ruffled Spanish lace
and unfurled the gold and blood
of a Castilian flag

In more temperate times today,
whispers softly still
against a single lone star.

From Old Mexico eastward,
toward tall Texas pines,
a centuries-old road,
blessed only by the weary hand
of a padre's cross,

Guided foolish armies
and the forgotten ambitions
of large and small men
along a dusty road
of silent destiny.

And guided too,
the sons and daughters
of a Texas Republic
who, amidst the clutter
of a past and future history,

Should remember still
the timelessness of a south wind,
that unfurled the first,
single lone star

And who should remember too,
the first road,
recalled today
by little more than a
time-worn cross
carved on an ancient oak,
and still respected
by the years.

A. McGraw

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	Page x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xiii
FOREWORD <i>by Nancy Adele Kenmotsu</i>	xvii
MANAGEMENT SUMMARY	xix
PART I: THE PROJECT BACKGROUND	
INTRODUCTION	
HISTORIC ROUTES OF THE <i>CAMINOS REALES</i> <i>by A. Joachim McGraw</i>	3
SENATE BILL NO. 570, 1929	5
SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 2, 1989	6
DEFINING THE DIRECTIVE: THE ROLE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION	7
THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD PRESERVATION COMMISSION	10
"IDENTIFYING THE DISPOSITION"	
METHODOLOGY <i>by John W. Clark, Jr., and A. Joachim McGraw</i>	11
THE SURVEY OF V. N. ZIVLEY, 1915-1916 <i>by A. Joachim McGraw</i>	17

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN	25
THE SCOPE OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN	25
THE HISTORIC CONTEXT	
HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS BEYOND THE TEXAS BORDER <i>by John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	27
KEY ASPECTS OF THE HISTORIC CONTEXT <i>by A. Joachim McGraw, John W. Clark, Jr., and Nancy Kenmotsu</i>	35
PART II: ROUTES ACROSS THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE	
THE CAMINO REAL: COLONIAL TEXAS' LIFELINE TO THE WORLD <i>by F. Jesús de la Teja</i>	43
SPANISH EYES TURN TO THE NORTHERN FRONTIER <i>by A. Joachim McGraw and Lee E. Sparks</i>	49
THE FIRST ROUTES INTO TEXAS <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	61
A FORGOTTEN ENCOUNTER IN TEXAS HISTORY HISTORIC INDIANS ALONG THE EARLY ROADS <i>by A. Joachim McGraw</i>	115
NOTES ON MAZANET'S COAHUILTECO STREAM NAMES WITH COMMENTS ON THEIR LINGUISTIC AND HISTORIC VALUE <i>by LeRoy Johnson, Jr., and A. Joachim McGraw</i>	121
EARLY ROADS ACROSS THE SOUTH TEXAS LANDSCAPE <i>by A. Joachim McGraw</i>	129

SPANISH MISSION <i>RANCHOS</i> ALONG THE <i>CAMINO PITA</i> AND <i>CAMINO DE EN MEDIO</i> (OR LOWER PRESIDIO ROAD) by <i>A. Joachim McGraw</i>	143
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGIONAL ROAD NETWORK: SOUTHERN FRONTIER TRAILS TO SAN ANTONIO by <i>A. Joachim McGraw and Kay Hinds</i>	153
SOUTH TEXAS ROUTES IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY: EXTRACTS FROM <i>COLECCION DE ITINERARIOS, 1844</i>	165
THE LOWER PRESIDIO ROAD: THE SEGUIN TRANSCRIPT by <i>John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	173
ROUTE OF THE <i>CAMINO DE LOS TEJAS</i>	187
RETRACING THE <i>CAMINO DE LOS TEJAS</i> FROM THE TRINITY RIVER TO LOS ADAES: NEW INSIGHTS INTO EAST TEXAS HISTORY by <i>James E. Corbin</i>	191
ROUTE OF THE <i>CAMINO DE ARRIBA</i>	221
THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION by <i>Stephen L. Hardin</i>	225
THE EVOLUTION OF THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD AND THE <i>CAMINOS REALES</i> by <i>A. Joachim McGraw and Stephen L. Hardin</i>	229
PEOPLE AND EVENTS ALONG THE <i>CAMINOS REALES</i> by <i>Stephen L. Hardin</i>	235

A TRAVELER'S VIEW OF THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE <i>by A. Joachim McGraw and Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	239
THE NATURAL SETTING ENCOUNTERED: THE SCENIC LANDSCAPE <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	245
THE DIARY OF JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER: AN ENVIRONMENTAL VIEW OF SOUTH TEXAS AND ADJACENT MEXICO, 1828-1834 <i>by Raymond W. Neck</i>	269
SUMMARY	283
A REVIEW OF THE HISTORIC CONTEXT: POTENTIAL RESEARCH TOPICS <i>by A. Joachim McGraw and John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	287
PART III: THE PRESERVATION PLAN	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN	299
THE SCOPE OF THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN <i>by Roy Eugene Graham</i>	301
PRESERVATION CONCEPTS <i>by Sherilyn R. Brandenstein</i>	311
THE PROPOSED PRESERVATION PLAN	323
INTERSECTION OF ROUTES WITH ROADWAYS AND STREAMS <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	331
TOURIST ATTRACTIONS ALONG THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD <i>by John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	345
PERCENTAGES OF ROUTES ON AND OFF PUBLIC ROADWAYS <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	349

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ITINERARIES OF SELECTED JOURNEYS ACROSS TEXAS <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	353
APPENDIX 2: ACTS OF FOUNDATION, SALCEDO <i>Translation and Transcription by John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	369
APPENDIX 3: ACTS OF FOUNDATION, SAN MARCOS DE NEVE <i>Translations by Adán Benavides, Jr.</i>	375
APPENDIX 4: ORDERS RELATING TO THE POST ON THE COLORADO RIVER <i>Translation and Transcription by John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	397
APPENDIX 5: LEGAL BASIS FOR THE ROADS <i>by John W. Clark, Jr.</i>	399
APPENDIX 6: PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF DOCUMENTS IN THE SALTILLO MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES AND GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF COAHUILA	403
APPENDIX 7: TABLES OF NATURAL AND CULTURAL PROPERTIES <i>by Elizabeth A. Robbins</i>	427
GLOSSARY	439
REFERENCES CITED AND ARCHIVES	443
INDEX	473

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Historic Routes of the <i>caminos reales</i> and the Old San Antonio Road	9
2 V. N. Zivley's plotted route of the Old San Antonio Road, 1915-1916	22
3 Granite marker along Old San Antonio Road	23
4 Aerial photograph of Lower Presidio Road	24
5 Map of Coahuila and the Rio Grande	47
6 Terán and Mazanet's projected route	75
7 Salinas Varona's projected route	82
8 Plains Indian family	115
9 Plains Indian woman and child	117
10 Plains Indian with shield	119
11 <i>Paso de Francia</i> at the Rio Grande	130
12 Mission San Bernardo at Guerrero, Mexico	130
13 Routes of the Upper and Lower Presidio Roads from the Rio Grande to the Nueces River	132
14 Route of the Upper Presidio Road from the Nueces to the Frio	134
15 Town square and courthouse, Old Frio Town, Frio County	135
16 Historical graffiti in the vicinity of the Upper Presidio Road and Hondo Creek	135
17 Changing Routes of the <i>camino de en medio</i>	137
18 <i>Mapa del Presidio De San Antonio De Bexar</i>	140
19 Surveyor's Field Notes of the James Taylor Survey, Bexar County	141
20 Projected boundaries of Rancho San Lucas	145
21 Projected boundaries, lands of Missions San José and Espada	151
22 Stephen F. Austin's sketch map of roads and river crossings	155
23 Route of the Upper Presidio Road	156
24 Testimony of court case regarding the mission lands of San José	160
25 Blaze on old oak, 41AT109	163
26 Route of the <i>Camino de los Tejas</i>	189
27 Barr and Davenport Grant, <i>circa</i> 1828	193
28 Map of historical routes in the San Pedro/Neches Area	198
29 Barr and Davenport Grant, <i>circa</i> 1843	213
30 Map Showing the John Durst Crossing	215
31 Santos-Coy Grant, <i>circa</i> 1827	218
32 Field survey notes, Bastrop District, 1858	222
33 Stephen F. Austin's sketch map of routes between San Antonio and the Neches River	223
34 Cooperative Agreement on Texas and Coahuila for Historic Preservation	306
35 Cooperative Agreement to Enhance Industrial, Commercial, and Tourism Relations between Coahuila and Texas	308
36 Proposed certificate of appreciation	329

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Itinerary of Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi	20
2 De León's 1689 Itinerary	63
3 De León's 1690 Itinerary	66
4 Terán's 1691 Itinerary	72
5 Mazanet's 1691 Itinerary	76
6 Salinas Varona's 1693 Itinerary	83
7 Ramón's 1716 Itinerary	90
8 Espinosa's 1716 Itinerary	96
9 Peña's 1721 Itinerary of the Aguayo Expedition	105
10 Intersection of Routes with Roadways and Streams: <i>Camino de los Tejas</i>	331
11 Intersection of Routes with Roadways and Streams: Upper Presidio Road	335
12 Intersection of Routes with Roadways and Streams: Camino Arriba (Lower Road from San Marcos)	337
13 Intersection of Routes with Roadways and Streams: Lower Presidio Road	343
14 Tourist Attractions	345
15 Percentages of Routes On and Off Public Roadways: Routes Southwest of San Antonio	349
16 Percentages of Routes On and Off Public Roadways: Route East of San Antonio	349
17 Percentages of Routes On and Off Public Roadways: Upper Routes	350
18 Percentages of Routes On and Off Public Roadways: Lower Routes	350
19 Percentages of Routes On and Off Public Roadways: All the Routes (minus Camino Pita)	350
20 Espinosa's 1709 Itinerary	354
21 Céliz' 1718 Itinerary of the Alarcón Expedition	358
22 Berlandier's Itinerary East of Béxar	364
23 Berlandier's Itinerary South of Béxar	366
24 Wildlife Management Areas and National and State Parks	427
25 Endangered Species Critical Habitats	428
26 Historic Metal Truss Bridges	429
27 State Archaeological Landmarks	430
28 National Register of Historic Places	432
29 Abbreviations in Appendix 7 Tables	437

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGI = Archivo General de Indias
AGN = Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico
AM = Audiencia de México
BA = Bexar Archives
BCA = Bexar County Archives
BCCH = Bexar County Courthouse
BLAC = Benson Latin American Collection, UT at Austin
BTHC = Barker Texas History Center, UT at Austin
CAR-UTSA = Center for Archaeological Research, UTSA
D-8E = Environmental Section, Highway Design Division, SDHPT
GLO = General Land Office, Austin
HABS = Historic American Buildings Survey
HPP = Historic Preservation Plan
IH = Interstate Highway
JPL = John Peace Library, UTSA
MOA = Memorandum of Agreement
NAT = Nacogdoches Archives Transcripts
NPS = National Park Service
OSR = Old San Antonio Road
OSRPC = Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission
PI = *Provincias Internas*, Internal Provinces of New Spain
SB = Senate Bill
SCR = Senate Concurrent Resolution
SDHPT = State Department of Highways and Public Transportation
SH = State Highway
SMU = Southern Methodist University
SWHQ = Southwestern Historical Quarterly
TAMU = Texas A&M University
TARL = Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, UT at Austin
THC = Texas Historical Commission
THTC = Texas Historic Trails Commission (proposed)
TNRIS = Texas Natural Resources Information System
TPWD = Texas Parks and Wildlife Department
TSHA = Texas State Historical Association
US = US Highway
USGS = United States Geological Survey
UT = University of Texas at Austin
UTSA = University of Texas at San Antonio

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FOREWORD

Three hundred years ago a small group of Spaniards forded a river known today as the Rio Grande. Their goal was to establish a mission on the eastern frontier of New Spain to keep the French at bay, and convert native peoples to Christianity. Their success was equivocal. On one hand the French never established a firm hold on the territory, and some of the local Caddoan Indians converted to Christianity, at least nominally. On the other hand, Spaniards in East Texas were consistently underfunded and poorly provisioned by administrative centers located far to the south in Mexico. Hence their efforts remained limited in scope and success.

One very real and tangible result of the Spanish *entradas* into Texas was the establishment of a corridor of transportation across the state which has become popularized as the Old San Antonio Road. The term *corridor* is deliberate here in referring to the Old San Antonio Road. It was never a fixed line on the ground, and its precise plotting shifted through time to accommodate changes in settlement and natural disasters such as floods. This corridor of transportation became instrumental in early colonization as well as the establishment of political boundaries and policies which still exist in Texas today. Moreover, the corridor was influential in directing settlement within the state. Even today the corridor continues to be an important segment of the state's transportation network.

The present document is part of an effort to commemorate the significance of the corridor in our history. Toward that end the staff of the Highway Design Division of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation has, in a remarkably short time, gathered a substantial amount of information on the various routes across Texas and their respective dates, varying public perceptions of the Road through time, and the remnant archaeological and historical sites associated with the Road that have been identified to date. This report represents a summation of findings and presents a coherent and thoughtful program to identify, preserve, and manage its remaining historic features and the properties associated with it. It also outlines an on-going program designed to share that information with visitors, tourists, and the public. It is, I think, a report that deserves careful study and adequate recognition of the efforts of the individuals who have devoted so much of their time to its completion. Through their work the Old San Antonio Road and its contribution to our heritage have been more thoroughly documented than ever before, and their work offers a standard that we should all seek to achieve.

Nancy Adele Kenmotsu
Texas Historical Commission

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

In July 1989, the 71st State Legislature, in Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2, directed the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (SDHPT) to identify the present-day disposition of the Old San Antonio Road (OSR) and to develop a historic preservation plan to identify and safeguard the surviving cultural, natural, and scenic attributes associated with the historic roadway. The resolution was initiated in recognition of the 300th anniversary of the route in 1991 and because the roadway was one of the most significant factors contributing to the conquest, colonization, and development of a province, a republic, and later, the largest of the contiguous states.

Three hundred years ago, the OSR connected, by little more than a mule trail, the frontier missions of an unexplored province to distant colonial settlements south of the Rio Grande. The locations of the changing routes of the road through several centuries directly influenced the establishment of many Texas towns and ultimately, the modern network of state highways.

Part I of the report provides background to the project and presents the legislation that initiated the SDHPT's efforts. This includes a discussion of research conducted earlier this century and the significance, or historic context, of the OSR.

Part II of the report presents a detailed review of historical data that clearly identifies the changing routes of the OSR through time. The report identifies these routes as *caminos reales* and establishes that the road network was more complex than the popular perception of the OSR as a single, unchanging route. Part II also describes the importance of the varying segments within the changing patterns of Texas history and is the basis for the interpretations and preservation proposals of Part III.

Part III of the report discusses the range of preservation options based on detailed reviews of preservation projects in other states. Positive and negative aspects of the developed plans are presented. Given the complexities of a statewide preservation effort and the unique aspects of both Texas and Texans, no previously developed national or state corridor preservation plan is particularly appropriate or suited to address the OSR conservation effort. Part III of the report presents a pragmatic, phased effort to address the recognition, preservation, and development of the state's most significant trans-Texas route.

Since portions of the proposed preservation options must involve the concurrence, cooperation, and coordination of various agencies, organizations, and individuals, the SDHPT does not assume nor recommend the initiation of any efforts without the consultation and concurrence of all parties.

In summary, the OSR project staff has found that the "Old San Antonio Road," contrary to popular perception and far from consisting of a single route, actually included several previously unrecognized, widely varying segments that changed through time for a variety of reasons. The importance of this fact cannot be overstated as many of the

historical events and historic properties that became a significant and an integral part of Texas' heritage were associated with previously unrecognized segments of the historic trans-Texas route.

It is the conclusion of the SDHPT that to realize the intent of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2, 1989, and the original, emergency legislation of Senate Bill No. 570, Chap. 271, 1929, as well as to consider the importance of "the road" as an integral part of a unique Texas heritage, its varying, documented, historical segments should be addressed within any developed preservation plan.

This expanded perspective invites the participation of a number of previously unrecognized Texas counties, organizations, and interested parties toward the development of the state's largest plan of preservation, interpretation, and tourism development.

PROPOSED ASPECTS OF SDHPT PRESERVATION PLAN

Scope of Work: To initiate and coordinate a phased program of preservation, interpretation, and tourism development of the Old San Antonio Road and its varying segments that changed through time and were known as *caminos reales*. The results of the proposed efforts will ensure the preservation and recognition of the OSR and *caminos reales* as an important and unique aspect of the state's heritage.

PHASE 1: Recognition/Commemoration Phase

Schedule: September 1990-1991. Proposed commemoration date: the first week of June 1991. Three hundred years ago, in June, the Terán-Mazanet expedition of 1691 crossed the Rio Grande to begin its trans-Texas journey to East Texas.

Purpose: To recognize the routes of the earliest trans-Texas road and commemorate its 300th anniversary in 1991.

Management Design: Initiate a systematic program of public information to: (1) develop a public awareness of, (2) establish interest in, and (3) coordinate with regional organizations interested in the preservation, historical research, and tourism development along the OSR.

Proposed Objectives of Phase 1:

1. Identify the historical and heritage corridors of the varying routes of the Old San Antonio Road and associated *caminos reales* throughout the state.

2. Prepare and publish an SDHPT-developed statewide preservation plan for the Old San Antonio Road and an accompanying historical review that identifies the present-day disposition of the routes. The historical background will identify existing remnants and also describe the varying routes within historic contexts to justify the preservation plan recommendations.
3. Initiate statewide press releases about the Old San Antonio Road, in coordination with the Texas Historical Commission (THC), other state agencies, the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission (OSRPC), and through SDHPT Travel and Information Division.
4. Develop educational packets for primary and secondary schools to be distributed through and with the cooperation of the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA).
5. Develop a popular SDHPT brochure (in cooperation with the THC) that summarizes the historical importance of the route.
6. Design and construct a series of information panels to be placed in existing rest stops along major highways in the vicinity of the historic routes. Such information panels will provide historical information of the early trails and may, on a reverse panel, identify local and regional points of interest. These may be developed by the SDHPT, in cooperation with local communities, county historical commissions, and area councils of governments.
7. Develop SDHPT signage to identify intersections of the trails with public property and highway rights-of-way.
8. Develop, in cooperation with the Governor's office, OSRPC, and the THC, a program to include the identification and recognition of private properties and landowners/families associated with the OSR. Recognition might include certificates presented by the Governor's office or the OSRPC. Such a program would increase interest and awareness of the route throughout the state, act as informal conservation covenants, and could be accompanied by invitations to consider selective conservation easements.
9. Re-establish a variation of the Old San Antonio Road Association to develop state-wide awareness and local support for OSR activities and the proposed Texas Historic Trails Commission.
10. Implement an SDHPT review process for OSR routes than may be affected by future SDHPT construction projects.
11. Coordinate with local and regional organizations established to develop specific activities for tourism development and conservation. Coordinate with inter-governmental and trans-regional councils of governments, regional planning commissions, as well as local, county, and regional historical commissions, societies, and preservation groups to promote the above goals.
12. Consider, in cooperation with the THC and the National Park Service, the development of the OSR and associated *caminos reales*, as National Historic Trails.

ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PHASE 1

[These Recommendations Require the Consultation, Review, and Agreement of State Agencies, the OSRPC, and Other Parties]

- A. Recommend in consultation and in agreement with other involved state agencies and the state legislature, that the OSR become a high priority state project for recognition of the "300th Anniversary" in 1991.
- B. Consider the appointment by the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission (OSRPC) of a coordinator/director of commission efforts to coordinate the interaction of state agencies' efforts. Such an individual should be familiar with the organization of both state and federal agencies and assume responsibility/accountability for such coordination.
- C. Recommend that the OSRPC, in consultation with its Advisory Committee, make consensus decisions regarding commission endeavors during periodic meetings. Such a procedure will avoid individual policy decisions and ensure a coordinated effort.
- D. Develop a logo and/or slogan for the 1991 commemoration of the OSR.
- E. Establish in coordination with the THC, an Old San Antonio Road Conservation and Development fund.
- F. Recommend that the OSRPC, in coordination with others, develop an OSR tour to promote recognition of the road, particularly in modern communities in the vicinity of the historic routes.
- G. Consider the development of a popular book that describes the significance of the historic road in Texas history and heritage. This would be a tangible product and a lasting, statewide contribution of the preservation effort.

PHASE 2: Formation of Preservation and Development Efforts

Schedule: 1991-1994 (Tentative)

Purpose: To continue and update a data review initiated by the SDHPT in 1989, that recognizes the significance of the important network routes that developed from the OSR (*i.e.*, the Old San Antonio-Laredo Road, the San Antonio-La Bahía Road, *etc.*); to develop complementary preservation plans; to generate expanded plans for tourism and development.

Management Design: It is proposed that Phase 2 efforts be directed toward the establishment of regional committees or task forces which develop local preservation, interpretation, development, and tourism goals. Such work may involve a cooperative effort between county historical commissions, area councils of government, local conservation groups, and other parties.

Proposed Objectives of Phase 2:

1. Coordinate such efforts with the 1992 Columbian quincentenary.
2. Coordinate with the States of Louisiana and Coahuila.
3. Establish a Texas Historic Trails Commission (THTC) to develop further aspects of the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Plan and to review systematically the potential significance of additional historic Texas trails. Such an organization would act as a coordinating office at the state level to interact with local, regional, national, and international sources for the purposes of developing preservation plans, promoting tourism, and reviewing funding options. The proposed THTC would be distinct in function and objectives from the existing OSRPC. The proposed THTC should include representatives of the OSRPC.

Phase 2 proposals involve the cooperation and agreement of various state and local organizations, individuals, and possibly federal agencies. The recommendations of the SDHPT for this phase, therefore, are tentative and assume a consultation period between involved parties that would result in coordinated efforts. The SDHPT specifically does not recommend or assume any commitment or involvement from any party without a systematic process of consultation and review.

Two critical elements of this phase are: (1) the requirements of adequate funding at local and regional levels and (2) the technical control and coordination necessary at a state level to guide regional and local efforts. These issues must be addressed prior to any other considerations.

Inherent also are the requirements of a specific statewide program of development, an evaluation process and checkpoints of objectives, and an accountability of responsibilities. The necessity or potential for a formal Memorandum of Agreement between organizations and agencies should be considered.

Because of the vested interest of the SDHPT (a substantial portion of these routes are within or adjacent to SDHPT rights-of-way), it is strongly recommended that the SDHPT assume a participatory if not lead role in the process of further preservation plans. This may include acting in the role of a coordinating instrument or as technical advisor to other state agencies, local governments, or preservation organizations.

Pragmatically, the role of the SDHPT and the extent of Phase 2 preservation efforts will be based on the response to and interest in the Phase 1 undertaking.

PART I: THE PROJECT BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

HISTORIC ROUTES OF THE *CAMINOS REALES*

by A. Joachim McGraw

In 1991, Texas will recognize the 300th anniversary of the state's most significant trans-Texas road. Historically known as the Old San Antonio Road, the King's Highway, or *El Camino Real*, the route is one of the most notable of the early Texas trails and has been of interest to the public, historians, and other scholars for almost a century.

Today, the significance of the Old San Antonio Road (OSR) is related to its historical role as the link in the oldest network of transportation, communication, and defense. Three hundred years ago, the road connected, by little more than a mule trail, the fragile frontier missions of an unexplored province to distant colonial settlements south of the Rio Grande. The changing routes of the road directly influenced the establishment of many Texas towns and cities, and ultimately, the modern network of state highways.

In order to commemorate the route's 300th anniversary in 1991, the State Legislature, in Senate Concurrent Resolution (SCR) No. 2, July 1989, authorized the creation of a nine-member Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission and a supporting advisory committee. SCR No. 2 also directed the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (SDHPT) to identify the present disposition of the historic trail, to develop a historic preservation plan for future management of the OSR, and to prepare a comprehensive report.

Researchers for more than a century have attempted to define the route across the state. The most significant effort was in 1915-1916, when a professional surveyor, V. N. Zivley, surveyed a route of the 19th-century road. The route had been abandoned for more than one hundred years before he began his work. Although his effort was limited by a paucity of available information, it contributed significantly to the recognition of the "Old San Antonio Road." Soon after, the Texas Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution placed granite markers along the route Zivley had mapped.

In 1929, the Texas Legislature declared the Zivley version of the Old San Antonio Road to be one of the historic trails of Texas. The Legislature also directed the Highway Commission to preserve and maintain the Old San Antonio Road from the state's road maintenance fund. Much of this historical route is still in use as State Highway 21 and related county roads.

The route that V. N. Zivley plotted however, was only one of several changing historical routes that was known as the Old San Antonio Road. Although the current study has identified at least five variants of the OSR and its related *caminos reales*, most of these roads were not contemporaneous. Instead, at any given time, a single route was

employed by travelers and its choice often depended on seasons, natural conditions and the presence of hostile Indians.

In Texas, all the trails began at the Presidio del Río Grande, led in varying routes across South Texas, and converged at San Antonio. These trails, in order of usage, became known as the *Camino Pita*, the Lower Presidio Road or *camino de en medio*, and the Upper Presidio Road. V. N. Zivley's plotting of the Old San Antonio Road through South Texas retraced the Lower Presidio Road, in use from approximately 1750-1800 (Figure 1).

Northeastward beyond San Antonio, the roads diverged again. An early upper trail known as the *Camino de los Tejas* followed the springs of the Balcones Escarpment and eventually turned east toward the Sabine River. This road was used to establish and supply the first 18th-century Spanish Colonial missions of East Texas. A later road that Stephen F. Austin called the *Camino Arriba* was established near the end of the 18th century and while it still led to destinations in East Texas, the route looped southward through the dense southeast-central Texas Post Oak Savannah.

The current study is divided into three parts. Part I summarizes the project background, previous legislation, and the SDHPT's scope of work. Part II identifies the different *caminos reales* that historically became part of the Old San Antonio Road, discusses their importance in Texas history, and presents examples of how such information can be used in further research. Part III presents recommendations that addresses both 1991 commemorative efforts and long-range preservation objectives.

The identification of these trails, the complexity of the different routes through time, and the significance of historic properties along the old roads are discussed in the following pages.

Readers should remember that the current study is only an initial survey of the Old San Antonio Road and the *caminos reales*. The extensive amount of available information, the complexity of the routes, the modern deterioration and disappearance of the trails, and other difficulties, have all affected the interpretations and the scope of this work. The SDHPT study represents only a preliminary survey of the available historical resources.

As an introduction the OSR report, the text of the 1929 legislative bill and the 1989 Senate Concurrent Resolution is presented in the following pages.

PROVIDING FOR PRESERVATION OF OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD

Senate Bill No. 570, March 19, 1929.

CHAPTER 271

An Act providing for the preservation of the Old San Antonio Road running through the State of Texas from Pendleton on the Sabine to Presidio in West Texas; prescribing that said Road shall always be known as the Old San Antonio Road; requiring the Highway Commission to preserve and maintain said Road along the route described in this Act and as surveyed in 1915 by V. N. Zivley; prohibiting the changing of said route; describing the route of said Highway; and declaring an emergency.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas:

SECTION 1. The Road commonly known as the Old San Antonio Road or "King's Highway" or "Camino Real" shall forever be known as the Old San Antonio Road, and is hereby declared to be one of the historic roads of Texas and the State Highway Commission shall provide for the preservation and identification of such road by proper marks and provide for maintenance of the road from State road maintenance fund. The counties through which such historic road passes shall provide a right-of-way of 100 feet in width. The route of said Road shall remain as surveyed by V. N. Zivley, pursuant to appointment of the Governor in the year 1915 and as marked by granite boulders heretofore erected every five miles on said Highway by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The route of the Old San Antonio Road is and shall be as follows, the same being more particularly described by said survey made by V. N. Zivley and marked by said granite boulders, to-wit: running from Pendleton, thence through Milam, Geneva, San Augustine, Dwire, Chireno, Melrose, Nacogdoches, Douglass, Alto, passing near Weches, passing near Crockett; thence through Hennesey, Normangee, near Wheslock [Wheelock], through Benchley, Seeles store, Cook's Point, Caldwell, Deanville, Lincoln, Bastrop, Cedar Creek, Mendoza, Reedville, New Braunfels, Bracker [Bracken], San Antonio, Losoya, Amptdon [Amphion], Hindes, Jahney, Cotulla to Presidio.

SECTION 2. The fact that the Old San Antonio Road which is also known as "King's Highway" and "Camino Real" is the oldest highway or trail in this state; that while there is no accurate date that can be fixed for its beginning, it certainly goes back to the Indian Confederacy as shown by ancient maps and Indian Mounds, which follow its windings across Texas where Indian villages formerly lay; that said Road was in all probability started as a trail by the Indians and the buffalo; that it was in existence when Spain placed Missions and fortresses to hold the country against the French and to prevent contraband trade with Mexico; that said Road was traveled by the Spaniards after Spain had taken possession of this country placing it under military and religious rule, establishing Missions and Presidios close to the French boundary at Natchitoches, Louisiana; that said

Road was traveled in the conquest of the country from 1716 to 1772 when the Capitol was removed to San Antonio remaining there until 1836; that this famous Road was used in the early history of our State through its progress from colonization to Republic and from Republic to Statehood to such an extent that the State owes an obligation for the sake of history to preserve said highway for all time to come as nearly as may be; that said Road marks the progress of a great and progressive people; that this Act undertakes to provide for the preservation and maintenance of said Highway along its original route and under the name by which it is most commonly known; all creates an emergency and an imperative public necessity that the constitutional rule requiring bills to be read on three several days in each House be suspended, and that this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage, and said rule is hereby suspended, and it is so enacted.

(NOTE.—S. B. No. 570 passed the Senate, 29 ayes, 0 nays; passed the House with amendment, 115 ayes, 6 nays; Senate concurred in House amendment by a viva voce vote.)
Approved March 19, 1929. [Extracted from Norvell 1945]

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 2, JULY 1989

This concurrent resolution was adopted by the Texas House of Representatives on July 14, 1989 and by the Texas Senate on July 17, 1989:

WHEREAS, The Old San Antonio Road, also referred to as the King's Highway or Camino Real, was recognized by the 41st Legislature in 1929 (S.B. No. 570) as the oldest highway or trail in Texas; and

WHEREAS, The State Highway Commission was directed to provide for the preservation, identification, and maintenance of such roadway; and

WHEREAS, A sum of \$5,000 was appropriated by the Texas Legislature in 1915 to survey and appropriately mark the route of the Old San Antonio Road; and

WHEREAS, The road continues to be recognized as one of the most significant factors contributing to the conquest and colonization of pre-Republic Texas and the Republic of Texas and for the key role it played in the development of Texas as a state; and

WHEREAS, The roadway was officially established under the authority of the first provincial governor of Texas under Spanish rule in 1691 and will have existed for 300 years in 1991; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Legislature of the State of Texas hereby directs the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation, in cooperation with the Texas Historical Commission, to identify the present-day disposition of the Old San Antonio Road and to develop a historic preservation plan to identify and safeguard surviving cultural and natural resources, as well as scenic attributes associated with the roadway; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such a preservation plan for the Old San Antonio Road be completed and published by the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation within one year of the adoption of this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the lieutenant governor and speaker of the house, acting under the authority of House Concurrent Resolution 142, 71st Legislature, Regular Session, 1989, be requested to create the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission for the purpose of contributing vital information to the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation and the Texas Historical Commission toward the development of a preservation plan for the roadway, informing the public regarding the historic significance and recreational potential of the roadway, marking historic structures and sites along the roadway, and promoting tourism as it relates to the roadway to the economic benefit of the State of Texas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission be composed of nine members, including one representative from each of the following state agencies: State Department of Highways and Public Transportation, Texas Historical Commission, Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, Texas Department of Commerce (Tourism Division), and five members at large to be appointed by the governor from a list of interested individuals provided to the governor by the Texas Historical Commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the commission be authorized to appoint an advisory board of no less than 10 members and no more than 15 members for the purpose of assisting the commission in accomplishing its goals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That commission members shall participate at their own expense, while any general operating expenses of the commission may be paid from such gifts, grants, and donations.

DEFINING THE DIRECTIVE
THE ROLE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS AND
PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

The SDHPT together with the Texas Historical Commission proposed an action plan to accomplish the directives of SCR No. 2. The SDHPT outlined the goals and objectives of its proposed work during the initial meeting of the OSRPC in December 1989. Following a discussion of the SDHPT effort, the OSRPC orally concurred with SDHPT proposals, thus initiating subsequent SDHPT work. Staff members of the Highway Design Division, Environmental Section, discussed additional project considerations on January 26, 1990, during the second meeting of the OSRPC.

The goals and strategy of the SDHPT work that resulted from these meetings are listed below.

Goals

1. Identify existing elements on public lands associated with the route of the OSR.
2. Establish means to preserve elements of the roadway on public lands including significant portions of the natural setting.
3. Prepare and publish a full report upon completion of studies.

In order to achieve these goals, the following strategy was proposed:

Strategy

1. Using the survey work (1915-1916) of V. N. Zivley as a basis, a limited amount of historical research was performed to verify roadway corridors.
2. Markers placed along the OSR by the Daughters of the American Revolution in the early 20th century were inventoried and the locations verified.
3. Elements of the roadway on public lands not presently known were identified.
4. Elements and existing portions of the roadway on private lands were identified, where possible.
5. The historical context of the roadway was evaluated.

The SDHPT determined that the most efficient approach for accomplishing its directive was to employ its own personnel and resources.

Figure 1 (facing page). Historical routes of the Old San Antonio Road varied throughout three centuries of Texas history. Varying segments of these changing routes that have not been well recognized today and are identified in this report are designated as (trans-Texas) *caminos reales*. The map illustrates these routes by their original names during the times of their use. The most well-known of the routes, the Old San Antonio Road and what later in part, became modern State Highway 21, is what Stephen F. Austin called the *Camino Arriba*. The contemporary route south of San Antonio to the Rio Grande during the Texas Republic period was the Upper Presidio Road (*Camino Arriba del Presidio del Río Grande*) or *Camino Pita*. By an unfortunate transposition of historical data in the early 20th century, the South Texas Upper Presidio Road was confused with an earlier 18th-century *camino real* known as the Lower Presidio Road (or *camino de en medio*). Regardless of the complexities of historical interpretation, the changing pattern of such routes across Texas does not decrease but increases the importance of these roads to the appreciation of the state's history.

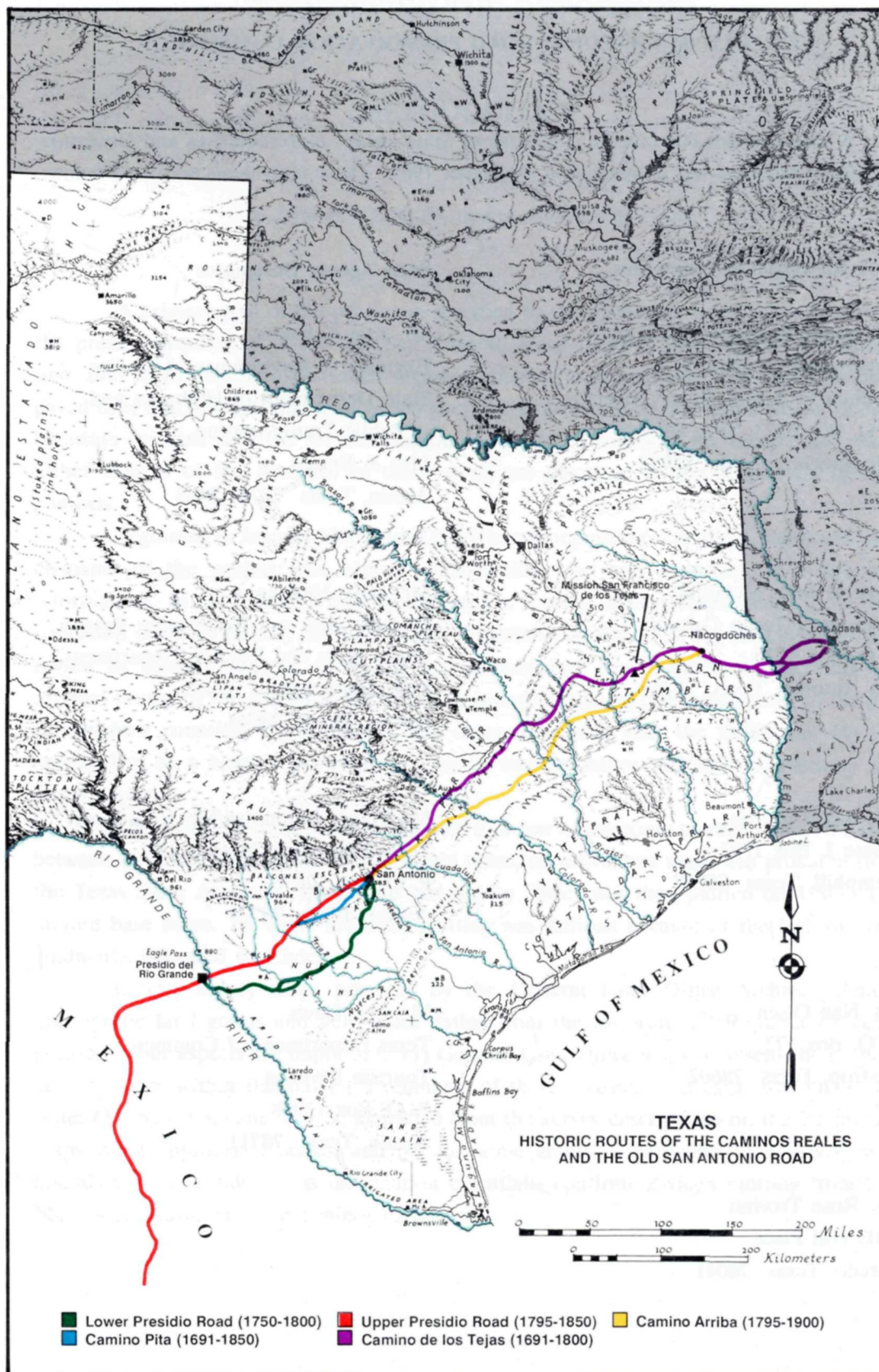


Figure 1. Historic routes of the *caminos reales* and the Old San Antonio Road. See figure notes on facing page.

THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD PRESERVATION COMMISSION

A nine-member commission consisting of State-agency representatives and Governor-appointed members was designated in December 1989. These individuals are listed below.

Governor-Appointed Members

Dr. Archie McDonald (Chair)
Department of History
Stephen F. Austin State University
P. O. Box 6223, SFA Station
Nacogdoches, Texas 75962

General John McGiffert
Institute of Texan Cultures
P. O. Box 1226
San Antonio, Texas 78294

Ms. Ingrid Morris
Route 1, Box 1792
Hemphill, Texas 75948

Ms. Nan Olsen
P. O. Box 172
Bastrop, Texas 78602

Ms. Rose Trevino
1003 Hill Place
Laredo, Texas 78041

State Agency Designates

Mr. Ken Bohuslav
Engineer of Environmental Studies
State Department of Highways and
Public Transportation
11th & Brazos
Austin, Texas 78701-2483

Mr. Mike Herring
Historic Sites and Restoration Branch
Texas Parks and Wildlife Department
4200 Smith School Road
Austin, Texas 78744

Ms. Nancy Kenmotsu/Mr. Rick Lewis
Texas Historical Commission
P. O. Box 12276
Austin, Texas 78711

Mr. Phil Davis
Texas Department of Commerce
Tourism Division
P. O. Box 12008
Austin, Texas 78711

"IDENTIFYING THE DISPOSITION"

METHODOLOGY

by John W. Clark, Jr., and A. Joachim McGraw

A primary goal of the project as specified by the legislation is the identification of the present disposition of the Old San Antonio Road (OSR). This implies two things: first, that there may be undisturbed segments distinct from segments that may have been paved over and, second, that a necessary part of the project is to determine where modern highways coincide with the former location of the varied routes of the trans-Texas roads. Other aspects of the presence of these roads are discussed in the section on historic contexts.

Beginning in January 1990, the SDHPT began organizing, compiling, and developing elements of the project: the historic preservation plan and a variety of background information. In the following months, the project focused on four major tasks: (1) a data collection effort to identify the present-day disposition of the OSR; (2) the collection and review of primary sources, published and unpublished, and documents describing the original routes of the historical OSR; (3) an interpretation of this information to identify the modern counties, municipalities, and areas associated with the OSR; and (4) the preparation of a historic preservation plan to address future elements of planning and development.

The data collection phase began with a review of the route marked by V. N. Zivley between 1915 and 1916. A copy of his field notes, narrative, and maps was procured from the Texas State Archives. The route laid out by Zivley was then plotted on USGS 7.5-minute base maps. In some localities plotting was difficult because of the lack of good landmarks indicated by Zivley.

County survey maps provided by the General Land Office Archives identify appropriate land grants and field notes dating from the Mexican and Republic of Texas periods. Four aspects are important: (1) General Land Office maps represent the primary land divisions within the state; (2) remnants of these divisions still exist over the entire state; (3) these remnants can be identified from the survey descriptions on the 7.5-minute maps using appropriate scales; and (4) for some grants, a particular road served as a boundary for one side. This information essentially confirms Zivley's plotting from San Marcos eastward, with some minor variations.

This route largely coincides with modern State Highways 21 and OSR with three exceptions: (1) from San Marcos to Bastrop, (2) east of Nacogdoches, and (3) in the area of Geneva. The route also varies from State Highways 21 and OSR where those highways have had their original curves straightened.

The land grants were also examined for data pertaining to the roads where the roads did not form a part of a boundary. Some surveyors mention the presence of a road and its distance from property corners. With this information it is possible to plot a route through the property on the base maps.

From the General Land Office Archives, records of deeds and patents that located the former routes of the road were reviewed and collected. Such information was compared to modern county and highway maps to identify county-specific historic locales. Physical remnants of the OSR could often be confirmed by field inspections. This process was successful in the San Marcos/Hays County area, portions of Bastrop, Bexar, Atascosa, La Salle, and several counties in East Texas.

South of San Antonio, Zivley stated that he lost the route at a point where the road to Presidio del Río Grande (modern Guerrero, Coahuila) and the Laredo road met. He was forced to go to the Paso de Francia at Guerrero and backtrack toward San Antonio using an English translation of the *derrotero* (trip log) of Fray Juan Agustín Morfi who traveled this route in 1777. The project staff consulted Morfi's *derrotero* in Spanish in order to avoid translation errors. Morfi's descriptions, directions, and distances are sufficient to locate portions of the road, with fairly high confidence, on the 7.5-minute maps.

The fact that a number of landmarks retain their Spanish Colonial-period names and that these appear on the 7.5-minute maps, make the delineation of Morfi's route easier. Following his description and landmark localities on the maps, a reasonably narrow corridor can be established. Within this corridor, Spanish travelers usually took the driest, least rugged path. They did not normally travel up and down precipitous hills or through boggy ground. Thus, potential areas for the routes are usually confined to quite small zones.

Another approach was to plot on county highway maps the locations of the granite monuments erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution. A number of these monuments have been removed over the years from their original placement. Where these deviate from the Zivley's plotted route, it can be assumed that they have been moved.

A variety of historic maps were consulted in order to estimate the locations of river and creek crossings. Among those that showed the "Lower Presidio Road" are post-Mexican War military maps, manuscript maps and sketches by Stephen F. Austin, unpublished maps in the collections of Yale University which accompany the notebooks of Jean Louis Berlandier, and a series of maps published in a variety of sources. There are errors in a number of maps, e.g., Austin's drawing shows the Arroyo de las Animas (Brushy Creek in Williamson and Milam counties) running into the Colorado River rather than the San Gabriel (San Xavier). Each map required careful evaluation. It was also necessary to consider the time at which a map was made and its purpose. The Berlandier maps were accurate and provided much useful information.

Other documents were utilized to find the disposition of the various roads and to estimate dates of existence as a formal route. Among the most useful were court documents which established clear title to land. These were particularly useful in Sabine, Medina, and Atascosa counties. The jurisdictional conflict over the boundary between Bexar and San Patricio counties which contains testimony collected by Erasmo Seguin in 1838, was particularly useful in establishing dates and sequences of road usage in the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods. Another document relating to the Zivley plotting of the post-1790 road was a series of titles, justifications, and claims relating to the foundation of the town site of San Marcos de Neve.

Through the Texas Natural Resources Information System, black-and-white and false-color infrared aerial photos were examined. In some of these photos, the presence of undisturbed segments of road is indicated. Color aerial photographs were obtained for the Rio Grande crossings and at the Mission Espada area. Black-and-white Soil Conservation Service photos were examined in the area of Poteet and on both sides of the Frio River. Some of these black-and-white photos, especially in enlargement, show the swale which represents the location of the road, visible as either a slightly darker or lighter line crosscutting the drainage patterns.

The interpretation of other historical information has also identified significant historical and archaeological sites associated with the roadway. On-site inspections of selected localities supplemented the above methods. Field inspections were normally confined to areas of public rights-of-way. Visits were made to localities along the Old Bastrop Road in Hays County where undisturbed segments are visible along the right-of-way of the present road, and near Lagunillas Creek and the Frio River where extended segments of road swales are evident. Inspections of the crossing at old Frio Town and at Hondo Creek also revealed extensive segments of undisturbed roadway. In addition to these visits, the OSR project staff contacted other people with expertise to visit other localities.

In order to determine the disposition of the earlier road—i.e., the route not marked by Zivley—the first procedure was to collect a series of *derroteros* from early and later travels. These were collected first in English translations, then in the Spanish transcriptions. One *derrotero*, that of Gregorio de Salinas Varona in 1693, appears to have no English translation. From these were extracted specific locations that were compared in chart form. Landmarks and *parajes* (campsites) were charted; distance and direction of travel were also included on the charts. In some of the early explorations certain landmarks were renamed, but by the 1730s there was general agreement on names. For some expeditions when two journals were kept, each with separate sets of names for localities, it is possible to identify the various landmarks and *parajes*. In other cases, the journalist provided the equivalent earlier name. In any event, by aligning known localities, it was possible to fill in some of the intervening localities.

Historic maps were then examined in an attempt to locate specific, named *parajes* and the general locations of the routes. This effort was relatively successful between San Antonio and Presidio del Río Grande, but less so northeast of San Antonio because of two

major late changes in the route. These two changes were, first, shifting the road between San Antonio and Nacogdoches southward between present New Braunfels and the Neches River, and second, a shift southward at a later date of the segment between the Neches and Nacogdoches. The second permutation was known as the *Camino de Arriba* to S. F. Austin and J. L. Berlandier. In the part which followed the original road, *parajes* and landmarks retained their earlier names, thus allowing the reconstruction of that part of the route. Among the early maps examined were those of De León of 1689 and 1690. These maps indicate that he established what, in large part, became the Upper Presidio Road between Presidio del Río Grande and the Río Hondo. There he turned east to Matagorda Bay.

Like segments of the later roads, the early road was investigated using aerial photographs with similar results. These were compared with historic maps and the *derroteros* in order to plot a route. Like the evidence for the later routes, these road data were transferred to 7.5-minute USGS maps.

The persistence of Spanish Colonial names for certain landmarks aids in relocating the approximate route of the early road. Among the constant *parajes* and landmarks were Arroyo de los Cuervos, Las Rosas de San Juan, Laguna Espantosa, Río Nueces, Río Hondo and Las Cruces, Ojo de Agua de San Pedro, Arroyo de San Marcos, Arroyo Garrapatas, Arroyo de las Animas, Río San Xavier, Arroyo de San Pedro (a tributary of the Neches), and Indian mounds. These landmarks provide vital information on the early route and can be located on modern maps, recalling that Arroyo Garrapatas is Onion Creek in Travis County, Arroyo de las Animas is Brushy Creek in Williamson and Milam counties, and that the Río San Xavier is the San Gabriel River.

The location of archaeological sites on this early road also provide specific points of reference. Principal among these are the San Xavier Mission and Presidio complex and the Indian mounds presently identified as the George C. Davis site on the southwest boundary of Cherokee County. That the Davis site is the one identified in the *derroteros* is confirmed by one of Berlandier's maps.

Documentary sources also provide additional information on the location of the early road. Several land grants and court documents mention the presence of the early road in south Texas through its reopened status. The Seguín depositions pertaining to the division between Bexar and San Patricio counties provided valuable dating information and confirm names for a number of *parajes*. Another valuable set of documents is the papers engendered in the foundation of the community of Trinidad de Salcedo on the Trinity River. Chief among those documents are the surveyor's field notes.

Besides a variety of intended results, the investigations yielded additional information of a serendipitous nature. One such aspect is the physical location on the ground of numerous segments of undisturbed road and projections of road both on private property and on public lands. Those segments on public property, particularly where they coincide with modern roads are largely disturbed or obliterated.

Projections of road location has helped to locate likely situations for Bucareli, Salcedo, San Marcos de Neve, Misión San Francisco de los Tejas, the area of the battle of

the Medina, Santa Anna's camps, and a number of *parajes*. These areas will all need intensive archaeological investigation on the ground.

The research has shown that there were several routes and identifiable segments of road with functional and temporal aspects. In sum, the early trans-Texas roads were established, in part in 1689 and 1690 by Alonso de León from Monclova to the Río Hondo. Terán extended the route to the Nacogdoches area in 1691. In this report, the segment of the road between Presidio del Río Grande (modern Guerrero, Coahuila) and San Antonio is called the *Camino Arriba del Presidio del Río Grande*; a later segment of this stretch of road is called the *Camino de la Pita* or *Camino Pita*. The road from San Antonio to Los Adaes is referred to as the *Camino de los Tejas*. The later road—between Presidio del Río Grande and San Antonio (the one traveled by Morfi and marked by Zivley)—is called the *Camino Abajo del Presidio del Río Grande*, Lower Presidio Road, or *Camino de en medio*. The post-1790 segment between San Antonio and Nacogdoches is called the *Camino Arriba*. All of these names are historical designations for the various routes.

To determine archaeological and historical resources associated with the road, the SDHPT reviewed its project files. Project work also involved a review of site records at the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory. The Texas Historical Commission provided files on historic sites or structures associated with the OSR. The SDHPT also surveyed the Texas Log Cabin Register on file at the University of North Texas to locate pioneer sites from the earliest period of Anglo-American settlement extant near the historic route.

For the assessment of natural resources, the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department contributed information on the biotic and recreational resources associated with state properties on or near the historic route. The National Forest Service, National Park Service, and other federal agencies contributed information about such resources on federal properties. The natural resources summary discusses significant geologic sites and scenic areas. Staff from the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department indicated pertinent scenic areas. In researching preservation strategies and options, the SDHPT staff also contacted agencies that have developed other historic trails, roads, and corridors. All offered concept plans for preserving and interpreting such cultural resources.

The techniques used to gather data on the road were much more effective than originally expected. They can and should be used on any further investigation associated with this or a similar project. Furthermore, they show the potential of these techniques to reveal more data on the OSR and on other roads of a historic nature.

THE SURVEY OF V. N. ZIVLEY, 1915-1916

ZIVLEY'S ROUTE FROM THE SABINE RIVER TO SOUTH-CENTRAL TEXAS

by A. Joachim McGraw

V. N. Zivley's work in the early 20th century, as noted earlier, was a landmark achievement and most importantly, reflected the constant interest and awareness of Texans in the history of the most significant trans-Texas road.

This report identifies varying segments of routes that, through time, became integral parts of a historical trans-Texas road. Zivley's identification of one of these roads has become established in the state's history as the most recognized and important of these routes. The description of his work and plottings from the Sabine River to south-central Texas could be summarized and rephrased but his original text is both perceptive and succinct. Because Zivley's work was never published or widely circulated, the original observations that prefaced his 1915-16 survey (keeping in mind the transcription of a poorly preserved manuscript) are transcribed below:

In East Texas, that is from the initial point to the crossing of the Colorado River at Bastrop, the King's Highway, while in many places has been abandoned and entirely obliterated, was very definitely located by the Field Notes of land surveys made in the early years of the last century. These surveys were either bounded on one side by the old road, or if they crossed it the course and distance from the nearest corner to the said crossing was in most instances stated, so that the relocation of the road in that part of the State was only a question of time and labor. From Bastrop to San Antonio there was little to guide me except tradition and the remaining evidence of the road to be found on the ground . . .

. . . I have given this work the very best effort of which I am capable, I measured every meander, every deflection of the old road as carefully as I ever measured a line for a proposed railroad, and I have reproduced the road on the Map just as I found it on the ground. In the Field Notes and Map I have endeavored to show every object either natural or artificial near which the Road passes, that would tend to permanently fix its location. In putting up the markers, in a few instances the distance between them is somewhat in excess of five miles but was covered in that deviation from instructions by what I think good judgment—for instance where the measured five miles would have necessitated the placing of a post in the midst of a cultivated field, I either stopped short of the instructed distance or went a few hundred feet beyond, in order to place the marker where it would be least likely to be molested

ZIVLEY'S ROUTE FROM SAN ANTONIO TO THE RIO GRANDE

(Based on the Diary of Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, 1777-1778)

V. N. Zivley's identification of the Old San Antonio Road south of San Antonio was made more difficult by the expanse of private properties and the lack of distinct physical remnants of the historic route. Unlike the eastern portion of the state, no contemporary road paralleled the former route. Zivley's solution to these problems is presented in his own words:

. . . From San Antonio to the Rio Grande or vice versa from the Rio Grande to San Antonio, about the only guide I had was the afore mentioned Diary of Morfi, a very learned and observant Spanish Priest who traveled the King's Highway in December 1778 [*sic*] from Presidio Rio Grande to the old Missions as [*sic*] San Antonio, and to that old Padre, though I am a Protestant of the most ultra blue stocking type, I want to doff my hat, as the most accurate artist in words of a country traversed that I have ever met—in books. Every place he mentioned, every object of interest, I found just as described by him in that brief diary. His only inaccuracy was in the distance stated between given points, invariably the distance given by him was greater than that given by the steel tape. But I picture him as a scholarly devout man of fragile physique and wearied as he was by the days travel "y muchas inflexiones inutiles" how natural for him to over estimate distance.

I am well aware that a work of this kind should be entirely self-explanatory, but owing to adverse conditions and some very misleading data that was [*sic*] furnished me, I have been compelled to perpetuate a seeming inconsistency. There were only one hundred and twenty-three (123) posts or markers placed by me between the Sabine River and the Rio Grande, and the Posts should have been numbered consecutively from beginning to end, but as will be seen the Post at Paso de Francia is numbered 128 while in La Salle County (see page 97) [Ed. note: of Zivley survey] there is a skip from Post No. 102 to Post No. 108, which occurred in this way: As I went South after putting up marker No. 102 I failed to find or notice the Presidio Road turning to the right and continued to follow and survey the Laredo Road to old Fort Ewell on the Nueces River. The map I had showed the King's Highway went in that direction and after crossing the Nueces at Fort Ewell turned almost to the West and crossed the I. & G. N. R. R. [International and Great Northern Railroad] near Artesia Wells. When I reached Fort Ewell and made a thorough examination of the crossing there I became convinced that I had been misled and found that no road crossing the Nueces there had ever turned to the right in the direction of Artesia Wells from the fact that the country is so rough and broken that a Wolf could hardly get over it. I then spent several days in exploring the river for a crossing above Fort Ewell and at the Black Ranch, about midway between Fort Ewell and Cotulla, found an old ford from which a road led in a westerly direction—but the ford did not at all fit the description of the King's Highway crossing as contained in the Diary of Morfi relating a cross over this road in December 1778 [*sic*]. Disheartened and almost discouraged, I decided to go by the most direct traveled route to Paso de Francia on the Rio Grande, pick up the road there, follow it as described in the Morfi Diary back to its intersection with the road I had surveyed. This I did, but when I reached the Rio Grande I had to guess at the distance and put up the Marker 128, which I afterwards found to be incorrect by almost twenty-five miles. I then carefully

surveyed and measured the old Road from Paso de Francia this way, putting up markers where necessary and numbering them backwards that is from Nos. 128 to 127, to 126, etc, until I intersected the Road previously surveyed at Post No. 108.

Zivley's field notes of 1915-1916 contain the translation of a portion of Fray Morfi's diary of 1777-1778. Readers are cautioned that this early translation, although generally reliable, contains several significant errors of interpretation. The 1967 transcription of Morfi's *Diario y Derretero* by Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm McLean, published by the Instituto Tecnológica y de Estudios Superiores in Monterrey, Mexico, is recommended to those researchers requiring further information.

Morfi's account and description of the route he traveled across southern Texas in the mid- to late 18th century, as Zivley noted, is a vital contribution toward a better understanding of the historical route. An updated, annotated summary of his route from the Rio Grande to San Antonio in 1777 and his return in 1778 is presented on succeeding pages.

Table 1. Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi's Itinerary from the Rio Grande to San Antonio

All presented data were extracted from the transcription by Del Hoyo and McLean (1967: 93-108) unless noted.

Date	Beginning	Comments
1777		
12-25	about 1.5 leagues east of Rio Grande	Began the day with a dawn Mass after crossing the Rio Grande on 12-24. After leaving campsite, passed the <i>paraje</i> of San Ambrosia, the spring of San Pedro, the <i>paraje</i> of San Lorenzo (<i>que son charcos</i>). Traveled 10 leagues.
12-26	San Lorenzo	Passed the <i>paraje</i> of Santa Catarina and <i>los charcos de Barrera</i> . Traveled 10 leagues. Morfi noted that the only <i>paraje</i> with permanent water was San Pedro.
12-27	charcos de Barrera	Traveled 2 leagues to the <i>paraje</i> of San Roque (<i>que es un mal charco</i>); Morfi noted that this area was the <i>cuesta</i> , or divide, between the Rio Grande and Nueces drainages. Traveled 2 leagues to the <i>paraje</i> of la Romana. A little further, 8 leagues from Barrera, on the left (to the west) was the <i>cerrito</i> (small hill) of La Cochina. Morfi noted that two months earlier, Lipan Apaches had attacked travelers there and the remains of both the battle and the unlucky Spaniards were still in evidence. See Note 1. One league further, Morfi encountered the margins of the Nueces River floodplain (<i>a una legua entramos por una cañada formada por un bosque, cuyo camino inunda el rio</i>). The party traveled 11 (<i>largas</i>) leagues and Morfi observed more than 3,000 wild horses at the river. Morfi camped near the right bank of the river at the <i>paraje</i> of Augier.
12-28	el agua del guaje de Augier	Traveling northward, the party passed immense herds of <i>mesteñada</i> . After <i>ca.</i> 4.5 leagues, to the west, Morfi noted el Palo Alto, that was said to be the halfway point between the Rio Grande and San Antonio. See Note 2. 1.5 leagues further and after a total distance of 6 leagues, Morfi arrived at the <i>charco</i> of Las Encinas.

(Continued)

Date	Beginning	Comments
12-29	las Encinas	Traveled 3 leagues to the <i>monte</i> (this is interpreted as woods, not hills) of the Frio River. Two leagues further Morfi's party stopped at Las Esperanzas. Zivley's 1916 translation of Morfi noted that the locale was so called because there the Spanish military escorts of Texas and Coahuila exchanged mail and assumed the protection of travelers. The party continued past the San Miguel Creek and after 11 leagues of travel stopped at <i>las lagunillas (de Mala Agua)</i> .
12-30	Mala Agua	After 4 leagues of travel, Morfi arrived at La Parrita. After 2 leagues the party entered the woods of the Atascosa. After 3 leagues they camped near a spring, El Tapado. [Tapado may refer to the dense canopy of trees in that area.] A total of 9 leagues were traveled.
12-31	El Tapado	After 5 leagues, Morfi crossed <i>la cañada de la Magdalena</i> , or modern Galvan Creek and a short time later, Gallinas Creek. Between there and the Medina River, he noted a pile of stones that marked the boundary of lands belonging to Mission Espada in San Antonio. Morfi traveled 11 leagues leagues from El Tapado (the Atascosa) to reach Mission Espada that day.

On January 15, 1778, Fray Morfi left San Antonio and eventually recrossed the Rio Grande on January 21 on his return trip. His references to campsites are less descriptive than his earlier entries.

NOTES:

1. **Charcos de Barrera:** The small hill of la Cochina ("the sow") may have originally referred to an early appearance of feral hogs in that area. Wild hogs are still a common nuisance along the Nueces drainage. Morfi passed through this locale again on his trip southward on January 19, 1778. At that time he made a distinction between the *bosque* of la Cochina and *la loma del Muerto*, the hill of the dead.

2. **Palo Alto:** Palo, sometimes, in South Texas, refers to a (thin) tree, hence tall tree. The proper definition of palo, however, is "stick" or "pole." Given the nature of the south Texas arid environment, some trees could be considered sticks. As Morfi phrased this "...a nuestra izquierda, queda el Palo Alto, que dicen hace la mediación de Río Grande a San Antonio...", he may have actually referred to a tall pole placed as a marker to identify an important (halfway) point of the route.



Figure 2. V. N. Zivley's plotted route of the Old San Antonio Road, 1915-1916. Map copy on file, Barker Texas History Center, Austin.

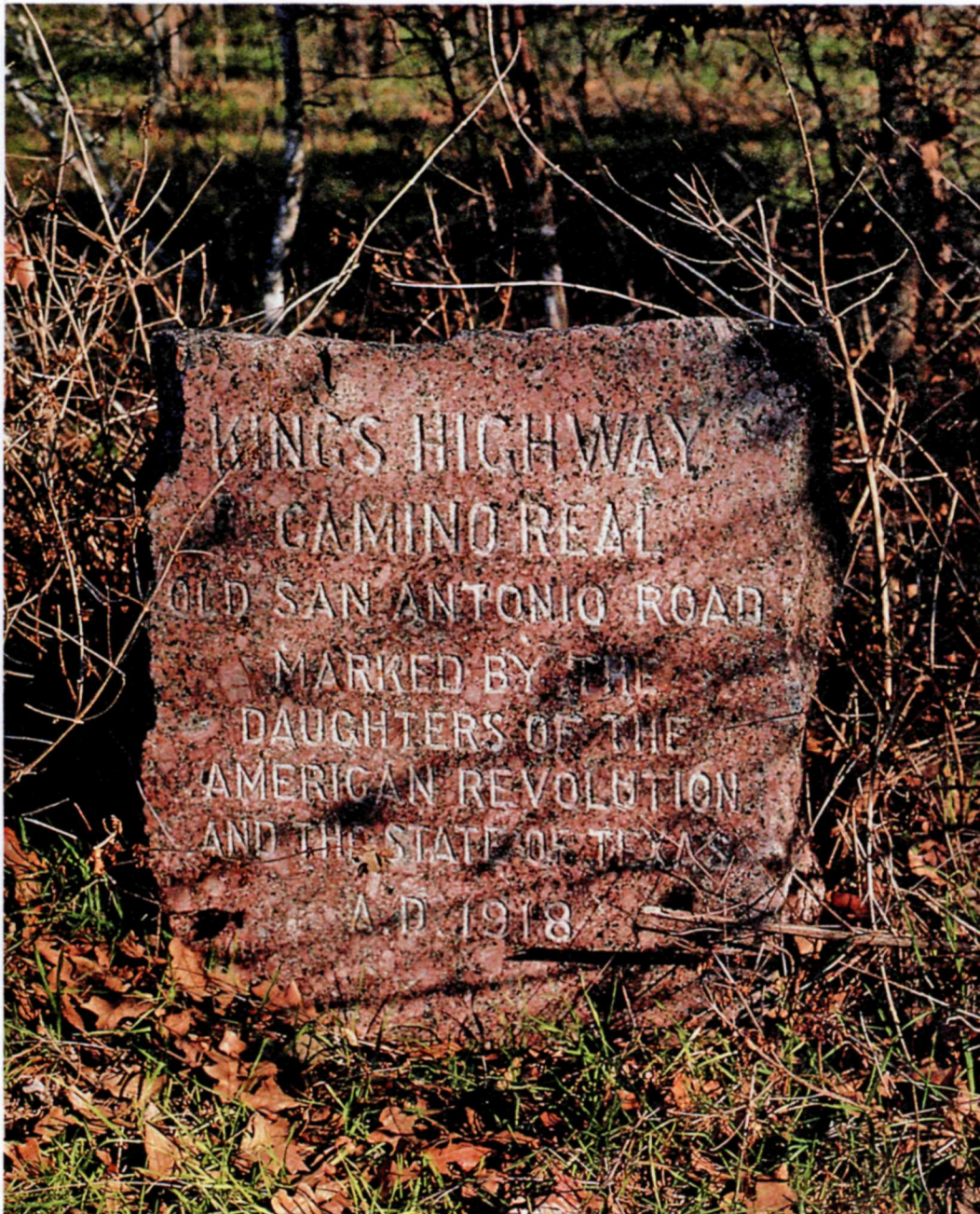


Figure 3. A granite marker erected to commemorate the Old San Antonio Road in Bexar County, Texas. Markers were placed throughout the state *circa* 1918.



Figure 4. Aerial photograph of Lower Presidio Road segment, South Texas. Substantial remnants of the route that V. N. Zivley retraced in 1915-1916 as the Old San Antonio Road (or Lower Presidio Road) in southern Texas may still be identified today. This photograph, taken in 1959, shows the discernible depression of the road in the center of the picture (identified by the arrow). A former crossing near a major river is also shown in the lower left corner. An inspection of the same area in 1990 still clearly showed the route. The specific location is not identified at the request of the landowner. File photograph from the photo archives of TNRIS, Austin.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN

In addition to determining the present disposition of the OSR, the SDHPT has prepared a plan for future preservation efforts. The SDHPT seeks to make its plan helpful to local historians and planners and to those working from a regional or state perspective.

The development of a comprehensive preservation plan focuses on a trans-Texas "corridor concept." Such cultural, historical, or heritage corridors have been developed in other areas of the nation and, on a smaller scale, in Texas. The most developed plan within the state currently is the Alamo-La Bahía (San Antonio-Goliad) corridor that uses the historical significance of the corridor as a basis for tourism and development. The SDHPT initiated coordination with the Alamo Area Council of Governments and various state agencies involved in this and other such projects in order to understand more clearly the applicability of such a perspective to the OSR project.

The SDHPT designed the proposed effort to be pragmatic, functional, and helpful. In researching preservation strategies and options, the SDHPT staff contacted agencies which have developed other historical trails, roads, and corridors with a stated emphasis on historic preservation and/or interpretation. All offered concept plans for consideration. Two National Park Service publications have been helpful for classifying sites and structures: "Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation," (*Federal Register*, vol. 48, no. 190) and *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning* (National Register Bulletin 24).

The SDHPT reviewed information on specific visitor groups in Texas. This was useful in identifying budget considerations for the preservation plan. The SDHPT also initiated an interagency contract with the Center for Historical Resources, Texas A&M University. The Center played an advisory role in the development of the SDHPT's final preservation plan.

The preservation plan is summarized in the following outline.

THE SCOPE OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN

The research and preservation plan schedule was developed in January 1990. A systematic series of objectives were identified to address the varied elements of the preservation plan.

- A. Goals (as per SCR No. 2, July 1989)
 - 1. Develop a preservation plan to identify and safeguard
 - a. cultural attributes
 - b. natural and scenic attributes

2. Complete and publish the preservation plan within one year of SCR No. 2, July 1989

B. Methods

1. Initiate extra-departmental points-of-contact for consultation and involvement of interested parties
 - a. compile list of knowledgeable individuals and interested organizations
 - b. solicit consultations and contributions to the SDHPT preservation plan
2. Utilize the interpreted historical information as an accurate data base to develop the preservation plan

C. Development of the Preservation Plan

1. Review formats of preservation plans developed by other states and federal agencies; coordinate with:
 - a. Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission
 - b. Texas Historical Commission
 - c. Texas Department of Commerce
 - d. Texas Parks and Wildlife Department
 - e. National Park Service
2. Review the potential for involvement of extra-state contacts
 - a. Mexico
 - b. Louisiana
3. Develop the format for (and major elements of) the preservation plan
 - a. describe the OSR routes across the state
 - i. plot the routes on USGS topographic maps
 - ii. plot the routes on county highway maps
 - b. identify the present-day disposition by county
 - c. identify the OSR's significant cultural and natural attributes by county
 - i. historic townsites/communities
 - ii. documentation of existing historical structures, bridges, and stream crossings
 - iii. archaeological and potential archaeological sites identified with the OSR
 - iv. scenic and natural attributes
 - d. consider tourism potential
 - i. signage/information panels
 - ii. public relations
 - iii. other elements or aspects of the roadway that might be preserved
 - iv. identify preservation alternatives and options
 - v. identify the potential and directions of further preservation efforts

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS BEYOND THE TEXAS BORDER

by John W. Clark, Jr.

The mandate of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 at first glance appears simple enough: identify and locate a particular old road and prepare a preservation plan. Complications arise, however, because multiple routes are involved, and they have changed through time. The historic context of the OSR involves cultural and historical processes and events which originated in ancient Europe and how these processes affected the colonization and occupation of Texas and, in particular, the trans-Texas road.

An important element in the understanding of the *caminos reales* to Texas history is that neither the road nor Texas history can be separated from events taking place outside the borders of Texas. From the very inception of colonization, international factors have played a major part. French and English and later United States intervention stimulated Spanish and Mexican efforts to control the territory far earlier than they would have otherwise. Texas and the roads played a part in the Mexican independence movement and in many of the later historic developments in Mexico. The efforts of the United States to gain an empire focused to a large degree on Texas, and the expeditions of Philip Nolan and Zebulon Pike were obvious expressions of such interest.

Economic factors played a major role in the disposition of roads and settlement patterns associated with them. Market systems and locations were a major influence on the development of the trans-Texas roads. When Saltillo was the major market in the Spanish and Mexican periods, all economic developments conformed to that situation. Following Texas independence, there was a shift to north-south communications systems with developments largely in the river valleys connected to coastal ports.

A principal factor hindering early colonization in northeast Mexico was the warlike nature of the Cocoyomes and Tobosos Indians who were essentially eliminated by about 1730 (Huerta Preciado 1966:100-101). The area was invaded then by the Apaches (Lipan) and later the Comanches who hindered development in the area throughout most of the 18th and 19th centuries (Huerta Preciado 1966:100-101; Hinojosa 1983:15). The colonizing institutions of the Spanish, French, and English were vastly different because of cultural and historical factors in each country. These institutions produced widely different objectives affecting the disposition of the trans-Texas road and colonization along it. The interaction of the four major contending ethnic groups—aboriginal, Hispanic, French, and Anglo—produced the present disposition and use of the road.

The most obvious aspects of historic context concern land use, settlement, and social organization. Cultural traditions were transferred to the New World with little change from Spain when it colonized the Americas.

The Spanish inherited their agricultural land-holding system from the Roman Empire in which property owners lived in town and lands in rural areas were worked by serfs or peasants. By A.D. 1085, the Spanish feudal system was fully developed (Puiggrós 1961:24), with the military *señorías* and secular feudal estates. During the mid-14th century a class of bourgeoisie developed in the urban areas under the protection of the king (Puiggrós 1961:28). The noble class also continued to grow and strengthen even while the manufacture of woolen cloth, clothing, and other goods produced by the *burgos* progressed.

The marriage of Fernando of Aragon to Isabel of Castilla, unified the nation with power in the hands of the monarchs and the nobility. The influence of the *burgos* declined. During this period, the church gained power partly because of the nature of the Spanish crusade which reached its conclusion at Granada in 1492, and in part because of the religious nature of the monarchs (*los reyes católicos*). Thus, at the time of the discovery of the Americas, Spain retained a feudal agricultural economy and an aggressive military and religion structure. The Church was powerful because of its role in the Reconquest of Spain and because of the virtually universal religiosity of 15th- and 16th-century Europeans. After fighting lengthy wars to re-establish Christianity in the peninsula, Spain had a strong commitment to promote the causes of the Church, and a natural tendency to view with suspicion and antipathy the reformations that were beginning to occur in northern Europe. The feudal and land tenancy systems of northern Europe were also changing toward smaller individual land holdings. After the conquest of Mexico and Perú, Charles I of Spain waged war against religious reformers and France, using the wealth of New World precious metals.

When the Spanish entered the mainland areas of Mexico and Perú, a major effort began: conquest and Christianizing of the inhabitants. The Spaniards brought with them their traditions of land tenancy and settlement. In Spain, the rules of inheritance inclined the second and later sons of the *hidalgos* toward ecclesiastical or military careers. The newly conquered lands offered the opportunity for soldiers to establish estates based on Spanish models. The earliest versions were the *repartimiento* and *congregación* in which Indian peasants were divided among the new land holders and congregated into towns. Because of continued abuses, reforms were undertaken providing rights to the Indians under the *encomienda* system similar to Spanish feudal estates in which the lords and peasants had certain rights and duties (Gibson 1964:58-62).

Early in the 17th century, the French and English began to establish colonies on the east coast of North America above the Spanish colonies of La Florida. Fundamental differences existed between the Spanish colonies and those of the French and English. The Spanish were interested in establishing entailed estates with native Indians living in towns and working the land. This system was a direct result of the feudal character of the Spanish system. The English established two forms of colonization with different kinds of colonists: the first was the company colony which sought to establish agricultural plantations producing cash crops with the labor of indentured servants at first and later

black slaves. The second group of English colonists were largely yeoman farmers, the beneficiaries of northern European land reforms. These farmers were interested in establishing their forty-acre independent farms, each worked by the owner and his family. As a consequence, native Indians occupying such lands were eliminated. In contrast, the French were much more mercantile-oriented, and they developed trading posts and communities to supply their colonies. The *coureurs de bois*, or French itinerant traders, had an interest in establishing Indian dependency in their trade.

In 1681 and 1682, French explorers under La Salle reconnoitered the Mississippi River. After returning to France, La Salle and the French government developed a plan to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, but, in fact, established a post on Garcitas Creek near Matagorda Bay. This location was considerably closer to the Spanish mines of Nuevo León and Coahuila. During La Salle's colonization effort, one of his ships was lost and captured by the Spanish which produced a certain amount of panic among the Spanish in the Caribbean islands and in Mexico. Several maritime searches were made with negative results. The Viceroy of New Spain sent out an expedition under Alonso de León to locate the French. His expeditions of 1687 and 1688 were unsuccessful but his trail between Monclova and South Texas later became a major segment of the Upper Presidio del Río Grande Road. The discovery of a Frenchman living among the Indians north of the Rio Grande prompted De León's expedition of 1689, in which he found the French settlement (De León 1688, 1689) recently destroyed by Indian attacks and internal dissension. De León returned in 1690 to burn the French colony (Weddle 1973) and to establish a mission which was placed among the Tejas Indians near San Pedro Creek in present Houston County (De León 1690). De León continued to use the same route from Mexico to the Río Hondo, eastward toward Matagorda Bay, and then to the Tejas. Spanish interest in missions among the agricultural East Texas Indians continued despite the war of Spanish Succession (1701-1713) and resulted in collusion between the Governor of Louisiana and Fray Francisco Hidalgo at the newly founded San Juan Bautista/Presidio del Río Grande.

The French sent Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis on a putative trading mission to San Juan Bautista where he met presidial captain Diego Ramón. Saint-Denis and Ramón re-established the Tejas Mission and established Los Adaes near the Red River in 1716 by way of the upper road traveled by Terán and Salinas Varona at the end of the preceding century.

In 1718-1719, the new Bourbon King of Spain participated in a war against the Quadruple Alliance of Austria, France, Britain, and the Netherlands. In Texas, the French forced the abandonment of the East Texas missions as a result of the war. Once the war was over, however, the Marqués de Aguayo re-established several missions (Santos 1981). In 1731, Canary Islanders were introduced into Béjar, and the Apaches began a series of depredations (Vigness 1972:488). Three of the East Texas missions were removed to Béjar at this time.

Indian movements began to have a strong influence on Spanish activities. Apaches, pushed into the San Antonio area from the north by Comanches, Wichitas, Tawakonis, and others, and the Tonkawas make their first appearance in the area in the 1740s and 1750s.

These migrations were also affected by pressures on native groups from Spanish *entradas* into Mexico and from the southwestern and southeastern United States, as well as diseases, culture shock, and feral livestock. The advancing northern frontier of New Spain forced hunter-gatherer groups to move northward, thereby pressuring other groups. Meanwhile, the English colonies were straining Indian groups in the eastern United States. Groups from this area eventually arrived in Texas.

In Texas, three missions and a presidio were established on the San Xavier River on the road to the Tejas in the period between 1748 and 1749. Because of morale and discipline problems these missions and presidio were briefly moved to the Colorado and Guadalupe rivers before moving to the San Saba River in 1757, but were then suppressed. Comanches and other allied northern tribes attacked the Misión Santa Cruz in 1758.

An element of the Bourbon reforms that affected Spanish military and civil affairs was the Marqués de Rubí's tour of inspection in 1767. His review resulted in the virtual abandonment of all establishments and activities north of the *Camino de los Tejas*. Unrest was also beginning to occur in the English colonies which eventually would affect the development of Texas. After 1776, Spain aided the English colonies in their struggle for independence. The fledgling United States began to show interest in the newly purchased (1803) Louisiana territory and the adjacent Spanish lands of Texas, Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Nuevo México. Expressions of U.S. interest included incursions into Spanish territory by Philip Nolan and those of Zebulon Pike, as well as the U.S. claim of the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Texas.

The Spanish response to foreign interests was to establish the towns of San Marcos de Neve on the San Marcos River and Santísima Trinidad de Salcedo on the Trinity. Other posts were also established on the San Marcos and Colorado rivers and along the *Camino Arriba* between Bastrop and Nacogdoches.

Influenced by ideals of the American and French revolutions, a group of conspirators in Dolores, present Hidalgo, Mexico, declared independence from Spain on September 16, 1811.

After the beginning of the war of 1812 between England and the United States, Gutiérrez de Lara and Augustus Magee, at the head of the volunteer army, invaded Texas via the *camino real*. They captured Nacogdoches and accepted recruits from Bexar and Trinidad de Salcedo. The army then moved to Trinidad de Salcedo where Gutiérrez declared Texas a republic (Garrett:1969).

Gutiérrez then marched toward Presidio de la Bahía which was found to be virtually deserted. Governor Salcedo, Captain Herrera, and Spanish troops besieged the presidio where Magee was replaced by Samuel Kemper. Shortly afterward, the Governor lifted the siege and returned to Béxar. A skirmish was fought near Rosillo Creek on the San Antonio—La Bahía Road near the confluence of Salado Creek and the San Antonio River. The filibusters proceeded to Misión de Purísima Concepción on the *camino real* and accepted the surrender of the royalist forces. The Hispanic contingent of the rebel army conspired to murder the royal (Spanish) officers. The United States contingent's reaction resulted in numerous desertions and the replacement of Gutiérrez by Toledo.

Meanwhile, the commandant general of the eastern *Provincias Internas*, Joaquín Arredondo began to collect troops at Presidio del Río Grande under the command of Ignacio Elizondo. The latter was ordered then to proceed to the Frio River to await Arredondo. Disobeying orders, Elizondo proceeded toward Béxar where he was defeated at Alazán Creek. After a short time, Arredondo marched northward to meet Toledo's troops near the Medina River where the revolutionaries were soundly defeated (Schwarz and Thonhoff 1985). Elizondo caught up with refugees on the road (*Camino de Arriba*) west of the Trinity and executed them. King Fernando VII of Spain was returned to his throne in 1814 (Anna 1978:30). In New Spain, Viceroy Calleja promulgated heavy restrictions in the aristocracy requiring proof of loyalty for job holding (Ladd 1976:119).

The precipitous events and activities of the early 19th century caused significant changes in the economic and demographic character of the province. Eleven years of war virtually ruined mining and agriculture. Prices inflated, expenses exceeded government income, and available capital left the country with the *peninsulares* who returned to Spain.

In Vera Cruz, Antonio López de Santa Anna declared Mexico a republic (Meyer and Sherman 1979:306-307). Although a new congress was elected, battle lines were drawn on the issue of whether the government would be federalist or centralist. In 1824 a treaty ratified with the United States fixed the Sabine River as the eastern boundary of Mexico.

In 1820, Moses Austin traveled beyond the Sabine, the new boundary of Texas under the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, on the *camino real* to petition the Governor of the Province of Coahuila y Texas for land. He proposed to establish 300 families as colonists and, with the help of Philip Hendrick Nering Bögel, the self-styled Baron de Bastrop, gained permission to establish a colony. Unfortunately, Moses Austin succumbed to pneumonia before he could complete his preparations to introduce colonists. His son Stephen took over the project at the time of the Iturbide revolution, which delayed final approval.

In Texas, settlers had arrived at Austin's first colony via several routes including the overland routes of Trammel's Trace, the *camino real*, and El Orcoquisá, and often by boat to the mouth of the Brazos. Austin was granted other tracts for settlers and other *empresarios* were established until 1828.

In 1828, Mexican policy was to restrict U.S. emigration into the state of Coahuila y Texas and to establish military posts in the state. The Mexican government was aware of the filibustering expeditions into Texas, the high foreign population compared to Mexicans, and designs on Texas by the government of the United States.

Political confusion and federalism of the early 1830s led to the Texas Revolution and for a time the revolt went against Mexican troops until the Mexican army was ready for the major invasion. The Texan defeats at the Misión San Antonio de Valero and Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto (Alamo and Goliad), and the Mexican defeat at the Río San Jacinto made Texas' independence a reality. For both sides, the roads were critical to movement of troops and planning and carrying out strategy.

Following the establishment of the Republic of Texas, immigrants from the United States poured into the area using every route possible, among these, the *caminos reales*.

Soon after Texas Independence many new routes came into use, and some disused roads were retraced. With the elimination of Mexican restrictions on the establishment of ports and colonization of the coastal region, much of the new immigration was via new ports and near the coast. In December 1838, a north-south military road was proposed. The new President of the Republic established a permanent capital near the old *Camino de los Tejas* crossing of the Colorado River and opened the Chihuahua trail. In March of 1842, Rafael Vásquez traveled the Laredo Road from Monterrey to capture Béxar for a short time. The Mexican Canales expedition into Texas was defeated at the Nueces River in July, on the road from Mier to Goliad (formerly La Bahía) and in September, General Adrian Woll captured Béxar (San Antonio). Woll traveled from the Presidio del Río Grande on a route west of the Upper Presidio Road.

Beginning with the large influx of immigrants from the United States in the mid-1820s, the settlement pattern of Texas inhabitants changed radically so that, by the time of statehood, the demographic landscape was significantly altered. The earlier Spanish pattern was of urban centers with dispersed ranches that were controlled from the towns. The later pattern reflected a dispersal of farms, with towns acting only as market and administrative centers. This had a major impact on the communication system which had been almost exclusively oriented along a southwest-northeast axis parallel to the coast. Later, this became a system of largely north-south roads paralleling the rivers. This also reflected a changed market system. Under Spanish and Mexican rule, Saltillo was the major import/export center for Texas because of the dominance of Vera Cruz as the only legally established port on the east coast of New Spain. With Mexican dominance removed and ports established on the Texas Coast, New Orleans became the principal market for Texas products. The economy also shifted from mostly ranching to mostly subsistence and cash-crop farming.

Movement toward war between the United States and Mexico had begun before the Texas Revolution, with the political machinations of Andrew Jackson and Sam Houston. The atmosphere between the two countries worsened in 1837, when the United States recognized Texas. A campaign to annex Texas was realized in February of 1845, setting the stage for war. At that time, both nations began preparing for war. The principal dispute, besides Mexico's claim that Texas was still Mexican territory, was the boundary claimed by Texas—the Rio Grande. This claim had no prior basis in custom, law, or with regard to territory controlled.

As a result of these disputes the United States wrested not only Texas but also New Mexico, Arizona, and California from Mexican control. Zachary Taylor was sent to Corpus Christi and moved into the disputed territory. Fighting began at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. War was declared as a result of these actions (Meyer and Sherman 1979:345; Rappaport 1964:6).

Through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848, Mexico lost approximately half of its territory. Shortly after the war, the *Camino de Arriba*, now called the Old San Antonio Road, regained some of its former prominence by guiding travelers from East Texas to San Antonio during the Gold Rush of 1849. Later, during the Civil War, the road regained some significance in the transportation of cotton from eastern Texas

to San Antonio, and then to Laredo. A more significant route, however, was coast-wise from Houston via Victoria and Goliad to Matamoros that avoided the federal blockade. The *Camino de Arriba*, or Old San Antonio Road, also served to carry supplies and troops from San Antonio, Bastrop, Crockett, and Nacogdoches to Louisiana.

Following the American Civil War and the resulting economic decline, large segments of the former trans-Texas Spanish roads were abandoned in favor of other shorter routes going to new markets. The remaining segments of the *caminos* served principally local functions, largely on the county or regional level, and continued until after the turn of the century. Historical interest in the road revived in the early 20th century and resulted in a survey and marking of one of the routes by V. N. Zivley. The route he marked was largely the route established about 1795 from San Antonio to Nacogdoches. Zivley conducted informant interviews and land records to establish the eastern portion. From San Antonio southward, he consulted the only Spanish source available to him at the time, the 1777 diary of Juan Agustín Morfi. In part, Zivley confused the Lower Presidio Road (Morfi's route) and the Laredo Road and could not recognize the road at all in places. As a result of Zivley's work, it has long been assumed that there was only one route of a trans-Texas road.

During World Wars I and II, the Old San Antonio Road, as SH 21 and SH OSR, continued to serve local travel needs. It has been upgraded along much of its length by paving and straightening old curves.

The purpose here is not to provide an extensive history of Texas but to present the background events to enable the reader to understand specific aspects of the historic context of the OSR. An important point of this essay is that the colonization of Texas was not a part of the normal or natural colonization procedure in New Spain. The region was one of the last areas of New Spain to be colonized. The first efforts resulted from the Zacatecan *bonanzas* which soon were abandoned due to the general scarcity of precious minerals. Huerta Preciado (1966:103-104) states:

La decadencia minera de ciertas regiones determinó el fomento de la obra colonizadora en zonas hasta ese momento abandonadas, como ocurrió en el Nuevo Reino de León, región carente de minerales pero propicia para la ganadería . . . La zona más tardiamente colonizada fue el Nuevo Santander, en pleno siglo XVIII, ya con la utilización de nuevos métodos y con la mira económica de hacer de la región una comarca esencialmente ganadera.

En lo que respecta a la colonización de Texas, ocurrió un fenómeno distinto, ahí fueron factores de tipo político los que impulsaron esa empresa que tendió a ampliar las posesiones españolas hacia ese territorio, prácticamente abandonado, y que corría el riesgo de caer bajo el dominio de los franceses que ya adentraban hacia esa vasta región.

This passage translates as follows:

The decline in mining in certain regions caused the development of colonization efforts in zones unpopulated up to that time, as occurred in Nuevo León, a region poor in minerals but propitious for stock raising . . . The latest zone colonized

was Nuevo Santander, in the middle 18th century, with new methods and with the economic outlook of making the region essentially a stock-raising area.

With respect to the colonization of Texas, there occurred a distinct phenomenon, where political factors initiated that enterprise which tended to expand Spanish possessions into that practically unpopulated territory which was in danger of falling under the dominion of the French, who had already entered into that vast region.

Thus it can be seen that Texas was a significant exception to the usual colonization procedure stimulated by French incursions into territory claimed by Spain, in the late 17th century. The colonization effort in Nuevo Santander with its emphasis on civil settlements and stock raising was another.

It seems clear that over the 300 years since the establishment of the first trans-Texas route, the roads' functions have changed and people's perceptions of the road likewise have changed. Initially it was a colonization route opening the province for the establishment of the Spanish Colonial institutions of the presidio, mission, and civil settlement. Later, it became the principal market and administrative link to Saltillo and thence to Mexico City. During the initial period of United States emigration, the routes served to introduce colonists to eastern Texas. With the economic system of the new colonists oriented to the coast, the significance of the trans-Texas route lessened. It had secondary significance during the Gold Rush and Civil War but continued to be a local road where it was not abandoned. Shortly after the turn of the century, a version of the trans-Texas road became significant again as a historical idea. During this century the historical and romantic tradition of the road have been revived. This project is the response to the most recent revival of that interest.

KEY ASPECTS OF THE HISTORIC CONTEXT

by A. Joachim McGraw, John W. Clark, Jr., and Nancy Kenmotsu

CULTURAL VARIATIONS OF THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE New Insights on Historic Indian Groups

Early travelers' diaries and journals often describe or mention Indian settlements, movements, and groups. These accounts, written during different seasons and in different decades, record historic contact and later historical Indian groups. Past indigenous Texas Indians are poorly understood today, in both the archaeological and the historical records. Many of the Indian place names given to streams or locations were translated into Spanish and are still used today as recorded in the various expedition diaries. Names such as the *ríos* Grande, Frío, Nueces, Hondo, and others have the same meaning in the native languages as they do today in Spanish. The linguistic applications of this understanding will not only contribute a few new words to the meager vocabularies of Texas Indian languages but also illustrate the distribution of different language groups across the historic landscape.

The campsites of Indian groups mentioned in the early journals at specific points (*parajes*) along the former routes may now be identified by researchers since the actual trails themselves are more clearly defined. Identification of the trails' locations offer a significant contribution to archaeological studies involving potential historic-contact sites. Areas of high potential and specific locales of historic contact and historic Indian sites may now be identified in different regions of Texas.

The background research shows also, as historians and archaeologists have long suspected, that segments of the first routes of exploration often followed pre-existing Indian trails (Hatcher 1932:53-54; Gómez Canedo 1968:294). Several direct references noted in historic diaries stated the earliest explorers were following such trails. It is conceivable, even probable, that these Indian routes were established well before the Historic-contact Period.

Apache and other Indian groups who raided settlements along the early routes were a consideration in the creation of the *Provincias Internas* (Vigness 1972). The gradual shift of the Presidio del Río Grande road southeastward through the 18th and early 19th centuries may have been a direct result of the Apache and Comanche threat to Spanish travelers.

Hispanic and other Europeans vs. Anglo-American Settlement

Although the early routes were intended to bolster New Spain's defenses, they later allowed incursions by foreign interests. The Spanish Colonial road system was more useful than just expediting the movement of troops. It also acted as a strategic presence to balance both internal and external pressures.

The Hispanic pattern of occupation differed from later Anglo-American settlement: in the former, settlement centered in villages near a mission or military post, and land owners exploit the countryside from these centers via the roads. Frequently, the roads served as a partial boundary of church (mission) lands and privately owned *ranchos*.

The Anglo-American pattern was characterized by dispersed settlement, usually along or near an existing road. Single-family settlements were often widely spaced in rural settings. With towns and villages as centers for supply and markets, a similar pattern developed with later European immigrants to Texas, especially Germans, Czechs, Poles, French, and Swedish. Until mission properties were secularized, Spanish settlements used *los caminos* as much for official government and church business as for individual commerce. Later, individual travel and commerce became major aspects of road use by Anglo-Americans. Cultural perceptions of the early routes are still reflected in modern regional viewpoints that emphasize different aspects of the road's history.

HISTORICAL ROADS AS A FACTOR OF DEMOGRAPHY

Hispanic settlement north of the Rio Grande developed more gradually than did later Anglo-American settlement moving westward from the Red River into Texas. The great distances between the established Spanish settlements of the interior mining region and the missions in Texas strained Spanish resources and inhibited Spanish population growth in Texas until the early 19th century. Texas was largely populated by indigenous and intrusive Indian groups until Anglo-American and Western European *empresarios* recruited settlers to Texas.

When settlements were abandoned, roads also changed. The origins and evolution of networks that developed from the primary routes must be recognized as the major element linking modern and historic patterns of commerce and settlement.

The decline of the trans-Texas routes in the middle to late 19th century was in part caused by changes of economic patterns and the expansion of market systems.

DEVELOPMENT OF MARKET SYSTEMS

Early Indian trade relations with the French complicated New Spain's control of its northeastern frontier. Spanish overland routes into Texas contrasted with English and French riparian trade routes in North America. In Texas, most of the Spanish routes ran from southwest to northeast and across, rather than along, major rivers. Though some rivers of the state are partially navigable, only a few are consistently deep enough for year-round shipping. This pattern of early Texas routes offers a significant contrast to the development of other historical roads in North America.

New Spain's initial routes across Texas were partly intended to facilitate regulation and trade through Saltillo (which had an annual trade fair), Vera Cruz, Acapulco, and Mexico City. Over time, however, *Tejanos* developed a network of routes of regional trade.

The regulation and taxing of frontier commerce proved challenging to Spanish officials in distant Mexico City. With or without local officials' knowledge, *Tejanos*, Franco-Americans and Anglo-Americans conducted illicit trade in and through the region. Smugglers operated most extensively between the Neches and Red rivers, at the farthest fringe of New Spain's reach (Bolton 1970).

The impact of both legal and especially illegal commerce on frontier economics has not yet been well described. Future research should link such activities not only to historical economics but to related internal and external political influences and elements.

The economics of the Mexican Republic period and Texan goods have not yet been well described although commerce did shift southeastward toward Laredo. By the Texas Republic period, the San Antonio-Laredo Road replaced the *Camino Pita* and the Old Presidio Roads as the main commercial route to the south. Laredo had a nearby ferry at Dolores and was closer to the coast than San Juan Bautista. Routes of commerce eventually shifted eastward toward the Gulf of Mexico by the mid-19th century. Further research describing the use of the roads through time by Texan teamsters and *Tejano carreteros* and *arrieros* should reflect cultural as well as commercial differences.

Tejanos used the road to transport numerous goods, livestock, and occasionally Indian captives in exchange for food, household or ecclesiastical supplies, and construction materials. Other types of commerce developed at a sluggish rate until Anglo-American settlements promoted alternate commercial routes.

A related aspect of market systems that has received little attention from researchers has been the development of secondary, non-governmental, road networks. Such roads developed as necessary links between towns and *ranchos* and were used as vital connections to reach markets and for social and commercial exchange.

ROAD AND FERRY REGULATION AND MAINTENANCE

The routes of the Old San Antonio Road were employed for a variety of reasons during the historical periods. Commerce, transportation, communication, and military uses all influenced the mode, season, and choice of route. These same factors also influenced the maintenance of both the trails and related stream crossings such as ferries or bridges. The differences of the roadway's administration historically varied widely not only between Hispanic and Anglo-American administration but also through time as the roadway developed from an unimproved trail to a carefully surveyed and maintained road.

The Spanish military regulated and maintained the major roads in Texas during the Spanish Colonial era. Orders and supplies were issued by the viceroy until the *Provincias Internas* were established. After Texas became part of the internal province system, the provincial governor supervised maintenance. Land-grant *empresarios* and presidial soldiers oversaw the maintenance of roads on or bordering their lands during the Mexican Republic period. Government officials issued and enforced regulations concerning roads and river crossings (*Recopilación* 1841).

In the early 19th century, the Republic of Texas regulated its roads and required that each land district provide maintenance. Many districts used prisoners to clear and improve roads (McLean 1989).

The administrative complexities and pragmatic realities of maintaining 18th- and 19th-century routes have been poorly addressed by historians and geographers although the condition of the roads were of paramount importance during their use.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AFFECTING CHOICE OF ROUTES

Reliable sources of water between the Rio Grande and the Sabine influenced the historical choices of routes. Dependable springs and ponds determined camping sites between major rivers. Explorers traveling east and north along the Balcones Escarpment, often encountered lush, rolling country. At the foot of the escarpment, between the San Antonio and the San Marcos rivers, a series of springs afforded ideal stopping sites (Weniger 1984; Brune 1975).

Although water sources were important, factors of terrain and vegetation often confined travelers in South Texas to narrow corridors. From the Guadalupe River eastward those who traveled the more northerly route toward the Little and the main Brazos rivers, mostly avoided the dense woods of the Post Oak Savannah, a natural barrier that delayed early travelers on their way eastward (Gould 1969).

By the turn of the 19th century, an alternate route developed between the San Marcos and Neches rivers. From the Neches east to the Sabine, all the routes traversed deep forests and many creeks and rivers. Crossings were chosen according to the weather, since watersheds often flooded each spring and fall. This frequency of flooding east of the

Balcones Escarpment may have contributed to the more northern (upstream) choice of earlier routes between the San Marcos and Neches rivers.

The placement of settlements depended on environmental factors as well. Settlements were established on higher, level ground with a reliable water supply and potential for irrigation nearby. The productive and often well-watered soils and plentiful game in Central and East Texas attracted Western European and Anglo-American immigration during the 19th century.

PART II: ROUTES ACROSS THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

THE *CAMINO REAL* COLONIAL TEXAS' LIFELINE TO THE WORLD

by Jesús F. de la Teja

Camino Real hardly seems an appropriate description for the network of Indian trails, natural stream crossings, and exploration routes that made up northern Mexico's defense and communication system in the Spanish Colonial period. With virtually no investment in construction and maintenance, these early avenues of commerce, migration, and communication quickly changed to meet defense and subsistence needs. Distances were no greater then than they are today but modern travelers will not be attacked by Indians, have their means of transportation stampede into the hills or have to hunt for a meal.

The *camino real*, or more aptly the *caminos reales*, is more than a route, more than a series of *parajes* between two end points. It is a complex set of relationships between travelers and nature, buyers and sellers, governors and governed. The hardships and dangers of the road made their own distinct contributions to the quality, and even the quantity, of life at a given place. As Governor Muñoz noted in response to a viceregal inquiry in 1792:

I make known to Your Superiority that in this Province under my charge there is not a single inn, nor any hostelries other than those which the residents provide to the guests and acquaintances who visit them, owing to the small number of settlements as well as their poverty, and the region not being traversable by anyone not having been raised and resident here (Muñoz 1792b).

Despite the lack of amenities, the roads were frequently traveled. Life, harsh as it was, made its demands: the mail had to get through; supplies and payrolls had to be delivered to garrisons; missionaries had to transfer; goods had to be moved; occasionally even a casual wayfarer came along. The *camino real* was the only form of overland travel available in the 18th century—most seaborne contacts with Mexico were not established until the 19th century and the only means of communication between Texas and the rest of New Spain.

The primary consideration for anyone wishing to travel, communicate, or conduct business with the world beyond the immediate community was time. Texas settlements were not only distant from each other, they were also distant from the rest of New Spain. Closer to New Orleans than to San Antonio, Los Adaes was, until its abandonment, the capital of Texas in name only. The 230 leagues between the two settlements (according to governmental reckoning) was about a month's travel by mule train. It took about as long to make the same trip from Saltillo to San Antonio. The trip from the viceregal capital, Mexico City, to Nacogdoches was a three-month journey, if uninterrupted. The journey

from Presidio del Río Grande, the Mexican settlement closest to Texas, was a three- to four-day horseback ride under favorable conditions (*Noticias* . . . 1771; Azlor y Virto de Vera 1730; Cabello 1780b).

The Spanish Crown attempted more efficient governing this remote and sparsely settled region by establishing a separate governmental structure, the Commandancy General of the Interior Provinces. Almost immediately, however, the commandant general realized even this was a clumsy solution. As early as 1779, Commandant General Croix wrote to Governor Domingo Cabello of Texas granting discretionary powers and expressing frustration at the situation: "for the distances greatly retard the usefulness of [my] determinations" (Croix 1779). Manuel Muñoz, the last 18th-century governor, lamented on his own difficulties in governing Texas. Never having made the trip to Nacogdoches, he lamented that "the intervening distance between this capital and Nacogdoches (as I am informed) is 160 leagues of wilderness, which give rise to grave risks in their transit and therefore retards the news and the receipt of requested documents" (Muñoz 1792a). This remark echoed Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete, who in 1759 named Captain Manuel Ramírez de la Pisina as lieutenant governor for the San Antonio River settlements in order to avoid sending all petitions and court cases to Los Adaes (Martos y Navarrete 1759).

The various types of obstacles to easy communication between Texas and the rest of the viceroyalty, and even within Texas itself, included both nature and human nature. Water, or the absence thereof, was a major impediment during an age when roads were not paved, bridges existed only within settlements, and roadsides provided forage for pack animals. In 1790, Governor Rafael Martínez Pacheco reported on the effects of the drought that had consumed the countryside the previous two years:

Only now do the people of this province begin to go to Coahuila, for not even the mail has been able to traverse the distance of 80 leagues that separates this capital from the Presidio of Río Grande because of the absence of water and pastures (Martínez 1790).

A year later the commandant general wrote to Governor Muñoz that the mail was detained at the Río Grande due to high water. An earlier governor, Barón de Ripperdá, received letters dated February 10, February 24, and March 3, all at the same time, with the last one countermanding an order given in an earlier one (Castro 1791; Ripperdá 1773).

Such delays were not mere inconveniences in communication, but detriments to the region's economic welfare. A delay of just a few days could spell the difference between a profitable and a money-losing transaction. For instance, in March 1794, Manuel Delgado complained that he had lost money on his cattle drive to Saltillo because the herd was held up at the Río Grande. Unable to cross the river until the waters receded, Delgado had to pay his cowboys their daily one-peso wages while he waited. By the time Delgado got the cattle to Saltillo, the price obtained for them was not enough to cover his labor costs and meet all his other obligations (Delgado 1794).

Human obstacles to travel consisted of Apache, Comanche, and Norteño Indians, who made life precarious even in town. It is unnecessary to count of all the deaths attributable to the Apache, Comanche, and Norteño warriors who harassed travelers on the *caminos* during the colonial period. At times the settlements, particularly San Antonio, were under virtual siege from the nomadic tribes. Often only the presence of very large military escorts made the roads at all passable. In 1775, the governor reported that he had been unable to send a letter to the Rio Grande for four months because of the Comanches' presence (Ripperdá 1775; Menchaca 1768, 1769; Cabello 1779b, 1780a; Armiñan 1814).

The following account from Father Agustín Morfi's diary of his trip from the Rio Grande to San Antonio is repeated a number of times during the colonial period, and well into Texas statehood:

. . . to the left of our road there is a hill, taller than the surrounding ones, which is called the Dirty One, from behind which the Apaches a few days before had fallen upon some residents of San Antonio who were taking oxen to the province of Coahuila. They killed one man, captured another, and with great difficulty one woman and two men escaped, having hidden when they heard the shooting. Some locals who accompanied us recovered the bones and returned them to Béxar for Christian burial (Morfi 1980:336).

As dangerous as it was, successful travel on the *camino real* required a great deal of forethought and precaution. This usually meant that travel took place in large groups, often under military escort. At times a presidio's capacity to provide escort services was overextended. With some of the troops on mail service, others serving as escorts for a mule train from Saltillo, and a third providing protection to Bexareños conducting their roundups, Governor Muñoz could only apologize to Fray José Mariano Roxo for having to delay his departure for Zacatecas. Thus, the Indian menace, aside from making the road dangerous, made travel slow by requiring travelers to wait on military protection (Menchaca 1771; Benites 1774; Cabello 1779a; Muñoz 1791; Barrera 1795; *Estado* . . . 1782).

Despite the difficulties, business, both the King's and private, was conducted as regularly as possible. Twice yearly, each garrison's quartermaster led a detachment to Mexico City, later to San Luis Potosí or Saltillo, to collect his company's payroll and to buy supplies. After the establishment of the royal tobacco, gunpowder, and playing card monopoly in the mid-18th century, detachments from Texas presidios regularly traveled to Laredo to meet the convoys (*Ordenanzas* 1729; Ramos Arispe 1794; Barrera 1795; *Reglamento* . . . 1772).

All legal and most illegal goods came into Texas along one of the roads that made up the *camino real* network. Due to the rough nature of the roads, which remained little more than trails throughout the colonial period, most commerce was conducted by mule train. Only between Béxar and La Bahía did oxcarts become an established form of transportation during the colonial period. A typical train of 20 mules could expect to have four or five drivers, sometimes including the merchant who owned the goods. As in modern long-haul trucking, the most efficient method of conducting business was for the mules to carry freight in both directions. For instance, Santiago de Zúñiga, a Guadalajara

petty merchant, who brought flour to Béxar, intended to take his 17 mules back to Coahuila packed with dried beef and tallow (Sevallos 1750; Benites 1774; Abrego 1778; *Testimonio* . . . 1785; Martínez 1789; Zúñiga 1788; Baca 1791).

Indians, distance, and poor roads combined to make freight charges one of the principal considerations in conducting business. Under normal conditions, the one-peso-per-mule charge for the 90-mile trip to La Bahía added as much as 50 percent to the price of a *fanega* (1.6 bushels) of corn over the cost in San Antonio. Freight costs between the Saltillo/Parras region and San Antonio were as high at the end of the 18th century as they were in the earlier decades. In 1735, the 45 mule-loads of garrison supplies cost 500 pesos in freight, just over 11 pesos per mule. A half-century later, freight charges to Real de los Alamos, approximately one hundred miles west of Saltillo, were 16 pesos per mule; the charge from San Luis Potosí was 18 pesos per animal. Prices were a little better for legal goods coming from New Orleans to Nacogdoches. A 1786 shipment of Indian gifts cost 132 pesos, or six pesos per mule (Urrutia 1735; Invoice for tobacco . . . 1774; Amanguel 1788; Zúñiga 1788; Muñoz 1792c, 1793, 1795; Account of expenditures . . . 1786).

In the latter part of the colonial period, particularly in the last three decades of the 18th century, the *camino real* became a cattle trail. The first Texas cattle drives took place along the roads to the Rio Grande, Laredo, and Natchitoches. Cattle drives to the annual fair at Saltillo, to the presidios along the frontier, or to towns in Nuevo León and Nuevo Santander became common. As a result of the American War of Independence, even Louisiana, an otherwise illegal destination, became a common destination. Some cattlemen became traveling salesmen. Francisco Xavier Rodríguez, for example, took a large herd out of Texas, parts of which he sold in Camargo, Laredo, Vallecillo, and Boca de Leones (Ripperdá vs. Rodríguez 1777; *Noticia del* . . . 1786).

Texas cattle drivers made Saltillo their most common destination. The annual September fair there meant that roundups were conducted in July and early August. In mid-August, with passports from the governor, the herds left on their month's journey, often with a military escort as far as the Rio Grande or Laredo. In mid-October, the governor would dispatch a presidial detachment to Laredo to await the cattlemen's return. On more than one occasion it was not until mid-November that they made it back to Texas. This three-month business trip was expensive as well as dangerous, for the cowboys earned what for the time was the high wage of one peso per day and the cattle often did not bring top dollar (Benites 1774; Cabello 1779a; *Estado* . . . 1782; *Diligencias practicadas* . . . 1786; *Nómina de los* . . . 1788).

Perhaps the most civilizing use of the *camino real* was the mail. Up to 1779, mail service was an informal arrangement both for the civilian population and the military. Outbound merchants, friars, and special couriers carried the settlers' correspondence to the outside world. At times, such as in 1735, the mails became hostage to a governor's whim: Governor Salcedo managed for a time to prevent the citizenry from lodging a complaint against him by not allowing anyone to leave San Antonio, thereby preventing the mail from getting out (*Auto a pedimiento*... 1735; Iparraguirre vs. Costales 1735).

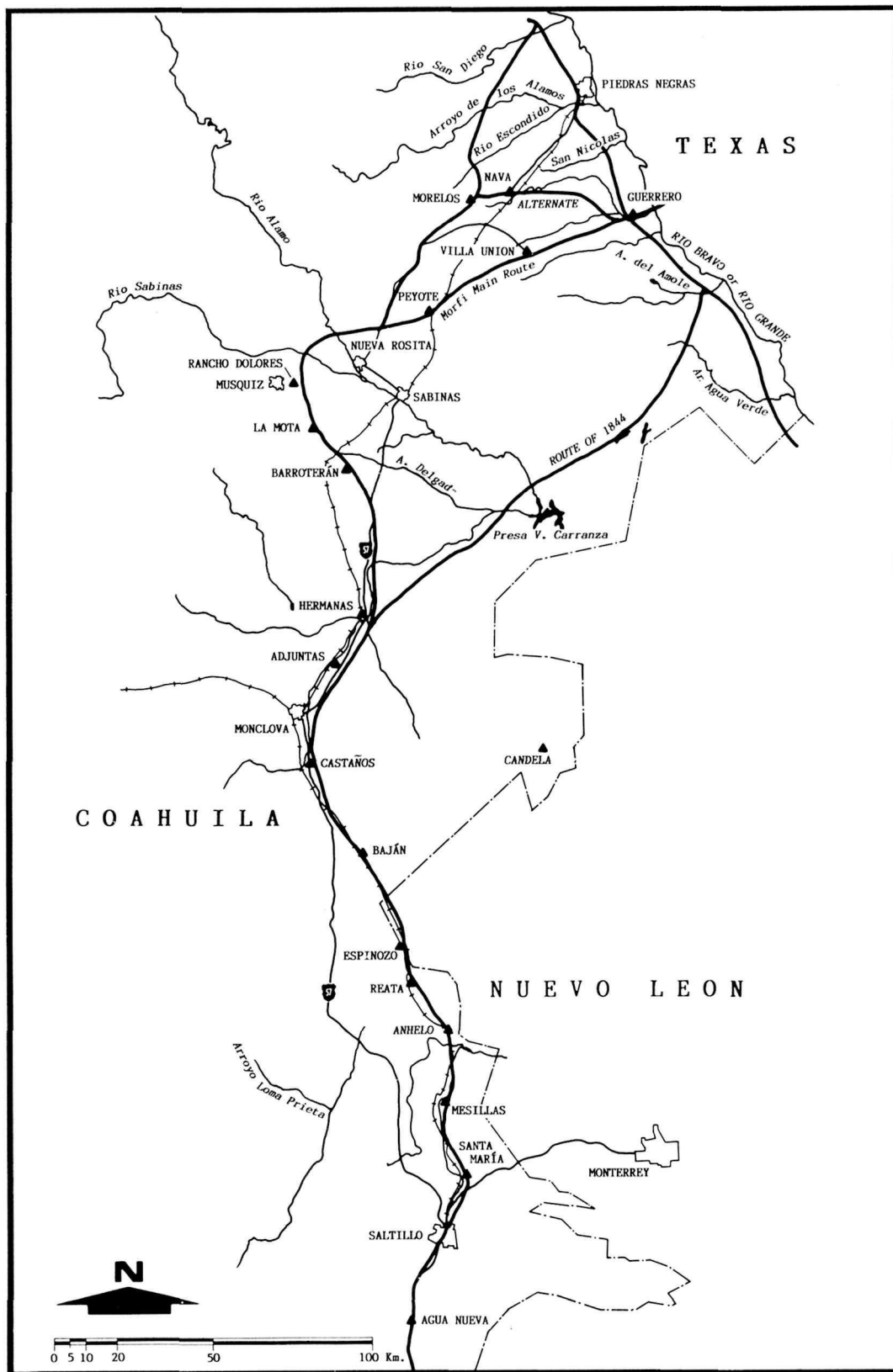


Figure 5. Map of Coahuila and the Rio Grande. Routes show segments of the *caminos reales* near the river.

With the establishment of the Commandancy General, the reorganization of the presidial system throughout the north and the issuance of new rules for the supply and maintenance of the presidial companies, there developed a need for a more efficient mail system. In 1779, Commandant General Croix informed Governor Cabello that he was inaugurating a monthly postal service from Nacogdoches in the far northeast to Arispe, Sonora, his capital. The postal service took advantage of the existing *caminos*, a string of presidios, and various missions to make the 1,200-mile connection. So popular did the system turn out to be that by 1785 the regular post had been increased to every 15 days; with the military mail matching that frequency by 1793 (*Dilixencias que . . . 1779*; Rengel 1785; Nava 1793).

How then to describe the *camino real*? First, it might almost be considered a living thing: ever changing its humors, taking on new roles and responsibilities, responding to the needs of a developing frontier province. The obstacles of travel on the road made the wayfarer respectful and fearful of it. Anyone wishing to go from Texas to the rest of the world had to be patient with the road, for it had a slow and often evasive nature. Second, the *caminos* were the arteries that kept Texas alive. Not only did they carry the information vital to the survival of the province—orders for its administration, reports of danger, and appeals for help—they were the sole avenue of commerce throughout the colonial period. The only ships that came to Texas during the colonial period belonged to pirates, filibusters, the royal navy, and an occasional shipwreck. Trade, whether licensed or contraband, made use of the road network that connected Texas to the rest of the Spanish world, but also for a time to French and then American Louisiana.

The *camino real* served purposes in the 18th century that are usually associated with the Anglo-American period. It was a post road six decades before the Republic of Texas began developing its network of post roads. The *camino* was a cattle trail a century before the Chisholm Trail opened. It was also a military road that connected a string of forts that marked New Spain's northern frontier. After Mexican independence, it became a principal avenue of immigration for Anglo-Americans invited to help forge a new Texas.

SPANISH EYES TURN TO THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

by A. Joachim McGraw and Lee E. Sparks

FRENCH INTRUSIONS ON THE TEXAS COAST: 1685-1687

Seventeenth-century French interests in North America were aggressive and far-ranging. In the fall of 1683, René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, approached the King of France with a proposal to build a fortified post on the Gulf of Mexico, in what was at that time exclusively Spanish territory. France was at war with Spain; La Salle intended to incorporate local Indians into an army and use his settlement as a base from which to strike at the Spanish in northern Mexico. The King assented, giving La Salle 100 soldiers, weapons, and several vessels. By July 1684, La Salle had recruited an additional 100 men, and with craftsmen, some single women, the wives and families of several intended colonists, and a number of religious persons including La Salle's brother Abbé Jean Cavalier, a group of 250 to 280 persons boarded four ships and set sail for Spanish waters.

Bad luck dogged the journey from the start. One of the supply ships was captured by the Spanish near Santo Domingo. La Salle and many of the crew fell ill, and the company languished in Haiti while they recuperated. A number of La Salle's men, disheartened by tales from the locals of just what they would be getting into, deserted. Among them was young Denis Thomas who would fall into bad company, join a massive pirates' attack on Campeche, and end his life on the gallows after informing the Spanish of the mission La Salle was hoping so desperately to keep a secret (Weddle 1973).

The remaining three ships—the *Joly*, under captain Beaujeu, the *Amiable*, a second supply ship, and the frigate *Belle*—sighted land on January 1, 1685. Ostensibly, La Salle's intent was to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Historians have since debated whether he accidentally sailed past his destination or deliberately by-passed the Mississippi. A French outpost on the Texas coast could have been used to strike at Spanish interests and Spanish gold in nearby Mexico. Most recently, Robert Weddle (1987:7-8) has suggested that La Salle's voyage to the Gulf Coast was based on unfortunate and inaccurate speculations of geography. Weddle believes that La Salle may have confused the mouth of the Mississippi, discovered by Alvarez de Pineda and called the *Río del Espíritu Santo*, with another, the *Río Escondido*. The latter (the "hidden river") may have been the modern Nueces River of South Texas. If Weddle's interpretation is correct, the error of La Salle and past cartographers has been lastingly imprinted on the historical record. The bay of Espíritu Santo and a Spanish Colonial mission of the same name have become notable Texas landmarks in modern times.

La Salle followed the coast, looking for the entrance to the Mississippi, until mid-February, when he decided where he wished to settle. La Salle eventually established the ill-fated Fort Saint Louis near Garcitas Creek. The probable locale is known today as the historical-archaeological Keeran Site (Gilmore 1973). La Salle's effort, summarized from Joutel (1968) and Weddle (1973), is presented below.

The coast where La Salle planned to place his settlement was marshy, a scene of shallow lagoons separated by sand bars from the Gulf, and scoured by strong seasonal winds. The French found Karankawa Indians by the hundreds living in this area, but were unable to locate a source of fresh water to supply them. With no protected moorage for his three ships, La Salle decided to bring them into the bay. The draw was not deep enough and the *Amiable*, still loaded with the colony's remaining stores, was grounded. The initial friendly relations between colonists and Karankawas deteriorated rapidly in a struggle over salvage from the wreck. Still La Salle persisted in his desire to place the colony at this location, and to search for the Mississippi from there.

The settlers continued to be the victims of ill fate. Dysentery from drinking salty water, desertion, snakebite, and Indian attacks all thinned the ranks of able men. On March 12, Captain Beaujeu and the *Joly* set off to return to France, taking others who could no longer face the hardships of frontier life. Beaujeu offered to have assistance and supplies sent to the colony, but La Salle refused any aid. He focused his attentions on using wood from the *Amiable* to build a more protected fort, leaving his lieutenant Henri Joutel in charge at the initial settlement. The second fort was built on Garcitas Creek and christened Fort Saint Louis. When, at length, Joutel and the others joined the work party in mid-July, he "was amaz'd to see Things so ill begun and so little advanc'd" (Joutel 1968:95). Seed had been lost to drought and wildlife, the men were sick, and there was as yet no shelter. There were more deaths.

The excessive Toil, the poor sustenance the laboring men had, and that often retrench'd as a penalty for having failed in doing their duty; the uneasiness monsieur de la Sale [sic] was under to see nothing succeed as he had imagine and which often made him insult the men, when there was little reason for it; all these things together affected very many so sensibly, that they visibly declin'd and above Thirty died. (Joutel 1968:95)

Timber for building was scarce, and Joutel was instructed to return to the first landing to load what he could into the *Belle*. In October, La Salle embarked on an initial exploration of the surrounding countryside, leaving Joutel and 34 men, women, and children at Fort Saint Louis. Total number of colonists was now well under a hundred. Leaving a company on the *Belle*, La Salle took 20 men to search for his great river. He would not return until March 1686, accompanied by only five or six of his men. He had found another river, and planned to use the *Belle* to explore it, or perhaps send Joutel in the ship to the islands for assistance. The *Belle* could not be found. La Salle took another 20 men and began a second land-exploration in April, returning in August to the news that the *Belle*, too, was lost, run aground. Now the colony was truly stranded in the wilderness.

Only eight men returned with La Salle, the others had deserted or been killed. With each foray, La Salle's numbers diminished and resentment rose against him. This was the case throughout his career in the wilds and there were at least three attempts on La Salle's life by his disgruntled and dispirited men during earlier campaigns. This included the poisoning of La Salle's Christmas dinner, which left most of the partakers near death. At the fort, Joutel had averted an assassination attempt on his own life over control of ammunition. An uneasy peace held for the time being, but it was continually threatened by the harsh conditions, the ever-dwindling supplies, and the hostilities with the Karankawas. Joutel (1968:90) reported, "Indians come frequently in the night to range about us, howling like wolves and dogs". La Salle, at last disheartened, planned an overland expedition "by way of Canada to France for succors" (Joutel 1968:90) to save his venture.

On January 12, 1687 La Salle set out in a last effort to reach Canada. With him were 16 others, including the Abbé and Joutel. The remaining 20 colonists, seven of them women, were left to hold the fort. La Salle planned to leave several of his company with one of the more friendly Indian tribes, the Hasinai (Cenis), in hopes that the young would learn the language and ties would be strengthened which would support the colony in his absence. He made the mistake of telling a group of natives that he was returning to his own country for supplies. This news eventually made its way to the Karankawas. Their awareness of the weakness of the colony did not bode well for the French (Weddle 1973).

La Salle continued on his journey, hearing in late January a report of men like the French but 10 days' journey away. In February, more reports of Spanish activity were relayed to the company by the natives. La Salle pushed onward, hoping to reach the Cenis. He himself never saw the village. Some six leagues from it, on March 17, 1687, a group of conspirators killed La Salle's nephew Moranget, and two others loyal to La Salle. Several days later La Salle was ambushed and shot. La Salle's assassin, Duhaut, was embittered by the loss of his brother on one of La Salle's explorations. The remaining travelers proceeded to the Cenis village. Those innocent of the murders and the conspirators split into two camps. Joutel, Abbé Cavalier, and five others sought to return to Canada; the guilty ones intended to return to the settlement. Eleven-year-old Pierre Talon, originally chosen by La Salle to stay with the Cenis, remained there. Duhaut and his mates soon fell out and a second spate of murders ensued. Only Talon and two others were left with the Cenis.

In October 1687, Joutel and his party reached Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois River, held by La Salle's captain Henri de Tonti. The group spent the winter at the fort, concealing the news of La Salle's death from a worried Tonti. In February 1688, they departed for Canada, moving to Montreal in August (Joutel 1968).

The colony, in the meantime, struggled for survival. Little is known of events there after La Salle's departure, until Christmas 1688, when the Karankawas surprised the inhabitants and slaughtered all but five children. They "were saved by some savage women who, touched with compassion by their youth, loaded them on their backs and carried them into their cabins while their husbands massacred the rest" (Weddle 1987:237). The first

child born at the colony, a three month old infant, was among the casualties. La Salle's venture had come to a divided and violent ending.

The Talon Family

The fate and fortunes of one emigrant family were interwoven with those of La Salle's colony and provided a link with Spanish exploration of the area.

Lucien and Isabelle Talon were French emigrants who had lived in Quebec before joining La Salle's expedition in 1684. By the time of the voyage they had five children: Pierre, Jean Baptiste, Marie Elizabeth, Marie Magdalena, and Lucien. Mme. Talon delivered another son, Robert, on the voyage to the new colony. The family shared the tribulations of the settlement; Lucien Sr. was lost on one of La Salle's expeditions and Marie Elizabeth died in the winter of 1686. Mme. Talon survived to argue with Gabriel Minime, Sieur Barbier, over the entitlement of the King's privileges given to the first-born children of each colony. At issue was her son Robert, born on the voyage and Barbier's child, born at Fort Saint Louis. Her son Pierre, who accompanied La Salle to the Ceniz in 1687, never saw his mother again. She was killed in the Karankawa massacre before the horrified eyes of her other children, who were then taken to live with the natives.

In 1690, Alonso de León's expedition to found the Misión San Francisco de los Tejas had an additional benefit: he discovered Pierre Meunier (20) and Pierre (14), Marie Magdalene (16), Lucien (8), and Robert (6) Talon living with the Ceniz and Karankawas. After much bargaining he secured the children. They bore the indelible evidence of their captivity—the tattooed faces and bodies common to their adoptive tribes. On a second expedition to the region in 1691, Meunier and Pierre Talon found Eustache Berman and Jean Baptiste Talon (12) among the Karankawas. The Talons were reunited, becoming servants in the home of the viceroy in Mexico City. In 1696, the three older sons were pressed into service in the Spanish fleet while their sister and youngest brother returned to Spain with the retiring viceroy. A year later the brothers' ship was captured by the French, and the Talons were taken to France, to tell first hand of the final days of La Salle and his colony. Pierre, Jean-Baptiste, and Robert surfaced later as guides and interpreters for French expeditions along the Gulf Coast and in Texas, two of the brothers accompanied Saint-Denis in 1714-1716. Their survival was incredible; their value to the Spanish and later to the French remarkable.

The Spanish Answer to the French Challenge

The rumors of French activity in the Gulf wafted to Spanish ears in the year following La Salle's departure from France. Five voyages in search of the French colony increased the Spaniards' knowledge of the coastline and the discovery of the wrecks of the *Belle* and *Amiable*, but the settlement was not found. Juan Enrique Barroto, pilot for two of the expeditions warned,

the coast is severe in the extreme and bad for shipping, especially in winter, since there are no ports for ships, nor anymore relief for those who suffer shipwreck than to suffer at the hands of the barbarians. (Weddle 1987:178)

Reports such as these no doubt influenced the Spanish decision to concentrate on overland rather than water routes in their later development of Texas. News from the Spanish ambassador to England, Ronquillo, in the summer of 1687, seemed to confirm that the French endeavor had been unsuccessful. Two land expeditions led by Alonso de León in 1686 along the Rio Grande to the Gulf and, in 1687, across the tip of Texas to the coast had likewise been fruitless. Still the reports of white men appearing through the region filtered back to the missions.

In September of 1688, Cíbolo Indians told the priests at the La Junta mission of Frenchmen living among the Tejas. This information reached Governor Pardiñas of El Parral, and he planned an expedition of dual purpose: to subdue hostile tribes and to look for the Frenchmen. General Rentana was chosen to head the effort and seek out the French at Espíritu Santo Bay. On November 23, Rentana set out for La Junta, and while there, he heard of a messenger purported to be carrying letters from the French. Juan Xaviata [Sabeata], a chief of the Cíbolo and Jumano gave the papers to Rentana, accompanied by the news that the French settlers had been attacked and destroyed by their Indian neighbors. Rentana relayed the information to Governor Pardiñas who, in April 1689, heard eyewitness accounts from two Indians who had seen the ruins of the settlement. There were still survivors living among the Tejas; Xaviata had seen them. Pardiñas instructed Rentana to return home, there was no need to fear the French colony any longer (Weddle 1973).

The Capture of Juan El Frances

The news of the French colony's existence alarmed Spanish authorities and prompted a series of military *entradas*, or expeditions, northward across the Rio Grande. These first Spanish intrusions into Texas encountered impassable rivers and never located the remains of Fort Saint Louis.

The first successful Spanish expedition occurred in 1689 and found only the scattered remnants of the destroyed settlement. The effort actually began a year earlier. Spanish interests, in part, were triggered by news of a white man organizing Indians and serving as their chief not far beyond the Río Grande. In May 1688 this mysterious figure sent a message to the Spaniards requesting the visit of a priest. Alonso de León and 18 soldiers wasted no time in setting forth for the *ranchería* of the intruder. After crossing the Rio Grande, the troop encountered Indians allied with the Frenchman and were taken to a large buffalo skin lodge, the entrance guarded by Indians in military formation. Inside they found seated a white man, tattooed, gray-haired, perhaps 50 years old, who announced, "Yo frances". De León conversed with him through an interpreter and learned his name was Yan Jarri (Jean Géry), and that he was gathering the Indians together to make them

his friends (Gómez Canedo 1968:71-83). It is possible this was a euphemism for making war on his enemies and conquering the region. On the eve of his capture about 23 leagues (about 60 miles) north of the Rio Grande and south of the Nueces River, the Frenchman had marshaled (by the estimate of his Spanish captors) almost a thousand native Indians. A determined Spanish reaction to explore the Texas wilderness was soon forthcoming and future researchers may question if that one individual did not strongly weigh the balance that led to the Spanish exploration of Texas in the late 17th century.

Little is known of Géry in the historical record or the role he played as one of La Salle's followers. Juan Géry was also identified as "*Juan Andrés, prisionero francés*" by Captain Alonso de León (Cavasos Garza 1980: 210). Géry eventually became a guide of De Leon's 1689 expedition that located the grim remains of La Salle's fort. When first arrested by the Spaniards, Juan Géry was considered to be a baffling prevaricator, quite possibly deranged, and potentially dangerous. The capture of Géry is described in some detail by Weddle (1973: 137-148).

Juan Géry's origin, his early association with La Salle's colony, and his eventual end is lost in the historical record. Some researchers now suggest that he may have not been French at all but an Italian member of La Salle's company (T. N. Campbell, L. Johnson, personal communications), although there is still some disagreement to this question (Weddle, personal communication). An Italian survivor was reported by the Talon brothers:

On the second expedition that the Spaniards made—the first time they penetrate as far as the Clamcoeh nation—they brought also an Italian who happened to be among them. They have forgotten his name. He never wanted to acknowledge being of the number of those of M. de la Salle, even though the Talons believed that he was. He said that he had come alone to this region from Canada by land, which can hardly be believed . . . The Italian . . . having lived along time with these same Clamcoehs, had learned their language perfectly . . . They [the Spanish] feared that they would bring back to France too much knowledge of this particular country . . . It was apparent that this same distrust led them to imprison the Italian, mentioned previously, in one of the forts of Vera Cruz, where they (the Talons) saw him also and where he subsequently died. (Weddle 1987:242, 252, 247)

The lack of documentary evidence precludes a reliable estimate of what influence Géry briefly imposed upon an unexplored frontier. It included, however, hundreds of obedient Indians that followed him *en masse* to Mexico, carrying the heads of their enemies, to wait for his return.

**The Home of Juan Géry:
Axatscan, Place of the Stone Nostrils**

The Juan Andrés (Géry) mentioned by De León, Chapa, y Zamora (Cavasos Garza 1980:210) was a survivor of La Salle's ill-fated colonization attempt. The French intrusion prompted Spanish reactions in the form of military expeditions northward across the Rio Grande in the 17th century. The circumstances of how a solitary individual traveled southward from the Texas coast to the Rio Grande will be forever overshadowed, if not lost, by greater events in the historical record. Géry, who lived for some time among native Indian groups, was eventually captured (or rescued, depending upon one's perspective) by alarmed Spanish authorities. Shortly afterward, in 1689, and not unexpectedly, Andrés acted as a guide for Alonso de León in the latter's determined and successful trek across Texas in search of French intruders.

De León's crossing on the Rio Grande, thought to be *Paso de Francia*, later led to the first route of a trans-Texas *camino real*. This report suggests that *Paso de Francia* was named for Juan Géry and the *paso* that led toward Frenchmen beyond the Rio Grande.

The location of the Indian *ranchería*, or Juan Géry's temporary residence in Texas has been of interest to Texas historians for many years. Fray Damián Mazanet (Casis 1899:256, 284) described the location as being near *la sierra del sacatsol* which meant "stone nostrils." This locale was also known by the Indian word *axatscan*. Mazanet wrote when in Monclova, that the *ranchería* of the Frenchman was 60 leagues away and about 20 leagues *adelante*, or beyond, the Rio Grande, "(the *sierra del sacatsol* was) . . . Veynte leguas adelante del Río Grande . . . y de la misión de san SalBador a dha sierra ay sesenta leguas y desde coaguila lo mismo. . .".

"Stone nostrils" may have been a mistranslation since Mazanet (Casis 1899:256) referred to the place as ". . . *narices de piedra*. . . *la sierra del sacat*." Given that hills or mountains were identified, the location may have referred to a distinguishing feature there; hills shaped like noses, perhaps thus, "stone noses." *Narices* or *nariz* properly means nose in Spanish; *ventana de la nariz* more properly means nostril. Scholars may never positively identify the former location of *sacatsol/axatscan*.

As noted, the projected locale of *axatscan* may have been near or south of the Anacacho Mountain, west of present-day Uvalde. In recent years, traces of 17th-century Indian campsites have been found along the intermittent drainages in this vicinity. Charcoal from the Mariposa Site, 41ZV83, along Turkey Creek in nearby Zavala County, has been radiocarbon dated at *circa* A.D. 1650 (Montgomery 1978:31-32; Radiocarbon Assay UCLA-1821D).

The Indian *ranchería* where Géry was first captured by the Spaniards should not be confused with another locale also associated with Géry. This campsite was known as *asanquan* or "the arroyo de Juan el francés" and was south of the Rio Grande.

Salinas Varona (Gómez Canedo 1968:280) mentioned this location as *el arroyo que llaman de Juan*. This locale was in the vicinity of Agua Verde and the two adjacent arroyos

to the north, five to seven leagues (approximately 13 to 18 miles) south of the Rio Grande. The locale has several direct historical associations. Terán in 1691 (Hatcher 1932:12) identified this arroyo ". . . on which in the preceding journey, the Indians found the Frenchman Juan." Salinas Varona in 1693, called this area ". . . *un charco de agua que llaman el Verde*" (Gómez Canedo 1968:280). Gómez Canedo's footnote 3 added:

Agua Verde en Mansanet (Diario 26 de mayo 1691). Salinas Varona, al regreso, le llamará Charco Verde (diario 14 de julio). Un lugar cerca del Río Grande y un arroyo que desemboca en el miso lleba todavía el nombre de 'Agua Verde.'

Footnote 4 added:

. . . Alonso de León menciona a estos 'indios del francés' en sus diarios de 1689 y 1690, y al arroyo en cuyas moraban. Terán registra también ambas cosas. En el regreso (julio 14) Salinas Varona habla del arroyo del 'arroyo que Juan el Francés y Charco Verde.'

From the perspective of an archaeologist, it is disappointing that even information such as this cannot link the former camp of Juan Géry to any specific proto-historic or historical Indian campsite identified in recent years, such as 41ZV83. Instead, such data only complements documentary interpretations and offers future researchers a tangible clue and a direction for further work

Further Activities of the French

Numerous reports of groups of white men of varying numbers came from the Indians. La Salle and his main body at Fort Saint Louis were not the only French to be found in the region. In 1686, while on his first expedition, La Salle had left a group of men "in a redoubt of pickets" (Cox 1922:283) on a big river. Deserters were also in the area, but it seems likely that the activities of Henri de Tonti are responsible for some of these sightings.

Tonti had accompanied La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1683, and held Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois River at the time La Salle returned to France with his proposal for the King. Several years passed with no word from his chief. Finally Tonti heard that La Salle had sailed for the Gulf. He decided to take supplies down the Mississippi to the new colony, and left in February 1686. In April, he arrived at the mouth of the river without sign or news of the settlement. He sent a canoe out along the coastline in each direction, they rowed 30 leagues in search of La Salle, without success. On their return he urged further exploration but was overruled by his men. He contented himself with renewing the cross and arms of France that La Salle had placed there three years previously and reluctantly returned to the fort on the Illinois in October. Along the way he stationed from six to 10 men in a log hut at the mouth of the Arkansas River.

In the fall of 1687, Abbé Cavalier and his small troop turned up at Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois. Tonti told him of his search for La Salle. He may have sent out

men seeking news, for he claimed, "I searched about all the Capes and Shoals of that sea as well on the side of Mal colipa as on that of Mexico; I visited all the People who inhabit these coasts" (Tonti 1698). In April 1688, after Cavalier left for Canada, Tonti learned of La Salle's death from Coutoure, one of the French stationed on the Arkansas River who had encountered the travellers. Tonti again decided to look for the French, this time to aid the remaining colonists and inform them of their leader's death. Cavalier had spoken of a plan to use the Cenizales in company with the remaining French to attack the Spaniards. Tonti would see if this was a feasible possibility. In late 1688 or 1689, with five Frenchmen and several Indians, Tonti embarked on his search. January found him in a Kappa village, February among the Nachitoches, March with the Yataches, April and May among the Novadiches and while there,

. . . we were informed that the last colony establish'd by M. de la Salle, on the Coast of the Gulf of Mexico, not having been able to maintain itself in a perfect union, was quite dispers'd; that some were intermix'd with the savages, and that others found means to get to the French plantations in other places. Therefore not judging it expedient to look for 'em where they were no longer to be found, I took a Resolution to return the same way I came. (Tonti 1698:208)

Tonti returned to the Illinois in September 1689 or 1690.

Additional sightings of Europeans included:

Late 1688:

- Cíbolos tell of French among the Tejas, who lived on water in wooden houses, one of which had been sunk. Father Anastasius Douay, with La Salle on his 1686 expedition to the Tejas, told of Jumanos among them.
- A Mescal Indian tells of 18 Frenchmen in the Tejas region who came from a great river to the East and wanted to settle there.
- Cíbolos tell Governor Pardifias of white men who had come a long time previously in canoes with an Indian interpreter. They visited three times over a period of about six months, and asked about the Spanish, telling the natives that they were evil. The Cíbolos may have reported this at a mission as early as fall 1687. Possibly these were the men La Salle left on the river in 1686. There is nothing to indicate that La Salle himself came west in his search for the Mississippi. Joutel, Duhaut, Meunier, and the Talons all speak to the contrary.

May 1690:

- Alonso de León is told by the Tejas chief

. . . on the very day that the courier had arrived with news of the Spaniards' return, four white men had sent a message in which they asked for the friendship of the Tejas and announced their desire to establish a

settlement near them . . . as soon as they had heard of the approach of the Spaniards, they had gone back with their guides, telling the Indians that they would return in the spring to establish the settlement . . . three of the men, the chief said, were survivors of the former settlement near the coast and the fourth was reported to have only one hand. (Dunn 1917:123)

This would coincide with Tonti's search for the survivors of the colony. Tonti had lost a hand to a grenade in Sicily many years previously. Also, at least one survivor of the colony is known to have remained at the Arkansas River post and may have joined Tonti as a guide.

May 1691:

— Cadodachos brought word to the Terán expedition that,

Ten white men, companions of those who had lived at the settlement on the bay, had come bringing many gifts from the direction of the sunrise where they lived on the bank of a river. (Weddle 1973:229)

Again it is likely that this is Tonti or perhaps his men on the Arkansas. La Salle's men would have by this time had no means to provide presents for their native hosts.

Frenchmen and Spaniards Meet

In April 1689, 85 soldiers accompanied De León, Mazanet, and Géry across the Rio Grande at *Paso de Francia*. Géry proved more reliable as an interpreter than as a guide. That month, in an Indian village they received the news that the French settlement had been destroyed three months before, and that four Frenchmen were on their way to the Tejas. De León sent a letter asking them to join him. Two Indian guides led the Spanish in the direction of the French colony, or what remained of it. On April 22, 1689, the Spanish finally found the object of their intensive search of the past four years. Evidence of disaster, including the remains of the settlers, was scattered among the six buildings of the outpost.

Once at the site, Géry seemed to be familiar with the area and assisted De León in exploration. While at the settlement, a reply came from the French among the Tejas. Two wished to join the Spanish. In a Tonkawa village, L'Archeveque, an accomplice in La Salle's murder, and Grollet, a deserter from the settlement, gave themselves up to De León. Their depositions gave the Spanish a firsthand look at La Salle's venture into their territory. L'Archeveque and Grollet did not seem to recognize Géry as a member of La Salle's expedition. The two told De León that there were still three men and a boy from the colony living among the Tejas and several children among the Karankawas. No one else remained of the nearly three hundred who had set sail from France five years earlier.

With his two captives, De León and his company returned to Coahuila. Father Mazanet accompanied them, full of plans to launch a mission among the Tejas. Their chief

had been most responsive to the suggestion, and Mazanet had promised to return the following year. A *junta* called by the Viceroy approved this plan. A mission in the area would serve the twofold purpose of conversion of the savages and watchdog for French activity.

In April 1690, De León and Mazanet would combine forces to build the mission San Francisco de los Tejas and search for any remaining French settlers. Four of the Talon children and Pierre Meunier were liberated as a result of De León's activity; another year would pass before the Terán expedition, initiated to expand missionary activity and watch for the French, would free the two remaining captives among the Karankawas. La Salle's colony and its inhabitants had been thoroughly removed as a threat, but the Spanish would no longer feel complacent about their northeast frontier.

THE FIRST ROUTES INTO TEXAS

A REVIEW OF EARLY DIARIES

by Elizabeth A. Robbins

The number of available documents and the quantity of their contents requires limiting the current work to only a general review. However, the documents from six expeditions considered most relevant for determining directions of former routes and chronological changes were identified. A summary of these sources and a description of their itineraries is presented below. Additional itineraries are provided in Appendix 1. Empty brackets [] indicate a lack of information in the source. Other bracketed data are the author's estimates.

De León 1689 and 1690

Alonso de León made five attempts to explore and one to colonize Texas between 1686 and 1690. In 1689, De León set out on his fourth expedition. He located the ruins of La Salle's Fort Saint Louis, but did not establish a colony at the site. De León's fifth expedition (1690) resulted in the founding of Misión San Francisco de los Tejas in East Texas under the supervision of Father Damián Mazanet (Webb and Carroll 1952a).

On Alonso de León's expedition of 1689, he struck the Rio Grande on April 1 and crossed the river the next day. His expedition of 1690 encountered that same river about a year later on the 4th of April. The objective of the 1689 *entrada*, the same as De León's earlier expeditions, was to locate (and destroy) La Salle's French settlement on Garcitas Creek near the head of Lavaca Bay on the Texas Gulf Coast. This objective took him eastward, well below present San Antonio, as far as Garcitas Creek to the already destroyed settlement at Espíritu Santo (now Matagorda) Bay. He arrived at the former settlement of Fort Saint Louis on April 22, 1689, found the site destroyed by Indians, reconnoitered the bay and vicinity over the next few days, and then returned by much the same route to the Presidio de San Francisco de Coahuila, at present Monclova, on the 13th of May.

In 1690, De León set out along the same route as the previous year to establish a mission among the Tejas. He turned eastward at the Medina River (actually the San Antonio, see below) as before, and from the Guadalupe River made a side trip to reconnoiter Espíritu Santo Bay in order to ascertain that the French were indeed gone from the area. De León then returned to the main body of his party camped on the Guadalupe River, always looking out for Indians. On April 30, he made another side trip to meet several soldiers from the presidios of "Vizcaya." They eventually overtook De León with

orders from the viceroy, Condé de Galve. On May 12, De León rejoined his main camp and from there he resumed his journey northeastward. By May 22, he reached a valley and an Indian settlement that he named San Francisco de los Tejas. He established a mission there over the next few days. Leaving the Misión San Francisco de los Tejas on June 1, De León and his party returned by somewhat the same route and arrived in Monclova on July 15, 1690.

These two *entradas* traversed approximately the same route from the Rio Grande as far as De León's Medina River. (This was the modern San Antonio River.) It is believed that De León crossed this watercourse below the confluence of the modern Medina and San Antonio rivers. In De León's time, the San Antonio River was considered a tributary to the larger Medina; therefore, that part of the river below the confluence of the two was called the Medina River (West 1905).

Table 2. De León's Expedition of 1689

West, Elizabeth Howard (translator)

1905 De León's Expedition of 1689. *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*. VIII:199-224.

[This article is an annotated translation of "Derrotero de la Jornada que hizo el General Alonzo de León para el descubrimiento de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, y población de Franceses: Año de 1689," the second document in *Memorias de Nueva España*.]

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 2	Río Bravo, Río Grande, Río Turvio		~ 1	N	crossed the Río Bravo; avoided ravines and low hills
		pools, paraje de los Cuervos	[4] *	NE	level, untimbered; 3,000+ crows**
3		Arroyo de Ramos	5+	NE	level country for 3 leagues, mesquite thickets for 2 leagues beyond; crossed dry creeks
4		Río de las Nueces	8	NE and NNE	level land; then mesquite thickets for 3+ leagues; pecans, flinty rocks (<i>piedras de fuego muy fina</i>)
5		Río Sarco [Frio River]	7 [5]	meandering [E]	crossed the Nueces; .5 league down the bank, then through a glade; very dense thicket of mesquite and nopal
6			3	NE	level, good pasturage; glades, oak motts; white rocks of the bank of the river with crosses and other marks carved into them; descent to river is about 35 feet
		Río Hondo	2 *	E	
7		Río Hondo	4+	S and SE [ESE] downriver	along the Hondo, but not across; traces of Indians from long ago, but no living Indians

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
8		pools	8+	ENE	crossed the Hondo; kept near the river; passed two ravines; then a creek in a thicket and across; level land; then to pools in a large mesquite thicket
9 - 10		Arroyo del Vino	5	N, NE and NNE	good land; thickets; crossed a dry creek; another creek with water 1 league away with many oaks (Arroyo del Vino); grape vines
11			6	E	crossed two creeks; pecan and oak woods for 5 leagues; descent to river is 50-60 feet
		Río de Medina	6 *	NE	
12		Arroyo del León	5	E	crossed the Medina, easy ford; over low hills; no timber; crossed ravines of red and yellow earth; mesquite thicket; then water in a creek, though it was dry where first struck; dead lion found nearby
[From this point, De León is not on the same route as later entradas.]					
13		creek	6	E and ENE	passed the point of a little hill where oak clump ends at .5 league from camp; cairns on the hill; low hills; then 2 leagues of oak; then level to creek
14		Río Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	6	ENE	hills for 3 leagues; then timbered hills and ravines for 3 leagues; to river with a good ford; timber; killed six bison
15		creek	2	E [NE]	crossed the Guadalupe at 1 league from camp; to a little creek

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
16			3	E [N]	company separates: De León visits an Indian village 3 or 4 leagues away from main camp
		camp 5 leagues beyond	5 *	N	received a report that the French were near the Guadalupe River in ranchos of Indians
17 - 20	De León visits Indian village then returns to main camp on the Guadalupe River and then resumes journey to find the French settlement on the coast				
21	camp on the Guadalupe		3	E, NE, NNE	wide plains, treeless for stretches; many bison
		creek	5	ENE	
22		French settlement [on Garcitas Creek]	3 [8?]	E [SE] downstream	to former French settlement, many alligators in creek

* April 2: 5 leagues total
 April 6: 5 leagues total
 April 11: 12 leagues total
 April 16: 8 leagues total

** Perhaps these birds are another species of Corvidae, such as the Chihuahuan Raven, *Corvus cryptoleucus*; this area is outside the range of *C. brachyrhynchos*, and *C. corax* is not so gregarious (National Geographic Society 1988; Oberholser and Kincaid 1974).

Table 3. De León's Expedition of 1690

Bolton, Herbert E.

1959 *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. Reprinted. Barnes & Noble, New York.
Originally published 1908, Charles Scribner and Sons, New York.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 6	Río Grande	dry arroyo	8	NNE	crossed the Río Grande
7		Arroyo de Ramos	3	NE	level land; crossed a dry arroyo
8		Arroyo Caramanchel	3	NNE	level land; mesquite brush in places; two valleys
9		ford on Nueces River	5	NNE	level land; crossed two wooded valleys; entered a mesquite grove
10			2	E	crossed the Nueces
			2	N	
		Sarco River	3*	E	level land; mesquite; crossed the Sarco
11 - 12		Río Hondo	6	N	plains; crossed knolls (<i>lomas</i>)
13		Río Hondo	5	W	following the north bank of the river; report of Indian encampment 6 leagues away
14		Río Hondo	7	N	plains; heading for an Indian encampment; then returned to previous camp
15		ford on Río Hondo	6	E [SE] downstream	
16		pools	8	NE	crossed the river; level land; crossed the Chapa River
17		Arroyo de los Robalos,	5	NE	woods; detours NNE and E
18		knoll, El Real de Rosario	4	N	searching for Medina River

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
19		Medina River	7	N	crossed the Medina above the ford at a shoal [low place]
[From this point, De León is not on the route followed by later entradas.]					
20		ford of Medina River	2	E	
21		Arroyo del León	5	E	
22		stream of brackish water	6	E and NE	
23		arroyo near the Guadalupe River	5	ENE	live oak groves
24		Guadalupe River	2	[SE] downstream	crossed the river with difficulty
25 - 29		[side trip to visit the site of the French settlement at Matagorda Bay]			
April 30 - May 6		[side trip to the Colorado River; then resume journey from San Pedro Mártir]			
May 7	San Pedro Mártir		3	NE	heavy timber; crossed two dry arroyos
		San Miguel Arcángel	[]	W and N	heavy timber; crossed four dry arroyos
8		San Gregorio Nazianzeno	9	N	passed eight dry arroyos
9		hill, Jesus María y Joseph de Buenavista	7	N	
10		Jesus María y Joseph de Buenavista	9	SW	to a high hill; entered a forest; returned to previous camp
11		San Joseph	3	NE	
12		[De León rejoins main camp at this point]			

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
13	San Joseph		3	E	
		arroyo, San Francisco de Asis	3*	NE	crossed valleys and arroyos
14		Espíritu Santo River	[]	NE	crossed valleys; heading for the Colorado River
15			3	E	crossed the river
			1	NE	
		San Juan	1	N	San Juan
16			2	NE	crossed two arroyos
		hollow, Beatto Salvador de Hortta	[2]*	[]	
17		arroyo, San Diego de Alcalá	6	NNE	arroyo is a branch of the Bidais
18		arroyo, Valle de Santa Elvira	8	ENE	crossed several arroyos; met Texas Indian governor and others
19		valley, La Santísima Trinidad	1.5	NNE	
20		pools of rainwater, San Bernardino	7	ENE	live oak groves; crossed arroyos; four Indian villages at 4 leagues (Valley of San Sebastian)
21		arroyo, San Carlos	6	ENE	live oak groves, pine; crossed four dry arroyos

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
22 - 25			[]	ENE	live oak groves; crossed five dry arroyos, small hills with veins of black and red stone; Indian village in Valley of San Francisco Xavier
		arroyo, San Francisco de los Tejas	.25*	N	detour by a live oak-covered hill to another valley and Indian village (in present San Pedro Creek's valley)
26 - 31		[side trip to look for a mission site; then establish the mission]			
June 1 - July 15		[return by previous route to Mexico]			

* April 10: 7 leagues total
 May 13: 6 leagues total
 May 16: 4 leagues total
 May 22: 5 leagues total

Terán and Mazanet 1691-1692

Domingo Terán de los Ríos was appointed first governor of the province of the Tejas and adjacent regions in 1691, having already been in Spanish service for 20 years. His instructions were to establish missions among the Tejas, to investigate rumors of foreign settlements on the coast, and to keep records of geography, natives, and products. Once he had escorted Father Mazanet as far as Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, Terán traveled to the site of Fort Saint Louis, where he received orders to return to East Texas for further exploration.

Fray Damián Mazanet, one of the original founders of the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro (1683), was particularly interested in the missionary endeavor in the interior of the province on the northern frontier because of his knowledge of María de Jesus de Agreda (1602-1665, "The Woman in Blue" who claimed to have been transported numerous times, between 1620 and 1631, to various Indians of Texas to teach them the Christian faith.) Mazanet accompanied De León on his expeditions to Texas in 1689 and again in 1690 when he was in charge of missionary work at the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. It was on Mazanet's recommendation that additional missions and settlements be established in Texas. Mazanet accompanied Terán's expedition (1691) to the mission of East Texas, but without sufficient supplies and military support abandoned the effort in 1693 (Webb and Carroll 1952b).

On their expedition beginning in 1691, Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Fray Damián Mazanet reached the Rio Grande on May 28 with the vanguard. The remainder of the company and herds of livestock caught up at the river and finally crossed over by June 3. Terán's objective was to escort Mazanet and his band of missionaries to the mission of East Texas. Mazanet, in his previous journeys across the province with De León, had already met the Tejas (Hasinai) and promised them that he would return to establish and operate several missions in their vicinity.

Terán's *entrada* of 1691 followed as far as the Hondo River much the same route of the previous *entradas* of De León. From the Hondo (which Terán called the San Pedro and Mazanet called by its Indian name of *Guanapajao*), Terán and company continued the march more to the north, crossing the Medina above its confluence with the San Antonio River and then reaching the San Antonio River on June 13 and resting there on the following day. From this site, he headed northeastward, his route becoming the most-traveled upper road toward Nacogdoches until the establishment of the settlement of Bucareli on the Trinity River. The party reached a second branch of the Guadalupe River (called by the Indians the *Canocanoyestatello*) on June 20, and then the San Marcos River (*Carcayantico*; the present Colorado River near Montopolis) on the 28th and remained in this area through July 20, resting, exploring, and looking for a suitable crossing. On July 31, 1691, at the Trinity River (called by the Indians the *Conayentevantetsos*), Mazanet and the missionaries decided to separate from their military escort with its slow-moving train of livestock. They continued the journey ahead of Terán. The missionaries reached the Tejas settlement and the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas on August 2. The remainder

of the company arrived at the mission within the week. From here, Terán made a trip to the Old Fort Saint Louis at Bahía del Espíritu Santo in order to claim the supplies shipped to him there as pre-arranged. From September 27, 1691 to January 4, 1692, he journeyed back to the Tejas with provisions for the missions and the missionaries that were to remain. Terán departed Mission San Francisco de los Tejas on January 9 and headed for La Bahía where he met up with the party from the supply ships on March 22, 1692 (Hatcher 1932).

Table 4. Terán's Expedition of 1691

Hatcher, Mattie Austin.

1932 The Expedition of Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos into Texas. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II(1):1-67.

[These data are from part II-A, Terán's account of the expedition.]

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
June 3	camp on the Río Grande	El Charco del Cuervo, San Alexo	4	NNE	
4		Arroyo Ramos, San Cayetano	5	NNE	
5		Arroyo Caramanchel, San Francisco Solano	4	NNE	
6		Río Nueces, San Diego	4	NNE	crossed two ravines; stretches of timber and mesquite
7 - 8			2	E	through woods of pecan
		camp	4*	NE	
9 - 10		Río Hondo, San Pedro	6	N	hills, plains
11			1.5	N	crossed Arroyo San Diego [This is the point where Terán departs from de León's road.]
		Arroyo San Simón	6	NNE	
12		Arroyo Medina, San Luis Beltran	5	E	discovered a new road on level land
13 - 14		Arroyo San Antonio de Padua	5	E	rancherías of Peyaye; plains
15		Arroyo San Ignacio de Loyola	5	E	bison; oaks; [ENE in Mazanet's diary]

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
16		Arroyo Santo Domingo	4	E	
17		Arroyo San Pedro de Alcantará	5	ENE	good pasturage
18		Arroyo Santa Rosa Peruana	4	E	
19		Arroyo San Agustín, Río Guadalupe	4	E	camps of Jumana, Cibola, Catqueza, Cantona, Mandones
20 - 24		another branch of the Río Guadalupe	4	ENE	hilly country
25		Arroyo Santo Tomás	4	E	level land; bison
26 - 28		Arroyo San Marcos y Colorado, San Pedro y San Pablo Apóstoles	4	ENE	
29 - 30		Río San Marcos y Colorado	1	[]	crossed the river twice, a league apart
July 1 - 21		Río San Marcos y Colorado	6	S	rough and wooded country; camped at this third crossing of the river
[Terán makes a side trip down to the Old Fort Saint Louis and then back to the camp at the third crossing of Arroyo San Marcos y Colorado.]					
July 22		Arroyo San Emeterio y San Caledón, Arroyo Garrapatas	5	NNE	following a narrow trail with woods to either side; bison, ticks, and chiggers
23 - 24		Arroyo Santiago	6	NNE	bison
25 - 27		Río Colorado, San Gerónimo	4	NNE	
		Arroyo San Bernardino	1	[]	
28 - 30		Arroyo San Cypriano	6	NNE	through woods; level land

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
31			4	NNE	through woods; partly level, partly rough
		San Isidro Labrador Patrón de Madrid, waterholes	2*	NNE	camped at two waterholes
Aug 1 - 2 **		Trinity River, Incarnación de Verbo	5	NNE	hilly, wooded country
3		Arroyo San Salvador	5	NNE	dense woods, rough country
4 - 5		camp near small arroyo	5	[]	dense woods; camp about 200 yards from a small arroyo; searching for Hasinai
6 - 23		Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana	[]	[]	camped at a meeting-place with the Tejas
August 24 - September 26 [Return trip by way of the Old Fort Saint Louis at Bahía del Espíritu Santo]					

* June 7: 6 leagues total

July 31: 6 leagues total

** Aug 1 - 2: The missionaries continue while Terán and his men remain at this camp.

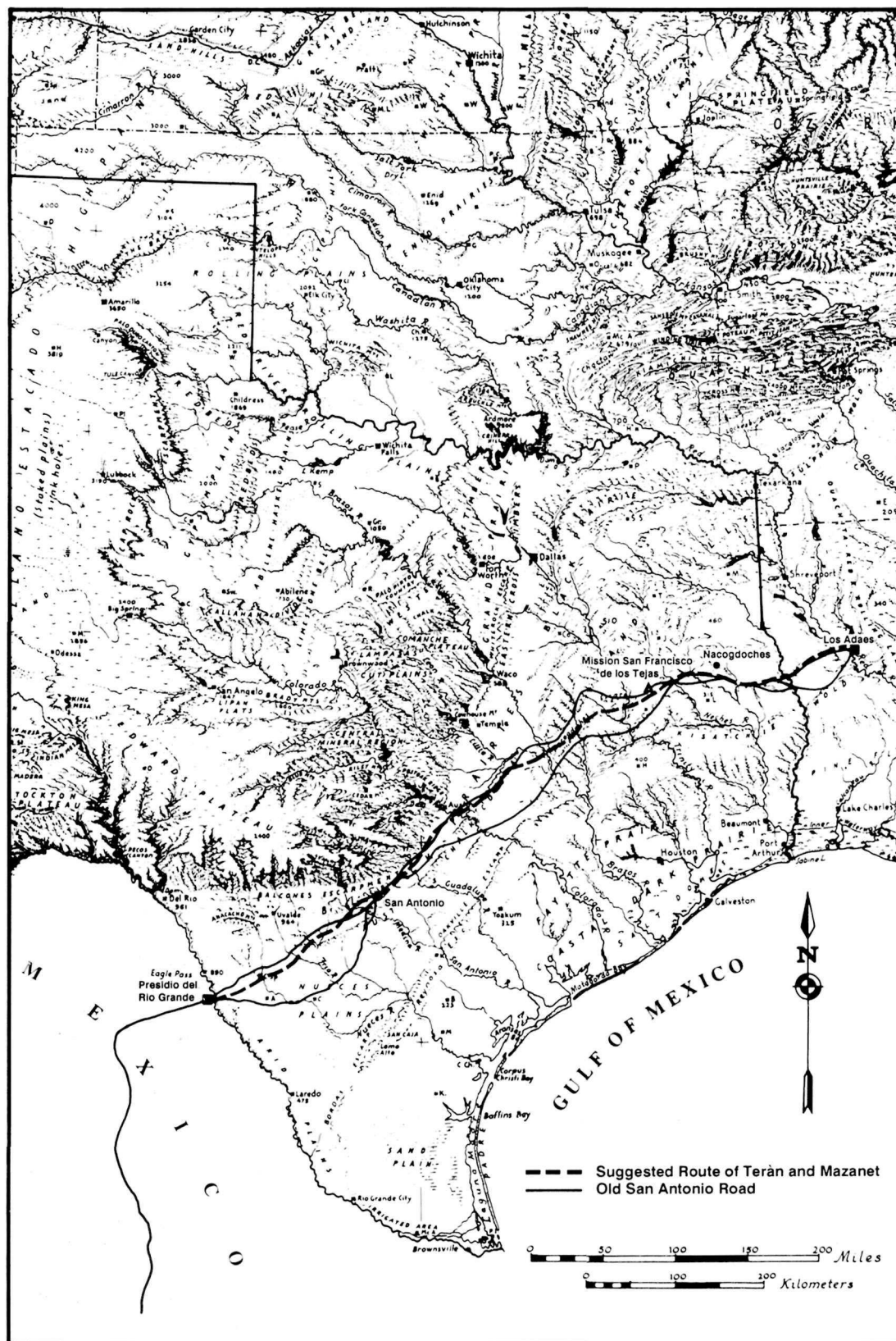


Figure 6. Projected route of Teràn's and Mazanet's expedition, 1691.

Table 5. Mazanet's 1691 Diary of Terán's Expedition

Hatcher, Mattie Austin.

1932 The Expedition of Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos into Texas. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II(1):1-67.

[These data are from part III, Manzanet's account of the expedition.]

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
June 3	Río Grande, Río Turvio, Río del Norte		3	N	broken country for 3 leagues; hackberries;
		Charco de los Cuervos, Guanpache ("muddy water")	[]		continue an unknown distance after the broken country; bison sighted
4			1	NE	crossed an arroyo that runs from northeast to south
		Arroyo del Pullón, San Matías, Samenpajo	[]	ENE	
5		Arroyo Caramanchel,	4	NE	open mesquite woods; level country; encountered: Quems, Pachules, Ocanas, Chaguan, Pastaluc, Paac
6			2	NE	crossed a dry arroyo that runs to the south; bison; level country; no woods until the Monte Grande (mesquite)
		Nueces River, Chotilapacquen	4*	E	through El Monte Grande
7 - 8			[]	NNE/ENE	crossed the Nueces; entered a valley of pecan trees; then through forest of large oaks and mesquite after leaving this valley
			1	ESE	as far as a little hill to the south

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
9 - 10		Río Frío, Guanapacaus	[]*	NNE	to a dry arroyo which is 1 league from the Frío; then to the Frío
			2.5	ENE	over a range of hills; a small pointed hill to the east; mesquite, oaks
		Río Hondo, San Bartolomé, Guanapajao	2.5*	ENE	Indian groups encountered Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanaca, Parchiquis, Pacuachiam, Aguapalam, Samanpac, Vanca, Payavan, Patabo, Pitinay (Piutaay), Apaysi (Apayu), Patsau
11			[]	NNE	to an arroyo with fish; crossed this arroyo turning east, then continue northward; low hills to the east
			1	N	skirt a high, black, round hill to the north of the route
			1	[]	passed this hill; climbed ranges of low hills
		camp on Arroyo San Bernabé, Potopatana ("well")	[]*	NE	on a level stretch; [this locale is thought to be modern Chacon Creek]
12			.25	NE	emerged from woods at the foot of a high hill; tall, round hill to the northeast
		Arroyo San Basilio, Panapay	[]*	E	another hill seen to the east; [this is the Medina River]
13 - 14		San Antonio de Pádua, Yanaguana	5	ENE	Payaya Indians
15		Arroyo Santa Crecencia, Smatiniguiapacomisem	5	ENE	many ranges of low hills along the road; Pacpul; oaks; [E in Terán's diary]

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
16		San Félix, Papulcasa	4	ENE	low hills to the north; dry arroyo; mesquite; San Félix is hot and salty but with a cold spring; [this is believed to be modern Cibolo Creek]
17		San Marcelino, Xaloton ("black nuts")	4	ENE	crossed a dry arroyo with red banks, then another with water (these join further down); Indian groups encountered: Catqueza, Cantona, Emet, Cabas, Sana, Tojo, Toaa, and other tribes on the road to the Tejas
18			[]	NNE	to high hills where timber ceased; encountered Indians of the Choma, Cíbola, Cantona, Chalomé (Cholomá), Catquezas, and Chaynaya nations
		San Gervacio, Conaqueyadista	[]*	NE	Indian <i>ranchería</i> ; [springs of the Guadalupe (modern New Braunfels)]
19		camp San Silvestre	2	E	level country, no trees; woods beyond ponds, met Muruam captives from vicinity of Guadalupe River; camped near ponds
20 - 24		Río San Juan, Canocanoyestatetlo	5	NNE	Río San Juan is a branch of the Guadalupe River; Choma Indians with the party
25			1	E	crossed the river to some small hills; many arroyos; bison
		Arroyo San Juan y San Pablo	6	ENE	
26			3	NE	traveled all day in sight of a mountain to the east; to a heavily wooded arroyo

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
26 (cont'd)		Río San Marcos (French Colorado River)	[]*	E	crossed an arroyo; climbed small hills; trees on banks of river; cedars
27 - 28			2	E	mountain to the north; river to the south; to another crossing of San Marcos River
		Río San Marcos, San Pedro, Carcayantico	[]*	E	
29 - 30			2	SSW	to a running arroyo
		Río San Marcos, San Pablo	[]*	E	found a cross and year carved on a hackberry
July 1 - 20			.5	E	through a forest; to a tall, sharp-pointed hill from atop which can be seen a lagoon (which runs from north to south) called Nenocadadda or San Nicolás; fish, alligators
		Río San Marcos, San Buenaventura	[]*	[]	met some Cantona Indians
21			1	NE	toward a tall hill
		Arroyo Santa Praxedis, Catdetda	[]*	N	unwooded
22			2	N	large woods
		Santa María Magdalena, Sicoconotdeta		[]*	NE
23		Arroyo San Apolinario, Naticasba	5	NE	crossed another arroyo (Nacasit) at 3.5 leagues; met Tejas Indians
24		Río Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Beatsi	4	NE/ENE	over level country to woods; through woods to river

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
25			.25	NNE	through woods; up a dry arroyo at the edge of a wood
		Santiago, Baconatdesta	2	NE	to salty waterholes in an arroyo; alligators
26 - 27		Arroyo Santa Margarita, Canobatodeano	6	NNE	traveled between hills to the east and west; unwooded; many dry creeks; bison
28		Nuestra Señora de la Merced	4	ENE	crossed the Arroyo Nabatsoto
29		Santa María, Asconascatvas	5	ENE	passed two arroyos with waterholes; level, open country
30		San Ygnacio	5	NE	level land; mountains in view to the east and west; crossed Arroyo Soadds; to another Arroyo Nuxnadte
31		Trinity River, Conayentevantetsos	6	NE	crossed several arroyos; then to the Trinity
August 1			2	NE	crossed Arroyo Naats; woods to Arroyo Nequebatse
		Arroyo San Esteván, Conandotdetra	[]*	[]	cold water; pines
2			2	NNE	crossed six arroyos; woods
		Misión San Francisco de los Tejas	[]*	E	to the Tejas settlement

* June 6: 6 leagues total June 27: 3 leagues total
 June 7: 6 leagues total June 29: more than 6 leagues total
 June 9: 5 leagues total July 1: 3 leagues total
 June 11: 6 leagues total July 21: 7 leagues total
 June 12: 5 leagues total July 22: 3 leagues total
 June 18: 5 leagues total August 1: 5 leagues total
 June 26: 5 leagues total August 2: 6 leagues total

Salinas Varona 1693

Gregorio de Salinas Varona arrived in Mexico in 1687 as a captain in the Spanish army. By 1691, he was in command of the troops that accompanied the sea division of the Terán expedition, landing at Matagorda Bay on July 17, 1691. Salinas served as governor of Coahuila, substituting for Terán, from 1693 to 1698. In 1693, Salinas led an expedition to bring relief supplies to the East Texas missions. The missionaries there felt forgotten by the government of New Spain, and they had not been as successful as they had hoped in converting the Indians, nor in sustaining themselves with the labor of the Indians (Webb and Carroll 1952b).

Salinas set out from Santiago de la Monclova on May 3, 1693, heading for the east Texas missions in order to bring them much-needed supplies and aid. On May 10, he crossed the Rio Grande, meeting some people of the Agualohes nation nearby. Continuing on, mainly to the northeast and approximately following Terán's trail, which came to be known as the Upper Road, he met Pacuache, Jumana, Tobos, Tepacuache, and Sacuache *indigenes* (or Indians). Making quite rapid progress, Salinas and his company crossed the Nueces River on the 13th, crossed the Río Frío the next day, and made the Río Hondo late in the day on May 15. By May 19, the party had reached and passed the Medina River. Late in May, the 23rd to the 24th, a crossing on the Guadalupe River was found, and the party crossed and continued their journey north and east. Other groups of *indigenes*—Suana, Sinaoma, Mescales, Toas, and Cacastles—were encountered from there to the San Marcos River which they reached on May 27.

Salinas continued, crossed the Colorado River on June 2, and camped at a nearby arroyo which he named Arroyo San Juan de Ortega. The next day he passed several arroyos, including one he referred to as Arroyo de Terán, indicating that Salinas fairly closely followed his predecessor's footsteps, probably at least as far as the Trinity River. After crossing the Trinity River on June 7, the party continued its speedy march reaching the Mission San Francisco by June 13, 1693. Soon after the necessary provisions were delivered to the missionaries, the party made its return trip to Mexico (Gómez Canedo 1968).

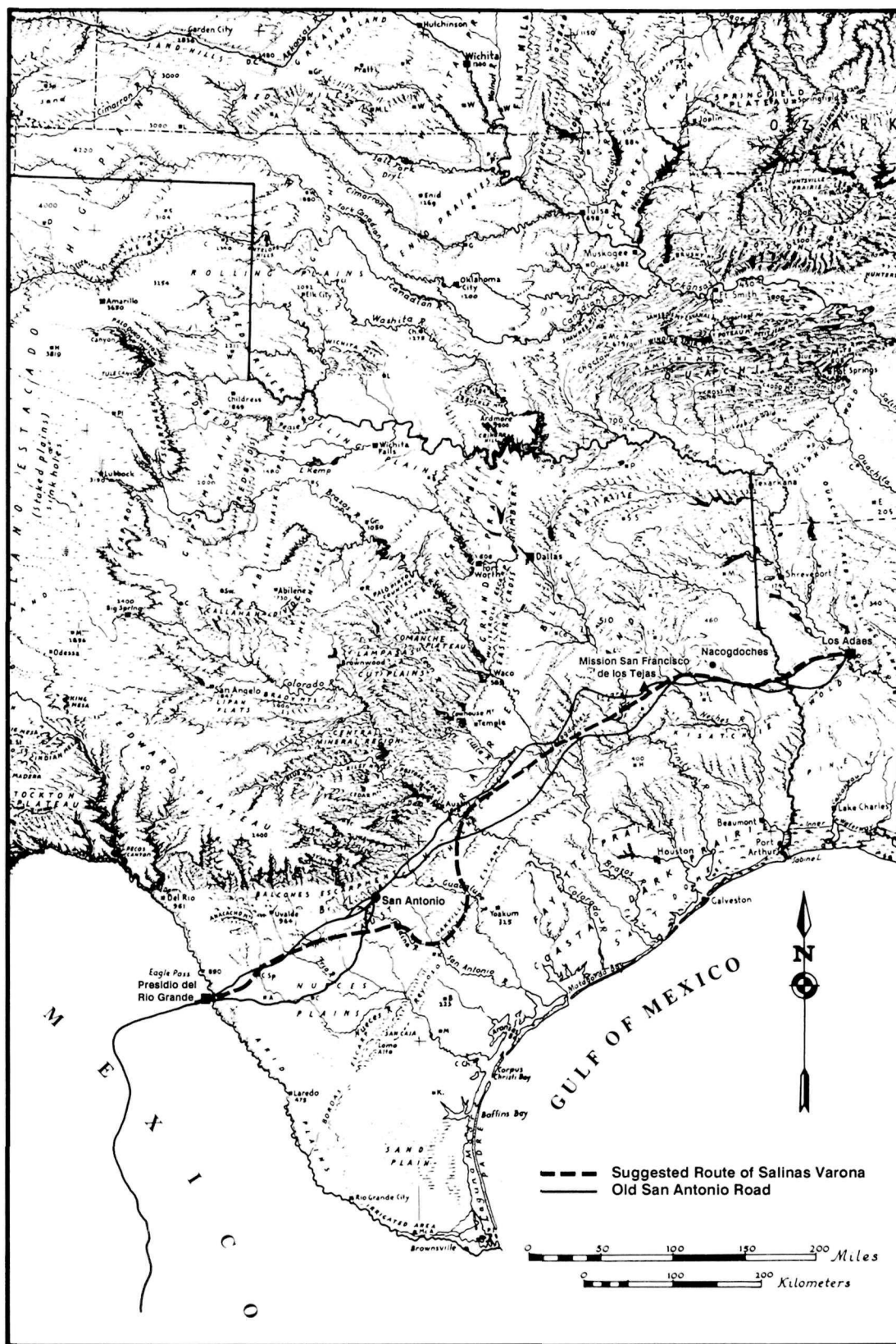


Figure 7. Projected route of the Salinas Varona expedition, 1693.

Table 6. Salinas Varon's Expedition of 1693

Salinas Varona, Gregorio de.

1968 Diario del Viaje del capitán Gregoria de Salinas Varona, en su expedición de socorro al este de Texas (tres de mayo—dies y siete de julio de 1693). *Primeras Exploraciones Poblamiento de Texas (1686-1694)*. Edited by Lino Gómez Canedo. Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, no. 6. Monterrey.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
May 10	San Gregorio Nacienceno y Cristóbal	Espíritu Santo y San Jordiano	3	ENE	crossed the Río Grande where an arroyo debouches into it; indigenes of Agualohes nation
11				E	over a hill, then a creek
				ENE	ravine, <i>arroyuelo</i> ; hills, some arroyos; to a high hill
		San Ubaldo pool	7+	N	bison herds; indigenes of Pacuase nation
12				E	plains, arroyo, hill; lechuguilla; indigenes of Tepacuache nation
				NE	to Charco Puyón; indigenes of the Sacuache nation
		Arroyo Caramanchel	7	N	swampy (<i>pantanosa</i>) area; mesquites; hill
13				NE	crossed Caramanchel with difficulty; hills; then to Nueces River at 1.5 leagues and across; mesquite
		paraje San Atal on the Nueces	5	N	
14		San Bonifacio	6	N and E	pecan woods, mesquite, liveoaks (<i>encinos</i>) and oaks (<i>robles</i>); small creeks; to Río Frío and across; indigenes of Sacuache nation; found a cross placed by de León three years ago

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
15			2	E	ravine, two hills, pools
			.5	N	
			2.5	NE and N	ravine between two hills; ravine; hill with flints; ravine; hills; plain with a hill at the center; arroyo; another plain with a hill at the center
16		San Isidro on the Hondo	[]*	NE	trees, live oaks; Río Hondo
		San Eubaldo, small creek with pools		NE	crossed the Hondo; hill to the north
				SE	passed Arroyo de Chapa with difficulty
17		Santísima Trinidad y San Pascual	5	E	plains, hills, ravines
				[ESE] <i>esueste</i>	passed a ravine; then to a hill; thorny brush (<i>chaparras</i>)
18		Arroyo San Félix	8	E	passed a ravine; then to Charco del Aire, Charco del Róbalo and passed to an arroyo with live oaks and camped
			[1]	E	ravines (<i>cañadas</i>), hills; a few small oaks; to a dry arroyo
			.5	NE	
19			[1]*	E	
			[~1]	NE	sandy plain; oaks, pecans, ravine with a small creek that has a little water
			.5	S	

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
19 (cont'd)			2	ESE	clearing; mesquite brush
			3	E	passed a river
			[~2]	S	hills, ravines, mesquite; then to the crossing of the Medina River
		Santa Prudencia on the west bank of the Medina	[~2]*	NE	
20				ESE	crossed the Medina; oaks, mesquites, ravines, hills
		San Bernardino de Sena	6	S	passed Arroyo de León
21		Río Salado, Corpus Christi San Secundino	8+	SE and S	ravines and hills; Jumano indigenes; oaks, mesquites
22				E	hills, ravines; oaks, live oaks; to the Guadalupe River and across; field of flat ground
				ESE	hill
		Santa Quitería on the Guadalupe River	8	N	to the crossing of the river and across, first to an island, then on across
23 - 24					continued crossing the cargos on rafts
25				[NW]	live oaks, small trees; ravine
				NE	three motts of trees on the left; ravines
		Santa María Magdalena	8	N	two crosses carved into white trees in the motts; Sinaoma, Mescales, Toas
26		San Felipe Neri	8	N	hills, ravines, arroyos; Suana indigenes

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
27				N	hills, ravines, live oaks; woods of San Marcos River
		Los Mártires de Pamplona, San Marcos	8	NE	one hill; live oaks, oaks; stones; passed a deep creek; Cacastles
28		San Francisco y San Justo, formerly San Francisco Buenavista y San Juan	4+	NE	crossed the San Marcos River; open field
29				N	small wood of oaks; passed five creeks with running water and three dry ones; pastures; woods
				NE	high hill with trees; passed a gravel-bed creek; hill with two motts
				E	another higher hill
				NE	passed a ravine, then a dry creek; small oak woods
		San Félix pools	7+	N	large pasture; some large pools and camped
30				N	passed a creek; entered a pasture surrounded by trees; small hill covered with woods; a field
				NE	woods of oaks; passed a second creek
		San Fernando Creek	7+	N	crossed a small creek; then camped at a fourth
31				NE	passed a creek
		San Diego de Venecia	5	N	a hill; crossed Espíritu Santo River; small pastures
June 1		San Martín camp	1.5	[]	opening the road through the brush and fallen trees

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
2		Arroyo San Juan de Ortega	5	E	pasture
				NE	Arroyo Colorado and across; hills
				N	
3				N	crossed Arroyo San Juan de Ortega
				E	following the creek to a pasture
				NE	prairie
				N	two arroyos; many small trees; ravine
				E	passed a very boggy creek; oaks
				N	large pastures, plains
				NE	small arroyo
		San Melacio y San Spidio	8+	N	a hill with trees; crossed Arroyo de Terán which was (boggy)
4		San Deciano camp	6+	NW	hills and valleys; lost the road; stopped near a creek in a wood, El Monte Sin Fin
5		San Sancho Creek	8+	N	searching for road then found it; then through a large prairie
				NE	passed 4 creeks with water; cane (<i>otate</i>)

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
6				NE	oaks; San Francisco valley
				E	woods, small creek
				NE	climbed a hill
				E	passed another small creek at the foot of the hill; prairie
		San Norberto at a boggy creek	8+	NE	creek; oaks, pine, sacaton (grass); boggy creek; following an Indian trail (p. 294) that leads all the way to the Tejas
7				N	came to Santísima Trinidad River; big oaks, clearings small creek
		San Pedro y sus Compañeros	8+	NE	sandy hills; live oaks, oaks, pine; ravines and creeks; passed <i>paraje</i> of Arroyo de los Frailes
8 - 13		Misión San Francisco	5	NE	many small creeks, hills, ravines; live oaks, oaks, pecan, pine
14 on					return trip

* May 15: 8 leagues total

May 18: 2.5 leagues total

May 19: 10+ leagues total

Ramón and Espinosa 1716

Captain Domingo Ramón was appointed leader of an expedition into Texas in 1716, to investigate French encroachments in the area, as evinced by the appearance of the French trader Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis and his group at the Rio Grande. Ramón and several missionaries established six missions and a presidio in East Texas in 1716. Ramón remained in East Texas until 1719, when the threat of French invasions seemed remote (Bannon 1979; Webb and Carroll 1952b).

Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, the president of three Querétaran Texas missions, had accompanied Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares and Captain Pedro de Aguirre on an expedition into Texas in 1709. This party named San Pedro Springs, the site of present San Antonio. Unable to proceed further than the Colorado River because of flood conditions of that river, they returned to the Rio Grande. Espinosa assisted in Ramón's 1716 expedition into Texas, establishing three missions in present East Texas. In 1718, Espinosa traveled with Martín de Alarcón, newly appointed governor of Texas, on his inspection tour of the province. Espinosa also accompanied the Aguayo expedition in 1721 to re-occupy East Texas and to re-establish there the missions which had been abandoned after French incursions in 1719 (Webb and Carroll 1952a).

On February 17, 1716, Captain Domingo Ramón and his expedition set out from Saltillo and headed for East Texas. He was accompanied by Saint-Denis, who had arrived at San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande in 1714, having traversed the Texas province without the knowledge of the Spanish government officials. With Saint-Denis serving as a guide, the expedition of 1716 set out to re-occupy the missions of East Texas and establish a presidio to defend the border against further French incursion. Seven Franciscan priests and two lay brothers accompanied the Ramón expedition.

The 1716 *entrada* followed the routes of the previous expeditions into Texas, from the Rio Grande to such commonly used *parajes* as Caramanchel. Then, Ramón and his company headed somewhat further to the north and northwest, reaching the Nueces River on May 2. On May 14th they arrived at San Pedro spring, near which the presidio and settlement of San Antonio de Béjar would eventually develop. From here (San Pedro Spring), Ramón continued mostly northeastward, crossing the Guadalupe (May 18-19) and Colorado (May 27) rivers and las Animas, now known as Brushy Creek (May 28-29).

The party continued the journey, approximately following the road of Salinas' 1693 journey (the Upper Road), and crossed the Trinity River on June 15. Early in July, the company arrived at the site of the former mission which had been abandoned when French encroachment had caused the padres to move to a safer distance. For the next few weeks, Ramón and the friars selected sites for a presidio and four missions (San Francisco de los Tejas beyond the Neches, Purísima Concepción beyond the Angelina, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe near present Nacogdoches, and San José to the northeast of Purísima Concepción). Thus, they had accomplished the primary purpose of the expedition (Foik 1933; Tous 1930b).

Table 7. Ramón's Expedition of 1716

Foik, P. J.

1933 Captain Don Domingo Ramón's Diary of His Expedition into Texas in 1716. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II(5):1-23.

[Foik used *Provincias Internas*, Tom. 181, Archivo General de la Nación.]

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 27	Río Grande		3	NW	
		Diego Ramón Crossing	2*	W	
28		Cueva del León	5	NE	level country; green pasturage
29		camp	7	NE	along foot of hills with good pasturage; crossed some creeks; Pacuaches stole some horses from the party
30		Carrizo post	6	NE	well-pastured country; mesquite thickets, much cactus
May 1		Ojo de Agua	3	E	many flowers
2 - 3		Nueces River	7	E	good pasturage; crossed Caramanchel Creek and Hondo Creek; to the Nueces River with little water
4 - 5		Ranas Lake	3	SW [ENE]	level country with many holes; open ground; lake contains plenty fish; caught an alligator-gar
6		Encinos lake San Juan Bautista	5	SW [ENE]	along foot of hills with canyons; oaks, flowers, wild marjoram
7		San Lorenzo lake	4	SW [ENE]	crossed the Frío River (dry) but with vegetation; camped 1 league from the river on a lake; caught four turkeys; met some Pataguas from a nearby village

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
8 - 9		lake in a canyon, San Alexo	4	NE	much vegetation; good roads; lake is 2 leagues before reaching the Río Hondo
10		Santa Rita lake	4	NW [ENE]	crossed the Río Hondo at 2 leagues; many large pecans, grape vines
11		canyon with lakes Santa Isabel	3	NE	along foot of hills with good pasturage
12 - 13		Medina River	3 [8?]	NE	pecan groves, other timber; loose dirt; some pasturage; caught fish in the Medina
14 - 15		San Pedro spring	7	NE	mesquite brush; good pasturage; crossed two dry creeks, then to a spring on level land along the San Antonio River; crossed the river and went upstream to camp; caught fish in the river
16		Salado Creek	2	NE	hills; good pasturage; mesquite, grapes; crossed Salado Creek
17		San Xavier pool	5	NE	hills; mesquite brush; green pasturage; then to a creek flowing into a large pool
18		Guadalupe River	[]	N	hills; good pasturage; scattered oaks and pecans; crossed two branches of Guadalupe River, very cold spring at first branch, maidenhair fern, mulberry, grapes; plenty fish
19		San Ybon	1	NE	to second branch of the river; plenty fish

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
20 - 21		San Rafael creek	10	NE	pecan, oak, grapevines, good pasturage; crossed San Marcos River; crossed San Rafael creek, found two springs named San Isidro and San Pedro del Nogal; caught a turkey
22		creek with pools	9	NE	woods; springs; grapevines, pecan, other timber
23 - 26		Colorado River	3	NE	over barren hills, ravines; good pasturage; to Colorado River; upstream for 4 leagues looking for a crossing but found none; crossed on the 24th and 25th; reconnaissance on the 26th; then head in a different direction than earlier <i>entradas</i>
27			3	SE	good pasturage, but rough and broken land; killed a bison (the first they had seen)
		San Nicolás Creek	4*	NE	
28 - 29		Las Animas Creek	6	NE	bad holes because of drought; killed four bison
30		camp	3	NE	hills, ravines; abundant water; thickets; found traces of indigenes, villages of Yerbipiame and Mescal 4 leagues away
31		San Diego de Alcalá Creek	5	NE	good pasturage; plenty water; boxwood groves
June 1 - 2		San Xavier River	2	SE	crossed two dry creeks; boxwood groves; good pasturage, thickets; to a river and camped; caught fish
3 - 6		Santo Domingo camp	5	NE	wild fowl found along road; crossed a difficult creek; creek; alligator killed

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
7		camp in a clearing	7	meandering	dense woods of oak; plenty of water, good pasturage; saw a bison but did not kill it
8		San Juan Bautista lake	3	meandering	gathered wild grapes; camped in a clearing
9 - 11		Corpus Christi springs	3	SSE	partly wooded plain; grapes; springs with fish
12 - 13			8	SE	crossed two creeks, one dry; met indigenes of various nations (Yerbipame and others)
		creek near Indian ranchería	.5*	N	
14		Trinity River	3	NE	ravines; creeks with water; woods; began crossing the livestock
15		Trinity River	[]	[]	crossed the Trinity; came to another creek; killed an alligator; entered a horrible wood (<i>un bosque orroroso</i>); found Spanish cattle
16 - 17		camp in a clearing near an old Indian camp	[]	NE	open country, sparse woods; grapevines; to a clearing near an old Indian camp; killed six bison
18		Río Corpus Christi	5	NE	good pasturage; pecan groves, grapevines; passed a running brook; met a Tejas hunting party
19		San Cristóbal camp	6	N	open oak and pecan woodland, wild grapes; good pasturage; crossed two creeks with water; to Lake Lampazos; camped on edge of a plain near a hill

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
20		small Tejas village	5	NE	over hills, plains; good pasturage, timbered regions, dry creeks; green corn and watermelons [possible translation error] in the indigenes' fields
21		Santa Clara Creek	5	NE	flat land; pecan, oak, pine, grapevine; caught 14 turkeys
22		Trinity River (another branch)	10	NE	good country but not much water; grapevines, oak, pecan, other timber; crossed two dry creeks
23		San Fernando River, Linares valley, San Luis lake	[]	[]	passed a lake with fish at 1.5 leagues; crossed San Fernando river, then Linares valley with heavy pasturage bordered by cedar, willow, cottonwood, oak, pine; then to San Luis lake
24 - 25		San Fernando River	[]	[]	crossed the San Fernando river; crossed a creek at 1 league
26		[]	4	NE	passed low places and ravines with plenty water; pine, other timber; Saint-Denis arrived with some Tejas with French muskets
27		creek with running water	4	NE	much water; grapevine, pecans, trees
28 - 29		Tejas village	5	NE	over hills; oak, pine, pecan, grapevine; passed two lakes with fish; then a river with plenty water; met a large group of Tejas (Nasonis, Nacogdoches); went to their encampment

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
30		spring	4	[NE]	many valleys; good watering places; timberlands, pecan, pine, grapevine; good cold water from a spring at the foot of a hill; good pasturage; found site for mission; then returned to camp
July 1 - 2		[constructed a <i>jacal</i> for the Indians]			
3 - 6		[founded Misión San Francisco de los Neches]			
7		Misión de Purísima Concepción	9	NE	plenty water; pine, grapevine; crossed a river, then to an Asinay village
8 - 9		Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches	9	SE	fertile country; plenty pasturage, pine, oak, grapevine
10 - 11		Misión de San José de los Nasonis	10	W	fertile land

* April 27: 5 leagues total

May 27: 7 leagues total

June 12: 8.5 leagues total

Table 8. Espinosa's Account of Ramón's 1716 Expedition

Tous, Gabriel

1930b Ramón Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, 1(4):1-24.

[Saint-Denis is on this expedition.]

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 27	Río Grande		3	NW	to Cuervo camp but found no water so returned to the river
		Paso de Diego Ramón	2*	W	
28		Cuerva [sic] del León [Cueva is meant]	5	NE	level ground; sparse mesquite flats; passed some pools of water
29		[pools near Caramanchel]	5	ENE	passed low hills; no trees; crossed sandy brooks; marshes; mesquite and "Indian fig;" ¹ passed some pools near the path to Caramanchel Spring; Bozales Indians stole horses
30		Carrizo ponds	3	[]	level; clearings with pools of water; groves of mesquite, nopal
May 1		spring	2	E	level ground; flowers; pastures
2 - 3		nearly dry Nueces River	7	ENE	mesquite woods; small plains; wild marjoram; passed an abandoned village; dry arroyo with holm oaks; ² crossed a stream with pools of water; ash, walnut, and mulberry
4 - 5		La Tortuga, turtle pond	2	ENE	level ground, but some rough and swampy places; fish and an eel caught
6		spring on Río Frío	5	E and ENE	low hills and plains; mesquites on knolls; passed pools of water; oaks near the Frío; flowers

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
7		San Lorenzo Creek	4	ENE	traveled near the base of a low hill to large ponds of water; crossed dry Frío in an oak forest; grapevines, brazilwood; turkeys
8 - 9		San Miguel camp, pools	4	E and ENE	three villages of Paraguas at 1 league; then glens of mesquite; went as far as the Hondo but turned back to meet stragglers and to search for water elsewhere; camp 2 leagues from the Hondo; a Mesquite Indian arrived in camp
10		Santa Rita camp	4	ENE	small stream; crossed Arroyo Hondo; oaks, brambles, briars; through mesquite clusters, to woodland of oak, poplar, ³ two creeks of good water
11		large creek	2	ENE	level ground; oak clusters; pools of water; hills, plains with stones or gravel; to some large creeks
12		Pita pond	2	ENE	glens, part level, part hilly; oak groves; fish and turtles plentiful in the pond; grapevines
13			1	NNE	oak forest, mesquite clumps
			2	NE and ENE	rough ground; groves of holm oak, ² gray oak, walnut
			1	N	level ground; boxwood groves; through a large forest in an east-northeast direction
		Medina River	[6] [*]	NE	meandering; poplar, ³ blackberry, grapevines

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
14 - 15			3	ENE	hills, dales covered with green grama grass; flint stones; crossed Arroyo de León (with pools of water) at 3 leagues
		San Antonio River at San Pedro spring	[4] [*]	NE	plain of San Antonio River; San Pedro Creek flows into it; nopales, poplar, ³ elm, grapevine, black mulberry, laurel, strawberry, fan palm, flax, hemp, maidenhair fern, and medicinal herbs; fish and alligators
16			.5	NE	
			1	ENE	mesquite flats with a few trees; many flowers
		Arroyo Salado	.5 [*]	NE	vine stocks; spring two gunshots away
17			1	NE	mesquite clumps, oak clusters
			.25	ENE	to high hills
			2	E	
		bank of creek	1.75 [*]	ENE	Quía Indian is traveling with and guiding the party
18			1	N	dense mesquite and oak
			.5	NNE	climbed very high hills
		Guadalupe River	[5.5] [*]	NE and ENE	level ground; then mesquite clumps; low hills, ravines; to a small stream; to a wide gravel crossing of Guadalupe and across; three main springs; walnut, poplar, ³ grapevine, mulberry, willow; songbirds, ticks

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
19		San Juan River	.5	NE and ENE	large dense woodland; glen; many fish and alligators in the river
20 - 21		Arroyo San Rafael, pools	9	NE and ENE	sparse mesquite flats; hills in sight; copious spring at 3 leagues (San Bernardino); crossed San Marcos River; poplars; ³ dry arroyos between San Bernardino and San Marcos; eclipse occurred on the 21st
22		Arroyo de Garrapatas	8	NE	to San Isidro Spring; to hills and arroyos with pools of water; grove of holm oaks; ² passed five brooks
23		Río Espíritu Santo	3	NNE	three gunshots to an arroyo which connects with Garrapatas; level land, low hills; oak, grapevines, walnut
24 - 26		Colorado River	[3]	[NE]	crossed the Colorado to a high land; plenty fish; killed a bison
27			1	NE	passed a hill of oaks
			2	ENE	open, weedy ground
		Cíbolo, pools	[2] [*]	SSE	
28 - 29			2	NNW and N	Payaya guide; retraced steps to find the correct path
		Arroyo de las Benditas Animas	4 [*]	[]	willow; three bison killed
30		San Pedro de Alcantará ponds	3	NNE	met some Yerbipiamas and Mixcales
31		freshet of rainwater	3	NE	

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
June 1 - 2		Arroyo San Francisco Xavier	2	NE	quagmires; woodlands; fish; did not cross Arroyo San Francisco Xavier
3 - 5		Santo Domingo camp	4	E and ESE	sparse woods of mesquite, oak, grapevine; glens; second crossing of Arroyo de las Animas; steep bank
6 - 7			2	NE	oak forest, grapevine; dry arroyos; another dense forest
		Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, spring, camp	[3]*	SSE	bison sighted; shady place with a spring
8		San Juan, large lake	4	E and ESE	plain surrounded by trees; through sparse forest of oak, walnut; passed two springs called San Diego; wild grapes; passed through a forest; lake has many alligators; clusters of poplars ³
9 - 11		Santa María de Buenavista, springs	3	SSE	open forest; two springs; plain at a league or less from San Juan lake; passed through a forest; Yerbipame, Ticmameras, Mesquites, and Asinai arrived from a village 7 leagues away
12 - 13		Indian village	7	[]	oak forest, grapevine; passed a spring; plain which runs to the east; went toward two small running streams; other tribes encountered: Pamayas, Payayas, Cantonas, Mixcal, Xarame, and Sijames
14		arroyo	1	N	level ground for half a league; very high [deep?] arroyo at half a league more

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
15		Trinity River	1.5	[]	crossed the arroyo; Trinity River at 1 league; miry banks, very swollen river; crossed anyway on rafts
16 - 17		abandoned Indian village	4	NE and ENE	meandering; open forest of oak; found an abandoned village in a small plain; fleas, ticks; killed six bison
18		Arroyo Corpus Christi	5	NNE	plains; forests of scattered oaks; hill and dales; dry arroyos; small forest of walnut; met some Tejas; crossed a running arroyo called Corpus Christi and camped
19		Santa Ana lake	4	NE and ENE	open path; forest of oak; to a running arroyo called San Buenaventura and across; through a league of forest; shady plain
20		Tejas village	5	ENE and E	sparse forests of oak for 2 leagues; plains for 2 leagues more; met a Tejas who led the party to his village; watermelon and corn
21			1	NE	turkeys; through a thin forest
		Santa Clara spring	[4]*	ENE	level ground
22			2	ENE	hills, plains; San Cristóbal lake; nearby arroyo San Fernando and valley Linares
		San Juan Bautista River	[8]*	[]	another lake called San Luis Obispo and an arroyo called Santa Rosa de Viterbo; many high hills in sight; meandering; crossed a plain; met a Tejas hunting party; passed a small lake; to a very rapid river with deep, tree-covered banks

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
23 - 25		muddy stream	.5	ENE	crossed the river; thin forest of oaks; crossed a muddy stream and camped
26 - 27		Arroyo Santa Efigenia	4	NE	forest of scattered pine, walnut, oak, live oak, grapevines; crossed two arroyos with water, camped at the second
28 - 29		arroyo, camp	9	NE	meandering; forest of scattered pine, walnut, oak, grapevine, live oak; crossed four small arroyos; to a large plain with two lakes at the center and beyond to a copious arroyo
30 - July 5		plain	3	NE	open forest; plain; established a presidio at the margin of a large lake near a river; established a mission site (Misión San Francisco de los Tejas)
July 6 - 8			[6]	NE and ENE	open forest; crossed a stream called San Pedro Creek which runs to the first mission; then across a two-league plain; crossed three small streams; to a village of Hinai
		site of Misión Concepción	2*	E	to an arroyo with plenty of water and across; poplar, walnut, oak, pine; found the site of Misión Concepción; established a new mission near two springs
9		Misión Nuestra Señora Guadalupe	7	NE	to a village of Nasoni; re-established Misión San José among the Nasoni and Nacono; then to Misión Nuestra Señora Guadalupe at Nacogdoches
10		Misión Concepción	7	[SW]	returned to Concepción

(Continued)

* April 27: 5 leagues total
 May 13: 10 leagues total
 May 14: 7 leagues total
 May 16: 2 leagues total
 May 17: 5 leagues total
 May 18: 7 leagues total
 May 27: 6 leagues total
 May 28: 6 leagues total
 June 6: 5 leagues total
 June 21: 5 leagues total
 June 22: 10 leagues total
 July 6: 8 leagues total

¹ cf. Berlandier's Indian-cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana* (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980).

² Refers to the live oak, *Quercus virginiana*; cf. holly oak in Vines (1960); holm is a variant of holly, cf. Morris (1978).

³ Probably the cottonwood, especially *Populus deltoides* Marsh. (Vines 1960).

The Marqués de Aguayo 1719-1722

Joseph de Azlor y Virto de Vera, the second Marqués de Aguayo, immigrated to Mexico from Spain in 1712. When the king accepted his offer to drive the French out of Spanish Texas, the Marqués was appointed governor and captain-general of the province of Coahuila. In 1720, he received a commission from the viceroy of New Spain to re-occupy the East Texas missions and presidios which had been abandoned during the French invasion in 1719. This expedition so strengthened Spain's claim to Texas that the French never seriously challenged that claim. During his tenure, the Marqués increased the number of missions from two to 10 and the number of presidios from one to four, and he was also responsible for initial steps to colonize Texas with families from the Canary Islands (Webb and Carroll 1952a).

The expedition of the Marqués de Aguayo was first planned late in 1719 after the viceroy of New Spain had the news that Spain and France were at war, and later, that Pensacola (Florida) had been captured by the French. The Franciscans Espinosa and Margil had also sent entreaties to the viceroy asking for military protection for their faraway missions in East Texas. It was not until October 1720, that the Marqués was ready to set out, and in fact the expedition only reached the Rio Grande at San Juan Bautista on March 23, 1721 (Bannon 1979).

The Marqués followed fairly closely Ramón's route from the Rio Grande, stopping in some of the same *parajes* (e.g., Caramanchel and La Tortuga). They reached the Rio Frío on March 30, heading over open country and sighting plenty of deer, turkey, and quail. On April 3, the company had come as far as the Medina River. The next day they arrived at the town of San Antonio de Béjar, which Alarcón had established during his expedition of 1718. They rested there for about a week. On May 13, the Marqués again set out to the northeast, reaching Arroyo de Las Garrapatas and camping at the presently named McKinney Falls on Onion Creek near modern Austin on May 21.

Still following a route similar to Ramón's, the company passed Las Animas (Brushy) Creek on May 27, left behind the Little River on June 3, and came to the main branch of the Brazos River on June 16. The party first encountered Viday (Bidais) and Agdochas on July 8 near a small creek which they named optimistically, Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso. The next day, July 9, the party arrived and rested for about two weeks at the Trinity River. Next, the company traveled to the Neches River, resting there for a few days when on July 31, Saint-Denis arrived in their camp seeking to dissuade them from proceeding any further and to prevent the planned establishment of a mission and presidio at Los Adaes.

Undaunted, the Marqués continued eastward, re-establishing several missions along the way. On August 6, the Marqués established his presidio (Nuestra Señora del Pilar) near the old site of Mission San Miguel at Los Adaes and quite close to the French settlement at Natchitoches. Construction was completed by mid-November, and with his goals accomplished, the Marqués returned to San Antonio (Buckley 1911; Forrestal 1935).

Table 9. Peña's Account of the 1721 Aguayo Expedition

Forrestal, P. P.

1935 Peña's Diary of the Aguayo Expedition. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II(7):1-68.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
March 24 - 26	Río Grande, San Juan Bautista		2	N	traveled along the road to El Real called Cuervo; passed various <i>esteros</i> (ponds); mesquite
		Las Rosas de San Juan	[3]*		glens and creeks
27			2	NE	left the old road; rough and hilly terrain
			3	[]	began following another road to find water
		El Ojo de Agua de San Diego	[4]*	ENE	again struck the old road
28			[]	NE	
		Caramanchel Creek	[]*	E	many turkeys along creek; quail, rabbits, hares along the way
29			2	ENE	crossed a very deep creek; then to the Nueces and across
		La Tortuga	[3]*	NE	large <i>estero</i> with year-round water and camped
30		Los Encinos del Río Frío, Los Muertos	6	ENE	open country; many turkeys and quail; many flowers
31			2.5	ESE	found a crossing of the Frío, with running water; to Los Gatos; deer, rabbits, quail, turkeys; dense woods
		Los Gatos pools	3.5*	[]	

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 1			2.5	ENE	to a dry gorge
			.5	[]	to Arroyo Hondo
		El Tullillo	[4]*	[]	crossed the Hondo; passed Las Cruces on the Hondo and 2 leagues before El Tullillo; deer, wild goats, turkeys, rabbit, quail
2		El Charco de la Pita	3	NE	many turkeys and deer; good pasturage
3			3	ENE	
		Medina River	[6]*	NNE and NE	flat country; many deer, turkeys, and quail
4 - May 12			3	ENE	crossed the Medina; then to León Creek; through low hills; much flint
		San Antonio de Béjar	[3]*	NE	crossed León Creek; plains
May 13 - 14			1+	NE	to the acequia of Misión San Antonio de Valero; grapevines
		Salado Creek	[2+]*	ENE and NE hilly	
15 - 16			[1]	NE and ENE	thick live oaks and mesquite; to low hills; then flat country
			1	NE	
			2	E	
		Cíbolo Creek along some esteros (ponds)	[1]*	ENE	
17			1	N	woods of mesquite and live oak
			1.5	NE	to La Loma de las Flores, many flowers

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
17 (cont'd)			2	ENE	mesquite plains; crossed some hills; crossed a creek (San Pascual Baylón); junipers, poplars, walnuts, mulberries, vines
			.25	[]	to Guadalupe River; crossing is about .25 league from the springs; wooded country
		north bank of the San Ybón River	.75*	ENE	chiggers, ticks, and snakes [Oh, my!]
18			[]	ENE and NE	to Peñuelas Creek with year-round water and <i>esteros</i>
		[camp]	[]*	[]	crossed the creek and plains covered with mesquites; Apache area called <i>Lomería Grande</i> is 1 league to the north
19			[2.5]	[NE]	flat country dotted with mesquite and live oak; to Los Inocentes River (2.5 leagues from Peñuelas Creek)
			1	NE and ENE	
		San Rafael Creek	1.5*	N	flat country; some trees; deer and turkeys; met a group of Sanas
20		small creek, San Bernardino	6	NE	passed San Isidro spring at .25 league and surrounded by trees; open country, low hills; many deer and turkeys
21 - 22		Las Garrapatas	1	NE	passed five deep gullies, otherwise level and open country
23		camp on creek	3	NE	crossed Garrapatas; to the San Marcos River and across; then another creek at .75 league; tracks of bison

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
24 - 26		San Francisco Creek	4	[]	plains, low hills; crossed tree-covered Santa Quitería creek; then to San Francisco creek; bordering <i>Lomería Grande</i> ; killed three bison
27			2	NE	to Las Animas Creek; flat wooded hills
		San Xavier River	[3] [*]	NE	crossed a small creek at .25 league; many trees; crossed a larger creek at 4.5 leagues from San Francisco Creek; trees, vines; three bison killed
28 - 29			1	NE	crossed two branches of the San Xavier; through dense thicket; to an <i>estero</i> ; crossed a small creek, San Ignacio; over hills; through mires; passed an unnamed shady creek; 12 bison killed
		San Ignacio Creek	3 [*]	NNE	
30		San Fernando Creek	5	NE and N	crossed 20 creeks; departed from routes of previous <i>entradas</i>
31 - June 3			2	NNE	crossed a very shady creek at 1.5 leagues; mesquite grove at 1 more league; flat country, small hills; carpet of flowers
		Río Espíritu Santo first branch of the Brazos de Díos	2 [*]	NE	
4 - 5		[camp]	2	NW	three forks: passed the first fork of the river, then crossed the second fork; unable to cross the third because water was too high
6 - 13			[.25]	NE	on the way to the third fork

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
6 - 13 (cont'd)			1	[]	to a creek which was easily crossed; broken, hilly, and thickly wooded country
		camp near creek, San Norberto	.75*	N	crossed third fork; then halted; many bison
14		San Antonio de Padua Creek	5	NE	over barren flat hills divided by deep streams; crossed San Antonio de Pádua Creek
15			[]	N	plains; bison; to San José de los Apaches Creek with banks of white soil; terraced appearance
		San José de los Apaches Creek	[]*	NE	many bison killed
16 - 18			5	NE, NNE, and N	to woods of thorny trees (mesquites)
		creek, San Joaquín y Santa Ana	[2]*		
19		lake, Santa María	2	N and ENE	crossed the river; blazing the road as they go
20			1	ENE	through woods
		San Silverio Papa plain	[2]*	E	five bison taken (this is the last time any are found); found no water
21			1	S	
		San Jorge, small estero	[4]*	SE	sandy country; mesquites, live oaks; passed dry creeks and gullies; crossed a running creek; trees
22 - 23		San Juan de los Jumanes Creek	4	SE	open woods; high hills

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
24		El Real del Patrocinio de Nuestra Señora Creek	6	SE	crossed a muddy creek; to another creek
25			3	SE	mesquite woods; a plain; creek creek; heading back toward road
		marsh of warm water, El Angel de la Guarda	[4]*	[]	to oak woods, mesquite; over broken country
26		Nuestra Señora del Camino Creek	3	ESE	crossed a small creek; walnuts, oak, plum, vines, green medlars; crossed a running brook at 1 league; continued to camp; poplars and willows along creek
27 - 28		creek with pools, Nuestra Señora de Guía	4	ENE and E	woods of walnut and oak at 1.25 leagues; crossed creeks; passed a lake on a plain; through another oak woods where Indian huts were found; ticks, chiggers, gad-flies
29 - 30		clearing, San Pedro y San Pablo	4	E and ENE	crossed a wood and three muddy creeks
July 1			[]	E	sandy; through oak woods; crossed two muddy swamps and two creeks
		shallow creek, Nuestra Señora de la Estrella	[]*	SE	along a marsh; crossed a creek; and continued through very wooded country; found volcanic rock; nettles
2 - 5		Visitación de Nuestra Señora	9	SE	a small wood; then denser oaks; several miry places; crossed a running creek; crossed a muddy creek; over hills; came upon some old huts; crossed a small creek at 6 leagues; 3 leagues more over plains (miry) to the road to the Tejas; found two young tiger/lion [puma?] cubs

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
6		creek, Nuestra Señora del Rosario	4	ENE	crossed San Buenaventura Creek and passed Santa Ana Lake (also called Las Cargas) on the right; passed three clearings; a thin woods; two running creeks; at a third
7		Santa Clara	8	ENE	thin oak woods; open level country; crossed Carrizo Creek; crosses carved on trees
8		small creek, Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso	6	ENE	broken, hilly country; crossed San Fernando Creek; left behind a large plain at 6 leagues; huts of the Tejas said to be nearby; found Viday [Bidais] and Agdochas
9 - 23			[]	ENE	thin woods, clearing; crossed two muddy creeks; then to Linares Valley
		Trinity River	[]*	NE	passed two lagoons; crossed the running Santa Rosa creek; some woods of oak, walnut, pine
24 - 25		San Juan Creek	1	[]	crossed the river; then crossed San Juan Creek; met the <i>cacique</i> of the Hasinai
26		Santa Efigenia Creek	4	NE	woods of pine, walnut, oak, vines; crossed two creeks
27		Santa Coleta Creek	7	ENE	broken country; woods of pine, walnut, chestnut; crossed two running creeks
28		San Pedro Creek	3	ENE	to the site of the 1690 presidio and mission; crossed San Pedro Creek and camped; Neches Indians arrived at the camp

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
29 - Aug 2		Neches River	4	NE	woods; hills, gullies; then over a plain to the site of the 1716 presidio; passed a spring-fed lake; river was high; Naconos visit; Saint-Denis arrived on the 31st
Aug 3 - 4		near new site of San Francisco Mission	2	ENE	crossed the Neches River
5		Nuestra Señora de las Nieves Creek	4	NE and ENE	re-established Misión San Francisco de los Neches then continued through tall oaks and mulberry; crossed two creeks and two plains; then to a running creek
6 - 7		site of Ramón's presidio	5	ENE	crossed a creek; then level land for 2 leagues; to a creek less than .5 league from Misión Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, also called Santa Barbara
8 - 14	[Re-establishment of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción; detachments sent to rebuild other missions: on the 9th, Misión San José de los Nasonis, 8 leagues to the north; on the 10th, Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, 8 leagues away; 11th to 13th spent in the vicinity of the missions.]				
15		La Asunción de Nuestra Señora Creek	4	ENE	sparse woods of walnut, pine, oak; to a spring-fed creek
16 - 18		site of Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	4	ENE	re-established Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
19		creek with a small lake, San Bernardino	6	ENE	meandering; gorges; woods of oak, pine, walnut; crossed several creeks
20		Todos Santos River	8	ENE	crossed a river, stopped on its banks

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
21 - 23		Misión Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais	6	ENE	broken, wooded country; passed site of former Misión Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Adaes [Ais is meant]; rebuilt it .25 league away, near a stream
24		San Bartolomé lake	5	ENE	woods of walnut, pine; crossed ravines and permanent streams
25		lagoon, San Luis	7	ENE	high hills, gullies; woods; crossed muddy creeks; place is about 1 league from Sabinas River
26		hill near creek, San Nicolás Tolentino	3	ENE	crossed San Francisco de las Sabinas River; crossed pools and miry places
27		river in a plain, Santa Rosa de Lima	6	ENE	hills, gullies; woods of pine, walnut, oak, chestnut, medlar; crossed several creeks; crossed Santa Rosa
28		San Agustín Creek	8	ENE	hills, gullies, woods of pine, walnut; crossed several creeks; passed a lagoon
29 - Nov 16		spring, Misión San Miguel de los Adaes, presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar	3	ENE	open plains; sparse woods of walnut, medlar, pine, oak; passed the site of former Misión San Miguel de los Adaes; stopped .5 league away at a spring; French settlement of Natchitoches 7 leagues away; built a presidio; lake of Los Adaes is 1 league from the presidio; lake has fish and ducks; bear, deer

* March 24: 5 leagues total
 March 27: 9 leagues total
 March 28: 5 leagues total
 March 29: 5 leagues total
 March 31: 6 leagues total
 April 1: 7 leagues total
 April 3: 9 leagues total
 April 4: 6 leagues total

May 13: 4 leagues total
 May 15: 5 leagues total
 May 17: 8 leagues total
 May 18: 4 leagues total
 May 19: 5 leagues total
 May 27: 5 leagues total
 May 28: 4 leagues total
 May 31: 4 leagues total

June 6: 2 leagues total
 June 15: 7 leagues total
 June 16: 7 leagues total
 June 20: 3 leagues total
 June 21: 5 leagues total
 June 25: 7 leagues total
 July 1: 5 leagues total
 July 9: 5 leagues total

A FORGOTTEN ENCOUNTER IN TEXAS HISTORY HISTORIC INDIANS ALONG THE EARLY ROADS

by A. Joachim McGraw

The accounts of many travelers and explorers who journeyed along the early routes often included references to Indian camps that were encountered, descriptions of different groups, or even sketches that related to historic Indians (see Figures 8, 9, and 10). Such descriptions, when read individually, reflect only fragmentary glimpses of past native or intrusive groups. A review of several travelers' accounts that identify past routes, however, offers a broader perspective of such historic Indians. The accounts of travelers along the *caminos reales* in the 17th through the 19th Centuries, when viewed chronologically and as a composite source of information, indicate both the change and, less often, the continuity of regional native groups and cultures. More importantly, a by-product of the SDHPT's identification of changing routes often places such encounters of the historical record within narrowly defined regional corridors.

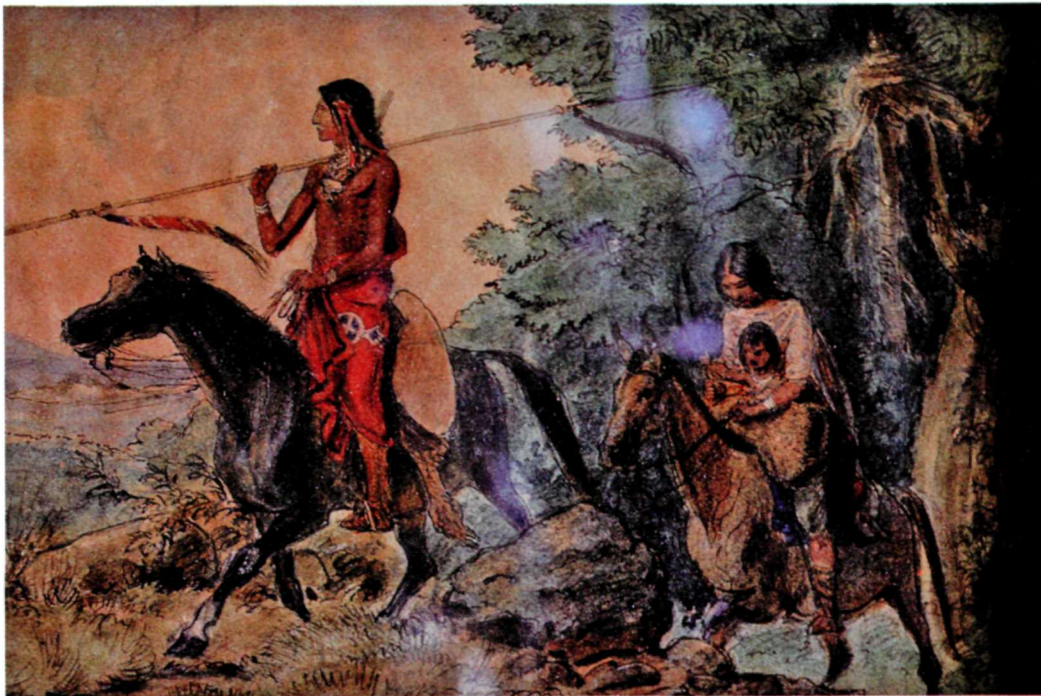


FIGURE 8. Plains Indian family. Watercolor courtesy of the Texas Memorial Museum.

POTENTIAL OF THE OSR ROUTES STUDY

The potential contribution to Texas history that further studies may offer is discussed below. Additionally the short linguistic study of Johnson and McGraw illustrates that a better understanding of some Indian languages may be derived from such data. The earliest European interest in Texas Indians came from two widely varying perspectives: Spanish friars intent on an ecclesiastical mission to Christianize the natives, and a colonial military establishment with a more pragmatic attitude. Although the methods of these two parties were often at odds, the overall goal was the same: to transform the native population into a contributing element of colonial development. Given the lifestyles of native groups in the face of unrelenting pressure, the shortcomings of Spanish frontier endeavors, and the poorly understood but catastrophic epidemics of historic contact, the only inevitable result was the abrupt disappearance of such native groups.

Somewhat later, chroniclers, historians, archaeologists, and other researchers have developed an interest in early Texas Indians, a hallmark study being Jean Louis Berlandier's 19th-century work *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, edited by J. Ewers (1969). In more modern times, this interest has resulted in W. W. Newcomb's (1961) widely read *The Indians of Texas*, T. N. Campbell's collection of ethnohistorical studies (1988), and the impressive accumulation of literature by other authors, researchers, and the occasional graduate student. A positive aspect of more recent studies has been the scholarly effort to distinguish variations in late prehistoric, historic-contact, mission-Indian, and historic-intrusive Indian populations. Although limited, the increasing availability of historical information that includes first-person accounts, simplified syntheses, and more refined studies of cultural groups, has often outstripped the analytic abilities of archaeologists to interpret the archaeological evidence from potential early historic Indian sites.

In southern Texas, for example, paltry material evidence from poorly stratified archaeological sites together with a general excavation methodology of 5- or 10-centimeter levels has contributed little to the understanding of site significance. The stability of ancient surface deposits is evident but rarely has been addressed in the investigation of potential historic-contact sites.

In the same region, special studies to identify the subtle distinctions of period ceramic fragments from early historic Indian sites have been almost nonexistent. Arrow points associated with the early historic period (e.g., "Guerrero") are still poorly understood and are only generally described. Such period horizon markers cannot yet be associated with a particular cultural group. Artifacts reflecting the cultures of historic contact, such as Rio Grande and South Texas, "mission," "Coahuiltecan," and early 19th-century Indians, have not been clearly distinguished.

Modern historians and archaeologists are becoming aware of the shortcomings and the misuse of such terms as "protohistoric" that have crept into interpretations of the archaeological record. The term has been variously applied but not defined to a period of the 16th and 17th centuries. As one researcher recently pointed out (Hindes, personal communication), this time period refers (or should refer) to the episode just before historic



FIGURE 9. Plains Indian woman and child. Watercolor courtesy of the Texas Memorial Museum.

contact. Hindes noted that the indirect effects caused by Spanish expansions in the 16th century, often as far away as New Mexico, may have initiated the processes of displacement, cultural adjustments due to external influences, and the breakdown of indigenous cultural traditions, long before any local Indian group actually met a Spanish explorer.

The abrupt change of indigenous cultural remains (materials) in the precontact period, particularly noticeable in southern Texas, poses a related problem in understanding the evolution or replacement of cultural groups. L. Johnson has observed (personal communication) that only by identifying a single-component protohistoric (or by extension, a historic-contact) site with corresponding material evidence and supporting radiocarbon dates can regional aspects of these phenomena be more accurately understood. The information derived from such a site could then be reasonably assumed to apply to the protohistoric period with little or no intermixing of other cultural deposits.

T. N. Campbell (1972, 1983, 1988) has long illustrated in his studies of early historical Texas Indians that the perceptive interpretation of ethnographic data can be of immense value in distinguishing native groups. The information inherent in and discerned from documents such as travelers' diaries and *derroteros* embodies such a contribution.

An accurate plotting of the routes of 17th- and 18th-century travelers has the potential for identifying the locales of early Indian groups and campsites noted in the journals. The value of Campbell's ethnohistorical perspective directed toward the observations made in historical diaries may result in the recognition of specific, definable, and most importantly, findable historic Indian campsites. Such locales would be high potential areas for the identification and relocation of Indian occupation sites. Such work would elucidate L. Johnson's (personal communication) and R. L. Stephenson's (1970:37-276) earlier ruminations about the prerequisites for a clearer picture of historic Indian groups.

The potential of such data is illustrated by the initial relocation of an early 18th-century camp of historic Indians near the Brazos River. The large Indian campsite, *Ranchería Grande*, was identified by Captain Domingo Ramón in 1707 between the Brazos and Little Rivers near their confluence (Bolton 1915:17). It was referenced again by the Marqués de Aguayo in 1721 (Hackett 1945:205, 206).

Ranchería Grande was composed of a number of different Indian groups, the principal of which were the Yerbipame (variant spellings: Euripiáme, Yeripiano). The Yerbipame were a fragmented band of apostate Indians who formerly, in 1698, had lived south of the Rio Grande and northwest of Monclova at the Mission of San Francisco Xavier y Valle de Cristóbal (Bolton 1915:142-150). The 18th-century displacement and nomadic migration of these people across the Rio Grande and into the Brazos River valley of Texas has never been well addressed by modern historians.

While much of the Yerbipame history is lost, early documents and travelers' diaries such as the Ramón and Aguayo expeditions indicate that the Yerbipame eventually joined other groups including the Ticmameas, Mesquites, Pamayas, Cantonaes, Mixcal, Xaramé, Sijames, Payayas, and even East Texas Tejas at *Ranchería Grande* by the early 1700s (cf. Tous 1930b:15-16). While speculative, it is possible if not probable that these bands and



FIGURE 10. Plains Indian with shield. Watercolor courtesy of the William Hill Land and Cattle Company.

the *ranchería* itself advanced slowly northward across Texas along well-established Indian trails that were later used by Spanish explorers in the first decades of the 18th century. Further research too, is needed to resolve whether the Indian camp of 3,000 souls noted by Fray Mazanet in 1691 at the springs of the Guadalupe (Comal Springs?) (Hatcher 1932:57-59) was related to the movement of *Ranchería Grande*.

Eventually, the Marqués de Aguayo established the short-lived "sixth" mission of San Antonio, San Xavier de Náxera, for a group of *Ranchería Grande* Indians circa 1721. The natives were led to San Antonio by the Indian chief Juan Rodríguez, (*El Cuilón*) whom the Spanish named captain and governor of all the nations on the road to the Tejas in 1718 (Hoffman 1967:57). Somewhat later in 1746 a band of the Yerbipame, Mayeye, Deadose, Yojuane, and others relocated in the newly founded San Xavier missions in present-day Milam County. The current study of the *Camino de los Tejas* suggests that the location of *Ranchería Grande* in about 1716 was also in the same area and only a few leagues from the early trail. Based on the initial work of the SDHPT, future researchers should be able to relocate the historic Indian site and determine if the demise of *Ranchería Grande* was associated with the founding of the San Xavier missions.

The relocation of early historic-contact sites across the state does not conclude the contribution of OSR route studies to an understanding of Texas history. Such studies illustrate previously unrecognized connections between modern place names and long-forgotten Indian antecedents.

Early Spanish explorers, particularly Alonso de León who in 1689 first named some of the major Texas rivers and streams, apparently derived many of these names from direct translations of Indian words. Modern names of streams such as the Frio, Hondo, Chacon, Colorado, and others did not originate three centuries ago but in a much older, even prehistoric period. In South Texas for example, an Indian stream name often comprised a word for water and a descriptive label that identified a unique attribute of the locale. As the meanings inherent in place names have remained unchanged, they are a direct link to the past and are major clues for a better understanding of many prominent modern Texas natural landmarks and features.

The following discussion illustrates a potential contribution of the route studies. It identifies several major streams crossed by early roads in southern Texas and lists them by the original Indian, Spanish, and modern place names. An interpretation of the original Coahuilteco meaning is presented for several of the locales. It must be recognized that this list and the derived interpretations represent only a cursory linguistic survey to illustrate the research potential of additional studies.

NOTES ON MAZANET'S COAHUILTECO STREAM NAMES WITH COMMENTS ON THEIR LINGUISTIC AND HISTORIC VALUE

by LeRoy Johnson, Jr., and A. Joachim McGraw

THE SUBJECT

Although it often produces only tentative results and speculative conclusions, the present linguistic analysis deals with a number of native stream names from the front half of Fray Mazanet's travel journal of 1691 recording an important *entrada* through Coahuila and Texas. In the course of this trek, named groups of aborigines were encountered, aboriginal place names were occasionally taken down, and physical descriptions of the landscape were recorded. Mazanet was journeying with military officer Domingo Terán de los Ríos from the Monclova region to the Hasinai area of eastern Texas. During the trip, Fray Mazanet (1691a) paid particular attention to the recording of native names for creeks and rivers that he crossed, and it is those appellations that are examined here.

The stream names provided below, as recorded in Mazanet's Spanish orthography, appear in roman typeface enclosed in quotation marks. Rough phonetic transcriptions are given in *italics* and follow the International Phonetic Alphabet, where *š* is English "sh," *č* is English "ch" as in "church," *x* is Spanish *j* as in "Jaime," and *ʔ* indicates a glottal stop. In a few cases a dot (·) after a vowel, as in *maype·wal*, indicates that the preceding vowel is long. Mazanet's journal of 1691 has been translated by M. A. Hatcher (1932:2-67), while a Spanish version of the document appears in L. Gómez Canedo (1968:225-254).

I. Goddard (1979:366-367) has previously listed those of Mazanet's native stream names which he apparently believes are in the Coahuilteco language, and has identified and translated a few Coahuilteco morphological forms that appear in them. Those stream names are the ones that will be analyzed below. They compose the first part of Mazanet's list, whose second half contains names in the Caddo language. It should be said at the outset that certain of the Coahuilteco roots and affixes identified below can also be recognized in the regional languages known as Comecrudo (Swanton 1940:55-118) and Quinigua-Borrado (Del Hoyo 1960), although one should not necessarily conclude that any close genetic linkage exists among those (or other) regional native tongues. Nevertheless, it is true that the aboriginal languages of the western Gulf coastal plain (which occasionally have recorded dialects) share more than a few basic words, and make up a true *Sprachbund*. But with the available word lists and rare texts, very few of the languages can be combined into families, and some of the few recognizable families, as well as the language isolates, are at best distant relatives of one another (cf. Goddard 1979).

In the linguistic notes which follow, each aboriginal name is presented as recorded orthographically, and is then followed by an interpretative phonetic transcription which is often quite approximate. In a few cases, we also furnish versions of the aboriginal names that were recorded by H. E. Bolton from duplicate Mazanet manuscripts (Hatcher 1932: esp. p. 48, note 10), or which come from a Mexico City manuscript (Mazanet 1691b). Finally, general interpretations, as well as linguistic identifications and word analyses, are included where possible. The order of presentation of the water sources follows the order of travel, as the expedition moved eastward and northeastward from mission San Salvador del Valle de Santiago, Coahuila. The page numbers that precede the names are from the edited compendium of documents published by L. Gómez Canedo (1968).

Aboriginal Place Names

(p. 230) "guansan" *wansan*.

This refers to the river called by the Spanish "Sabinas"; the native name was rendered correctly by Mazanet as *río chico* (little river): Coahuilteco *wan(a)* 'water, stream' (Troike n.d.: appendix) + *šan* 'little' (Swanton 1940:37).

(p. 231) "chacalep" *čakalep*.

Goddard (1979:366) believes that Mazanet's "pool of fish" is a description of a place rather than a translation of the aboriginal name, since Mazanet (1691a:231) says that . . . *los españoles le llaman charco del pescado* (the Spaniards call it "pond of fishes"). The aboriginal name cannot now be translated or the language securely identified, and it seems unlikely that 'fish' composes the name. A common word for 'fish' in several aboriginal languages of south Texas and northeastern Mexico is *am*, *ama*, and this root does not compose *čakalep*. However, the similarity between *čakalep* and *(a)paklek* 'mud' of *wanapaklek*, below, may not be fortuitous.

(p. 232) "asanquan" *asank^wan* (variant of Mazanet 1691b, "asanguan" *asanwan*).

The variant *asanwan* is preferred linguistically. This name labels the watering place called by the Spanish "San Juanijo (Juanico)". Mazanet says that the Spaniards call the place "Agua Verde"; the charco so labeled is reported still to bear that very name, and is said to be 14 leagues from the Río Grande (Gómez Canedo 1968:232n). The aboriginal name, however, was translated by Mazanet as *corazón* (heart); *asan* is consequently a recording or dialectal variant of Coahuilteco *xasal* 'heart', while "-wan" is Coahuilteco

'water' (Troike n.d.: appendix). If it should be that "asanquan" is the more accurate of the two manuscript versions of the name, "-quan" may be (a)kkan, as in *wan akkan* 'river' (Troike 1967:81); the exact meaning of *akkan* remains unknown.

(p. 232) "guagual" *wawal*.

Goddard (1979:366) thinks that Mazanet's *arroyo de agua salobre* (creek of brackish water) is merely a description of the stream, rather than a translation of the native name. Nevertheless, the aboriginal word seemingly has basically the same meaning as the Spanish description; *wa-* may be a shortened version of Coahuilteco *wan(a)* 'water', while *wal* means 'lazy, still'. Coahuilteco *apewal* (Troike 1967:81) is glossed as 'lazy', and the interrogative verb *maype-wal* means 'wast thou lazy?' (Swanton 1940:33); from these two words, one can see that *pewal* is the term of interest, and that it is shortened in *wawal* to *-wal*. Consequently, *wawal* may translate as 'lazy water', a meaning that corresponds very well with Mazanet's description of a "creek of brackish water".

(p. 232) "pulapacxam" (manuscript variant provided by Bolton [in Hatcher 1932:51]: "pulapexam" *pulapexam*); the word is arguably an attempt to record *pilapaxam*.

The version of the name provided by Bolton is taken as the better of the two. The referenced river is the Río Grande, for which two aboriginal names are given, the second being "guanapetnan". Mazanet says that the first, *pulapexam* (in which "pe" may represent the prefix *pa*), means *en donde se crían gallinas* (the place where hens are raised); the term can be translated in a tentative way. *pula* may be an attempt to render *pila*, a form of Coahuilteco *pilam* 'to live' (Swanton 1940:34), and *pexam* probably includes Coahuilteco (wa)yam 'bird' (Troike n.d.: appendix) (cf. Comecrudo *xa'm* 'bird' [Swanton 1940:78]). *pexam* analyzes as prefix *pa* (orthographic "pe") + root *xam* 'bird'. *xam* is likely a dialectal variant of *yam* or else a poor recording of that term. Accepting these inferences, *pilapaxam* means '(where) birds live'. The reference is most likely to the wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) or the chachalaca (*Ortalis vetula*).

(p. 233) "guanapetuan" *wanapetwan* (manuscript variant provided by Bolton [in Hatcher 1932:51]: "guanapetnan" *wanapetnan*).

The above variant is taken as the better recording. This is the second aboriginal label for the Río Grande. The name is fairly straightforward Coahuilteco, and analyzes as *wan* 'water' + *apetnan* 'large', in accordance with Mazanet's stated meaning. The latter morphological form is a poor-quality recording, or else a dialectal version, of *apanan*, *apnan*, *-nan* 'great' (Swanton 1940:12; Troike 1963:298, 1967:81).

(p. 234) "guanapaclec" *wanapaklek* (variant provided by Bolton [in Hatcher 1932:52]: "guanapache" *wanapačē*; Mazanet 1691b reads "guanpachec" *wanpaček*).

This aboriginal name, which is clearly in the Coahuilteco language, is said by Mazanet to mean *agua de lodo* (muddy water), and refers to several *esteros* (pools to one side of a river) once called "Charcos de Cuervos" (crow ponds). The aboriginal term is composed of *wan(a)* 'water' + *(a)paklek* or *(a)paček*. The second morphological form, obviously meaning 'mud', apparently relates to Comecrudo *(pa)pak^wel* 'wet' (Swanton 1940:85). A number of roots are shared by Coahuilteco and Comecrudo.

(p. 234) "samenpajo" *samenpaxo*.

This Coahuilteco name was applied to a stream once called by the Spanish "Arroyo Pullón" (if *pullón* = *puyón*, large *púa*, the meaning of the word is 'spine, barb') because a Spanish soldier caught a *vagre* [*bagre*] *de pullón* at this place. "Arroyo Pullón" thus means 'barbed (cat)fish creek'. Although Mazanet offers no translation, the initial form of *samenpaxo* is a variant recording of *samin* 'frijolillo', or mountain laurel (*Sophora secundiflora*) (Swanton 1940:35). The second form, *paxo*, cannot now be translated with assurance, but may be a poor recording of *pa^wx*: prefix *p(a)* + subordinated verb stem *-a^wx* 'many' (Troike n.d.: appendix). In that case, "samenpajo" is very likely *saminpa^wx* 'many mountain laurels (frijolillos)'.

(p. 235) "guanapacti" *wanapakti*, for *wanapaxte* or *wanapaxti*.

The name is said to mean, in the native language, *arroyo de dos aguas* (creek of two waters), referring to a stream called by the Spanish Caramanchel Creek. The aboriginal name apparently refers to almost parallel tributaries of the Comanche Creek drainage system of Zavala County. Mazanet's translation of the Coahuilteco name is accurate enough, although the best literal meaning, perhaps, is 'companion stream(s)'. The word *wanapaxti* analyzes as *wana* 'water' + *-paxti* 'companion' (Troike n.d.:61); the latter discomposes as prefix *p(a)-* + root *axti* or *axte* 'two' (Swanton 1940:48).

(p. 235) "chotilapacquen" *čotilapaken* or *čotilapak^wen*, although initial "ch-" may instead stand for *š*.

Mazanet says that "they called this the River of Nuts", in reference surely to the many pecans along the stream's upper reaches. It is not entirely clear, however, whether

the "they" means Spaniards who had recently passed through the region or local aborigines. Regrettably, the aboriginal name cannot be translated in its entirety, although it would not be surprising if *čotil(a)* (perhaps *šotil[a]*) meant 'nuts' or 'pecan trees'. *paken* is perhaps Coahuilteco prefix *p(a)-* + *akkan*. The exact meaning of *akkan* is not known, although the form occurs in *wan akkan* 'river' (Troike 1967:81).

(p. 236) "guanapacavas" *wanapakawas* (manuscript variant provided by Bolton [in Hatcher 1932:53]: "guanapacaus" *wanapakaws*).

The Coahuilteco name for the Frio River is said by Mazanet to mean *agua fría*. *wanapakawas* consequently analyzes as *wana* 'water' + prefix *pa-* + root *kawas*. Although 'cold' is unknown in Coahuilteco, *kawas* arguably has just that meaning. Furthermore, *kawas* may relate to Comecrudo *pasekiaw*, or *pasekyaw* 'cold' (Swanton 1940:88). In that word, *pa-* is a (verbalizing) prefix and *se-* may be another; once the affixes are removed, the root *kyaw* 'cold' remains.

(p. 236) "guanapajao" *wanapaxaw*.

This is the name for a stream called the "río Jondo" (*hondo* 'deep'), described as a small river. The aboriginal name is not translated by Mazanet, although "guana" *wana* is clearly 'water'. (*pa*)*xaw* cannot definitely be identified independently, although the term may mean or connote 'deep', since that term appears in the Spanish name. It is conceivable that *-xaw* relates to Comecrudo *é-u* or *ö-u* 'deep' (Swanton 1940:64), although it is more likely that (*pa*)*xaw* is prefix *p(a)* + *-awx* 'many, much', in which case the stream name means 'abundant (hence deep) water'.

(p. 237) "potopatana" *potopatana* (Mazanet 1691b gives "pot(t)apana" *potapana*).

Mazanet declares, quite clearly, that this aboriginal name means *pozo*, a Spanish noun that ordinarily translates into English as 'water well'. Here, however, the meaning is more likely to be 'sinkhole' or 'deep hole (in a stream)', since according to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* of the Royal Academy (p. 1055) a *pozo* can also be a "sitio o paraje en donde los ríos tienen mayor profundidad" (place or spot where rivers have a greater depth). Either the form *poto* or *tana* may be the Coahuilteco root meaning *pozo*. It is possible that *tana* is attested as "tina-" in the place name "tinagana", the local name of hills extending between "potopatana" and the Medina River (Bexar County, Republic of Texas District Court Records, No. 67, p. 352).

(p. 237) "penapay" *penapay* (manuscript variant of Hatcher [1932:54]: "panapay").

The meaning of this word remains unknown, although Mazanet describes the referenced place as a creek formed by the juncture of a dry arroyo with a flowing stream. The aboriginal name cannot be translated and the language is not identifiable.

(p. 238) "yanaguana" *yanawana*.

This is the Coahuilteco word applied to the river which Mazanet named San Antonio de Padua (Mazanet 1691a, 1691b), the present San Antonio River. The initial word-constituent form, "yana", remains untranslated, although "guana" is the familiar Coahuilteco *wana* 'water'.

(p. 239) "Imatiniguiapacomisen," ?*imatinigi'apakomisen* (manuscript variant provided by Bolton [in Hatcher 1932:55]: "Smatiniguiapacomisem").

Mazanet relates that this name means *río en donde hay colores para pintar las adargas* (river in which there are colors for painting shields). If the name is Coahuilteco, it cannot now be analyzed, since 'color (red?)', 'to paint', and 'shield' are missing from the short Coahuilteco lexicon. It is barely possible, however, that *-tini-* is related to *-tana* of *potopatana*, above, which may be a root meaning 'sinkhole (in stream)'. Nonetheless, it is now impossible to demonstrate that ?*imatinigi'apakomisen* is a Coahuilteco name.

(p. 239) "papulacsap" *papulaksap* (manuscript variant of Hatcher [1932:56]: "papulcasa" *papulkasa*).

Unfortunately, Mazanet offers no translation of this term, but mentions a spring of flowing, cold water within a creek of warm, brackish water; the stream reference is arguably to Cibolo Creek. It is quite probable that *papulaksap* or *papulkasa* is related to Coahuilteco *wan pupako* 'spring of water' (Troike 1967:81), in which case *pupako* partially equates with *papulkasa*. It is surely coincidental that the name *papulkasa* resembles the name of an aboriginal group, Pacpul (Campbell 1976:682-683), that lived on both sides of the Río Grande in Mazanet's day. Nevertheless, a Pacpul male accompanied the expedition, serving as interpreter for Coahuilteco speaking people that Mazanet met near present-day San Antonio. This man must have continued with the Spanish party as it headed northeast toward the Hasinai (Mazanet 1691a, in Gómez Canedo 1968:238).

(p. 240) "xaloton" *šaloton* (manuscript variant of Hatcher [1932:56]: "xoloton").

Mazanet reports that this aboriginal creek name means *nueces negras* (black nuts). The language cannot be identified, nor can the term definitely be translated; nevertheless, a possibility exists that the name is related to the form *čotil(a)* or *šotil(a)* of "chotilapac-*quen*", above, which may mean 'nuts'. However, this equivalence becomes reasonable only if *t* and *l* are transposed in one of the forms. It is also possible that *-ton* of *xaloton* relates to Coahuilteco *čum*, *tako'm* 'night' (Troike n.d.:appendix). The word for 'black' is unknown in Coahuilteco, but in several American languages 'black' and 'night' are similar or identical.

Mazanet (1691a, in Gómez Canedo 1968:240) gives a second aboriginal name for the foregoing place, "bataconiquiyoqui", and states that languages other than the one previously encountered were in use from "bataconiquiyoqui" onward to the Hasinai lands. He then lists a number of small ethnic groups (*e.g.*, Cantona, Emate, Caguas, *etc.*) living in the new region (but not necessarily near "xaloton"), many of whom can now be identified as speakers of the Sanan language (Johnson and Campbell n.d.), arguably belonging to the south Texas and northeast Mexican *Sprachbund*. However, "bataconiquiyoqui" and all subsequent stream names in Mazanet's journal are clearly in the Caddo tongue of the Eastern Woodlands. In itself this is not surprising, for traveling with Mazanet was an eminent Hasinai named Bernardino (Terán 1692, in Gómez Canedo 1968:184; Mazanet 1691a, in Gómez Canedo 1968:248n), who obviously supplied Caddo place names once a point was reached during the journey where he recognized geographical landmarks.

The streams with Caddo names were seemingly known to the Hasinai through their buffalo-hunting expeditions into central Texas. "bataconiquiyoqui" (Hatcher [1933:56] "bataconiquiyoque") can be translated in part. "bat(a)" is an attempt to represent either Caddo *batah* 'fish' (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:108) or *ba'hát* 'river' (Swanton 1942:16). "aconi" is Natchitoches/Yatasi (and Hasinai?) dialect *akani-*, as seen in *akanígidahágadisa* 'creek' (Swanton 1942:15), wherein *kan-* (a bound form) is 'water, liquid' as in *kándaska* 'swift, strong water' (Swanton 1942:16, table) (*cf.* Kadohadacho *háni-* in *hánidádis* 'creek' [Swanton 1942:15], where *h* < **k*).

Conclusions

Mazanet's travel journal of 1691 contains considerable information in the form of place names, both aboriginal and Spanish. A single language (Coahuilteco) is responsible for most of the aboriginal stream names from the Sabinas River (east of Monclova, Coahuila) at least to "papulcasa" creek (somewhat east of present-day San Antonio, Texas). In fact, Mazanet (1691a, in Gómez Canedo 1968:240) implied that only one language (meaning Coahuilteco) was spoken from east of Monclova to a creek just east of Papulcasa; and although that generalization is untrue, at least those of Mazanet's aboriginal stream names which can be identified as to language, up to and including "papulcasa" (probably Cibolo Creek), are clearly Coahuilteco. It is likely that Mazanet was supplied these names

by a Coahuilteco-speaking guide, or guides, accompanying the Spanish party, since Indian groups who could have furnished stream names were encountered only along a few of the rivers that the expedition crossed.

It can also be seen that some Spanish names for the water sources are translations of aboriginal descriptive labels—although native-derived European appellations were first employed for the Río Grande and streams to its west considerably before General Terán de los Ríos and Father Mazanet made their journey in 1691, and derive from non-Coahuilteco languages. Examples of Mazanet's Coahuilteco stream names for present-day eastern Coahuila and Texas (whose aboriginal meanings agree with those of Spanish names) are "guanapetnan" 'large water' (Río Grande), "guanapacavas" 'cold water' (Río Frío), and perhaps "guanapajao" 'abundant (deep?) water' (Río Hondo). It may also be that the native name "chotilapacquen" possessed the same meaning as did the Spanish appellation for the Nueces River, 'river of nuts (pecans)'.

The search for recognizable, translatable linguistic forms among Mazanet's aboriginal stream names has provided a few new Coahuilteco words and word-constituent morphological forms. They should, however, be considered provisional additions to the lexicon of that language, at least until other names are found in which they can be recognized and verified. These forms include a variant, *asan* (perhaps *xasan*), of the Coahuilteco word for 'heart', a shortened version *-wal* of the Coahuilteco word *pewal* 'lazy (still)', and a root *xam* 'bird' which more closely resembles the common Comecrudo word for 'bird' (*x'am*) than the known Coahuilteco term. The name analyses also include a discussion of a form, *apetnan*, of the word meaning 'large'; this adjective differs somewhat from the usual Coahuilteco term so glossed. Furthermore, it can be argued that an otherwise unknown root *(a)paklek* means 'mud', and that the term is cognate with Comecrudo 'wet'. It is also fairly certain that *kawas* or *kaws* is Coahuilteco 'cold', and it is even possible that *čotila* or *šotila* is the Coahuilteco word for 'pecan'—although this assertion is most tentative. Yet however small this addition to the short Coahuilteco vocabulary may be, any increase in the lexicon is worthwhile.

EARLY ROADS ACROSS THE SOUTH TEXAS LANDSCAPE

by A. Joachim McGraw

As noted, the trans-Texas route commonly known as the Old San Antonio Road was actually composed of different segments that changed through time and varied widely across the historic landscape. This chapter focuses on the changing variants of historical routes from the Presidio del Rio Grande across southern Texas from the late 17th to the mid-19th centuries. Since these routes crossed major streams in the region, various *parajes*, or campsites, are identified. As these roads approached the environs of San Antonio, the oldest associated crossings, or *pasos*, are identified along the Medina River. The study will also briefly review several other river crossings south of the city to illustrate the changing pattern of network routes that developed from the earliest roads.

The Earliest Trails 17th- and Early 18th-Century Routes of Exploration

Not all the routes of early Spanish expeditions into Texas became later roads of settlement or saw continued use. Alonso de León's diaries of 1689 and 1690, indicate that his route from the Rio Grande to Hondo Creek in Medina County was the same as that of Terán de los Ríos in 1691. Many historians credit Terán with establishing the first trans-Texas route. The exploratory routes of many early expeditions cannot be considered the same as the routes of settlement, transportation, and commerce that were used after the founding of San Antonio in the early 18th century. The roads that eventually developed in southern Texas and which eventually declined in importance by the middle 1800s became popularly known as the Upper Presidio Road, the *Camino Pita*, and the Lower Presidio Road or *Camino de en medio*. A brief summary of these routes follows.

The Upper Presidio Road, or *Camino Arriba del Río Grande* and the *Camino Pita*

Large portions of the Upper Presidio Road first originated as routes of exploration in the late 17th century. The trail crossed the Rio Grande at either the Paquache or Paso de Francia crossings near present Guerrero (the Presidio del Río Grande) and led to southern Maverick County (Figures 11 and 12). Three additional crossings were also used in the 18th century: *Paso de las Islas*, *Paso de Nogal*, and *Paso de Diego Ramón* (Weddle,

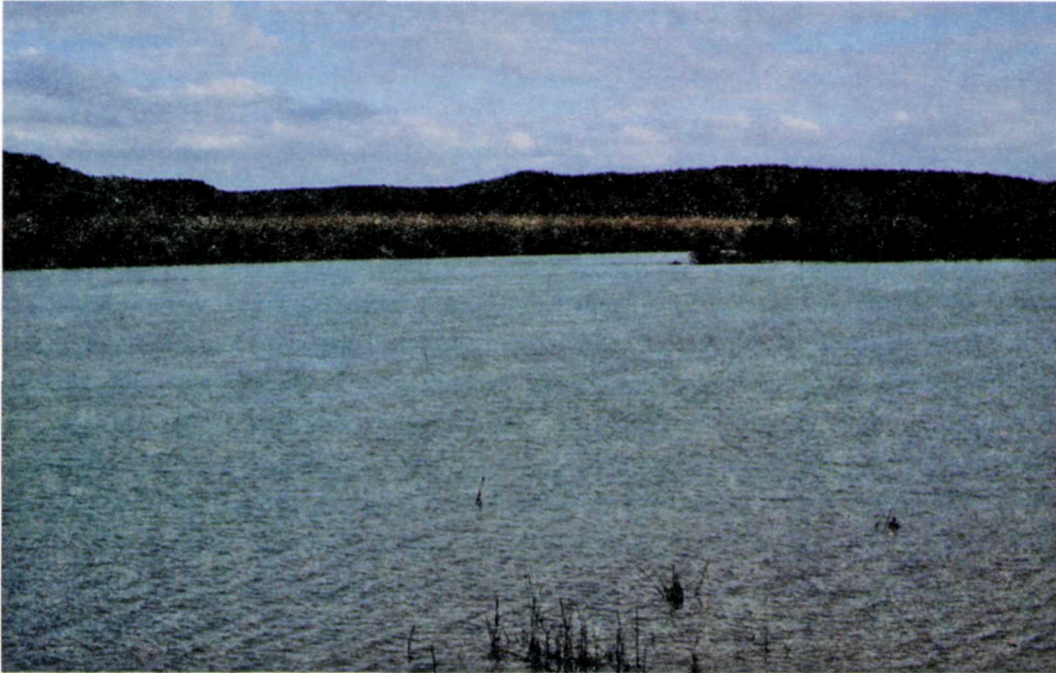


Figure 11. *Paso de Francia* at the Rio Grande, looking into Texas. The modern locale of the early crossing has changed relatively little in 300 years.



Figure 12. The remains of Mission San Bernardo at Guerrero, Coahuila, Mexico. Historians have described the missions, presidio, and townsite at Guerrero as "the gateway to Texas."

personal communication). The choice of river crossings depended on practical considerations such as varying water depth.

The trail then headed eastward toward the *paraje* of El Cuervo, a campsite noted by De León in 1689 to be three to four leagues from the Rio Grande. The road then traveled past a series of intermittent drainages noted for their poor quality of water. These campsites and *charcos* were once known as La Rosita/Las Rosas de San Juan, Palo Blanco, La Peña, Arroyo Salidito, Carrizo, and La Laguna Espantosa (Figures 13 and 14).

The route then crossed the Frio River (Figure 14) in the immediate vicinity of Old Frio Town in northwestern Frio County (Figure 15). Approximately six leagues northward, it forded the steep Hondo Creek within a few hundred yards of modern FM 2200 in southern Medina County. This locale is believed to be De León's *las Cruces*. He observed that Indian petroglyphs in the shape of crosses were carved on white rocks there. SDHPT archaeologists located a massive outcrop of grayish-white sandstone in the vicinity of the old road that was covered with weathered graffiti dating to the 19th century (Figure 16). No other such sandstone exposures have been noted on that portion of Hondo Creek.

During the course of research, Henry Briscoe, Medina County Commissioner, furnished an 1866 county map that clearly distinguishes the earlier and changing routes of the Upper Presidio Road and the *Camino Pita*. Like earlier 17th-century routes, the road then crossed Francisco Perez and Chacon creeks in the vicinity of present-day Devine, just west of and parallel to IH 35. Projections of the route from the 1866 Medina County map show that the route would have crossed the Medina River just southwest of San Antonio near present-day Macdona in southwest Bexar County.

The historical crossing identified along this portion of the Medina River was often hazardous to early explorers. In 1716, Captain Domingo Ramón, while leading a party to establish permanent settlement in Texas, was horrified when 82 of the expedition's horses drowned while attempting to cross the river. The following day, Wednesday, May 13, 1716, the Reverend Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa conducted the first known High Mass recorded on the Medina River, to crush the Devil from that locale (Foik 1933:11-12).

While this region was traversed in the late 17th and early 18th centuries on a route of exploration, use of the route declined with the establishment of the Lower Presidio Road circa 1730-40. Spanish Colonial associations of this upper route in the mid- to late 18th century are documented as the road acted as the southern boundary of Rancho San Lucas, an outlying ranch of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo in San Antonio.

A 19th-century variant of this route was known as the *camino arriba* or *camino pita* when the upper road was reopened by Governor Antonio Cordero at the turn of the 19th century. The route of the *Camino Pita* was in large parts similar to that of the Upper Presidio Road, but different crossings have been identified for the Medina River and Chacon, Francisco Perez, and possibly, Hondo creeks. The *Camino Pita* is the same route noted by Stephen F. Austin circa 1828. A Texas Republic-period court case in 1838, describes in detail the different routes of the Presidio Roads and a translation of this



Figure 13. Routes of Upper and Lower Presidio roads from the Rio Grande to the Nueces River, early 19th century. (Map redrawn by SDHPT. Original unpublished maps on file, Berlandier Collection, Yale University.)

document is included in this report (The Seguin Transcript, Part II). The document clearly states the chronological change of the routes.

The Lower Presidio Road or *Camino de en medio*

The Lower Presidio Road was also known as *el camino de en medio* as it was the middle of three roads leading south from San Antonio in the 18th century. The lowest route would have been the Laredo Road. After crossing the Rio Grande, the Lower Presidio Road crossed the *parajes* of Santa Catarina, San Pedro, Los Charcos de Barrera, San Roque, and, just south of the Nueces River, La Romana. In this vicinity is the hill of La Cochina ("the sow") where Morfi, in 1777-1778, described a Lipan Apache Indian battle involving several unfortunate travelers of the road (approximately 2.6 miles south of the Nueces River). Morfi also commented on a *palo alto* between the Nueces and Frio rivers. As it was phrased, the observation may have referred to a Spanish Colonial reference point marking the half-way point between San Antonio and the Rio Grande by a tall stick or a copse of trees on a prominence.

The road continued northward and passed San Miguel and Parrita (Parita) creeks and, later, the Atascosa River near present-day Poteet. One of the Atascosa River crossings was noted on an 1894 county map (courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Waylan D. Harrison, Leming). During the Mexican Republic period, *circa* 1831, the road formed the eastern boundary of the José Antonio Navarro land grant north of the Atascosa. The *paso* was located at the intersection of the Navarro grant, the river, and the northwest corner of the Antonio Herrera survey (Figure 17). Further north, the route crossed Magdalena (Galvan) and Gallinas (Rancherías) creeks.

Several routes of the road ran from the Atascosa River crossing northward. A western branch ran parallel to State Highway 16, the Palo Alto Highway, and crossed the Medina River in the vicinity of the present highway. The route apparently was in use during the time of José Navarro as it was noted by Stephen F. Austin in 1829 (map on file, D-8E, SDHPT, Austin). this segment of the Lower Presidio Road has not been previously recognized and may explain the origin of "Palo Alto" or "Camino de la Agua Negra" (see text on Medina River crossings). Palo Alto and Agua Negra [sic] are two creeks that may still be found on modern maps just west of the former *paso* on the Atascosa River (in the vicinity of the former Navarro grant).

The segment of the route was in at least occasional use through the mid-19th century as Gentilz (Kendall 1974:114) traveled this road in 1848 to a point well south of the Atascosa River and called it the *camino de los palos altos*. Given this variant of the route, "Palo Alto" and *palos altos* may have been corruptions of the 18th-century *palo alto* mentioned by Fray Morfi.



Figure 14. Route of the Upper Presidio Road from the Nueces River to the Frio River, South Texas, circa 1828. (Map redrawn by the SDHPT; the original unpublished maps are on file, Berlandier Collection, Yale University.)



Figure 15. Town square and county courthouse, historic Old Frio Town, Frio County, and son of present landowner.

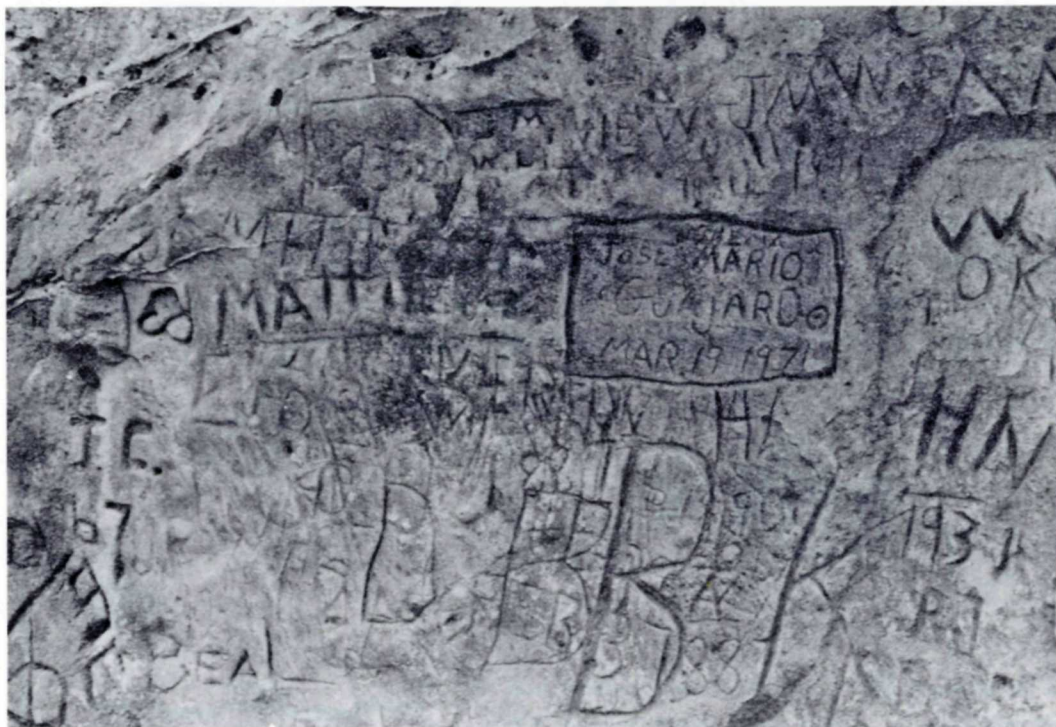


Figure 16. Extensive area of historic and modern graffiti carved on sandstone outcropping, vicinity of Upper Presidio Road crossing at Hondo Creek, Medina County.

Figure 17 (on facing page). Changing routes of the *Camino de en medio*, or Lower Presidio Road, Frio to Medina Rivers, South Texas, circa 1777-1848. A segment of this road north of the Atascosa River was closely linked to another early route, the historic San Antonio-Laredo Road. The variations of the Lower Presidio Road are plotted from the following sources:

1. Stephen F. Austin's map of Texas, 1829, on file, D8-E, SDHPT, Austin, and the Texas State Archives, Austin.
2. Field Survey Notes from Bexar County: Bruno Martinez land grant, 1838 (BCA Surveyor's Field Notes Book A1:25), Bernadino Ruiz survey (BCCH, District Court Records Case No. 360), and the James Taylor survey, No. 1386, Bexar County, on file, GLO Archives, Austin.
3. Map of Atascosa County, 1894. Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. W. Harrison, of Leming. The Old Presidio Road is illustrated as the boundary of the José Antonio Navarro and Joaquín de la Garza grants.
4. *Colección de Itinerarios para Diferentes Puntos de la República Mexicana*, 1844, on file, BLAC, Austin, and D8-E, SDHPT, Austin. This rare document, reproduced in this report, gives distances in leagues between reference points on contemporary roads. Since Mexico still claimed Texas in 1844, the *colección* included information on routes north of the Rio Grande. In describing the Laredo Road at the Arroyo Atascoso (Atascosa River), the document noted: "... (el) Camino llano hasta el atascoso, donde se reune el camino de Río Grande con este." [... the (Laredo) road (is) level (or smooth) until the Atascosa(o), where it joins the road from (the) Rio Grande.]
5. Projected plotting of the route by OSR project staff after a review of historical documents. An on-site field inspection with local landowners in June 1990, confirmed physical remnants of the road extant. The route in this area is also discernible in aerial photographs of the Frio River, on file at TNRIS, Austin.

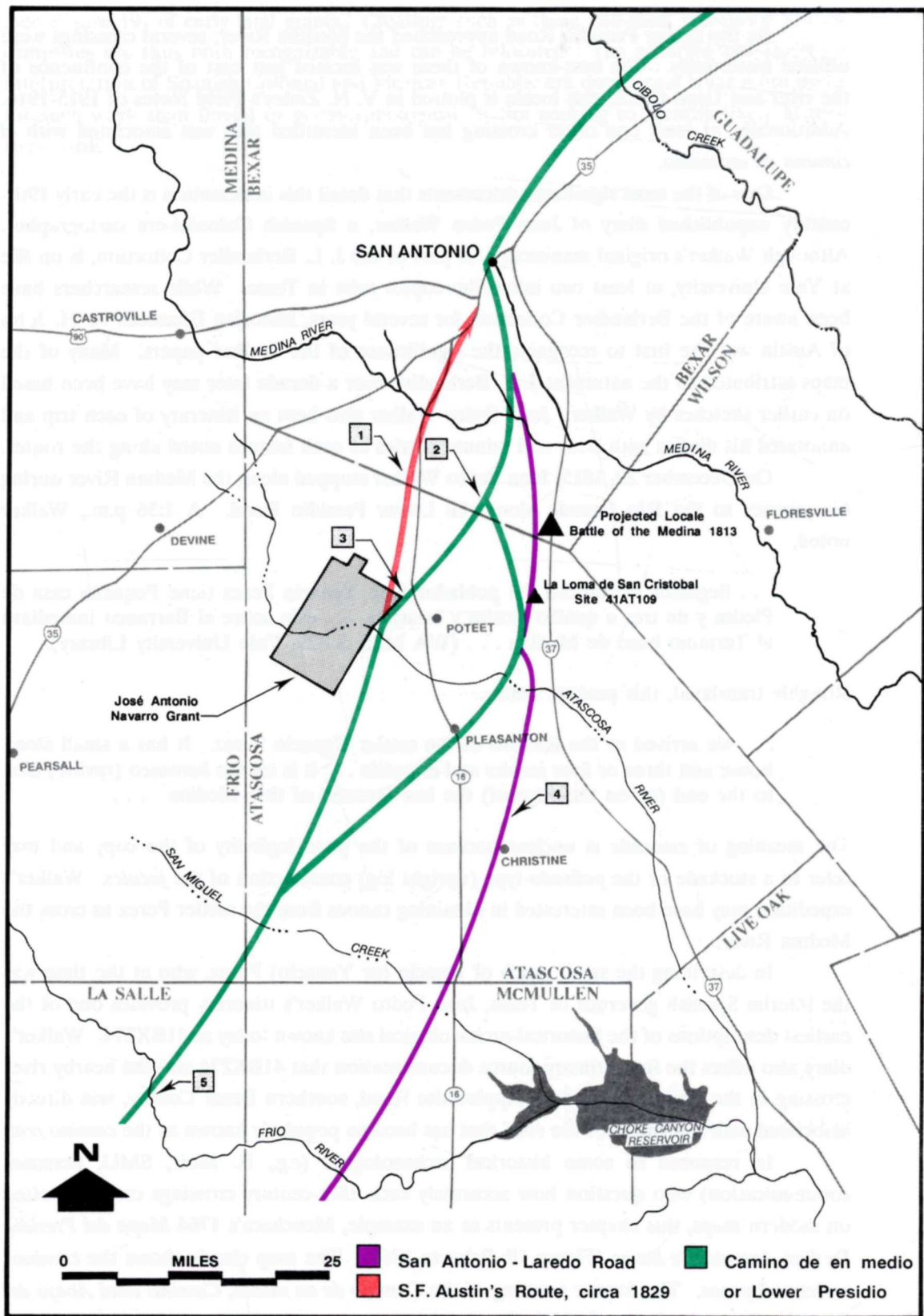


Figure 17. Changing routes of the *camino de en medio*. See figure caption on facing page.

As the Lower Presidio Road approached the Medina River, several crossings were utilized historically. The best-known of these was located just east of the confluence of the river and Leon Creek; this locale is plotted in V. N. Zivley's Field Notes of 1915-1916. Additionally, at least one other crossing has been identified that was associated with *el camino de en medio*.

One of the most significant documents that detail this information is the early 19th-century unpublished diary of Juan Pedro Walker, a Spanish Colonial-era cartographer. Although Walker's original manuscript, as part of the J. L. Berlandier Collection, is on file at Yale University, at least two microfilm copies exist in Texas. While researchers have been aware of the Berlandier Collection for several years, historian Elizabeth A. H. John of Austin was the first to recognize the significance of the Walker papers. Many of the maps attributed to the naturalist J. L. Berlandier over a decade later may have been based on earlier sketches by Walker. Juan Pedro Walker also kept an itinerary of each trip and annotated his diaries with hour and minute entries of each feature noted along the routes.

On December 29, 1815, Juan Pedro Walker stopped along the Medina River during his journey to the Rio Grande along the Lower Presidio Road. A 1:36 p.m., Walker noted,

. . . llegamos al Rancho del poblador Don Ygnacio Perez tiene Pequeña casa de Piedra y de tres a quatro jacales y estacada . . . esta sobre el Barranco inmediato al Termino baxo de Medina . . . (WA MS5, S-329, Yale University Library).

Roughly translated, this passage reads,

. . . we arrived at the Rancho of the settler Ygnacio Perez. It has a small stone house and three or four *jacales* and *estacada* . . . it is on the *barranco* (ravine) next to the end (or on the edge of) the low (ground of the) Medina

The meaning of *estacada* is unclear because of the poor legibility of the copy and may refer to a stockade or the *palisado*-type (upright log) construction of the *jacales*. Walker's expedition may have been interested in obtaining canoes from the settler Perez to cross the Medina River.

In describing the small ranch of Ignacio (or Ygnacio) Perez, who at the time was the interim Spanish governor of Texas, Juan Pedro Walker's itinerary provides one of the earliest descriptions of the historical-archaeological site known today as 41BX274. Walker's diary also offers the first primary source documentation that 41BX274 and the nearby river crossing in the vicinity of modern Applewhite Road, southern Bexar County, was directly associated with a segment of the road that has become popularly known as the *camino real*.

In response to some historical archaeologists (e.g., R. Moir, SMU, personal communication) who question how accurately such 18th-century crossings can be plotted on modern maps, this chapter presents as an example, Menchaca's 1764 *Mapa del Presidio De San Antonio De Bexar* (Figure 18; Schuetz 1969). The map clearly shows the *caminos reales* and *pasos*. The former crossing of the *Camino de en medio*, *Camino Real Abajo del Río Grande*, or the Lower Presidio Road, is shown as crossing just east of the confluence of the Medina River and Leon Creek. Such maps can be compared to field survey notes

(see Figure 19) of early land grants. Crossings such as these and their associated historic campsites are thus both recognizable and can be relocated. The accurate and insightful interpretation of Spanish Colonial and Mexican Republic-era documents is far more useful for such work than fluvial or geomorphological studies seeking to identify likely historic river fords.

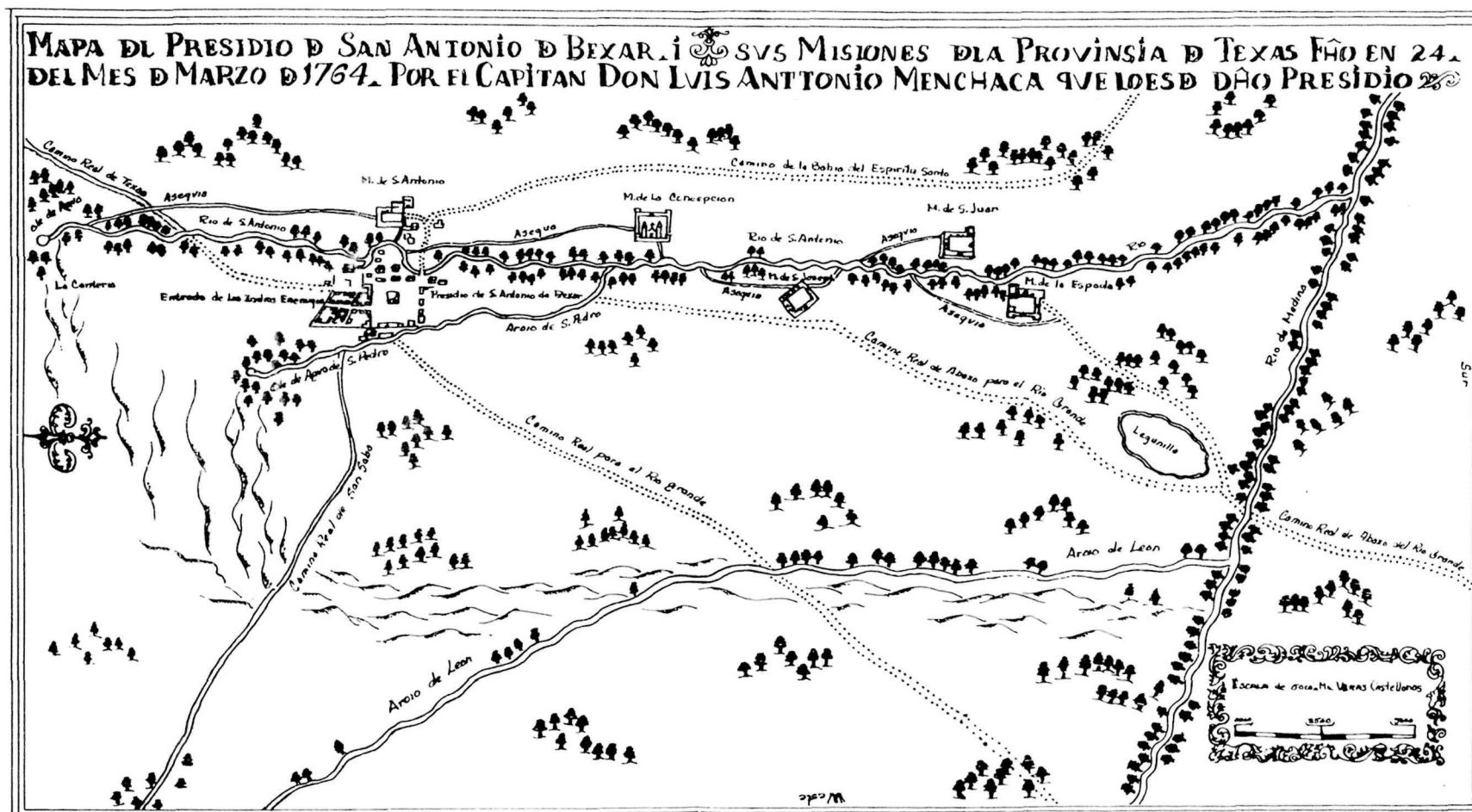


Figure 18. Mapa del Presidio De San Antonio De Bexar. Drawing from Mechaca, 1764. Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

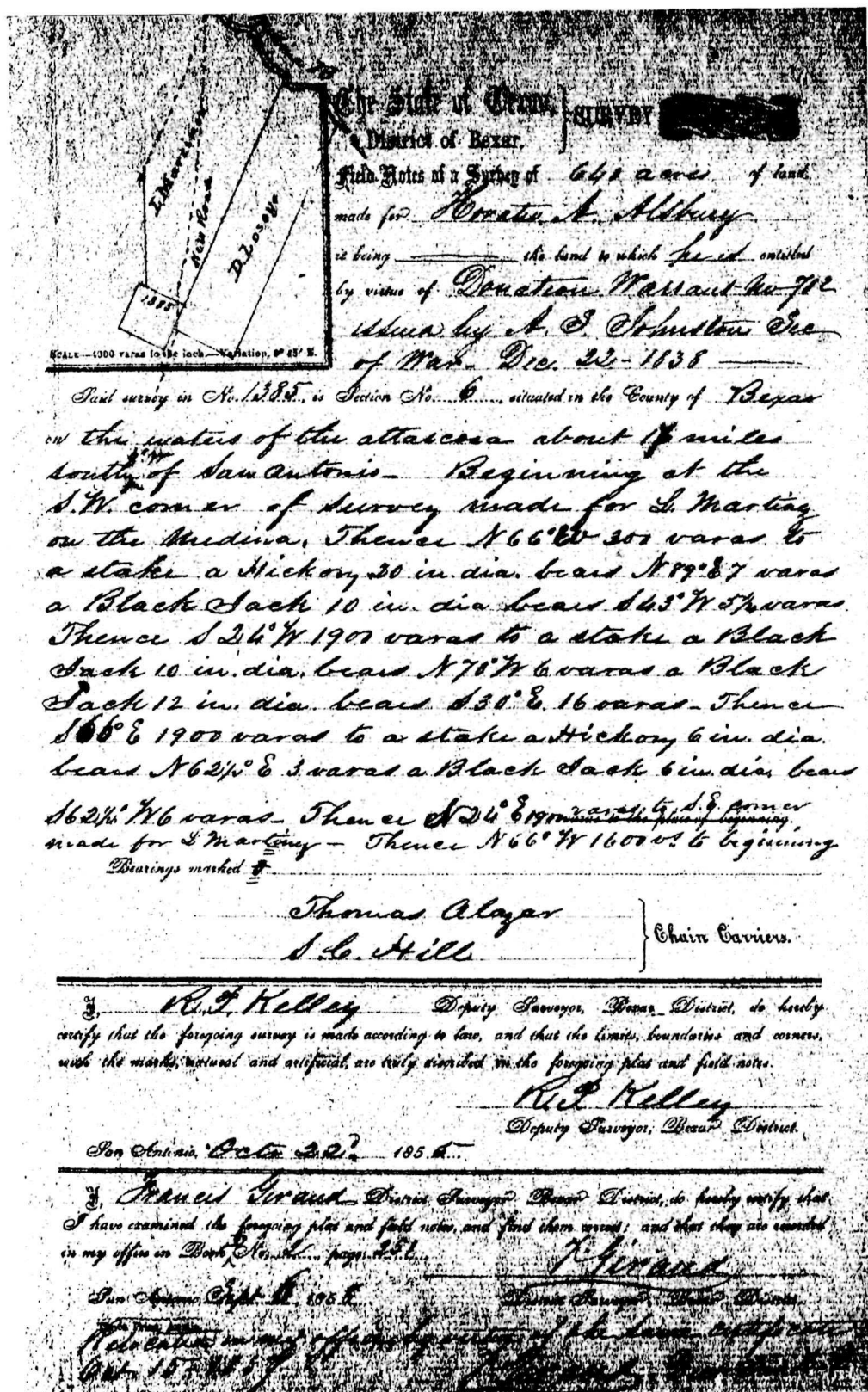


Figure 19. Surveyor's Field Notes of the James Taylor Survey, Bexar County. Map shows the changing routes of the Lower Presidio Road (GLO Archives, Austin).

SPANISH MISSION *RANCHOS* ALONG THE *CAMINO PITA* AND *CAMINO DE EN MEDIO* (OR LOWER PRESIDIO ROAD)

by A. Joachim McGraw

The early outlying ranches of the San Antonio Spanish Colonial missions are a poorly understood part of Texas history. Given that individual ranches were often 40,000 acres in extent and may have included as many as 10 locales, the mission lands around San Antonio could have consisted of over 400,000 acres. The location and later distribution of these properties directly affected the regional pattern of land holdings and rural development in the early to mid-19th century.

Mission *ranchos* formed an integral part of the colonial mission complex, provided subsistence for the local settlement, and taught Indian converts the fundamentals of agriculture and stock raising. The church *ranchos*, tended by mission Indians, were used to raise livestock such as *ganado mayor* or *mejor* (horse and cattle) and *ganado menor* (smaller stock such as sheep and goats). Structures associated with the *ranchos* apparently varied widely—from simple corrals to wooden huts, or *jacales*. The ranch headquarters of Rancho Las Cabras, belonging to Mission Espada, was composed of a fortified, rock-walled compound with a number of individual interior living quarters and a religious shrine (cf. Ivey 1983).

The success or failure of these *ranchos* in part determined the fortunes of the mission effort and the settlement as a whole. In the San Antonio area, each Spanish mission usually had more than one *ranchito*, sometimes distinguished by its *ganado mayor* or *menor*. Different *ranchos* of the same mission were also sometimes used at different times; hostile Indian attacks occasionally forced the withdrawal of outlying *ranchos* to locales closer to the settlement.

Modern researchers have mostly overlooked the study of mission *ranchos*. J. Jackson (1986) has discussed the importance of mission *ranchos* in the development of 19th-century ranching and R. Thonhoff (personal communication) has tentatively identified the location of La Mora, one of the mission ranches of San Antonio de Valero (later known as the Alamo). However, with the exception of Rancho Las Cabras of Mission Espada, the former locations and boundaries of other *ranchos* of the San Antonio missions have generally faded from the historical record.

The review of the *caminos reales* has identified additional data that offers insights on some of these former *ranchos*. This information was derived from the understanding that many early *ranchos* used existing roads as their boundaries.

RANCHO SAN LUCAS

Rancho San Lucas was one of two mission ranches of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo in the 18th century. Located about 20 miles west of San Antonio on and around the Medina River, the *rancho* was associated with San Lucas (or present-day Lucas) Creek. The mission ranch should not be confused with El Atascoso, a second ranch of Mission San José that was located in the vicinity of the Atascosa River in present Atascosa County.

Rancho San Lucas was composed of 11 *sitios* (11 square leagues) or over 48,000 acres (one square league = 4428.402 acres). In modern times, the eastern boundary was a short distance west of Loop 1604 in the vicinity of US Highway 90, east of Castroville. The northeastern corner was a large hill called Loma Padron. Padron Hill can still be located on modern maps as the highest point in Bexar County (see Figure 20).

Figure 20 shows the projected boundaries of the Spanish Colonial Rancho San Lucas, the extensive ranch of San Antonio's Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, circa 1777, and the location of several modern counties and highways. The *Camino Pita*, an upper route that linked San Antonio to the Rio Grande, was the southern boundary of the *rancho*. The review of related documents has shown a separate route and Medina River crossings of the 19th-century Upper Presidio Road in this same area. All details, unless noted, are redrawn from an 1866 map of Medina County.

The western boundary was west of the Medina River and also west of the modern city of Castroville in Medina County. The *rancho's* northwestern limit was identified as the road to *El Cañon*. *El camino para el Cañon*, or more properly, *El cañon del Uvalde*, was a road from San Antonio to the ill-fated 18th-century Spanish frontier mission outpost of San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz. San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz was established in 1762 to Christianize Apaches in the area. For a period of seven years and until it was abandoned, the mission was located on the upper Nueces River in Edwards County (cf. Tunnell and Newcomb 1969).

Notes to Figure 20:

1. Berlandier 1980:557-561.
2. Court Case of Don Domingo Castelo vs. Mission San José concerning the ownership of Rancho San Lucas, 1776-1777: page 2 (57) [reverse]; on file, Archives, General Land Office, Austin.
3. Stephen F. Austin (SA No.'s 54 and 57, maps on file, Barker Texas History Center, Austin) called this creek "Rosales" circa 1828. A number of earlier travelers including Fray Francisco Céliz, a diarist of the Alarcón Expedition in 1718-1719, identified this creek as "Los Payayas," approximately three leagues northeastward of the Charcos de la Pita (see below).
4. Austin (SA No.'s 54 and 57) identified this creek as "Pita."
5. A modern property ownership map of Medina County (General Land Office) shows a remnant of the Upper Presidio Road adjacent to the southeast corner of the Jno. H. Isabell survey. Courtesy of H. Briscoe, Medina County.

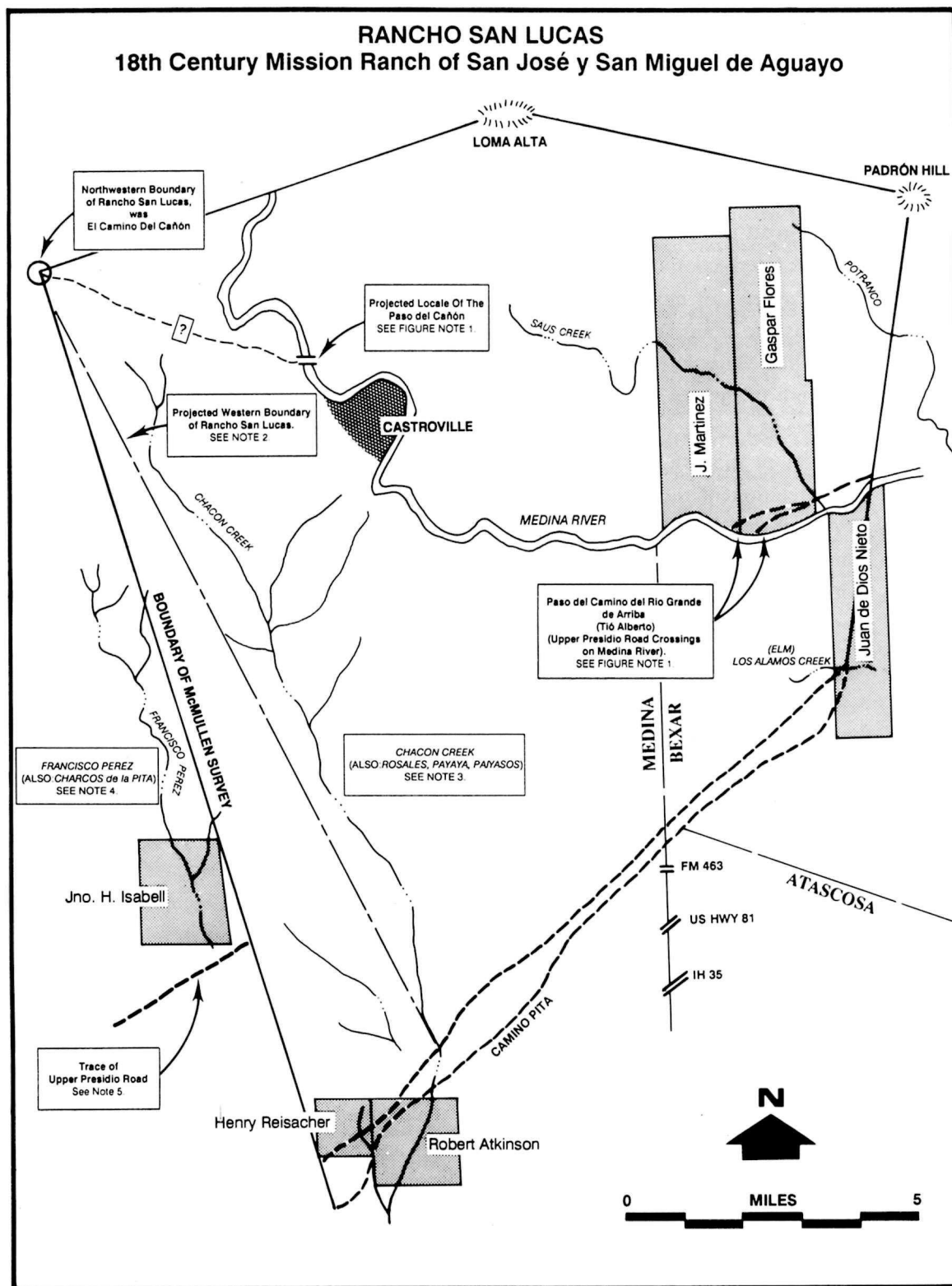


Figure 20. Projected boundary of Rancho San Lucas, land belonging to Misión San José y San Miguel de Aguayo in the 18th century.

The location of the *paso del camino para el Cañon*, or the Medina River crossing of the Cañon road, was noted in passing (literally) by Berlandier (1980:561), circa 1828. The crossing was approximately three leagues (7.8 miles) west of the Upper Presidio Road crossing on the river. Although little used even in Berlandier's time, the *Cañon* crossing was not forgotten later. In 1844, William Bollaert (Hollon and Butler 1956:352) described the locale: ". . . came to the 'Cañon Crossing' of the Medina River, about 3 miles below where the San Geronimo enters the Medina"

The southern limit of Rancho San Lucas was the *Camino Pita* (a historical review of this road is discussed in the preceding section). The southwestern point of the ranch was the intersection of the *Camino Pita* and what was once called the Arroyo del Paiyazos [*sic*] (Payayas), or modern Chacon Creek in the vicinity of Devine. This locale was not the same as the point shown on later 19th-century Bexar and Medina County maps of the McMullen Survey; McMullen shifted the southwestern edge of his land grant claim westward to include the Francisco Perez (or Pita) Creek. The southeastern boundary of Rancho San Lucas was the intersection of the *Camino Pita* and a creek identified as Los Alamos, or modern Elm Creek, approximately two miles north of present IH 35. The interpretation of the Spanish Colonial boundaries of Rancho San Lucas is based on a review of the 1776-1777 documentation and description of the *ranch* (*Castelo vs. Mission San José*, on file, Archives, GLO, Austin) and an accurate plotting of the *Camino Pita* as derived from an 1866 map of early Medina County. The 18th-century description of the *ranch* boundaries, from the original text of *Castelo vs. Mission San José* (on file, Archives, GLO:(2) 52 [reverse]) follows:

. . . las tierras del paraje enuciado corriendo estas del Norte a sur desde la Loma nombrada el Padron, al paso de el Arroyo de los Alamos, y de ay para el Poniente por el Camino de la Pita al Arroyo de Paiyazos, y volviendo para el Norte a el Camino que viene del Cañon por la Loma alta a la y de ay para el Oriente por la dicha loma alta a la citado de Padron

This is roughly translated as:

. . . the lands of the *paraje* were stated as running from north to south from the hill named El Padron, to the crossing of Alamos Creek, and from [there] toward the west along the *Camino Pita* to the Arroyo de Paiyazos, and turning to the north [northward] to the road that comes from the Cañon to the *Loma alta* [high hill] and from there toward the east from the said *loma alta* to the cited [Loma] Padron

Further descriptions given later in the document include references to *mojoneras*, or piles of stones, placed as boundary markers and a Spanish Colonial blaze-mark in the shape of a cross on a mesquite tree. The original document as noted, identified the southwestern corner as the "Arroyo Paiyazos" ("payasos" means "clowns"). This is believed to be a mistranslation or mistranscription of the former name "Payayas."

THE MISSIONS LANDS OF SAN JOSÉ AND ESPADA

The outlying lands of the San Antonio missions were composed of both established ranches and undeveloped acreage. Some portions of the mission lands not in use may have been leased by the church to private individuals. Named ranches were areas where actual structures had been constructed by Indian converts and where livestock was tended. While the mission ranches themselves may have been composed of 11 or more square leagues, the addition of undeveloped rural property owned by a single mission may have doubled or tripled the size of church holdings.

In addition to Rancho San Lucas, the Mission San José also claimed a similar-sized ranch known as El Atascoso south of the Medina River in modern Atascosa and possibly southern Bexar counties. The boundaries of El Atascoso are only vaguely described in existing documents although the margins of the ranch did not extend eastward beyond the (north-south) Lower Presidio Road. Lands east of the road are known to have belonged to Mission Espada (see Figure 21). El Atascoso did not extend further westward than the *Camino Pita* (or Upper Presidio Road) as the *Camino Pita* marked the boundary to Rancho San Lucas.

Although the mission lands of San José included Rancho San Lucas, Rancho Atascoso, and the *paraje* of San Miguel, these were separate locales and apparently were not used simultaneously. Rancho San Lucas was divided by the Medina River that in the late 18th century acted as the boundary between Coahuila and Texas. The ranch consisted of six *sitios* of land south of the river in Coahuila and five *sitios* in the jurisdiction of Texas (Castelo vs. Mission San José:74, on file, Archives, GLO). El Atascoso, located south of the Medina and near the Atascosa River, would have been entirely in the jurisdiction of Coahuila. The general locale of Rancho Atascoso may be gleaned from the notes of Fray Gaspar José de Solís who visited the ranch in August 1768 during his trip to Laredo (Kress 1932:73). The landmarks and *parajes* that Solís identified on his trip were clearly on the historical San Antonio-Laredo Road. These *parajes* are the same as those noted in an 1844 description of the Laredo Road (see *Colección de Itinerarios*, this volume). In comparison, Rancho San Lucas was situated not near the San Antonio-Laredo Road but bounded by the *Camino Pita* some miles to the northwest.

Solís recorded that in 1768 Rancho Atascoso consisted of 10-12 leagues of land with 10 droves of mares, four droves of burros, about 1,500 yoke of oxen, and 5,000 head of sheep and goats (Kress, 1932:51). In comparison, Domingo Castelo in 1777-1778 while disputing the ownership of Rancho San Lucas, claimed that the property had been abandoned by Mission San José for some time. This was contested by Fray Pedro Ramírez de Arellano, President of the Zacatecan missions in Texas. He noted that while it was occasionally necessary to remove livestock from San Lucas to the *paraje* of San Miguel (about 25 leagues away), this presented difficulties because of distance and Indian attacks (Castelo vs. Mission San José:1, 67; on file, Archives, GLO). Although part of the mission lands of San José, the *paraje* of San Miguel could not have been the same or a part of El

Atascoso as Fray Arellano's reference of 25 leagues (about 65 miles) was far beyond the distance (10 to 12 leagues) that Fray Solís (Kress 1932:51) identified for El Atascoso.

The direct reference to the *paraje* of San Miguel implies that this may have been the southern extent of Mission San José's lands and was located south of Rancho Atascoso, presumably near San Miguel Creek in modern Atascosa County.

It is possible, even probable, given the corresponding size of El Atascoso and Rancho San Lucas, that the Upper and Lower Presidio Roads may have acted as the western and eastern boundaries of El Atascoso. The southern limit of the former *ranchito* is not believed to have extended much further than the Atascosa River, based on interpretations of the boundary of the José Antonio Navarro land grant in Atascosa County. Navarro's father, Angel, was owed over 400 pesos by Mission San José during the secularization, and was eventually repaid in land rather than money (San José Papers, Part II). If these same lands became the José Antonio Navarro grant of four square leagues as identified on General Land Office maps of the county, then portions of the Navarro land grant may reflect segments of the earlier El Atascoso.

The northeastern margin of the Navarro grant was the Lower Presidio Road, thus linking it to the eastern boundary of El Atascoso. The southern limit of the Navarro property extended to near present-day State Highway 173. Running northwestward, State Highway 173 now intersects Chacon Creek near this locale in the modern city of Devine.

This latter locale was the southwest corner of Rancho San Lucas (see Figure 21). The northern boundary of El Atascoso cannot be identified although Spanish Colonial documents and diaries offer some clues. In the early 19th century, a four-league area was once claimed by Ignacio Perez, an interim Spanish governor of Texas. This land was bordered by the Medina River on the north and the Lower Presidio Road on the east. The southeastern corner of this property, approximately 2.5 miles south of the Medina River and the Lower Presidio Road crossing, was known as the *cañada de Loma de San José* (GLO Archives, vol. 43:119-121). One league to the west, the Perez surveyor's point was known as (the *paraje* of) *Padre Pedraso*. A Padre Pedrajo was the *Padre Presidente* of Mission San José and was responsible for the distribution of mission lands during the partial secularization in 1794 (San José Papers, Part II). It is possible then, that two of the Perez boundary markers may have been associated with Mission San José.

It is believed that the *cañada de Loma de San José* was the same locale that was described by Fray Morfi in 1777 during his travels northward to San Antonio while on the Lower Presidio Road (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:93-108). Morfi noted that after crossing Gallinas Creek (approximately five miles or two leagues south of the Medina River) and just before reaching a bald or bare hill, he encountered the piles of stone, *mojoneras*, that marked the boundary of the mission lands of Espada.

This presents an incongruity since, slightly later, Manuel Salcedo described the mission lands of Espada as, ". . . por el Sur hasta el Atascoso Camino de Río grande" (San José Papers, Part II, 275-276). If this is interpreted to read as, ". . . to the south until El Atascoso (along) the Rio Grande Road," then the Lower Presidio Road would have acted as the western boundary to the Mission Espada lands. It would have also bordered

the lands of Mission San José (El Atascoso) west of the road. It is possible that Fray Morfi's *mojoneras* acted not only to mark the boundary of Mission Espada but the corner boundaries of Mission San José's lands and eventually, the property claimed by Perez.

THE LOST MISSION RANCH OF SAN ANTONIO DE VALERO (THE ALAMO)

A brief review of San Antonio-area Spanish Colonial mission ranches related to the *caminos reales* would not be complete without addressing an early ranch of Mission San Antonio de Valero. Valero later and more popularly became known as the Alamo. Founded in 1718 as the first mission in frontier San Antonio, Valero claimed as part of its outlying property two separate mission ranches, La Mora and Monte Galván. The latter consisted of a vast acreage that stretched across much of northern, present-day Bexar County. Poorly described in the historical record, Monte Galván was a name actually applied to the area in a later period; during the time of its mission use it was referred to as *el monte*, the woods (Jackson 1986:38).

In 1762, the report of Fray Mariano Viana (Habig 1976:56-58) noted that Valero's ranch, some distance from San Antonio, had over 1,000 head of cattle, 2,300 sheep and goats, other livestock, a stone house, and a stone chapel. The chapel included an altar with a 5 1/2-foot stone cross. Because of the brief description, there is some question as to whether the mission ranch that Viana described was La Mora or Monte Galván. It is possible that the report referred to Monte Galván since a few years later, in 1768, Fray Gaspar José de Solís (Kress 1932:48) identified the ranch of La Mora as belonging not to Valero but to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. By 1772, Monte Galván was the only occupied mission ranch in the San Antonio area; hostile Indians had temporarily made the settlement of other *ranchos* too dangerous (Jackson 1986:113).

The boundary of Monte Galván was generally described as north and east of the mission. The ranch followed the Salado Creek drainage in the west and was bounded by Cibolo Creek further northeastward (Jackson 1986:38). Jackson also suggested that the mission lands, of which Monte Galván was a part, extended to Martínez Creek in eastern Bexar County. Little more is known of Monte Galván.

The occurrence of early *caminos reales*, along with major streams, acting as boundaries to mission *ranchos* has offered several speculative insights into the former location of Monte Galván. If the former boundary of Galván followed the pattern of Rancho San Lucas and El Atascoso, then a common boundary would have included an existing road. If this was the case, and accepting the Salado and Cibolo Creeks as margins of Monte Galván, the most obvious contemporary road in the vicinity of the ranch was the *Camino de los Tejas*, the earliest variant of the Old San Antonio Road. The SDHPT research suggests that Monte Galván extended from the Salado Creek in the west to the Cibolo in the north and may have used the *Camino de los Tejas* (or as it is known today,

Nacogdoches Road) as its southern border. The *camino* then would have separated Rancho Monte Galván from any other additional undeveloped mission lands to the south and east. The encompassed area would have been roughly equivalent to that of Rancho San Lucas or El Atascoso.

In discussing Salado Creek as the western boundary of Monte Galván, Jackson (1986:331-332) noted that two massive limestone pillars, obelisk in shape, were found near the confluence of the Salado and Panther Springs creeks at the archaeological site of 41BX180. Site 41BX180 was located in the vicinity of an unusually large spring in northern Bexar County that once fed a small natural lake known as Higgins Waterhole.

First recorded by Hudson, Lynn, and Scurlock of the Texas Historical Commission in 1974, each stone pillar was over six feet tall and one was engraved with a date of 1786, two Spanish brands, and a stylized cross. Two additional rectangular pieces of worked limestone were found that individually measured in inches approximately nine x five x 32. The stone pillars were located near a large mid-19th century rock-rubble walled ranch complex that included the remains of two stone buildings. The stone house was reportedly built on the ruins of an earlier unidentified structure (Hudson, Lynn, and Scurlock 1974:10-11).

Jackson (1986:331-332) speculated that the carved cross and date were associated with a prominent Spanish Colonial livestock roundup of that period and that the stone ruins may have been the corral mentioned or otherwise used in conjunction with the Monte Galván operation.

Since the initial discovery, a limited amount of field archaeology was conducted at 41BX180 by the University of Texas at San Antonio in 1979 (Fox 1979) but no additional evidence of Spanish Colonial activities was recognized.

Most recently, an SDHPT review of aerial photographs of 41BX180 showed that portions of the walled complex still exist although impacted by significant modern disturbances. More significantly, the remnant northwest corner of the compound wall was observed to intersect the locale of 41BX338, the Haase Site (notes on file, TARL). The Haase Site, destroyed a decade ago by relic collectors and residential construction, was originally recorded as the largest concentration of prehistoric ceramics in the county. Fragments of bone-tempered pottery once littered the area in midden-like concentrations.

Given the early historical background of the immediate area and the coincidental nature of 41BX338, it is tantalizing to speculate if the material remains of the Haase Site were not related to historic Indian activities associated with the Spanish Colonial origin of the limestone pillars. Additionally and as importantly, several avenues of both circumstantial and material evidence presently suggest that the locale of 41BX180 may have once been the ranch headquarters for the mission *rancho* of Monte Galván.

In summary, the modern discovery and accurate identification of Spanish colonial mission ranches are a significant contribution toward a better understanding of South Texas' Spanish Colonial heritage. The redefinition of the *rancho*, linked to modern points of reference and compared to a more accurate plotting of roads and boundaries, should offer historians a firm basis for further research.

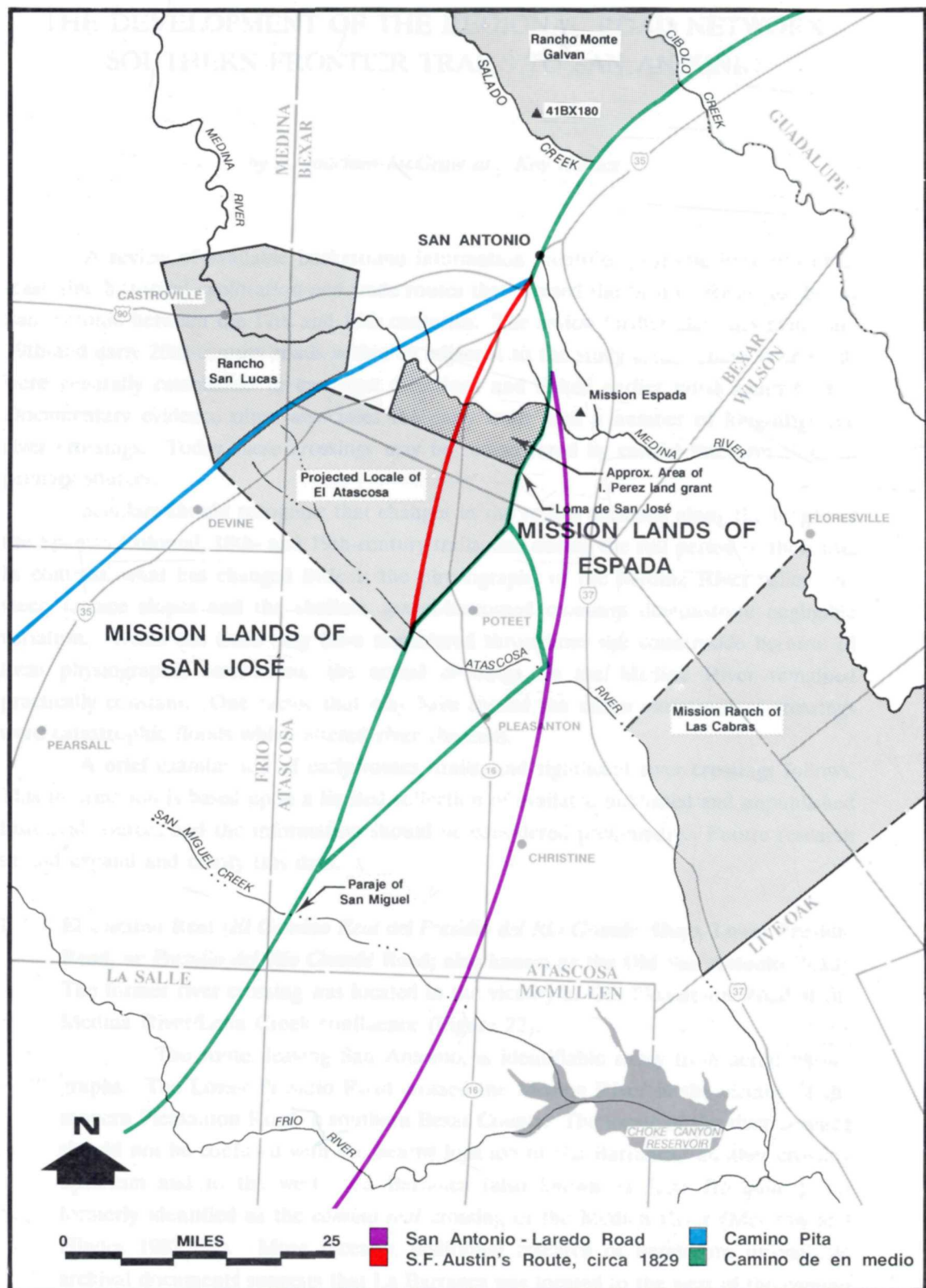


Figure 21. Projected boundaries, lands of the Missions San José and Espada, south of San Antonio.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGIONAL ROAD NETWORK SOUTHERN FRONTIER TRAILS TO SAN ANTONIO

by A. Joachim McGraw and Kay Hinds

A review of available background information identifies probable locations of at least nine historical exploration and trade routes that crossed the Medina River just below San Antonio between the 17th and 19th centuries. The review further identifies many late 19th- and early 20th-century roads within or adjacent to the study area. These later roads were generally established in east-west directions and linked earlier north-south routes. Documentary evidence often associates the early trails with a number of long-forgotten river crossings. Today these crossings may be rediscovered by careful interpretations of primary sources.

Scholars should recognize that changes in the routes occurred along the length of the Spanish Colonial, 18th- and 19th-century trails, and during the full period of their use. In contrast, what has changed little is the physiography of the Medina River valley—the steep terrace slopes and the shallow, gravel-bottomed crossings demonstrate negligible variation. While the trails may have meandered throughout the countryside because of local physiographic restrictions, the actual crossings on the Medina River remained practically constant. One factor that may have caused the minor variations of crossings were catastrophic floods which altered river channels.

A brief examination of early routes, trails, and significant river crossings follows. This information is based upon a limited collection of available published and unpublished historical sources and the information should be considered preliminary. Future research should expand and clarify this data.

1. **El Camino Real** (*El Camino Real del Presidio del Río Grande Abajo*, Lower Presidio Road, or *Presidio del Río Grande* Road; also known as the Old San Antonio Road). The former river crossing was located in the vicinity of Old Pleasanton Road at the Medina River/Leon Creek confluence (Figure 22).

The route, leaving San Antonio, is identifiable today from aerial photographs. The Lower Presidio Road crossed the Medina River in the vicinity of the modern Pleasanton Road in southern Bexar County. The locale of the river crossing should not be confused with the nearby location of "La Barranca," another crossing upstream and to the west. La Barranca (also known as *Paso Tranquitas*) was formerly identified as the *camino real* crossing of the Medina River (McGraw and Hinds 1987:384). More recently, additional research of heretofore unavailable archival documents suggests that La Barranca was located to the west of the *camino real* crossing.

The route of the *camino real* and the associated Medina River crossing was noted by V. N. Zivley in 1915-1916. This was the lower 19th-century route of a Spanish Colonial road to San Juan Bautista, at present Guerrero, Coahuila, Mexico. San Juan Bautista, the Presidio de Río Grande, and the Presidio San Juan Bautista were varying terms for the same place. More recently Hinds (1987) demonstrated that Zivley's estimates were slightly inaccurate. Surveyor's field notes of the Bruno Martinez grant in 1838 (BCA Surveyors Field Notes Book A1:25) and a resurvey of the Bernardino Ruiz land grant in 1847 (BCCH, District Court Records Case No. 360) revealed that the trail looped southwestward (rather than south) through the Bruno Martinez grant. The river crossing, as delineated on the early survey field notes, was the same as that detailed by Zivley. The early trail would have paralleled, but not followed (as Zivley suggested), Old Pleasanton Road. Then, a short distance later the trail crossed Gallinas Creek approximately a mile west of the modern highway.

A review of Berlandier's unpublished maps and journal entries (Berlandier, Yale Collection, microfilm on file, Special Collections, JPL, UTSA) indicates a possible alternate route. This former route is estimated to have crossed the Medina River to the west of the Medina/Leon Creek confluence. Projections of the Lower Presidio Road beyond this point suggest that it turned southwest toward present-day Poteet, perhaps following the terrain and drainage contours of upper Galvan Creek and Rutledge Hollow. Zivley identified the road approximately two miles due east of Poteet.

The re-evaluation and more accurate description of this trail will contribute to a better understanding of associated historic sites. El Atascoso, the Spanish Colonial mission *rancho* of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, in San Antonio, may have been located adjacent to this road near the Atascosa River. Rancho San Lucas of Mission San José, and Rancho Las Cabras of Mission Espada were also located near or bordered by early routes.

2. **The Upper Presidio Road or the *Camino Real de Río Grande (Arriba)*.** The Medina River crossings were located in the vicinity of La Coste and Castroville, near the Medina-Bexar County line.

The origin of this route is obscure. The Medina River crossing, however, can be closely estimated by Berlandier's (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:557-574) description during his journey to San Juan Bautista circa 1828-1834.

After leaving San Antonio, Berlandier traveled southwest, crossed the Arroyo del León, Medio and Potranco creeks, El Ojo de Agua de San Lucas, and El Sauz Creek and then arrived at the Medina River. The crossing is estimated to have been approximately four to five kilometers west of the confluence of Sauz Creek and the Medina River (see Figure 23).

from Colorado west to heads of San die, about
 8 miles, and 12 to Navidad, 25 to La Baca
 5 to Peach Creek 45 to Guadalupe

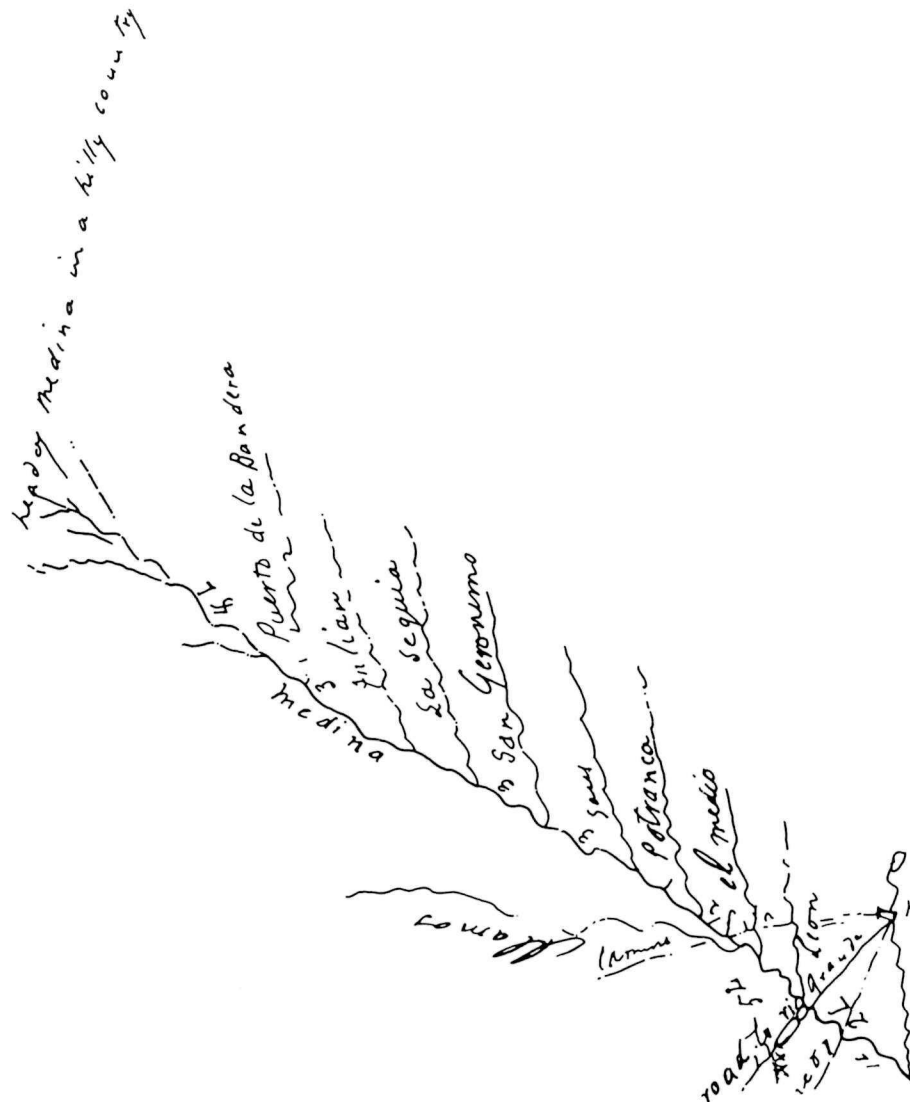


Figure 22. Stephen F. Austin's sketch map of roads and river crossings along the Medina River, Bexar County, circa 1828.



Figure 23. Route of the Upper Presidio Road in the vicinity of the Medina River, *circa* 1828. The map is redrawn from papers of the Berlandier Collection, Yale University.

Berlandier identified (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:561) the *Paso del Camino del Río Grande de Arriba*, also called *Paso Tío Alberto*. The crossing was situated about three leagues east of an earlier, seldom traveled road leading to another ford upstream, the *Paso del Cañon*. It was located north of present Castroville in Medina County. Berlandier eventually crossed the river at *Paso Tío Alberto*, the site of his encampment, which he estimated to be less than two miles west of El Sauz Creek.

Berlandier, at the Upper Presidio crossing, never stated that he was on the Upper Presidio Road. The Upper Presidio Road traveled by Berlandier has been confused with another contemporary route identified by Stephen F. Austin as the *Camino Pita* (see below).

Excluding identifiable, differing segments of both the *Camino Pita* and the Upper Presidio Road, these names basically describe only one historical route across southern Texas. Austin referred to this road as the *Camino Pita* during the Texas Republic Period but it had much earlier Spanish Colonial associations. While historic crossings along the Medina River differed between the Upper Presidio Road and the *Camino Pita*, other landmarks along the roads in southern Texas were similar. Both Berlandier and Austin identified Lake Espantosa (Laguna Espantosa), in present-day Dimmit County, as being on the road to the Presidio San Juan Bautista and on the *Camino Pita*, respectively. No other historic trails in southern Texas reflect this similarity of *parajes* or landmarks.

3. **The *Camino Pita* or Pita Trail.** The Medina River crossing was in the vicinity of present-day Macdona, just west of modern IH 35.

The earliest use of the *Camino Pita* or "Pita Trail" is unknown. Williams (1979:137-140) believed that the route was blazed as early as 1716 by Domingo Ramón and that the trail predated the Upper and Lower Presidio Roads. He suggested that the *Camino Pita* actually consisted of two separate routes in different historical periods and also maintained that 19th-century Spaniards "reopened" the "Pita Trail." The route identified by Austin overlaid in places an earlier road, but in some areas, varied from it by 10 miles or more. Future researchers must review Williams's conclusions since they raise as many questions as they answer.

The *Camino Pita* also served as the southern boundary of Rancho San Lucas, the mission *rancho* of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo. The *Camino Pita*, as the *rancho*'s boundary, was at least contemporaneous with the founding of the mission *rancho*. The boundaries of the former ranch were identified from a careful review of Spanish Colonial documents on file at the Archives of the General Land Office, Austin (Figure 24).

Stephen Austin, in unpublished survey notes (BTHC, Austin Papers, SA 54 and 57, Series V) identified both the route of the *Camino Pita* and its crossing on the Medina River, circa 1828. Austin clearly showed this location between the confluences of Potranco and Medio creeks with the Medina River. This locale is

near present Macdona in southwestern Bexar County. The ford is well east (downstream) of the route and crossing used by Berlandier in the preceding discussion of the Upper Presidio Road.

The route of the *Camino Pita* may have followed, in part, the trail of Alonso de León in 1690, as discussed by Campbell (1975:6). Accompanying De León, Fray Mazanet identified six historical Indian groups that inhabited the area. The traveled routes, if related, would lie between Macdona and the Medina River to the north and angle southwestward toward the southeast corner of Medina County in the vicinity of present-day Devine. The identification of former historic Indian campsites would offer a significant contribution to early Texas history.

McGraw (TARL, 41AT109) has also identified a cross-shaped blaze mark on a large live oak near the Medina River in the vicinity of Macdona, southwestern Bexar County. This area is the most probable locale of the southeastern boundary of Rancho San Lucas. This site is likely the river crossing of the *Camino Pita* as identified by Austin's field survey maps circa 1828.

4. **Santa Anna's or Laredo Trail, (Upper) Laredo Road.** This segment was located in the vicinity of Somerset Road and the Medina River, southwestern Bexar County.

In 1836, Mexican General Santa Anna did not travel this road, as he did not march from Laredo but rather crossed the Rio Grande near San Juan Bautista on the Upper Presidio Road. This variant of the Laredo Road (or Old Somerset Road) may have been a later western branch that eventually joined the older and more documented route to the southeast (see No. 6 below).

Data available for the identification of this road consists of deed records, Bexar County Commissioner's Court Minutes, Road Minutes, and its map location by R. A. Goeth in 1913 (map on file, CAR-UTSA). The route, in part, was similar to that of the modern Somerset Road and crossed the Medina River in the approximate location of the Somerset Road Crossing, formerly known as *Paso de la Garza*.

5. ***Camino de los Palos Altos*** (circa 1848) and a slightly later road was known as the ***Camino de la Agua Negra*** [*sic*] (circa 1860). This segment was in the vicinity of modern State Highway 16 and the Medina River.

Little is known of this road beyond a diary entry by Gentilz in 1848 (Kendall 1974) and later 19th-century Bexar County road minutes. More recently called the Palo Alto Highway, Gentilz' reference indicates a much earlier road southward from San Antonio to an unidentified destination. *Camino de la Agua Negra* [*sic*], apparently in the same locale, is known from a historical map entry entitled "Atascosa County, 1868" (on file, CAR-UTSA). Recent research suggests separate routes of the Palos Altos Road that may have shifted between the former Talón and Jett crossings.

It is unclear whether the earliest river crossing of these roads was originally at Jett Crossing (identified in 1989 in the vicinity of 41BX519; earlier known as the Sabinitas Crossing) or varied slightly westward, perhaps utilizing the crossing previously identified as Talón Crossing, 41BX680.

One of the Old Palo Alto Crossings (Jett Crossing) near modern State Highway 16 and the Medina River was distinct from and approximately one mile east of the Paso *Talon* (McGraw and Hindes 1987:257). Documentary references to Talón predate Gentilz' mid-19th century notations of the Palo Altos Road. Talón was first identified from 1808 field survey notes of a four-league grant to Ignacio Perez, thus relating the crossing to the late Spanish Colonial period. Previously unavailable archival documents suggest that there are discrepancies between Talón Crossing of the original 1808 Perez grant and a resurvey of the grant in the 1840s.

6. **Routes of the Old (San Antonio-) Laredo Road**, circa 1755-1860. The earliest route of the Laredo Road (ca. 1750s) crossed the Medina River in the vicinity of Losoya. Additional Medina River crossings that varied through time included one in the vicinity of Old Pleasanton Road and an eastern branch that forded the river in the vicinity of modern IH 37. A western Laredo Road route has been discussed above under No. 4 "Santa Anna's or Laredo Trail."

The Old San Antonio-Laredo Road became one of the most significant routes to affect the economic growth of San Antonio during most of the late 18th and a large part of the 19th centuries. The road's crossings on the Medina River can be accurately identified from records as early as 1828. José María Sánchez y Tapia's map (Berlandier, 1969:7) and Stephen Austin's survey map of about 1828 (BTHC, Austin papers, SA 57, Series V; see Figure 22) show both the road and crossing during the early 1800s.

Austin placed the river crossing one league west of the San Antonio/Medina River confluence (vicinity of Losoya). By 1860, this route was complemented by an eastern branch which crossed the San Antonio River just east of the rivers' confluence. The actual branching of the road occurred in Atascosa County along Galvan Creek approximately three miles north of the Atascosa River (Roessler, 1865:map 1004Q). Johnson and Ward's Map of Texas (1866) shows the Laredo Road merging with the Presidio del Río Grande Road at the Medina River just east of the confluence of the Leon Creek and the Medina.

An unrecognized segment of this road may have existed prior to the founding of Laredo in 1755. This seeming incongruity may be explained by the existence of El Rancho Dolores, the earliest Spanish Colonial *rancho* in Texas. El Rancho Dolores was founded on August 22, 1750, by José Vasquez Borrego, a lieutenant of Colonel José de Escandón. By 1755, the settlement had a population approaching 100 persons. Although in existence for almost 100 years, Rancho Dolores has become somewhat obscure in Texas history. Robert Weddle (1968), in

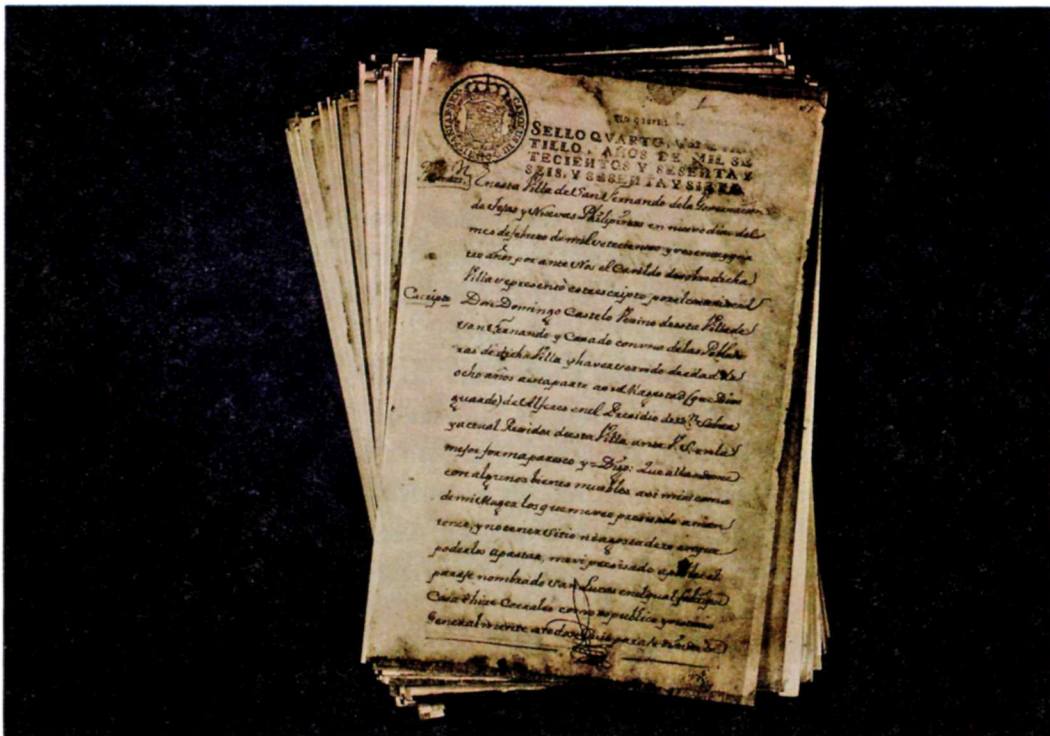


Figure 24. Testimony of a court case regarding property ownership of lands of Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, 1776-1777. The *Camino Pita* acted as a boundary to the property.

his historical discussion of San Juan Bautista, relates that Rancho Dolores included the only ferry across the Rio Grande. The Rio Grande ferry crossing became a major attraction for colonial commerce in the late 18th century. It is interesting to note that the Applewhite Road crossing at the Medina River was known as the Dolores Crossing in the early 1800s (McGraw and Hindes 1987:681-682). If such a crossing was actually associated with the Dolores Rancho, its identification would reflect one of the earliest documented and previously unrecognized 18th-century trade routes on the colonial frontier.

The Laredo trail has additional historical relationships to the regional history since Berlandier, in 1828 (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:1980:283), noted that it was near the location of the (main engagement) Battle of the Medina, fought in August 1813. While the actual battle site has been lost in history, projections of the old road suggest some clues. A historic map circa 1860 found at the Texas State Archives traced the Laredo Road southwestward just below the Medina River to the dividing point of the upper Gallinas (formerly Rancherías) and Galvan creeks. The route then followed the Galvan southward. Based on the projection of the trail and a review of available data, the most likely area of this battle site was near these drainages, approximately five to six miles south of the Medina River, near the Bexar-Atascosa county line.

Evaluations of historical documents coupled with enlightening but often tedious field inspections over a period of several years have recognized portions of the old trail just south of the Medina River. Independent projections on USGS 7.5-minute topographic maps of the most likely cross-country routes were plotted using the "avenues of approach/corridors of advance" system. This technique, emphasizing terrain analysis, was developed and is used by the U.S. military to determine the most viable routes for maneuver and travel. Specific points of the old trail gleaned from such primary source data as field surveyor's notes and plats were used as beginning and ending reference points. These projections were later compared to historical descriptions of the route recognized for their reliability of detail and information, *e.g.*, Berlandier's journals.

The application of terrain analysis to such studies, as an example, postulated historical routes as crossing Gallinas Creek west of existing Pleasanton Road and approximately five miles south of the Medina River. Later archival study identified an early Atascosa County map (on file, CAR-UTSA) that recorded routes of both Lower Presidio and the Laredo roads in this same area. Field inspections showed a distinctive cross blazed into the cambium of a post oak adjacent to a narrow, deeply rutted area. It is believed the proximity of such a blazed-marked tree (Figure 25) along the estimated route of the Old Laredo Trail may have been directly related to the actual colonial route. A similar blazed cross appears on a live oak at 41AT109 near the confluence of Galvan and Gallinas Creeks. In May 1989, McGraw and Hindes (notes on file, TARL) identified this location as the probable *paraje* that Berlandier described in some detail as La Loma de San

Cristóbal enroute to the Medina River in 1828 (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980).

7. **The Corpus Christi Road.** This road crossed the Medina River at Losoya, southern Bexar County.

This crossing and associated road was indicated on a 1913 map of the area by R. A. Goeth (map on file, CAR-UTSA). The route reflects the changing pattern of commercial and economic patterns of southern Bexar County and San Antonio by the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Corpus Christi Road and an expanding network of trade leading to San Antonio indicate the strong trend toward development and diversity that occurred at these times.

SUMMARY

The changing patterns of early historical roads in the lower Medina River valley reflect a previously unrecognized complexity of transportation, communication, and commerce from the time of the Spanish Colonial frontier to more recent historical eras. The development of such significant roads across the historic landscape was influenced by dynamic human processes and natural factors. While it is most appropriate to recognize the significant contributions that such roads have played in the development of Texas, their historical value lies beyond the tedious accomplishments of redefining forgotten trails. The true importance of such networks of transportation and commerce can never be fully understood (or the abandoned routes rediscovered) without first addressing the causal factors behind their development and decline.



Figure 25. Blaze on old oak, 41AT109. The site is believed to be the former *paraje* of J. L. Berlandier, *circa* 1828, that he called *La Loma de San Cristóbal*.

SOUTH TEXAS ROUTES IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY EXTRACTS FROM *COLECCIÓN DE ITINERARIOS*, 1844

Published in 1844, this document provides excellent data on roads for that time period, including the names of *parajes*, distances in leagues, and descriptions of road conditions. Only the roads related to Texas are extracted here. These include: the road running from San Luis Potosí to the Sabine River (Old San Antonio Road), the road from San Luis Potosí to the Sabine River via the coast, the road from Saltillo to Béxar via Monterrey and Laredo, and the segment of road from Presidio del Rio Grande to Béxar. From the fact that these roads were described by the Mexican military, it is evident that there were still hopes of regaining Texas. It also provides valuable information about the Laredo and Goliad roads.

It should be noted that the Rio Grande was not, at that time, an international boundary, as the Sabine River was. The roads did not begin or end at the Rio Grande. They connected points in present-day Mexico and Texas as one nation.

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CIUDAD DE S. LUIS POTOSI AL RIO SABINA

POR EL SALTILLO.

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
<i>á continuación —</i>		
Presidio de Rio grande		
Al paso del Rio grande	2	Buen camino.
Aguaje de S. Ambrosio	7	Tres leguas de camino sobre los rellanos de las lomas, siguen cuatro de llano hasta el Estero de San Ambrosio donde se halla un encinal.
Rio de las Nueces	9	Nueve leguas de camino llano hasta el rio que está bordeado de moreras donde es badeable.
Aguaje de las Lagunitas	8	Camino llano sembrado de mesquites hasta la cañada de las Lagunitas.
Rio frio	9	Camino llano sembrado de mesquites y encinos hasta el rio.
Rio la Parrita	10	Camino parejo por entre algunas cañadas donde se encuentran buenos pastos y agua abundante.
Aguaje el Encinal	9	Camino llano por sobre las lomas hasta la punta del Encinal.

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
Rio Atascoso	9	Camino bueno arenoso entre un bosque hasta llegar al atascoso.
La Rancheria	6	Sigue el camino en los mismos términos.
Rio Medina	9	Sigue el camino de la misma manera hasta el rio que se pasa por bado.
Mision de la Espada	5	Pasado este rio sigue camino llano sembrado de mesquites y buenos pastos hasta la Espada.
Ciudad Bejar	5	Tres leguas bosque de encinos y mesquites, tres y cuarto de legua camino llano hasta el rio San Antonio, que se pasa por bado, sigue un cuarto de legua de buen camino hasta la Concepcion y á una legua se halla Béjar.
Pueblo el Sibolo	5	Tres cuartos de legua camino llano hasta el ojo de agua: sigue el camino llevando al Oriente un monte de encinos hasta el Sibolo, dejando al Norte la lomeria.
Rio Guadalupe	9	A la salida se para el arroyo y sigue el camino sobre el rellano de las lomas, cuyo ascenso es suave, y sembrado de encinos hasta el rio Guadalupe, cuyas márgenes están bordeadas de nogales.
Pueblo de San Márcos	15	Sigue camino llano entre bosques de encinos, y á dos leguas comienzan á verse al Oriente los pinos, y entoda su extension hasta S. Márcos, se encuentran terrenos pantanosos y algunos bayucos.

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
Rio Colorado	25	Esta jornada se hace por entre montes de álamos, pinos, encinos, y otras maderas buenas para construccion, y el camino frecuentemente está embarazado hasta el rio Colorado por bayucos, este rio en su creciente no es badeable.
Rio Brazos	30	Camino llano entre bosques, propios para construccion, de biendo advertirse que todos los árboles están cubiertos de lama solo por el lado del Norte. Este rio cuando crece no es badeable, y en su paso se practica en balsas. El camino está cortado por bayucos.
Rio Trinidad	20	Sigue el Camino en los mismos términos hasta la poblacion de Trinidad á la orilla del rio.
Rio S. Jacinto	12	Continua de la misma manera, y ademas se encuentran algunos arenales y carrisales hasta la pequeña poblacion llamada el rancho del Negro, siendo todo el camino bueno.
Rio el Atascosito	19	Buen camino y en los mismos términos hasta el atascosito.
Ciudad Nacogdoches	20	Idem idem.
Fuente del Rio Sabina	5	Arenal, buen camino.

DEL SALTILLO A BEJAR, POR MONTEREY

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
<i>á continuación —</i>		
Villa Laredo	6	Hasta llegar al rio grande, en cuya márgen está situado Laredo.
Aguajo Atravesañó	9	A una legua de buen camino por entre Chaparrales está el arroyo Chacon y siguen 8 leguas por sobre las lomas hasta el atravesañó.
Aguaie El Pato	5	Camino llano por entre breñales y atascoso en tiempo de aguas.
Aguaie La Becerra	7	Camino llano sembrado de nopaleras y atascoso en las aguas.
Aguaie El Nido	5	Agüí se pasa el arroyo, y á cinco leguas de camino por la márgen Oriental está el Nido.
Aguaie Cañada Verde	11	Camino llano entre nopaleras y chaparrales, é intransitable en tiempo de aguas. A tres leguas del Nido está un bayuco, y á una legua de este el rio de las Nueces, el que es vadeable solo en las secas, cuyas márgenes están pobladas de moreras: á una legua del rio se encuentran dos bayucos.
Aguaie Cañada del Caballo	4	Buen camino en tiempo de secas por entre chaparrales, y en tiempo de aguas impracticable.
Aguaie Rio Frio	6	Sigue el camino en los mismos términos.

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
Rio San Miguel	5	Camino llano hasta el paso del Rio San Miguel, donde quedan al Oriente unas lomas cubiertas de nopales que producen abundante cochinilla. Este camino en las aguas es atascoso.
Aguaje la Parrita	9	Camino llano sembrado de nopales hasta la Parrita que es una cañada poblada de encinos.
Aguaje Punta del Encinal	10	Buen camino hasta la Punta.
Arroyo Atascoso	10	Camino llano hasta el atascoso, donde se reune el camino de Rio Grande con este.

DEL PRESIDIO DEL RIO GRANDE A BEJAR

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
Presidio de Rio Grande Aguaje Paso del Tlacuache	4	Buen camino por entre mesquiales: á un cuarto de legua del Presidio está la mision de San Bernardo
Aguaje Lomas del Cuervo	8	Camino llano sembrado de mesquites.
Aguaje La Peña	9	En los mismos términos que el anterior hasta la Peña.
Rio de las Nueces	5	Sigue el camino en los mismos términos hasta llegar al rio, cuyas márgenes están sembradas de moreras.

NOMBRES DE LOS LUGARES	LEGUAS	DETALLES
Aguaje La Tortuga	6	Camino como el anterior y ademas algunas motas de encinos.
Aguaje La Espantosa	8	Camino como el anterior hasta la Espantosa, en cuyas lagunas se encuentra abundante pesca de bagre, robalo &c.
Rio Frio	7	Sigue el camino en los mismos términos.
Aguaje El Topo	8	Lo mismo que el anterior.
Arroyo de la Leona	6	Idem idem.
Aguaje Punta del Encinal	4	Idem idem.
Aguaje rancho de las Traviesas	8	Camino llano por entre un encinal hasta el Aguaje.
Rio Medina	4	Idem idem.
Ciudad San Antonio Bejar	7	Camino plano por un llano llamado de Leon: el paso de este rio es vadeable en las secas.

THE SEGUIN TRANSCRIPT

One of the most significant documents uncovered during the study of historic trails south of San Antonio was a legal action by Bexar County in 1838 to determine the old route to the Rio Grande from San Antonio (GLO Archives, Austin). The placement of the "middle road," more commonly known as the Lower Presidio Road, apparently was a key factor in the historic boundary dispute. The resulting testimony of several witnesses clearly identifies the abandoned road and sheds some light into the establishment of the upper road. An English translation and Spanish transcription follows. The form of the transcription follows that of the original document.

TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

by John W. Clark, Jr.

Republic of Texas
County of Bexar

Testimony taken in order to know which is the ancient road known as the middle one leaving this city for Rio Grande.

November 1838

Republic of Texas
County of Bexar

In the city of San Fernando de Béxar on the sixth of November 1838, there appeared before me, Erasmo Seguin, chief justice, Alejandro Gotari from whom I took an oath in correct form under which he offered to speak the truth in as much as he was able. He was asked his name, marital state and residence. He said his name is as said, his state is widower, and he is a native born resident of said city. Asked if he knows which is the ancient road to Río Grande known as the middle one which leaves this city for the said point, which direction it goes, what additional signs he can produce to give a true knowledge of it and if he could say more or less from which time it was used, he said that the said road leaves this city to the south via the road that goes to Laredo and that at a distance from la Minita which is found on the road about one mile distant it separates toward the Medina with a distinct direction. From there it continues to the Atascoso, the San Miguel, and

from the San Miguel to the Parrita then to Río Frío, then Palo Alto. From Palo Alto it goes to the Nueces toward the west to the Cochina then to Santa Catarina and to Sabana Grande. From Sabana Grande it goes to San Pedro, then to San Ambrocio and San Lorenzo. From San Lorenzo it goes to the Río Grande and from there to the Presidio of that name. Those are the daily stops that are most commonly made by those who traveled this road. He has knowledge of this road since the province was governed by Governor Don Domingo Cavello, which is to say about fifty years and that this road is the one called, in his day, the middle one. In those days, it was in use. There was another called the new one or La Pita which goes to Río Grande higher up leaving here going west until it arrives at Río Grande. He has traveled it various times and knows it well. He knew the individuals who first traveled it, such as Don Joaquin Manchaca. Later, about the years 1806 or 1807, the Señor Governor Don Antonio Cordero ordered corporal Tovar of the Río Grande company to use this route until now. It goes in this way: leaving from this city toward the west, it goes to the Río de Medina, from there to Chacon Creek, from there to Tahuacano Creek, from there to the Río Frío, from there to the Leona, from there to the Tortuga, from there to the Nueces, from there to the Peña, from there to the Río Grande, and from there to the presidio of that name. That is what he knows on this particular. He affirms and ratifies under the charge of his oath he took that his is the truth. His declaration, having been read he says that he is seventy-five years old. He signed before me, Erasmo Seguin, Chief Justice of the aforesaid County. I swear.

Erasmo Seguin/C.J.

Alexandro Gotari

On the same day, month, and year. Before me, the said justice was presented Francisco Rivas an old citizen of this city, who I swear I know. Having been sworn, in every correct form, he promised to tell the truth in as far as he is able. He was asked his name, state, and residence. He replied his name is as stated, married, and citizen of this city.

Asked if he knows which is the old road to Río Grande, known as the middle one which leaves this city for said point and which direction it goes and what other signs he can produce to give a true knowledge of it and if he remembers more or less from when it was in use, he said that the old road or the middle one to Río Grande leaves this city to the south and separates from the Laredo road on the other side of the Minita going south and west to where it crosses the Río de Medina and from there turns about the same direction to the Atascoso, Lagunillas, San Miguel, Río Frío to the Nueces and from there toward the west to San Roque Creek, San Pedro, San Ambrocio to the Río Grande and then to the Presidio of the same name. In between these permanent watering places there are other stops on the road which are well known and are not mentioned. But, those cited are the ones on the ancient road to Río Grande. He noted that it was used many years until

the Governor of this province of Texas, Don Antonio Cordero, ordered the opening of the one called the new one or La Pita about 1806 or 1807. It has been used to the present as it is straighter. The road leaves this city toward the west for Río Grande. Both roads are separated and thus enter Río Grande. And that is all he has to declare on the subject and the truth under charge of the oath he swore. Thus he affirmed and ratified and the declaration having been read he said he is seventy-one years old. Because he does not know how to write, in place of a signature he used a cross. Before me, Erasmo Seguí, chief justice of this county I swear.

Erasmo Seguí/C.J.

His
Francisco X Rivas
Cross

In the cited city and county on the seventh of the said month and year; before me, Erasmo Seguí, chief justice of the same county was presented Ancelmo Bergara, native citizen of this city who took his oath in correct form to tell the truth in everything he knows. He was asked his name, state, and residence. He said his name is as stated, widower, and resident of the said city.

He was asked if he knows which is the ancient road to Río Grande known as the middle one which leaves this city for that point, which direction it takes, and what other signs he can produce to give a true knowledge of it and if he remembers more or less from what time it was used. He said that he knows the said ancient road to Río Grande or the middle one which leaves this city via the same one that goes to Laredo and separates from it on this side of the Río Medina on the side above that of Laredo taking a distinct direction from that of Laredo which crosses Medina going between south and west continuing the same direction to the Río Frío where it turns more toward the west to the Nueces, and from there it turns west to Presidio del Río Grande. The intermediate stops between Bexar and said point are: Medina, Las Gallinas, Atascoso, La Parrita, Guijolote, Lagunillas, San Miguel, Las Esperanzas, Río Frío, Los Merinos, Las Nueces, Santa Catarina, San Roque, Sabana Grande, San Ambrocio, San Pedro, and Río Grande. These mark the road and it was in use from 1798 by soldiers from the Company of Bexar. In that time no other road was known between this city and Río Grande. Later when Don Antonio Cordero was governor in this province he ordered that corporal Tovar and Juan José y Marrines mark the one known as La Pita or new which is higher than the old one which does not join with the middle one at any point but rather they are separate. Saying that he has ceased traveling for many years and he does not still remember many parts but the witness personally assured that he could show where it was without mistake. That is all the information he can provide on the subject and is the truth according to the oath he swore; it having been affirmed and

ratified. He said he is sixty years old signing this with the sign of a cross because he does not know how to write. Before me, said justice, I swear.

Erasmus Seguin/C.J.

His
Ancelmo + Bergara
Cross

Immediately before me Erasmo Seguin, Chief Justice of this county appeared Vicente Duran, an old resident of this city from whom I received an oath in proper form under which he promised to tell the truth to all questions. Asked his name, status, and residence, he answered that his name is as stated, married, and resident of said city.

Asked if he knows which is the ancient road to Río Grande known as the middle one which leaves this city for said point, which direction it took, and what other signs he could produce to give a true knowledge of it and if he remembers more or less from what time it was used, he said that he knows of which he was asked. It leaves this city on the one which goes to Laredo and separates from it before crossing the Medina at a place called La Cruz because of the junction of it and the Laredo road. There it turns to the south, a little to the west for the Río Medina and continues in the same direction to the Río Frío. From there it turns somewhat toward the west to the Nueces and from there west to the Presidio de Río Grande. The intermediate stops are known by the following names: Medina, Las Gallinas, Atascoso, La Parrita, Guajolote, Lagunillas, San Miguel, Las Esperanzas, Río Frío, Los Encinos, Las Ruinas, Santa Catarina, San Roque, Savana Grande, San Ambrocio, San Pedro, and Río Grande. He knows that the road was used at least since 1798 at which time it was used as the only road there was from this city to Río Grande. Then, when Don Antonio Cordero was Governor of this province, he does not recall which year, the new road was opened, now called La Pita which is higher than the one of which we have been speaking, which was called the middle one. He remembers that it was made known by corporal Tovar, Juan José Martinez and Ancelmo Bargara and he is sure that this road does not join the other at any point but are separate from this city to Presidio de Río Grande. It has been many years since he has traveled the middle one and that he cannot now point out more than a few points, mainly the principal creeks which retain their names and places thus he is sure they are the same. That is all he has to say on this particular. Under the oath he made, this is true and ratified as read as his declaration. He said his age is seventy-eight years. He signed before me the said justice. I swear.

Erasmus Seguin/C.J.

Vizente Duran

In the cited city on the eleventh of November 1838, before me, Erasmo Seguin, Chief Justice of this county, came Don José Giones, resident of the same city who was sworn in proper form. He swore to tell the truth about all he would be asked. He was asked his name, status, and residence. He said his name is as stated, he is married, and is a resident of the said city.

Asked if he knows which is the ancient road to Río Grande known as the middle one which leaves this city for said point, which direction it goes, and what other signs he can produce to give a true knowledge of it and if he remembers more or less from what time it was in use, he said he knows the road in question which leaves this city toward the south and is the same that goes to Laredo. It separates to the right after the stop at La Minita Creek after passing the environs of La Espada between south and west. It passes the ranch of Fernando Rodriguez at Río Medina and on the other side that of Felipe Musquis. Continuing the same direction to the Atascoso, Las Lagunillas, San Miguel, Río Frío and Las Nueces, from there it goes west to Río Grande. This is the ancient road which leaves this city for Río Grande and which has been traveled since the founding of Bexar as he has heard say and declares that he knows it as such since he was a child. The upper one which is known as the new one or La Pita was discovered by Captain Don José Menchaca many years ago but was not used until the time of Governor Don Antonio Cordero who ordered its use as much straighter and it is the one used today leaving this city going toward the west. This is all the information he can give on the subject, and the truth according to his oath. The testimony was read, affirmed, and ratified. He said he is seventy-three years old. Signed before the cited justice, I swear.

Erasmo Seguin/C.J.

José Giones

Erasmo Seguin, Chief Justice of the county of Bexar. I certify that the individuals testifying in the preceding affidavits are old residents of this city, well known for their honesty and rectitude. They have shown good judgement and have always acted in good faith and credit. The testimony they have given in these affidavits appears to be the truth and the usual opinion there is regarding the road which leaves this city for Río Grande known by the name oldest one or middle one and consists of the one referred to in the corresponding. I give this in Bexar on the eleventh of November in the year of our Lord 1838.

Erasmo Seguin/C.J.

Republica de Tejas Condado de Bejar

Diligencias practicadas en abeniguacion de Saber
Cual es el Camino Antiqua q. sale de esta Ciudad pa. Rio
Grande, Conocido pr el de en medio.
Nov.^c Año de 1838

Republica de Texas
Condado de Bexar

En la ciudad de San Fernando de Béxar a las
Seis dias del mes de Noviembre del año de
mil ochocientos treinta y ocho. Se presentó
Erasmó Seguí Jues Pral. de dicho condado
ante mi Alejandro Gotari, a quien le
tome juramento en todo forma de de-
recho, bajo el cual ofrecio decia ver-
dad de todo cuanto supiere y le Fuere
preguntado, y siendolo por su nombre,
estado y vecindad, dixo que se llama como
queda dicho, el estado viudo y vecino na-
tural de dicho ciudad =

Preguntado si conoce cual es el camino antiguo de
Riogrande conocido por el de enmedio que
sale de esta ciudad para dicho punto, di-
ga porque rumbo se dirige y cuantas mas
señales pueda producir para dar un
verdadero conocimiento de él, y si se dec.-
erda poco mas ó menos desde el tiempo
que fue practicada, dixo: que dicho cami-
no porque se le pregunta sale de esta
ciudad rumbo al sur por el camino que
sale para Laredo y que á una distan-
cia de la minita que se halla sobre
el propio camino como á distancia
de une milla; se aparta del y toma
para Medina con rumbo destinto y
alli sigue al Atascoso, despues á San
Miguel, y de San Miguel a la Parrita,
y de la parrita á Rio Frio, y de Rio-
frio al Palo alto, y del Palo-Alto
a las Nueces, y de las Nueces rumbo al

poniente ala cochina, y de la cochina á Santa Catarina, y de Santa Catarina á Sabana-grande, y de Sabana-grande á San Pedro, y de San pedro á San Ambrocio, y de San Ambrocio á San Lorenzo, y de San Lorenzo al Rio Grande y de alli al Presidio de este nombre: que sonlas jornadas que mas comunmente se hacian por este camino cuando lo handavan: que tiene conocimiento del mismo camino desde que governada la provincia de Texas el governador Dⁿ Domingo Cavello que hará como cincuenta años que este camino es el que llama en el día él de en-medio, pues el que en el día se practica que se llama el nuebo ó de la pita que vá á Riogrande queda mas arriva y saliendo de aqui lleva rumbo al poniente hasta que llega á Rio-grande; que tambien lo ha handado varias vezes y lo conoce bien, asi como conocío al individuos que lo handuvo primero que fue D. Joaquin Manchaca; que despes por los años de 806 ó 807 mando el Sor. governador D. Antonio Cordero; y que el practico lo fue el cabo Tovar da la Compañia de Riogrande y desde entonces hasta esta fecha es el que se practica de este modo: que saliendo de esta ciudad rumbo al poniente se vá al Rio' de Medina: de aqui al Arroyo del chacon: de aqui al Arroyo hondo: de aqui al Arroyo del Tahuacano: de aqui al Rio Frio: de aqui a la Leona: de aqui a la tortuga: de aqui a las nuezes: de aqui a la peña; y de aqui al Rio-grande, y de aqui al presidio de este nombre: que es cuanto sabe sobre el particular y la verdad á cargo del juramiento que tiene echo en que se afirma

y ractifica; y leida que le fué esta
su declaracion dixo que de edad de
setenta y cinco años y lo firmo por
ante mi Erasmo Segúin juez prin-
cipal del condado ante dicho de que
doy feé —

Erasmo Segúin/J.P.
(Rubric)

Alexandro
Gotari
(Rubric)

En el mismo dia mes y año. Ante mi
el citado juez se presentó Francisco Ri-
vas antiguo vecino de esta ciudad, á quien
doy feé conosco, y haviendole recibido jura-
mento entoda forma de derecho pro-
metio decir verdad en cuanto supiere y
fuere preguntado; y siendolo de como
se llama, que estado tiene, y donde es
residente, dixo: llamarse como queda
dicho, de estado casado y vecino de esta ciu-
dad.

Preguntado Si conoce cual es al camino antiguo de
Riogrande - Conocido por el de en-medio que
sale de esta ciudad para dicho punto, diga
porque rumbo se dirige y cuantas mas
señales pueda producir para dar un
verdadero conocimiento de él, y si se acu-
erda poco mas ó menos desde el tiempo
que fué practicado, dixo: que el camino
viejo ó de en-medio de Riogrande sale
de esta ciudad por el rumbo del sur y
se aparta del de Laredo poco mas allá
dela minita tomando un rumbo ontre
sur y poniente donde pasa el Rio de
Medina y de alli gira casi por el mis-
mo rumbo al Atascoso, Lagunillas,
San Miguel, Rio-Frio hasta las Nue-
zes, y de aqui adelante rumbo al
poniente al Arroyo de San Roque,
San Pedro, San Ambrocio hasta el

Rio-grande y despues al Presidio del mismo nombre; que en el intermedio de estas aguajes permanentes hay otros parajes por el propio camino que por sea bien conocidos omitta decir, pero que los que ha referido son los mismos por donde gira el camino llamado el camino antiguo de Riogrande, el cual tiene noticia que conocio[?] á handara hace muchos años hasta que el governador de esta Provincia de Texas Dⁿ Antonio Cordero mando abrir el que hoy se llama nuevo ó de la Pita porlos años de 806 ó 807, que se practica hasta el día, como mas recto; cuyo camino sale de esta ciudad rumbo al poniente para Rio-grande: que ambos dos caminos van separados y asi entran al Rio-grande, que es cuanto tiene que declarar sobre el asunto y la verdad á cargo del juramento que tiene echo en que se afirma y ratifica leida que le fue esta su declaracion y dixo sea de edad de Secenta y un años y por no save firma echo en su lugar una cruz por ante mi Erasmo Seguin Jues principal de este condado de que doy feé

Erasmo Seguin/J.P.
(Rubric)

Su
Francisco X *Rivas*
Cruz

En la dicha ciudad y condado a los siete dias del espresado mes y año, Ante mi Erasmo Seguin Juez Pral. del mismo condado se presentó, Ancelmo Bergara natural y vecino antiquo de esta ciudad á quien le recibí juramento en toda forma decir verdad en todolo que supiera y fuera preguntado, y siendolo por su nombre, estado y vecindad, dixo: lla-

mare como queda dicho, de estado viudo,
y vecino de esta referida ciudad.

Preguntado si conoce cual es el camino antiguo
de Rio-grande conocido por el de en-medio
que sale de esta ciudad para dicho punto,
diga porque rumbo se dirige y cuantas
mas señales pueda producir para dar
un verdadero conocimiento de él, y si se
acuerda poco mas ó menos desde el
tiempo que fue practicado, dixo: que
conoce dicho camino antiguo de Rio-
grande ó el de en-medio, que sale de
esta ciudad por el mismo que vá a
Laredo y se aparta de esta lado del
Rio Medina del lado de arriba del de
Laredo, tomando distinto rumbo del
de Laredo en que pasa Medina
Cargando un poco entre sur y poniente
sigue el mismo rumbo hasta el
Rio-Frio y de alli boltia un poco
inclinado al poniente hasta las Nue-
ces, y de aqui boltia al poniente
hasta el Presido de Rio-grande: que
los parajes intermedios desde Bexar
hasta dicho punto son corridos por
los siguientes nombres que son: me-
dina, Las gallinas, Atascoso, La Pa-
rrita, guijolote, Lagunillas, San
Miguel, las Esperanzas, Rio-Frio, Los
Merinos, las Nuezes, Santa Catarina,
San Roque, Sabana-grande, San
Ambrocio, San Pedro, y Rio-grande:
que tiene noticia de este camino y lo
ha practiado él mismo desde el año
de 1798 tiempo en que esa soldado
dela comp^a de Bejar: que en ese tiem-
po no se conosia otro camino de
esta ciudad á Rio-grande: que des-
pues estando el Governador en esta
Provincia D. Antonio Cordero de su
orden el que declara y el cabo To-
var y Juan Jose y Marrines Fueron
á señalar el que se conose por el

de la Pita o nuevo que queda mas
arriva que el otro antiguo, el cu-
al no se junta con el de en-medio en
ningun punto sino que van separado
que el camino de en-medio de que á
hablado antes como se ha dejado de
handar tantos años no se conoce yá
ó se pinta en muy pocas partes pe-
ro el declarante asegura personal-
mente enseñar por donde iba sin
equivocarse: que es cuanta razon
puede dar sobre el asunto y la
verdad á cargo del juramento que
tiene echo con que se afirma y ra-
ctifieco, y dixo tener In edad de
sesenta años firmandolo ó haci-
endo una señal de cruz par no sa-
ver escribir por ante mi el dicho
Juez de que doy feé.

Erasmus Seguin/J.P.
(rubric)

Su
Ancelmo + Bergara
Cruz

Yncontinente ante mi Erasmus Seguin
Juez pral. de este condado se pregun-
to Vicente Duran vecino antiguo
de esta ciudad á quien le recivi jura-
mento en forma y conforme á dere-
cho bajo el cual prometio decir ver-
dad á todo cuanto se le pregunte,
y siendolo por su nombre, estado
y vecindad dixo: llamase como queda
dicho de estado casado y vecino de
dicha ciudad

Preguntado si conoce cual es el camino anti-
guo do Rio-grande conocido por el
de en-medio que sale de esta ciudad
para dicho punto, diga porque rum-
bo se dirige y cuantas mas señales
pueda producir para dar un ver-
dadero conocimiento de él, y si se

acuerda poco mas ó memos desde el tiempo que fue practicado, dixo: que conoce el camino porque se le pregunta el cual sale de esta ciudad por el mismo q^e vá á Laredo y se aparta antes de pasar el Rio de Medina en el punto llamado de la Cruz por la parte de union del de Laredo y gira rumbo al sur cargado un poco al poniente y para el mismo Rio Medina y sigue al mismo rumbo hasta Rio-Frio y de alli boltea un poco inclinado al poniente hasta las nuezes y de aqui al poniente hasta el Presidio de Rio-grande; que los parajes intermedios desde pasar hasta dicho punto son conocidas por los siguientes nombres q. son Median, Las gallinas, Atas-coso, La parrita, guijolote, Lagunillas, San Miguel, Las Esperanzas, Rio-Frio, Los Encinos, Las ruinas, Santa Catarina, San Roque, Savana grande, San Ambrocio, San Pedro y Rio-grande: que sabe q. se practica este camino lo menos desde el año de 1798 y que en ese tiempo se practicava como el unico camino real que havia de esta ciudad á Rio-grande: que despues siendo Gobernador de esta Provincia D. Antonio Cordero no se acuerda en que año dispuso abrir el nuebo que ahora se conoce por el de la pita que está mas arriva del que yá tiene hablado y se conoce por el de en-medio, y se acuerda que fueron conocidos para ello el cabo Tovar, Juan Jose Martinez y Ancelmo Bargara y que esta cierto que esta camino no se junta con el otro en ningun punto sino que van separados desde esta ciudad hasta el Presidio de Rio-grande: que hase muchos años que no handa el camino de en-medio y que por esta varon y por que á oido decir que en pocos puntos se señala la parese que no podria apun-

tar por ahora por la parte que se handava a los lugares que no se pinta, pero que los arroyos principales de que deja sentados sus nombres y su direccion está cierto en que son los mismos: que es cuanto tiene que decir sobre el particular á cargo del juramento que tiene echo y la verdad en todo ello sobre q. se afirma y ractifica leida que le fue esta su declaracion y dixo su edad de setenta y ocho años y lo firmó por ante mi dicho juez de que day feé —

Erasmus Seguin/J.P.
(rubric)

Vizente Duran
(rubric)

En la referida ciudad alos once dias del mes de Noviembre de mil ochocientos treinta y ocho, ante mi Erasmo Seguin Juez Pral. ese dicho condado, se presento Dⁿ José Giones, vecino de la misma ciudad, quien le recivi juramento en toda forma de derecho vajo el cual ofreció decir verdad en todo lo que supiera y fuere preguntado, y siendo de como se llama su estado y vecindad dixo: que se llama como queda dicho, que es de estado casado, y vecino de esa-repetida ciudad.

Preguntado si conoce cual es el camino antiguo de Rio grande conocido p^r el de enmedio que sale de esta ciudad para dicho punto, diga por que rumbo se dirige y cuantas mas señales pueda producir para dar un verdadero conocimiento del, y si se acuerda poco mas o menos desde el tiempo que fué practicado dixo: que conoce el camino por que se le pregunta el cual sale de esta ciudad rumbo al sur p^r el mismo q^e va para Laredo, y se aparte de este a la derecha despues de parar p^r el arroyo de la minita delante de la etirion de la Espada rumbo entre sur y Poniente, y pasa donde está el rancho de Fernando Rodriguez el Rio de Medina, y del otro lado esta el rancho de Felipe Musquis: que siguiendo el mismo rumbo, para el Atascoso, las Lagunillas, Sⁿ Miguel Rio Frio a las Nueces, y de aqui toma un rumbo al poniente hasta Rio grande: que es el camino antiguo q. sale de

esta ciudad p^a Rio grande y el que se ha andado desde que se fundó Bejar segun ha oido decir, y el q. declara lo conose por tal desde q. tubo uso de varon: que el de arriva que Se conoce p^r el nuebo o de la pita lo descubrio el capitan dn Jose Menchaca hace mucho tiempo pero q. no se han- dubo hasta el tiempo del gov.^{or} D. Antonio Cordero que lo mondo practicar p^r mas derecho, e es el q. se handa en el dia que sale de esta ciudad, rumbo al poniente; que es cuantas noticias puede dar sobre el asunto, e la verdad el cargo del juramento que tiene prestado en el que se afir- ma y ractifica leida q. le Fue esta su declaracion: dixo: es de edad de setonta y tres años y lo firma p^r ante mi el referido Jues de que doy feé —

Erasmus Seguin/J.P.
(rubric)

Jose Giones
(rubric)

Erasmus Seguin, Jues Principal del Condado de Bexar-

Certifico: que los individuos declarantes en las antece- dentes diligencias, son vecinos antiguos de esta ciudad y bien conocidos por su hombria de bien y buenos custumbres: que an dicho en juicio y fuera del siempre se les ha dado en to da Fe y credito: y que cuanto dejan declarado en las presentes diligencias segun apareca de ellas es la verded y la opinion mas comun q. hay sobre noticias del camino q. sale de esta ciudad para Rio grande, conocido con el nombre de mas antiguo o el de enmedio; y para que conste todo lo refendo donde coresponda, doy la presente en Bejar a onse de noviembre del año Sor de mil ocho cientos treinta y ocho. —

Erasmus Seguin/J.P.
(rubric)

Dnos. judiciales 3 p.4.
por lo cierito 4.7

todo

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ROUTE OF THE *CAMINO DE LOS TEJAS*

Beginning at the plazas of San Antonio de Béjar, the route passes east toward the Mission San Antonio de Valero along the street now known as Commerce, then north along Broadway and Nacogdoches roads. The Spanish Colonial road does not precisely coincide with present streets, particularly where modern Nacogdoches Road crosses high hills and where a valley would be easier to traverse.

Another version of the route passes north on Main, then to Broadway and Nacogdoches roads (Menchaca map of 1764). Crossing Cibolo creek at Nacogdoches Road, the route follows modern FM 482 to the community of Comal. From there the path parallels the railroad alongside the Balcones Escarpment and crosses the Comal River at about Pecan Island in Landa Park in New Braunfels. The route continues through Gruene essentially following FM 2439 northeast along the escarpment to Hopkins Street in San Marcos and connecting with University Avenue. The route crosses the San Marcos River about 200 yards from the Springs. From there it follows the Missouri Pacific Railroad to its crossing of the Blanco River and beyond to approach IH 35. At that point the route appears to coincide with IH 35 passing through Kyle on the east side and diverging from IH 35 on the west to pass near Center Union Church at Buda.

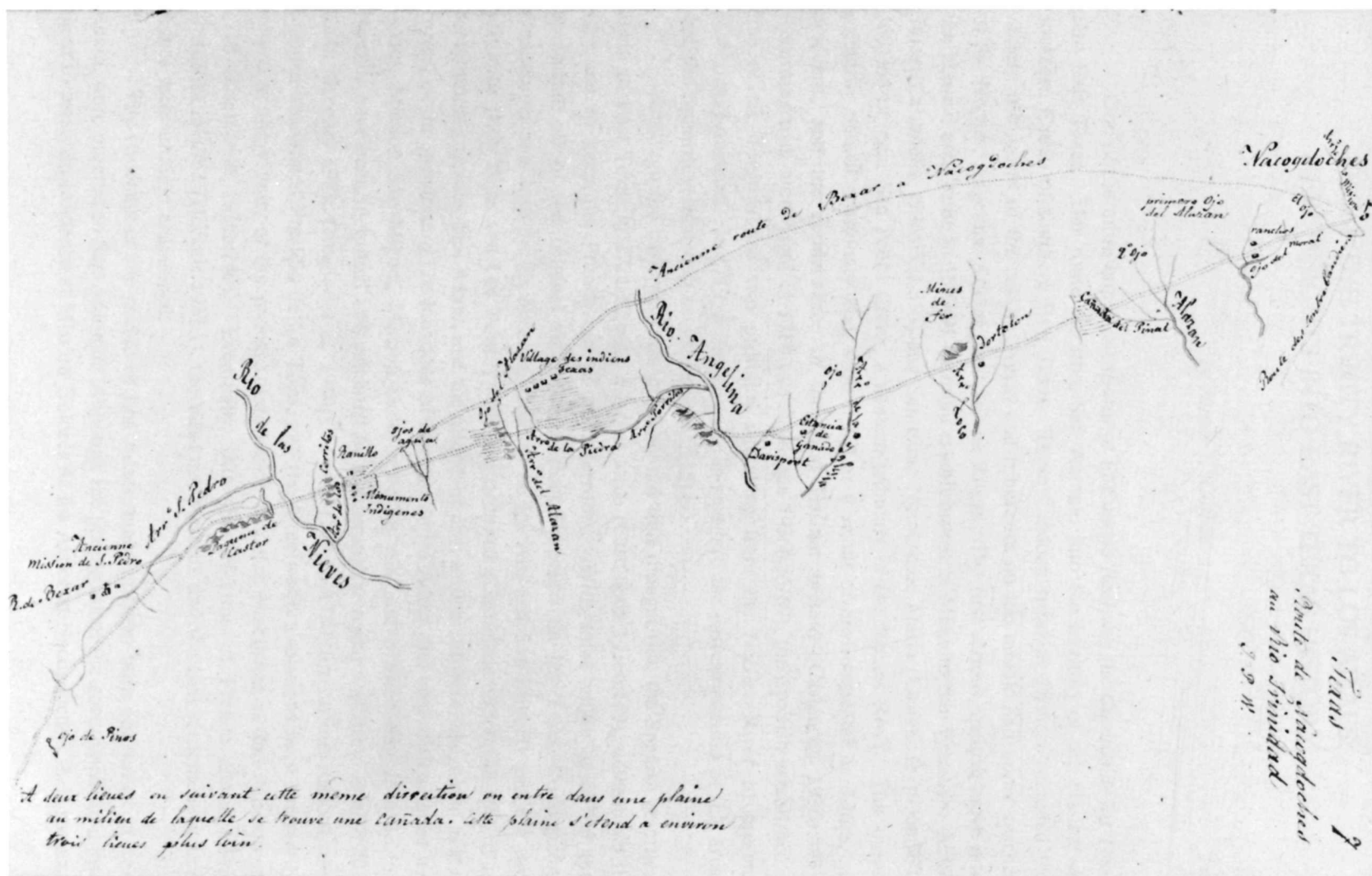
The route then parallels a county road west of IH 35, crossing Onion Creek (Arroyo de los Garrapatas) and Slaughter Creek about where the county road crosses these streams. The route continues up present South Congress Avenue in Austin to Pleasant Hill School. The path then turns east crossing IH 35 near Williamson Creek and follows a relatively flat area toward US 183 to a crossing of Carson Creek south of Montopolis. From there, the route continues to the Colorado River east of the US 183 bridge. The route connects with present Old Manor Road heading east and then follows the Southern Pacific Railroad to Manor. After heading north on Cele and Fuch's Grove roads the route follows present Engerman Lane to Norman's Crossing of Brushy Creek. It then follows FM 3349 to the railroad and then east through Taylor along the railroad.

East of Taylor the route may follow an upland ridge north of US 79 and north of Thrall following county roads to Detmold. Then the route crosses the San Gabriel River at Apache Pass near the site of the San Javier Mission and Presidio complex (Gilmore 1969). From Apache Pass the route heads northeast following the high ground on the left bank of the San Gabriel and crosses the Little River between its confluence with the San Gabriel and the FM 1600 crossing. Apparently continuing northward to Wolf Spring, the route then follows a county road to US 190 at Cameron. North of Cameron travel continues along modern US 77 where it passes near modern Cameron Airport. The route follows that highway as far as Elm Creek. It then turns northeast until reaching the east bank of Little Pond Creek and from here continues to a crossing of the Brazos River below its confluence with the creek.

The route then follows State Highway 6 to Calvert and from there along FM 1644 east to Franklin. It continues along US 79 eastward to the Missouri Pacific Railroad at Alum Creek, crossing the Navasota River where the current railroad bridge is located. The route follows the Missouri Pacific Railroad to Marquez and beyond to the railroad's junction with the Burlington Northern Railroad. From here, it turns northward and begins following Alligator Creek and then Buffalo Creek north of Buffalo. Continuing eastward along the right bank of the creek and adjacent to the highlands of FM 542 the route heads southward along FM 542 to a point just north of junction with SH 7. The path of the *camino* crosses the Trinity River in the vicinity of Kickapoo Shoals and Halls Bluff.

From Halls Bluff, the route continues east on the right bank of Hurricane Bayou adjacent to the uplands as far as the Missouri Pacific Railroad at Latexo. From here the route runs northward and parallel to the railroad to the community of Grapeland. Heading eastward, parallel to Bennet Creek, the route joins present FM 227 at Owens Cemetery. The route follows FM 227 to Augusta and beyond to the modern highway's crossing of San Pedro Creek. From the creek, the route continues east along the right bank of the creek to as far as the Neches River at Horseshoe Lake (Figure 26). At this place, the route crosses the river and follows the uplands to the George C. Davis archaeological site. Past this site, the path roughly coincides with SH 21 which runs into Alto. The road from Augusta to Alto is noted in the Juan Pedro Walker maps found among the Jean Louis Berlandier documents at Yale University.

From Alto, according to the Berlandier maps, the road essentially follows SH 21 into Nacogdoches. From Nacogdoches, the route follows SH 7 eastward to Loop 224, then along a county road eastward to Melrose where the modern highway joins SH 21. Then the *camino* follows SH 21 eastward (except where the modern highway's alignment has been straightened) to San Augustine. At San Augustine, the route loops south through the archaeological site of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais. The route briefly follows SH 147 and then rejoins SH 21 on the eastern edge of San Augustine. The route continues southeast to Maddox Creek which is west of Geneva. Approaching Geneva, the route departs SH 21 and follows a county road through Geneva and continues eastward on FM 276 to Patroon Bay, crossing the Sabine River at La Nana Bayou.



RETRACING THE *CAMINO DE LOS TEJAS* FROM THE TRINITY RIVER TO LOS ADAES: NEW INSIGHTS INTO EAST TEXAS HISTORY

by James E. Corbin

One of the more important routes of *El Camino Real* was the *Camino de los Tejas* into East Texas. This route led from San Antonio into the territory of the Hasinai or southern Caddo of southern East Texas. These Caddoan speaking farmers occupied the eastern tributaries of the middle Trinity and tributaries on the middle and upper reaches of the Neches, Angelina, Attoyac, and Sabine Rivers. The first serious Spanish move into the Hasinai area came in 1690-91 with the establishment of Missions San Francisco de los Tejas (Castañeda 1936a:351-353) and Santísima Nombre de María (Castañeda 1936a:367-368) on or near San Pedro Creek, a western tributary of the Neches River. This move, primarily one of missionary zeal, soon failed as a result of environmental hardships, an epidemic, and the recalcitrance of the local Hasinai Indians (Castañeda 1936a:373). Returning with more vigor in 1714-16 (Castañeda 1936b:55-60), the Spanish established a line of six missions and two presidios stretching from the Neches River to present Robeline, Louisiana. In 1719, a French force moved into the eastern portion of this area, and the Spanish retreated (Castañeda 1936b:115).

Although the basic plan was probably not well thought out, the Spanish returned again to East Texas in 1721-22 with a larger force (Castañeda 1936b:149), determined to stay and to keep the French out of their territory. With some minor shifts on the landscape, all of the original six missions (San Francisco de los Tejas, Concepción, Guadalupe, San José de los Nasonis, Dolores de los Ais, and San Miguel) and the two presidios (Los Tejas and Los Adaes) were reestablished (Castañeda 1936b:148-159). The easternmost presidio, Los Adaes, and the attendant civil settlement were designated as the capital of the province. (The locations of Presidio de los Adaes, the civil settlement of los Adaes, Mission San Miguel, Mission Dolores de los Ais, and Mission San José de los Nasonis have been identified and validated by archaeological research [Corbin *et al.* 1980, 1990; Gregory 1973; Gregory *et al.* 1980]). From 1729 to 1730, for various reasons, the Spanish abandoned Presidio de los Tejas, and the three western missions were summarily moved to the vicinity of the presidio and mission complex established at San Antonio in 1718 (Castañeda 1936b:240). Eventually, with the cessation of French and Spanish hostilities in 1763 (Hackett 1931:1), the missions, presidio, and the civil settlement of Los Adaes were ordered abandoned.

The residents of the *pueblo* of Los Adaes, many of them born and raised in Los Adaes, were ordered to San Antonio. Although the people asked the government to allow them to establish residence at Mission Dolores de los Ais or at Nacogdoches, their request

was denied and they proceeded to San Antonio. There they found all of the good land taken and that they were not welcome. Don Antonio Gil Y'Barbo, the leader and spokesman for the group, finally persuaded the government to let the Adaesanos form a new town, Bucareli, on the west bank of the Trinity River in 1774. Plagued by Comanches, floods, and finally a fire, the Adaesanos abandoned Bucareli and, under the leadership of Gil Y'Barbo, relocated near the abandoned mission of Nacogdoches late in 1779.

CAMINO DE LOS TEJAS FROM THE TRINITY RIVER TO NACOGDOCHES

A contemporary discussion on the location of the western portion of the route of the *Camino de los Tejas* and the attendant Spanish Colonial settlements in the western portion of East Texas must be based to a large degree on:

- (1) the Juan Pedro Walker map *ca.* 1806 (see Figure 26),
- (2) the 1828 plat map of the Barr and Davenport grant (see Figure 27),
- (3) the original deed of the Barr and Davenport grant,
- (4) the original deed to the Bernardo D'Ortolan grant of 1797,
- (5) the known locations of Mission San José de los Nasonis, Mission Dolores de los Ais, and Presidio de los Adaes, and
- (6) original Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo/Texian documents (*i.e.*, itineraries and location descriptions) for the area.

The Juan Pedro Walker map (see Figure 26; *cf.* John 1989), discovered in the Berlandier papers housed at Yale University, is entitled *Texas: Route de Nacogdoches au Rio Trinidad*. The map is the first page in a series of maps in a bound volume of maps. Interestingly, the map only shows the eastern portion (*i.e.*, from the middle reaches of San Pedro Creek to Nacogdoches) of the area indicated by the title, suggesting that the map in the bound volume is a copy. Although Juan Pedro Walker's initials occur beneath the title, it is quite clear that the handwriting is not his (John, personal communication), another argument that the map is indeed a copy.

Since the map appears to be a copy, there is the possibility then that it may have been updated by Berlandier or his cartographer, José María Sánchez y Tapia. Tapia, a watercolorist and artist as well, accompanied the Berlandier expedition into Nacogdoches in 1828. José María Sánchez y Tapia kept a diary (Castañeda 1926) of the Berlandier expedition, including the abbreviated portion of the trip after Berlandier turned back at the Trinity River. Sánchez' description of the section of the journey from the Trinity to Nacogdoches, possibly our latest and even last non-Anglo description of this section of the *Camino de los Tejas*, suggest that the map is indeed a faithful copy of the original Walker

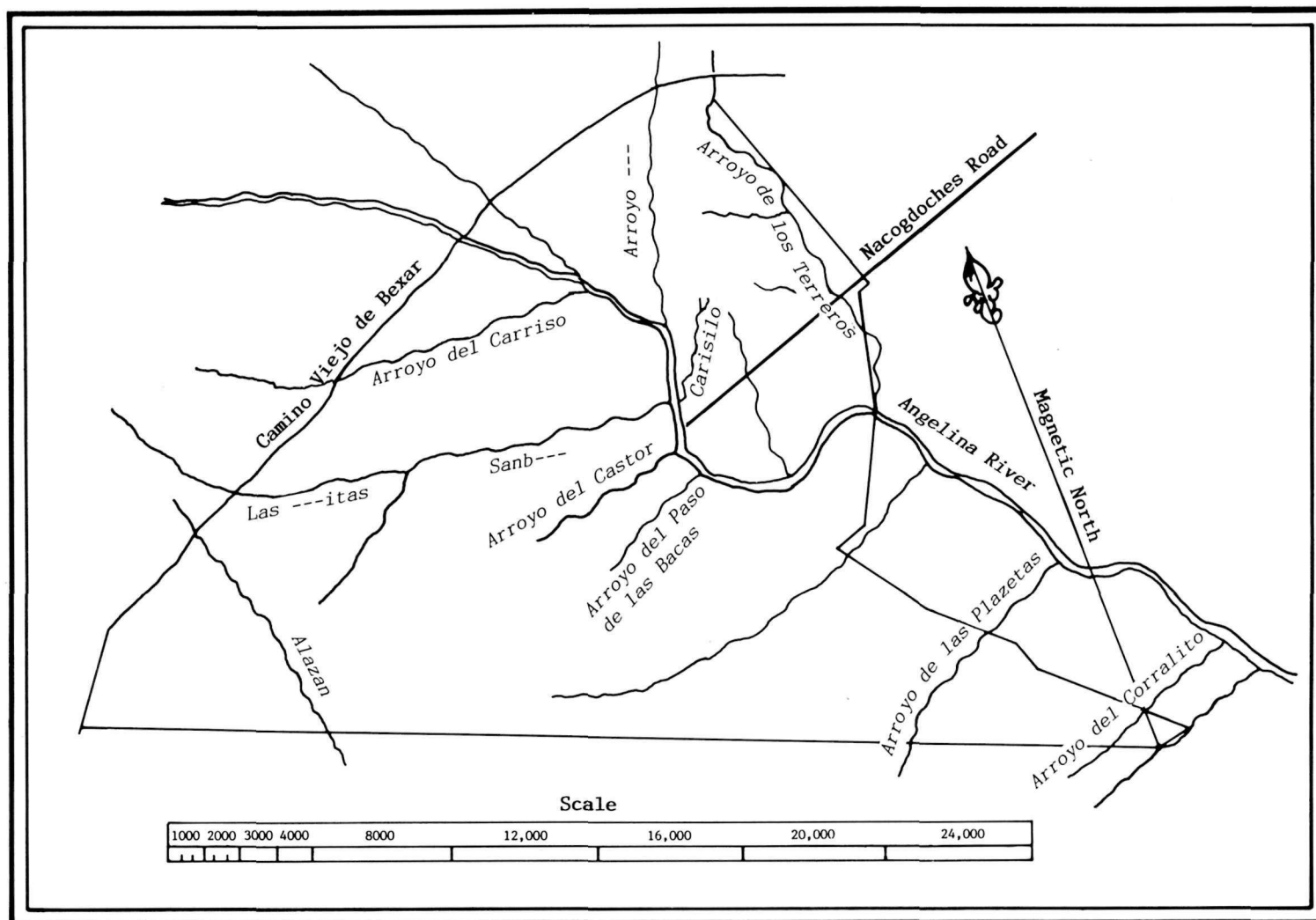


Figure 27. The Barr and Davenport Grant, circa 1828.

map and was not updated as or after it was copied. Thus, (1) the Sánchez diary does not mention the location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, (2) the map does not illustrate the residences McLean and Williams on San Pedro Creek mentioned by Sánchez, (3) Sánchez does not mention the Caddo mounds on the east side of the Neches which are marked on the map, (4) Sánchez does not mention the Davenport or D'Ortolan *ranchos*, and (5) the map names the Neches River the *Nieves*.

Although the date of Walker's original map is unknown, it was probably drawn in 1806, or at least based on data acquired in that year. The map had to have been drawn after 1803 since Walker (John 1989:11-113) was not in Texas prior to that time. John also (1989:118-19) indicates that Walker journeyed to Nacogdoches and the East Texas area in 1806 with Col. Simón de Herrera during a border dispute with the Americans. It is John's opinion (John, personal communication) that the only time Walker could have acquired the data for the map or drawn the map was on the 1806 journey. That most of the detailed information Walker includes on the map was not based on data from much earlier than 1806 is indicated by the fact that the Davenport and D'Ortolan *ranchos* marked on the map were established in 1797-1798 (Blake 1937:212-224). Although Davenport and D'Ortolan were still residing on their *ranchos* in 1809 (Nacogdoches Census 1809), D'Ortolan was residing elsewhere after ca. 1816 and Barr and Davenport divested their ranch to John Durst in 1828-29.

The only place, other than streams and Nacogdoches, that Sánchez mentions that is on the Walker map are the *ranchos* near the road's crossing of the Moral. Sánchez mentions "several houses of Mexicans" at a place called "El Moral" just to the west of Nacogdoches. The Walker map shows two *ranchos*, one on each side of the road east of the Moral. The 1857 plat map of Nacogdoches County shows two grants east of the Moral, with the road (shown in 1857 as the John Durst road) as the boundary between them. 'The northern grant was made to Juan de Acosta in 1810 and the southern grant was made to José Ramón Chavana in 1834. Nevertheless, the 1809 Census of Nacogdoches (Blake Papers Vol. 18:291-292) indicates both of these men were living in the area prior to the grant dates. Thus the census indicates that Ramón Chavana and Juan de Acosta cultivated fields on "a ranch named El Moral . . . and said ranch belongs to Don José Piernas . . ."

The census also indicates that the ranch had at one time belonged to Ramón's father-in-law, Juan José Sánchez, who had sold it to Piernas. Therefore, other corroborative data suggest that 1806 is the most logical date for the map.

With those arguments in mind, one might ask how Walker would be able to know the location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. It can be reasonably argued that the location of this place remained within the collective knowledge of the Spanish in eastern Texas simply because of the historical impact and importance of that particular place. First, the locality was an important contemporary landmark in terms of what it represented to the Spanish; it was the first place that they attempted to settle in their move into the region. It must have been important because almost all travelers, as will be seen below, mentioned the spot or locality when they arrived or as they passed by. This place was chosen initially because it was the only good spot on which to camp between the first

hamlets of the Nabedache village and Neches River and because it was close to the village. Nevertheless, it is, we believe, because of its historical importance to the Spanish that the location, of all of the previous locations that could have been marked on the map, is marked on the Juan Pedro Walker map.

THE SAN PEDRO CREEK LOCALITY AND MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS TEJAS (1690)

The San Pedro Creek locality and the location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas is extremely important to a discussion of the route of the *Camino de los Tejas* between the Trinity and Neches Rivers. In particular, establishing the correspondence of the modern San Pedro Creek with the Spanish locality and the route of the road into the area is critical in establishing the Trinity River crossing, the Neches River crossing, the location of Mission Santísima Nombre, and the location of the second Mission San Francisco de los Tejas on the east side of the Neches. San Pedro Creek, as a named place, or as a locality which is described in detail, and the locality of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas are noted very early. Thus the fact that the road went by or through San Pedro Creek and by the original location of San Francisco de los Tejas has been known for sometime, but the actual location of the road in relation to the two and the location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas has been the subject of speculation.

A reading of the various extant documents hints strongly that the road traveled by Ramón in 1714-1716 and others later did not follow the modern SH 21 in this area and that the purported location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas could not be correct. The Walker map confirms this, indicating a route approaching San Pedro Creek from the west on the north side of the stream. The map shows the mission location to be on the north side of the stream as well. That the map is accurate, particularly in terms of the *camino* route, is demonstrated below. Although the map is not detailed enough to allow a precise location of the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas complex at this time, it will also be shown in this regard that the map reflects the documentary data available and that the present purported location of the complex is in error.

DESCRIPTION OF SAN PEDRO CREEK, NABEDACHE VILLAGE, AND MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS TEJAS

In his diary of the Alarcón *entrada* into East Texas in 1718, Céliz (Hoffmann 1967:72-73) notes that "at a distance of four leagues a very extensive clearing was reached along whose border from *west to east* flows a permanent creek. In the *northern* part of said clearing there are *two lakes*, and it is the place where the *settlement of the year 'ninety* was

located." On the return from East Texas, Céliz further notes that they "arrived . . . at the place called *San Pedro de los Navidachos*, which is the place where the Spaniards settled in the year '90" (author's emphasis)

In this single document are a description of a place and landscape and an identification of the topography with the location of the mission/presidio of San Francisco de los Tejas of 1690. Earlier and later descriptions of that particular landscape can be identified with San Pedro Creek and the mission's location.

Previously, in 1716, and prior to establishing his new presidio, Ramón notes, "We reached a great open space, where we found *two lakes* with fish. At the *edge* of the same we beheld a *river* with plenty of water" (author's emphasis; Foik 1933:20). On the same expedition, Espinosa says "We came to a large plain surrounded by trees, in whose center are *two large lakes* and nearby was a copious *arroyo*" (author's emphasis; Tous 1930b:20). The name San Pedro was given to the creek: Ramón says, "I remained in this place to celebrate the feast of San Pedro . . ." (Foik 1933:21). Espinosa says, "High mass was celebrated in honor of St. Pedro (in whose honor we gave this name to this place" (Tous 1930b:21).

Later, Peña, in his diary of the Aguayo expedition of 1721, relates, "We marched in the same east-northeasterly direction all the way to the site called San Pedro. The terrain and the clear forests were as before. This is the site of the Presidio and mission established by the Spaniards in the first expedition of ninety and from which place they did not go beyond" (Santos 1981:55). Ramón also notes that they stopped at this place because "this is a comfortable site, and because there is no better one known until the Río de los Neches" (Santos 1981:55). If there is any doubt that this expedition was on the original location, it should be noted that one of the members of the Aguayo expedition was "Nicolás de los Santos, the soldier who had come in the first expedition (1714-16) of Domingo Ramón" (Santos 1981:56).

Father Solís, in 1767, "crossed the San Pedro River and afterwards came to a village that was very large and thickly settled with Tejas Indians" (Kress 1931:60-61). Later he says, "We passed through this village and came to the banks of the Neches" Nicolás de la Fora, in the same year, notes that "at San Pedro, are the majority of the Texas Indian *rancherías*. They are our friends and are spread throughout that vicinity occupying the plain which extends to the Neches River three leagues away" (Kinnaird 1958:167). A number of later expeditions also cross through or near the San Pedro locality, indicating that a (or the) road passed through this well-known vicinity:

Rivera (1727): "Passed the arroyo of Santa Coleta and camped on the way near the arroyo of St. Pedro de los Navidachos . . ." (Hackett 1946:168-69).

Pagès (1767): "We passed two or three large Indian villages named Tejas de San Pedro . . ." (Steele 1985:13).

De Mézières (1772): ". . . one comes to the plain called San Pedro . . ." (Bolton 1914:309).

De Mézières (1779) writes a letter from "Village of San Pedro de los Navidachos" (Bolton 1914:264).

Vial (1788): "I stopped at Sn. Pedro at five o'clock in the afternoon" (Loomis and Nasatir 1967:354).

Musquiz (1801): ". . . I arrived at San Pedro creek, where I camped for the night" (Brown 1892:38).

Sánchez (1828): ". . . and no one knows what would have become of us, had we not been able to reach San Pedro Creek on whose *bank* is situated the house of an American called Maklin [Daniel McLean settled on San Pedro Creek in 1821] . . ." (Castañeda 1926:281).

EL CAMINO REAL IN THE SAN PEDRO CREEK VICINITY

Although it is clear that at some time (at least post-1770) there were two branches of *El Camino Real* in the San Pedro vicinity (cf. Walker map, De Mézières, and Musquiz), and that the northernmost eventually was abandoned as the area became Anglicized, it would appear that the upper or northern route which crossed San Pedro Creek from the west as shown on the Walker map was the earliest version. It is also clear that, after crossing the Trinity River, the primary locality for camping or stopping before crossing the Neches River was at or near the location of the 1690 mission complex.

All of the descriptions of the San Pedro Creek/Mission San Francisco de los Tejas (1690) location correspond well with the Walker map (Figure 26). While all travelers recount having arrived at the spot of the 1690 settlement, or the immediate vicinity, none, with the exception of Solís, actually refers to crossing the stream. Solís' comment is compatible with the location of the mission as shown on the map, *i.e.*, it is north of the stream. The Walker map shows the road crossing San Pedro Creek and proceeding northwestward up the stream valley to the crossing of the Neches River. The map clearly shows the road to the west of the rugged uplands that fringe the eastern border of the San Pedro Creek valley. In the north end of the San Pedro/Neches floodplain is a lake, seemingly in the same location as the two lakes described in the San Pedro vicinity descriptions given above.

A modern map (Figure 28) of this locality shows two lakes, which are one lake at high water table episodes, in the northern portion of the San Pedro/Neches flood plain in the same location as indicated on the Walker map. Note that the Walker map accurately depicts the escarpment that borders the San Pedro/Neches floodplain to the east and south. The delineation of the road and crossing of the Neches matches well with several descriptions of the vicinity:

- (1) "We set out [from the mission location] in this manner for the governor's house [of the Caddo] from the place from where we had stopped, and this pious conduct proved so blessed that, although it had rained heavily, and

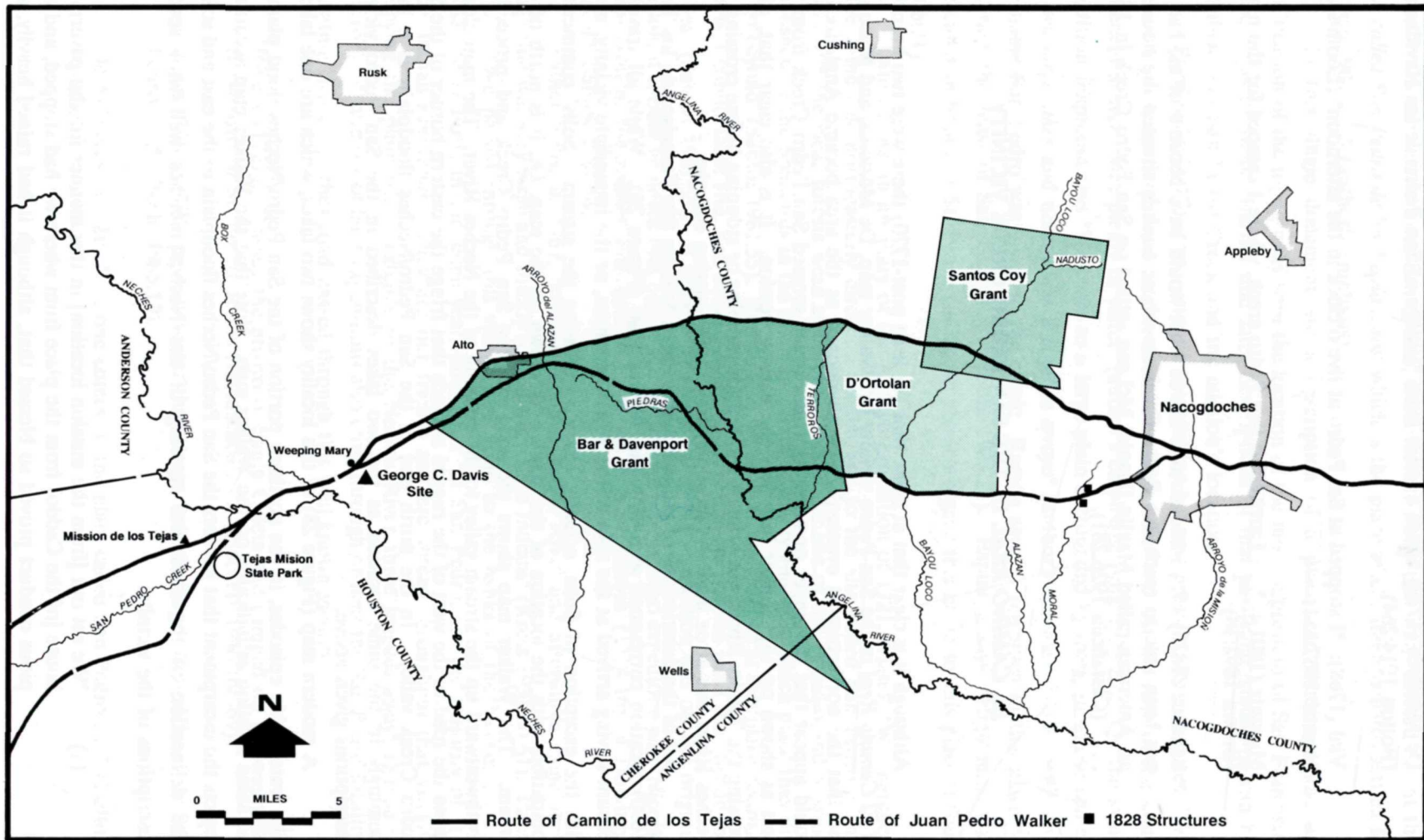


Figure 28. Map of historical routes in the San Pedro Creek to Neches River area.

the water stood high all along the road where we had to pass, so high, indeed, that for the greater part of the way (half a league according to De León [Bolton 1908b:415]) it came nearly to our knees . . ." (author's emphasis; Bolton 1908b:377). Thus they clearly walked at least a mile up the flood plain to the house of the Tejas "governor."

- (2) De León (Bolton 1908b:417) says, "I set out [from where they were camped and eventually built the mission complex] . . . towards the northeast to find the most suitable place to put the mission . . . [and] went to a river which we found could be crossed only by means of a tree which the Indians have athwart it" Thus, the De León description seems to fit well with the direction and placement of the crossing of the Neches as shown on the Walker map.
- (3) Father Solís (Kress 1931:60-61), in 1767, notes that "We crossed the San Pedro River and afterwards came to a village that was very large and thickly settled with the Tejas Indians" (See below for a discussion of the Nabadeche village.) Later in the day, he relates, "We passed through this village and came to the banks of the River Neches"

Since the village occupied most of the San Pedro floodplain from the general locality of the mission (see below), passing through the village and coming to the Neches requires one to proceed northwest up the valley as illustrated on the Walker map.

The failure to orient the road correctly in the San Pedro Creek vicinity, even given contemporary descriptions which indicate that the modern route was not the 1714 or an earlier route, relates primarily to the acceptance of Bolton's location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. Bolton, with little or no evidence, identified the spot that he did because he accepted modern SH 21 as the original road. Subsequent investigations (*e.g.*, Krieger, notes file at TARL) found no evidence that the spot indicated by Bolton was the actual location. No artifacts from the Spanish Colonial period have been found at the purported site, nor does this locality conform to the topography of other known mission locations in the East Texas vicinity (*e.g.*, Missions San José, Dolores de los Ais, Linares, and Presidio de Los Adaes). Neither does this spot begin to match the quite explicit descriptions of the location given in the various documents as cited above. Most significant is the fact that this locality does not begin to match the quite explicit descriptions of the location given in the various documents as cited above. Thus Williams (1979), correct in identifying the Kickapoo Rapids area as the crossing of the Trinity (see below), plots "Ramón's Road" south of San Pedro Creek so as to reach the spot identified by Bolton.

THE CROSSING ON THE TRINITY RIVER

Given that the San Pedro Creek locality was a place the Spanish were going to, there remains to be determined the route from the Trinity River crossing (Paso Tomás) to the site of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, the San Pedro Creek crossing and the Nabadeche village. It is firmly believed that the crossing of the Trinity for much of the Spanish Colonial period was on or along that section of the Trinity between the

downstream portion of Hurricane Shoals and the head of Kickapoo Shoals just upstream from Hurricane Shoals. [Note: The modern USGS 7.5-minute topographic map of the area identifies Kickapoo Shoals, as it is known locally and historically, as Kickapoo Rapids. Hurricane Shoals is not identified, but is well-known locally.]

Williams (1979:160-63) has previously suggested that this general vicinity, specifically Kickapoo Shoals, was the crossing used by Ramón and later *entradas* and journeys. Using the Walker map, Spanish descriptions of the crossing, directions of travel from the crossing to San Pedro Creek, distances traveled, and descriptions of the terrain and the streams crossed, we also agree with Williams that there was an earlier route (Williams' "Ramón's Road") to the north of present SH 21. For reasons stated above, we disagree with his alignment of the eastern portion of this segment of the road, and as will be seen, the Walker map corroborates our assessment.

Of all of the itineraries from the Trinity to the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas locality, the 1690 route described by De León (Bolton 1908b:414-415) is the most disparate. In terms of distance (18 leagues), the route described is considerably longer than that given for later trips. That fact, as well as the descriptions of the approach to what became Mission San Francisco de los Tejas, strongly suggests that De León crossed the Trinity further south than did later *entradas* since he was coming from the vicinity Matagorda Bay. Although it is possible that he was on the road described below, De León notes that, upon reaching the vicinity of what would become the mission location, they made a "detour to the north around a hill clad with live-oak" where after a "quarter of a league we found another valley of Texas Indians and their houses . . ." (Bolton 1908b:415). Here the company "halted on the banks of an arroyo" and De León named the place San Francisco de los Tejas.

The 1691 diaries of Terán and Mazanet note that the expedition traveled only 11 leagues from the Trinity to the site of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. It is unlikely that they crossed the Trinity at the same place as De León in 1690. In addition, Father Mazanet notes (on the second day of travel from the Trinity) that

"after two leagues, we turned east to reach the place where the governor lives, and where Mission San Francisco is located. This day we made six leagues, thanks to God." (Hatcher 1932:66)

After having traveled five leagues to the northeast the first day, they traveled two leagues to the north-northeast and then four leagues to the east to reach the mission location. If the expedition started at or near the Robbins Ferry crossing, and if the distances and directions are relatively accurate, then the expedition would not have ended up at San Pedro Creek and the mission, but elsewhere.

All of the later (post-1700) itineraries, with the exception of that from the Alarcón expedition of 1718-19, record distances between 13 and 14 leagues from the Trinity to the old mission and camping spot on San Pedro Creek (see Appendix 1). Although the Alarcón itinerary (Hoffmann 1967) indicates a travel distance of 16 leagues from the Trinity

to the "settlement of the year of '90," the very rainy and otherwise inclement weather may well have been a factor in extending the distance actually walked on the ground.

In addition, the description of the terrain leaves little doubt that they were not traveling the modern SH 21 route for some distance before and after they crossed the Trinity. Father Céliz thus notes,

On the 10th, we left the above named place [Santa Rosa Creek southwest of the Trinity] in the direction of the northeast, [traveling] through clear woods and always through water, since there was a *continuous lake* owing to the great deal it had rained. *We passed through this lake for the five leagues we traveled until we arrived at the river of the most holy Trinity . . .* (author's emphasis; Hoffmann 1967:72)

Southwest of Robbins Ferry the terrain is primarily uplands and could hardly, even in very rainy weather, be described as a lake. On the other hand, the terrain southwest and south-southwest of the Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals area is primarily marshy Trinity River floodplain and in very rainy weather could easily be described as a lake for at least five leagues as one journeyed toward the proposed crossing. Berlandier [1980:328] notes, "On emerging from the forest we saw in the distance to our right an immense plain covered with water, called by the people of the place Laguna Negra, which was produced by the overflows of the Trinity River." Interestingly, the modern USGS map indicates a Black Lake in the Trinity floodplain to the south (*i.e.*, "to the right" as indicated by Berlandier) of the upland ridge that runs northeast to the Kickapoo/Hurricane Shoals area. After crossing the Trinity, Father Céliz says they traveled east-northeast over very hilly land until they reached Santa Coleta Creek and then northeast where "the way [to the mission location] consists of valleys and ravines, and clearings with open woods of oaks and many pecans . . ." (Hoffmann 1967:72). This topography adequately describes the terrain between Kickapoo/Hurricane Shoals and San Pedro Creek, but does not appear to reflect the gently rolling terrain that typifies most of the modern route between the Trinity and San Pedro Creek. In addition, Céliz does not mention the two large prairies (each about a league across [Dumble 1891:11-12; Plate II] and as large as or larger than the "very extensive clearing" he clearly describes for the San Pedro Creek/Neches River floodplain) frequently mentioned by 19th-century travelers along the route which roughly follows the modern road. (In 1835, after crossing the Neches at Williams Ferry and traveling down the road for most of the day, Parker [1968:159] and his companion "stopped a night at a small log house on the side of an extensive prairie.")

Ramón in 1716 (Foik 1933:19-21), describes "passing through canyons with plenty of water" for the first four leagues northeast of the crossing of the Trinity, then through four leagues "with much water" and then five leagues "to the north-east over hills with oak, pine, and pecan trees." If he were following the modern route, then he had a greatly exaggerated view of the concept of a canyon, and he also fails to note the large prairies before reaching the "great open space" of the San Pedro Creek/Neches River floodplain.

While the above information strongly suggests that a route other than modern SH 21 was used extensively during the Spanish Colonial period and later, the comments of

Nicolás de la Fora, in 1767, and Father Solís, in the same year, are pertinent to the identification of the crossing of the Trinity and the road into the San Pedro Creek area. La Fora, describing his journey through the area in September, supplies us with some additional information. Shortly before reaching the Trinity he notes (Kinnaird 1958:165): "From here the road deviates to the north to reach the ford of the Trinity River." The next day La Fora recounts,

We crossed the Trinidad river over a stone ledge which extends across its entire width. There was scarcely a span of water. We had no difficulty except at the channels on each side [which] become very bad in rainy season and which are very swift and high because of the depth of the bed on both sides.

This last observation is an accurate description of Kickapoo/Hurricane Shoals. In April of that year, Solís (Forrestal 1931:27) writes,

Afterwards we came to the Trinity, a large river, also with beautiful banks and a bed covered with fine flint stones. As this river . . . was shallow at the time, we waded across.

It is not entirely clear from the translation if this is the same crossing described by La Fora earlier in the year. Today, small chert (or flint) gravel occurs in even the slightest depressions in the rock bottom at both Kickapoo Rapids and Hurricane Shoals. Nevertheless, based on Father Solís' description, the river bottom at the ford was not soft and was either composed of a deep gravel bed or had a rock substrate which was covered with small gravel.

Surely it was this same ford (or fords) where Aguayo crossed the Trinity with his large entourage. Peña, in his diary of the expedition (Santos 1981:52) writes, "Because the Indians knew that the Trinity River, which was five leagues away, was flooded, His Lordship ordered them to go to the ford which was going to be the river crossing" After reaching the river, Peña says, "The Governor concluded that the river's flooded state would continue. Therefore, he ordered the construction of two rafts." With these and a canoe left behind in the 1718 flight from East Texas, the expedition managed to cross the river in seven or eight days. From the tone of the diary, it would seem that Aguayo would rather have forded the Trinity than swim with such a large pack train.

This, too, was surely the plan of Lieutenant M. Musquiz in 1801, when he left Nacogdoches with 100 men to track down Philip Nolan. After crossing the Neches, Musquiz (Brown 1892:38) "quitted the San Antonio Road" and turned northwest to cross the San Pedro and then moved on westward to the Trinity. Musquiz' diary notes, "About 10 a.m. arrived at the Trinity River, which having risen, I ordered ten rafts to be made to cross it." It would appear that Musquiz intended to ford the Trinity rather than swim it. By crossing the San Pedro and heading west, one could argue that Musquiz was heading for the more northern and possibly more often used crossing of the Trinity at Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals. With such a large company, one can be sure that Musquiz was

not striking off across country, but following a well-known road, the road indicated on Juan Pedro Walker's map as the "R(oute) de Bexar."

If one considers that La Fora's and Solís' descriptions of the ford (as viewed at low water conditions) are accurate, then the Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals area is the only possible crossing, unless one moves considerably southward down the Trinity. The only rock bottom south of Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals on the Trinity River is Donahoe Shoals and White Rock Shoals several miles south of Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals. From neither of these places may one reach the locality on San Pedro Creek in the distances and directions given other than that of the original *entrada* of 1690, and then only if one crossed at Donahoe Shoals. The directions given from the crossing make this a highly unlikely crossing place for the later *entradas*. Although some researchers have suggested the possibility of White Rock Shoals, it is much too far south and east. To reach the San Pedro Creek area, the directions traveled would have to be north to northwest and the straight line distance is half again too short for the average distance traveled.

Thus, there is good evidence that the Spanish *entradas* crossed the Trinity in the vicinity of Kickapoo/Hurricane Shoals. Furthermore, there is evidence that they did not always cross at exactly the same place each time, *i.e.*, sometimes they crossed at Kickapoo Rapids and sometimes they crossed at Hurricane Shoals. It seems clear that Solís crossed at Kickapoo Rapids. The description (plus the distance traveled from the Trinity to San Pedro Creek) is too precise, matching the current physical geology too well, to allow one seriously to question the location. As will be seen below, there is other evidence to suggest that he crossed here, rather than downstream in the vicinity of Hurricane Shoals, as did other *entradas*.

The rock outcrop that forms the rapids/shoals at the Kickapoo location is the Weches Formation. The surface outcrop there shows clearly on the Palestine Sheet of the Geologic Atlas of Texas (USGS 1967). This formation, a glauconitic marl, dips to the north, forming an east-west *cuesta*, or divide, where it is exposed. It is this formation which forms Hall's Bluff just upstream from Kickapoo Rapids. From Hall's Bluff downstream, the formation appears above the river level (at normal flow), but is buried by Quaternary and recent sediments. The bluff eventually dips (or has been eroded) below the water level for a short distance, reappearing as a major outcrop entirely across the river at Kickapoo Rapids. At the head of the shoals there is a narrow channel of deep water along the west bank of the river. Downstream from the head of Kickapoo Shoals, the formation appears as a low bluff (buried by Quaternary deposits) on the west side of the river almost the entire distance from Kickapoo Shoals to a point opposite the mouth of Hurricane Bayou. Immediately downstream from the mouth of Hurricane Bayou the outcrop surfaces again on the east bank, forming another shoals/rapids. One hundred meters downstream from the head of the shoals, just downstream from the mouth of Hurricane Bayou, one can wade completely across the Trinity River in 30 centimeters or less of water. The river bottom here is solid rock and relatively smooth, with small chert gravel occurring in any depression.

Considerable evidence suggests that both sections of the Weches outcrop described above were used as a ford across Trinity. Descriptions of the geography immediately after

crossing the Trinity seem to indicate that some *entradas* crossed at Kickapoo Shoals and some crossed at Hurricane Shoals. As noted above, La Fora describes channels on each side of the rock crossing. This certainly fits the contemporary topography of at least the upper portion of Kickapoo Shoals. As important here, though, is his description of the journey after he crosses the Trinity. The first stream that La Fora mentions on the east side is "the arroyo of El Chicharrón a little before that of Santa Efigenia, six and a half leagues away (Kinnaird 1958:165)." Solís, (in the same year), after traveling most of the day, crosses the Trinity in shallow water and stops at "San Juan, a creek which, though very muddy, has very beautiful banks." The next day, he travels on, eventually crossing "a creek called Santa Efigenia, in which we found good water" In 1716, Ramón (Foik 1933:19) relates:

This day we spent in preparing a ford at said river [Trinity], which was done in a short time on account of the great number of people we had. After passing this stream at a distance of about one league, we reached a creek, where it was necessary to build a bridge to provide passage. In the evening, since it was the Vigil of the feast of San Juan Bautista, we shot some fireworks.

Espinosa (Tous 1930b:19) also records the work of repairing the pass over the river and building the bridge over a muddy stream. After crossing the Trinity they

walked about a half a league through a thin forest of oaks in the direction of east-northeast. We crossed the muddy stream by means of the bridge and the expedition stopped at its margin.

Two days later the expedition traveled four leagues to the northeast.

We crossed two arroyos with water; and at one which we named Santa Efigenia we stopped early so as to give the Indians time to approach.

In 1721, Peña (Santos 1981:53) says that,

After crossing everything, we [marched] for one league away from the river [Trinity] to the San Juan Creek which, in order to prevent its swimming by the horses, His Lordship had previously ordered the construction of a bridge fifteen varas long and three and half varas wide.

After resting a day, the expedition moved on to the northeast. "We passed two creeks and halted at Santa Efigenia Creek. The day's journey was of four leagues (Santos 1981:53)."

De Mézières, in 1772 (Bolton 1914:308-9), writes that

after crossing some miry arroyos, the Trinity River is reached; a short distance from it is the prairie of San Juan; and eight leagues farther on in the same direction [east by north] , after crossing the Arroyo of Santa Ephigenia, is the prairie called Del Castaño.

Father Céliz, in 1718, describing the return of the Alarcón expedition, relates:

. . . and having arrived the following day at a creek near the river of the most holy Trinity, we found it so swollen that it was necessary to cross it on rafts, because it was so wide that it measured more than the distance of a musket shot across. Having crossed the creek, we found ourselves stranded, because said river was flooded beyond measure. (Hoffman 1935:85)

Study of the modern USGS 7.5-minute map of the Kickapoo /Hurricane Shoals area offers some interesting observations in relation to the two crossings. If one crossed at Hurricane Shoals and proceeded northeast, one would have to cross the modern Hurricane Bayou within a league of the Trinity. Hurricane Bayou is a muddy stream with fairly high, steep-sided muddy banks. If one crossed at Kickapoo Shoals and proceeded to the northeast, there is no stream to cross until arriving on the upper reaches of the Little Elkhart Creek (the Santa Efigenia) at about four leagues. Thus, those expeditions that crossed the "muddy stream" or San Juan shortly after crossing the Trinity, crossed the river at Hurricane Shoals. In a flood situation, one could easily become stranded between a swollen Hurricane Bayou and a flooded Trinity River if one attempted to cross at Hurricane Shoals. No such situation would obtain if the crossing were to be Kickapoo Rapids.

BUCARELI AND SALCEDO

Almost certainly the road that crossed Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals is the road that Athanase De Mézières followed on his trip to the village of the Quitseis in 1779 (Bolton 1914:260-265). On August 23, De Mézières wrote a letter from Nacogdoches, bemoaning the removal of the settlers from Bucareli to the vicinity of the old mission at Nacogdoches. Three days later he writes from the "Village of San Pedro de los Navedachos," describing his trip from Nacogdoches and describing the Indian mounds (George C. Davis Site, 41CE19) on the east side of the Neches across from the village of the Navedachos. The next day De Mézières writes from Bucareli, "whence I am to set out tomorrow for the Nations of the North" After crossing the Trinity and reaching the village of the Quitseis, another letter describes his route from the San Pedro: "Setting out from the village of the Navedachos . . . I have turned to the right [*i.e.*, to the northwest], leaving the highway to follow the shortest road to the Tuacana."

This event gives us the rough location of the *Adaesano* town of Pilar de Bucareli: De Mézières leaves the highway and turns "to the right" (*i.e.*, to the northwest) after leaving the village of San Pedro. Later that day he writes from Bucareli. If Bucareli were near the Robbins Ferry crossing of the Trinity as many scholars have believed, then De Mézières would soon have to turn back to the south to get there and because of the great distance he would have been hard pressed to reach the abandoned town that same day. As described by De Mézières (Bolton 1914:265), he traveled only 13 leagues (which agrees with the average distance given on previous trips from the crossing of the Trinity to the San Pedro vicinity; from San Pedro to Robbins Ferry is about 18 leagues) from the San Pedro village to the Trinity, and he says he turned right to take the shortest road to the Tuacana. One could argue that De Mézières only thought he was at Bucareli when in reality he was not. Since De Mézières had been to the village twice in 1778 (Bolton 1914:187-188), it seems likely that he did know his whereabouts. In addition, the village, although having suffered a flood and fire earlier in the year, had been abandoned for only about six months and the ruins would still be recognizable to De Mézières.

At the village of the Quitseis, De Mézières (Bolton 1914:265) also writes, "A leading Indian of the Texas, who has just overtaken me, claims to have been on my track at the ford [indicating a specific spot rather than the location of where he just happened to cross the river] of the Trinity River, distant two leagues from this village" Thus there is a high degree of probability that Bucareli was located on the west side of the Trinity at the upper crossing near Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals and not on a lower road which crossed the Trinity to the south near the later Robbins Ferry.

If this is the case, then the later town of Trinidad de Salcedo (1805 - ca. 1812) was also near the Hurricane/Kickapoo Shoals crossing, possibly on the long ridge which terminates at Halls Bluffs just upstream from Kickapoo Rapids. Berlandier (1980:329), writing from the west bank of the Trinity in 1828, notes, "On a height situated on the southern bank of the river [Trinity], opposite the place peopled in 1775 by the refugee neighbors of the Adaises, the commandant general of the Interior Provinces, Don Antonio Cordero, founded in 1805 a small town which he named Villa Salcedo and which today no longer exists." Similarly, in his report of 1827, Father Puelles (Leutenegger and Habig 1978:172) noted that Señor Cordero "established the villa of Salcedo on the east side of the Río de la Trinidad . . . opposite the location where the citizens of los Adaix or Adaises had settled in 1775 . . ." (see Appendix 2).

Several extant contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous maps (although the other portion of the Walker map probably did show the location of Salcedo since it must still have been in existence when the map was drafted) show the locations of Bucareli or Salcedo. The often cited Puelles map, ca. 1807, shows a location for Salcedo on the east side of the Trinity and indicates that the road from Nacogdoches proceeds directly southwest to the town. A map from Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas (Hackett 1931) shows a location for Bucareli, but places it on the east side of the Trinity instead of the west side. A much more significant map (other than the presumed missing portion of the Walker map) is a Stephen F. Austin map of 1828 (Martin and Martin 1982:Map 10) which clearly shows Salcedo north of and well away from the road

that he must have traveled. Later versions of his map unfortunately do not show Salcedo, but seem to indicate that the road he traveled crossed the Trinity some distance south of the confluence of Hurricane Bayou.

The only other significant evidence which indicates that Salcedo and thus Bucareli were on a road further north than modern SH 21 is in the previously cited itinerary of the Sánchez (Castañeda 1926) of the Berlandier expedition of 1828. Camped on the west bank of the flood-swollen Trinity, apparently in the vicinity of Bucareli and Salcedo, the main body of the expedition elected to return to San Antonio via the *camino de arriba* (Berlandier 1980). Sánchez and Mier y Terán crossed the Trinity and proceeded to San Pedro Creek (Castañeda 1926:279). There they ate dinner with "an American called Maklin, who has settled there without the consent of the authorities." This must have been Daniel McLean, who settled on the north side of San Pedro Creek near the present, but old town of Augusta, possibly as early as 1821. It is significant that the McLean homestead is along a road coming into the San Pedro Creek valley from the west.

Equally significant is the fact that Sánchez stopped on the western bank of the Neches at "the house of an American, John Williams." Williams, whose grant and house were south of San Pedro Creek, operated, at least as early as 1835, a ferry across the Neches. Thus, Sánchez crossed the San Pedro to get to the Neches, seemingly along the same route that Musquiz had traveled westward in 1801.

The Kickapoo Rapids/Halls Bluff crossing of the Trinity was an important crossing at later times as well. On a trip from Centerville (Leon County) to Crockett (Houston County) in 1851, Adolphus Sterne (McDonald 1969:210) wrote in his diary that he "arrived at the *old* Kikapos [*sic*] Bluff (Haylet's) on Trinity, got into the ferry-boat at 12 and landed at Hall's Bluff" Later in the year (McDonald 1969:213), he made the trip again and "crossed the Trinity at the *old* Kikapoo [*sic*] Bluff" We suspect that Sterne knew, by his use of the term *old* in both instances, that this was an earlier crossing of the Trinity, particularly since he never used that adjective in his several crossings of the Trinity at Robbins Ferry. Sterne notes an upper and lower route to Austin. The upper route follows the State Highway OSR route for some distance, but Sterne crossed the Brazos at Nashville just below the confluence of the Little River, *i.e.*, near or at the old Spanish crossing.

One final bit of historic data also suggests that Salcedo, and thus Bucareli, was located at or near a crossing in the Kickapoo/ Hurricane Shoals vicinity. In 1813, while chasing the remnants of the Gutiérrez/Magee expedition into East Texas, Colonel Elizondo established a camp on the west side of the Trinity on the edge of the floodplain some two leagues to the west at the juncture of the San Antonio Road and the road to La Bahía (Castañeda:118). The location allowed him to apprehend fugitives traveling either road and to prepare an attack on the town of Salcedo. The Trinity was in full flood and Elizondo records that a crossing at *Paso del Salto* (a low water fall or rapids) was thwarted by high water. *Paso del Salto* must surely refer to either Kickapoo Shoals or Hurricane Shoals or both.

The actual location of Bucareli or Salcedo is uncertain at this time, but the two settlements should be opposite each other, either in the vicinity of Hurricane Shoals or

Kickapoo Shoals. Bucareli will be near the crossing on the west side of the river on terrain that can be at least partially flooded, while Salcedo will be near the crossing on the opposite bank. Berlandier says that the buildings for Salcedo "had been built in a place which the water never reached" (Berlandier 1980:330). Opposite the Kickapoo Shoals crossing, the most likely locality for Salcedo is somewhere along Hall's Bluff. If Salcedo was at the Hurricane Shoals crossing, then there are several localities in the uplands south of Hall's Bluff that would fulfill Berlandier's description of the town being "on a height situated on the southern bank of the river" (Berlandier 1980:329).

The location of Bucareli, if adjacent to Kickapoo Shoals, could have been near the end of the long, low upland ridge that terminates at Kickapoo Shoals. The topographic situation is almost identical to that of Mission San José and very similar to that of Mission Dolores de los Ais, Mission Linares, and Presidio de los Adaes. If the town were on the lower end of the ridge, close to the crossing, it could have been flooded as is recorded in the historic documents. If the town were adjacent to Hurricane Shoals, then its probability of flooding would have been even greater.

EL CAMINO REAL FROM SAN PEDRO CREEK TO NACOGDOCHES

As with the portion of the road discussed above, most researchers have assumed that present SH 21 from the Neches River to Nacogdoches was the primary route for most of its early history. In addition, markers along this portion of the road claim that the road was blazed in 1691 by Terán de los Ríos. As will be shown below, the present road is not and could not be the route followed in 1716 by Ramón and certainly is not the route that Terán blazed to the Red River.

The Crossing of the Neches River

The Neches River was not always crossed at precisely at the same location. De León indicates that the river could be crossed "by means of a tree which the Indians have athwart it, and a rope of which they take hold (Bolton 1908b:417)." This crossing was approximately three leagues northeast (*i.e.*, up the San Pedro Creek floodplain) of the new mission location. Peña (Santos 1981:56) says that Aguayo built a bridge across the Neches, and based on the distance from the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas locality (approximately four leagues), it may have been downstream from the location of the Caddo log bridge mentioned by De León. Aguayo's bridge was apparently not too far downstream (on the Neches) from the spring-fed lake where Ramón had located his first presidio (see below) in 1716. Later, in 1767, La Fora (Kinnaird 1958:165), says "We forded this river in shallow water and one league beyond we climbed a hill. On the summit is a mound which appears to be hand-made." On his return trip in 1767, Solís (Forrestal 1931:37)

relates that "We came to the Neches, and, as it was not very high, we waded across." Although we cannot know exactly where La Fora climbed the hill on which the mound is located, one league from any part of the hill would appear to be close to where Aguayo built his bridge.

The mound mentioned is obviously one of three earthen mounds of the Early Caddoan Mound complex known as the George C. Davis Site (now in Caddoan Mounds State Park). This the same site mentioned by De Mézières in 1779 (Bolton 1914:263), although De Mézières relates that he "sees a little mound." Parker (1968) notes "On a large prairie in front of [his] house, [he] saw two Indian mounds" Interestingly, the Walker map (*ca.* 1806; Figure 26) shows all three mounds, "Monuments Indigenes," in their proper north-south alignment, with the road passing north of the northernmost mound. Today, an old road, known as Weeping Mary Road, follows that portion of the road that Walker shows north of the mound complex, passing close to the northern mound. If the area was a large prairie in 1767 and 1799, one wonders why La Fora and De Mézières describe only one mound. The middle mound is quite low and could be overlooked or dismissed, but the northern and southern mounds are quite large and not easily missed. Failure to note two mounds would be particularly puzzling if the old road followed present SH 21, which lies between the two mounds. On the other hand, the Walker road is at least a half a mile from the southern mound, but only a little over a hundred meters from the northern mound.

After 1767, there are no specific descriptions of a crossing until 1801. In this year, Musquiz (Brown 1892:38) notes that "At daybreak [he] sent a corporal and six men to repair a wooden bridge on the Neches river so as to facilitate our crossing." After crossing and moving down the road a short distance, he turned northwest to cross San Pedro Creek. Obviously, the crossing was downstream from the mouth of San Pedro Creek. In 1828, Sánchez (Castañeda 1926:281) mentions, after leaving the San Pedro, visiting a man named Williams who lived on the west bank of the Neches on or near the road to Nacogdoches. This is probably the same Williams who later established a ferry on the Neches; Sánchez does not specifically mention a ferry in 1828. In 1835, Parker (1968:158) used a ferry to cross the Neches, but failed to mention the owner's name. Although the Williams Ferry crossing is generally believed to have been located at the early crossing, there is no definitive proof for such an assumption. Interestingly, Adolphus Sterne never mentions a ferry on any of his trips across the Neches in the 1840s and 1850s; in fact, he specifically mentions swimming the Neches as it is rising (McDonald 1969:213).

The Walker map shows a crossing of the Neches River that would appear to be more or less in agreement with the location described by De Léon in 1690. Plotted on a modern map (Figure 28), the crossing shown on his map would appear to be west of the crossing location mentioned by La Fora that was approximately one league from the hill on which the mounds are located and west of Aguayo's bridge. Three reliable itineraries (La Fora, De Mézières, and Parker) mention the prehistoric Caddo mounds in the vicinity of the crossing, thus limiting the eastern extent of the crossing. Since no one indicates that the crossing was west of the mouth of San Pedro Creek, the western limit is also defined.

There is a hard, gravel-bottom ford across the Neches (Figure 28) just north of Sawmill Lake and a little upstream from the mouth of Box Creek. This ford certainly could be the spot that La Fora forded the river in low water, particularly if his distance from the crossing to the hill on which the mounds were located was too great by a quarter of a league. This could also be the spot where Solís had waded across in the same year. If Aguayos's bridge crossing was at the Walker crossing, then the topography and distance given from the Neches River to the site of Mission San Francisco de los Neches does not match that given by Céliz, Rivera, and others. It may well be that after the abandonment of San Francisco de los Neches the crossing shifted upstream. The fact that none of the itineraries prior to the abandonment of the three eastern missions in 1730 mentions the mounds argues in favor of this scenario. In reality, knowing the specific location of the crossing of the Neches is not as crucial as knowing the crossings of the Trinity and the Angelina, although identifying the locations of Mission San Francisco de los Neches and the Nechas village would be facilitated by a more precise location of the Neches crossing.

The Road from the Neches River to the Angelina River

From the crossing of the Neches River a short distance below the mouth of San Pedro Creek in the vicinity of a lake (Laguna del Castor), Walker's map indicates that the road crossed the Neches River floodplain and then proceeded eastward across two creeks and then north of the mounds. As mentioned above, this route follows in part an old road known as the Weeping Mary Road. B. E. Conner told his grandson, Randy Dowling (Dowling 1990: personal communication), that he often crossed the Neches from a point off Weeping Mary Road west of the mounds and the two creeks. Whether this is the earliest version of the road in this area is unknown, but as mentioned above, this route, in terms of Ramón's and other descriptions, does not appear to match the description of the distance and the topography between the Neches and Mission San Francisco de los Neches at the time people were still going by the mission. For example, Father Céliz in 1718 (Hoffmann 1967:73) notes that,

After crossing a somewhat swollen creek [the Neches] which is permanent, and traveling through clearings and much reed grass and open woods, we came upon the mission of Our Father San Francisco.

It seems clear from this description that the route to the mission was in the floodplain and not along the high Pleistocene terrace (La Fora's "hill") on which the Indian mounds are prominent features. The "reed grass" or cane mentioned by Celiz is a common plant in East Texas, but almost exclusively restricted to floodplains and/or other lowland mesic terrain. There are other indications that the road might have moved northward after the Neches Mission was abandoned.

Espinosa says (Tous 1930b:23) that after leaving the mission and going "towards the northeast to east-northeast through an open forest, we crossed a stream which leads to the first mission." This would seem to suggest that there was a road to the north of the mission site or that one had to go upstream to reach a good crossing. If the latter suggestion is the case, then the road between the Neches and the "stream which leads to the first mission" may well have shifted to the north after 1730 to take advantage of better crossings on the Neches and the above-named creek.

From a point east-northeast of the Caddo mounds, the route shown on the Walker map would appear to match the descriptions of the terrain and the distance to the Angelina. Espinosa (Tous 1930b:23) describes a plain of more than two leagues which he crosses after he crosses the stream that goes to Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. He gives the distance traveled to the site of Mission Concepción on the Angelina as eight leagues (other itineraries average eight to nine leagues). Céliz' description (Hoffmann 1967:73) of the route from Mission San Francisco de los Tejas to the Angelina River matches Espinosa's: "[traveling] in the direction between northeast and east-northeast, having passed a creek of water which is followed by plains for more than two leagues and at intervals by open woods of pecans and oaks, we encountered other larger plains." Peña says (Santos 1981:60),

The march was thence commenced towards the northeast and east-northeast through a clear forest of heavy oaks and mulberry trees. We crossed two creeks and two plains until we arrived at a creek with running water which is at the beginning of another plain even larger than the preceding ones.

Shown on modern USGS maps as Larrison Creek, Peña names this creek Nieves. All later diaries, the Walker map (Figure 26), and the 1828 Barr and Davenport plat map (Figure 27) call this stream Alazán. Thus, Solís in 1767 (Kress 1931:62) relates that "The first day we crossed a creek that is called Alazán, which has good water; we went on through a prairie called Las Carreras" Later descriptions of this portion of the road are not quite as descriptive, but certainly mirror the others above: Rivera (Hackett 1946:168) notes "East-southeast. Smooth land, plenty of grass;" Vial (Loomis and Nasatir 1967:354) traversed "much large timber" and later "stopped at a place called Los Charcos del Alazán." De Mézières (Bolton 1914:309) describes "large hills, pleasant plains, and abundant pastures." Sánchez (Castañeda 1926:281) "traveled over wooded and rolling country;" and Parker (1968:154) describes "pine woods, oak woods, and small prairies."

The route shown on the Walker map can be fairly accurately plotted on a modern map (Figure 28) of the region between the mound site and the Angelina River. With minor exceptions, the distance and directions from the various itineraries agree with the 1806 map. The road first crosses Forman Creek, then the upper reaches of Cedar Creek. Either one of these creeks could be the stream Espinosa refers to as the "stream that leads to the first mission," although Cedar Creek would seem to be the most logical. From modern Cedar Creek, the road proceeds eastward, traversing at least two prairies. The USDA soil survey (Dolezel and Fuchs 1980) shows a narrow prairie about three miles long

with a well-developed mollisol running northwest-southeast, and paralleling the east side of Cedar Creek. The other side of this narrow prairie is bounded on the west by the western branch of Larrison Creek. The second, a large flat prairie, begins just east of the eastern and main branch of Larrison Creek (the Alazán). This prairie must surely be the prairie Solís called "Las Carreras," which, loosely translated, may refer to an area in which one could race or make good time.

The next stream, which Walker calls "Arroyo de la Piedra," is easily identified because of its particular configuration in the landscape and its relationship to the Angelina River and the road which he calls "Ancienne Route De Bexar y Nacogdoches," which more or less follows present SH 21. On the later 1828 Barr and Davenport map, the stream is referred to as San Bielmo and on even later maps as Bean's Creek. After paralleling this stream, the road turns southeast, crosses the stream, and then proceeds down the edge of the floodplain of the Angelina along the foot of a high ridge to the west to the crossing. The fact that the route is along the edge of the floodplain and not along the ridge is clearly shown on the Walker map. This fact seems to be corroborated by Céliz (Hoffmann 1967:73) who notes that "through open woods and a great deal of reed grass, the creek near the Mission La Purísima Concepción is reached." If indeed that was the route the road followed, it would have intersected the river where the high ridge lies immediately adjacent to the Angelina and opposite the point on the east bank of the Angelina that is indicated on at least two other maps as the spot where the Nacogdoches road intersected the river.

The Crossing of the Angelina River

The 1828 Barr and Davenport plat map (Figure 27) shows the "Nacogdoches Road" intersecting the Angelina north of a very distinctive, squarish bend of the river. Plotting the plat map on a modern map redrawn from a USGS 15-minute map (Figure 28), the intersection of the road with the river comes precisely at the point where the ridge on the west side intersects the river. A Cherokee County plat map shows the same crossing point, as does the 1843 map of the Barr and Davenport grant (Figure 29) by A. A. Nelson. The crossing Walker shows for the Angelina is definitely upstream from the distinctive bend.

At this point, we are clearly at odds with the conclusion reached by Blake (1937) that the 1716 crossing of the Angelina was at the John Durst crossing (Figure 30), which is below the bend. His conclusion is clearly at odds with the Walker map. Although Blake (1937:216) uses the A. A. Nelson 1843 map to argue for the John Durst crossing as being the Spanish one, he errs as we will show below. If Blake had known about the 1828 plat map (which he obviously did not), he would have reached a very different conclusion. The 1828 map was made before John Durst inherited the Barr and Davenport grant in 1832 and before he purchased the adjacent property in 1834 and began to build his house at what was to be (but never was) the port of Mount Sterling. Parker (1968:154) relates that,

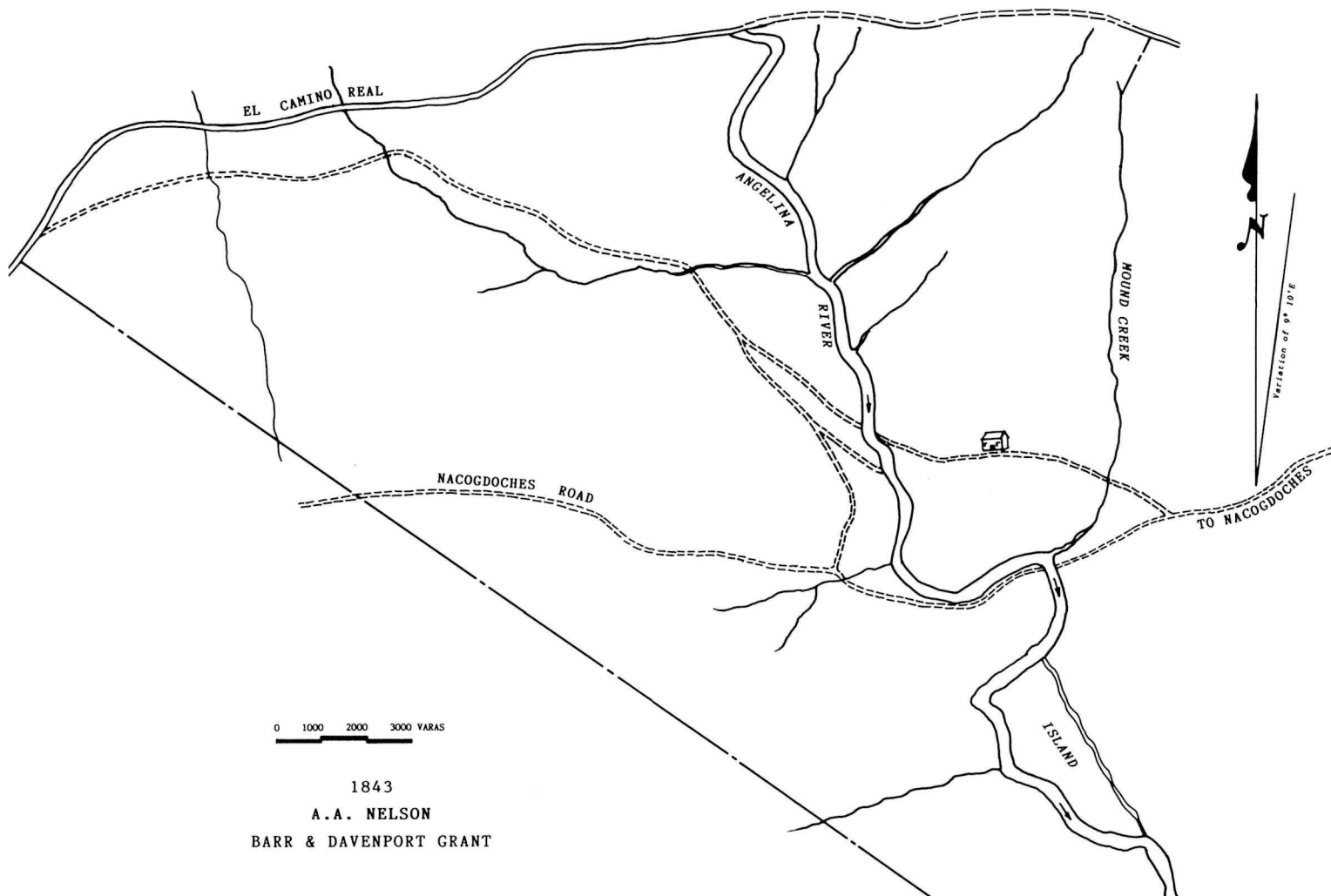


Figure 29. The Barr and Davenport Grant, circa 1843.

. . . we came to an elegant house, painted white, a large portico in front a neat paling around the yard, and large fields beside the road. A saw and grist mill were built on a small stream [Terreros Creek before Durst owned the land, Mill Creek after 1834, Legg Creek after 1865], about a mile from the house. We passed a small river (the Angelina) over a bridge, having split rails for a covering, instead of plank

Blake is quite right that this general area of the river fits the Spanish descriptions much better than Bolton's location of the crossing. Nevertheless, if Blake had had access to the 1828 plat map and the Juan Pedro Walker map, he could not have argued for the obviously later John Durst bridge crossing.

After about 1830, John Durst's bridge was the crossing for this segment of the road. Adolphus Sterne, on his several trips to Austin, followed the road described above, and he always preferred to cross at "Mr. John Durst's Bridge" (McDonald 1969:196) rather than the Linnwood crossing (SH 21) where, if it had been raining, he "found the Angelina out of its Banks and all over the bottom"

Mission Concepción and Presidio Dolores de los Ais

R. B. Blake (1937), using the A. A. Nelson 1843 map of the Barr and Davenport grant and original deeds associated with the 1798 Barr and Davenport grant and the 1797 D'Ortolan grant, presented the evidence for the 1936 placement of historical markers. His argument that current FM 225 (the Durst Road or Lower Douglass Road) is essentially the route followed by Ramón in 1716 is in fact correct and is corroborated by the 1806 Walker map. Blake errs, though, in his assumption that the current Goodman Bridge, which is located at the 1835 John Durst Bridge crossing, was the crossing used in 1716 and later. In addition, the Walker map shows the location of the Barr and Davenport Rancho San Patricio, which was, according to the original deed, on or very near the presidio/mission location. It is interesting that both the Nelson map and the Cherokee County plat map show a small building at the same location as Walker's Davenport *rancho*. Both of the later maps utilized data or previous maps which showed the location of the John Durst crossing (Figure 30), which is immediately below the bend.

The 1936 marker for Mission Concepción, placed on the basis of Blake's identification of the John Durst Crossing as the 1716 crossing, is high in the uplands, well away from streams or water of any kind. An intense surface survey of the very eroded landscape of this highly unlikely location produced not a single artifact that could be tied in any way to a Spanish Colonial occupation. The chimney and fireplace remains noted by R. B. Blake at the site are 19th-century, rather than 18th-century constructions. In addition, the geographic relationship of the Mission Concepción marker to the marker for

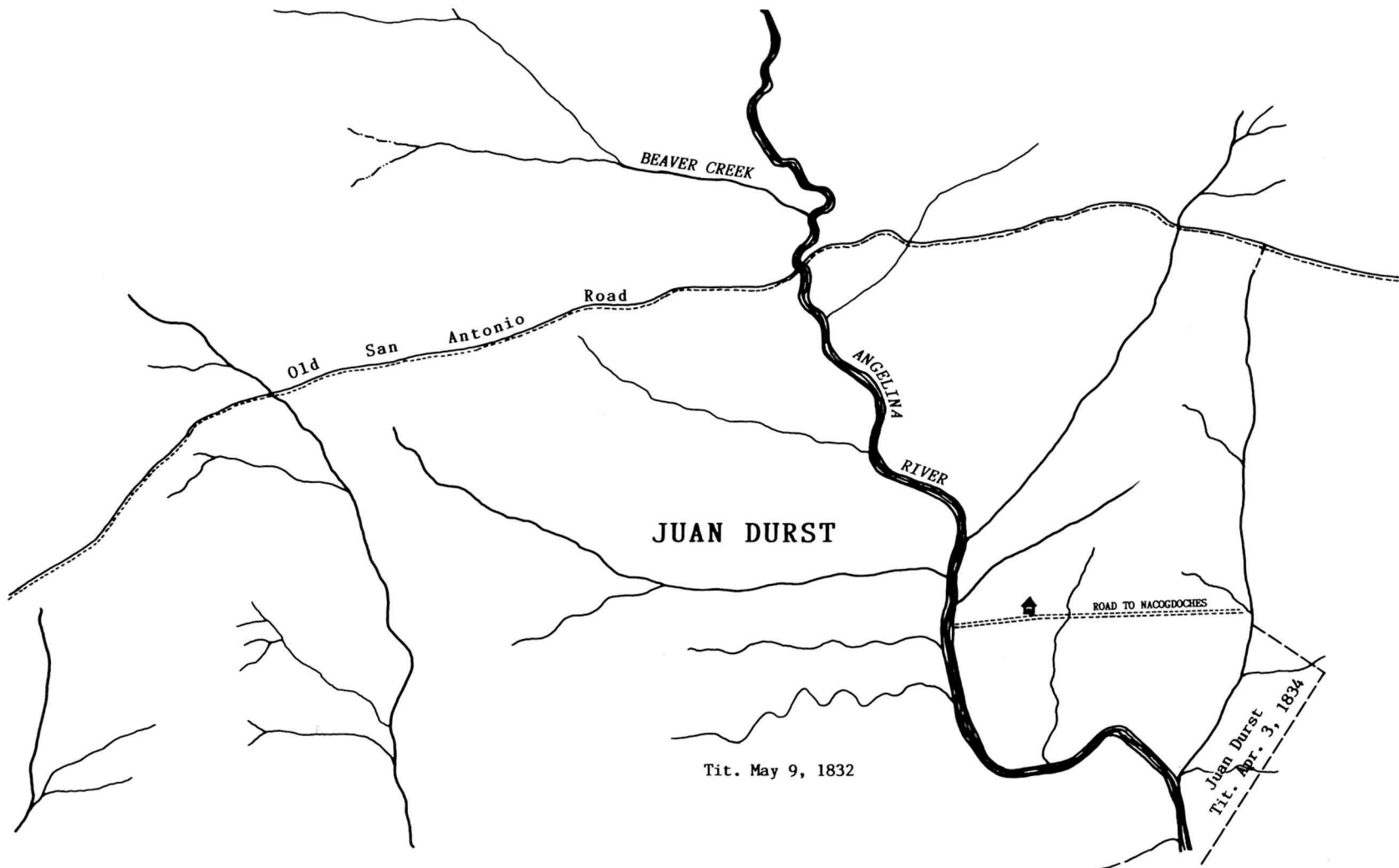


Figure 30. Map showing the John Durst Crossing.

the Presidio Dolores nearby is clearly at odds with Spanish descriptions of the relationship between Mission Concepción and the presidio.

The topographic location of the Presidio Dolores (Tejas) marker does not fit the topography described in the documents, nor does it conform to the geographic relationship with Mission Concepción. "This site is a very good one. It is on a rise overlooking the entire area. Creek Nuestra Señora de la Asunción which has permanent running water passes nearby" (Santos 1981:73). Using Peña's map of the Mission Concepción locality (Santos 1981:90), the Barr and Davenport land grant map of 1828, the deeds from the Barr and Davenport *rancho* and the adjacent D'Ortolan *rancho* (Blake 1937:215-216), and the Juan Pedro Walker map, there is sufficient data to suggest that the location of the mission and presidio should be a mile or so north of the present markers. Thus the Mission Concepción location should be near the edge of the Angelina River floodplain and less than half a league northeast of the crossing delineated above. The Presidio Dolores location should be on a hill about one league further to the northeast from the mission location. If the location is similar to other known Spanish sites in eastern Texas, then the site is most likely on the western edge of the floodplain of the stream known as either "La Litera" or later as "Terrerros," most assuredly present Legg Creek.

El Camino Real from the Angelina River to Nacogdoches

R. B. Blake (1937) has shown that the 1716 road followed a portion of present FM 225 (also known as Durst Road or the lower Douglass Road). The following remarks re-emphasize Blake's very cogent arguments and correct some of his and other researchers' errors on the subject.

Other than the land grant data cited above, Blake (1937:215) offers a very convincing argument: a statement from a court case in Nacogdoches in 1858 in which an old Spanish resident testifies that the upper road (SH 21) was the newer road and that the Durst or lower road was the earliest *camino real*.

After crossing the Angelina River, the *camino* delineated on the Walker map passes a number of *ranchos*, including the Barr and Davenport *rancho* discussed above. From the Barr and Davenport *rancho*, the road proceeds eastward crossing Terreros Creek and Bayou Loco, passing north of the Rancho del Loco of Bernard D'Ortolan. Bayou Loco was and is a well-known stream, both as a stream and as a location of a Hasinai village. Archaeologists from the University of Texas in 1974-76 (Story 1982) excavated portions of a Hasinai *ranchería* (the De Shazo Site, 41NA13) dated about 1750. These excavations and the attendant surface surveys also recovered materials associated with the D'Ortolan *rancho*, including the stone foundation of a small structure and sherds of English ceramics which date from 1790-1820, the primary dates for the main occupation at the *rancho*.

After passing the D'Ortolan *rancho*, the road crosses Alazán Bayou and then the Moral. Across the Moral, Walker's map shows some more *ranchos*. Sánchez (Castañeda

1926:82), in 1828 notes "several houses of Mexicans in a beautiful location, notwithstanding that, like the rest of this country, it is wooded. This place is called *El Moral*." Then, just west of Nacogdoches, the lower, older road intersects the upper and newer road and enters Nacogdoches after crossing the "Arroyo de la Misión." This is Bañita Creek, which formed the western boundary of the early town. It is interesting that, although "La Nana," the creek on the east side of the town, is mentioned in the earliest records of the Nacogdoches vicinity, "La Nana" or "Arroyo de la Misión" is not mentioned by name until after the construction of the 1804 church, Nuestra Señora del Pilar. This fact suggests that the original location of Mission Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches may well have been south of the place settled in 1779 by the returning Adaesanos, that is, below (south of) the juncture of the two streams at the south edge of the town. We know that the location of the church was changed with the construction of the 1804 church because the original location was "notably distant from the dwellings." If this is the case, then the original *camino* may well have followed a different route into the Nacogdoches vicinity than that showed on the Walker map.

Of all of the itineraries of travel along the *camino real* cited above, only one seems to indicate a route out of (or into, for that matter) Nacogdoches to (or from) the west was along or near the modern SH 21 segment between Nacogdoches and the Neches River. Musquiz' (Brown 1892:38) description of that portion of his journey in 1801 notes localities and streams that could not be crossed on the southern and older route:

March 4th, 1801. Left Nacogdoches early in the morning. Took the road leading to San Antonio, and camped at the Rancho de la Botija.

5th. Continued on my march on the same road and camped on La Rais creek.

6th. Arrived at Terreros creek.

7th. Continued my march on the same road. About nine o'clock in the morning arrived at the Angelina River, which, having risen, I ordered rafts to be made to cross it. Camped on its banks.

The significant clues to the road on which Musquiz was traveling are the references to Rancho de la Botija and Rais Creek. The locations of these places on the upper road are known. Botija Creek, part of the western boundary of Rancho de la Botija, and Rais Creek (Figure 31) are marked on the 1827 plat map (Blake n.d.:196) of the Rancho del Loco of Francisco de los Santos-Coy as well as later plat maps of Nacogdoches County (e.g., Nacogdoches County Map, 1881). The Santos-Coy plat map also shows the later road, which, at this date, is referred to as the "old road which goes from this town toward San Antonio (Blake n.d.:355)" and "the main road (Blake n.d.:360)" in the title which accompanies the map. The *rancho* La Botija is noted in the 1909 census of Nacogdoches (Blake Vol. 18:294) as belonging to Don José de la Bega, the notary of Nacogdoches. The census also notes that the ranch was obtained in verbal sale from "the citizen Mariano Sanches who cultivates it as his own." The 1827 title for the Santos Coy Rancho Loco refers to Mariano Sanches as the owner of the *rancho* (Blake n.d.:361).

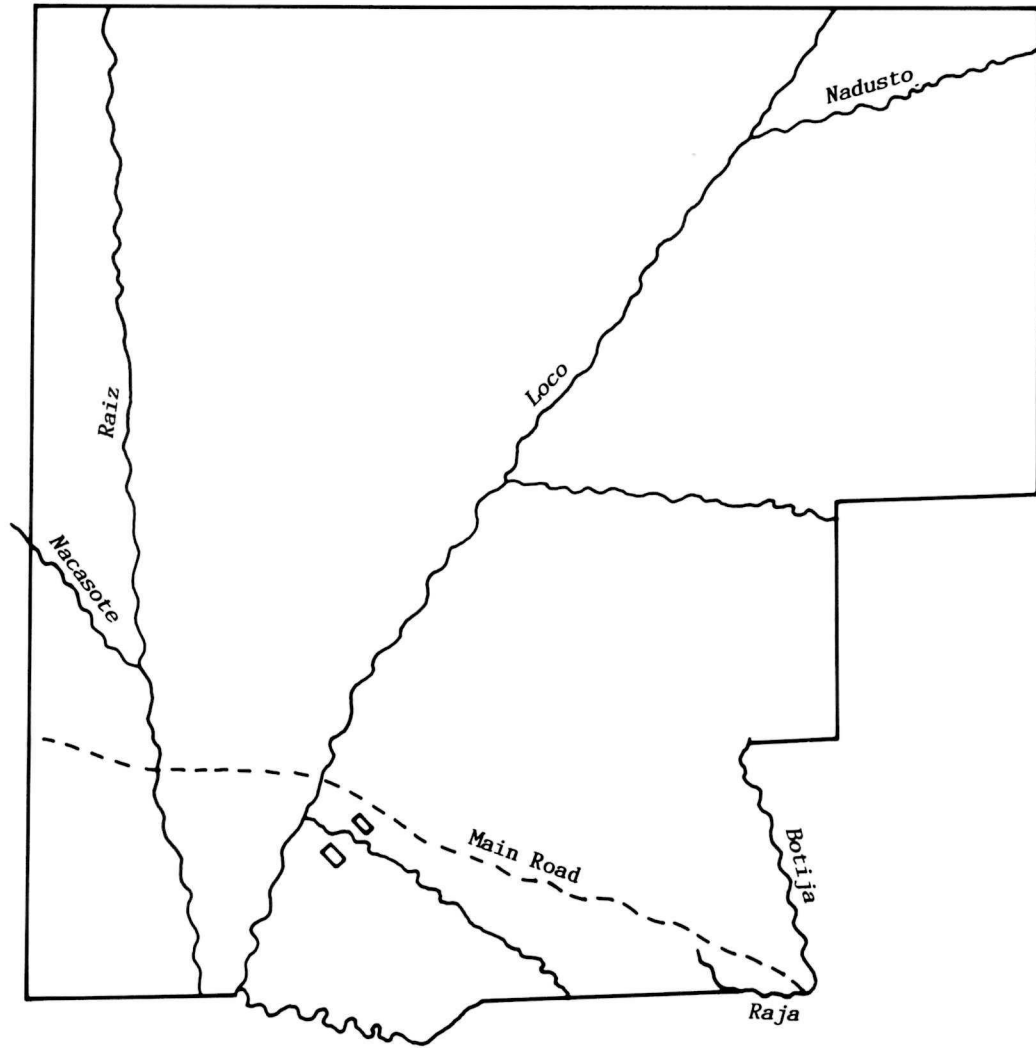


Figure 31. The Santos-Coy Grant, circa 1827.

On the other hand, the route that Musquiz follows from Rais Creek to the Angelina River is not quite as clear. Current USGS maps do not show Terreros Creek coming as far north as the upper road, at least in its present or recent configuration. Some early plat maps of Nacogdoches County show the upper end of Terreros Creek just touching the upper road while others show the road crossing the very northernmost portion of the stream. While it is possible that the 1801 route followed by Musquiz from Rais Creek to the Angelina River followed the modern road, there is another possibility. There is a gravel bottom crossing, known as the Buckshot Crossing, of the Angelina between the present SH 21 crossing of the Angelina and the early crossing shown on the Walker map. This crossing is north of Walker's Piedras Creek (on the west side of the Angelina River) and opposite the point that Walker's road (going west) turns back to the west. Thus, there may have been a road (Figure 31) from the Rais Creek area (or west of it) to the Buckshot Crossing that connected with the early road as delineated on the Walker map. Indeed, the 1945 soils map of Nacogdoches (Dolozel and Fuchs 1980) shows a road proceeding, from the modern SH 21, across both Rais Creek and Terreros Creek to the Buckshot Crossing. It is possible, and eminently logical, that the Buckshot Crossing precedes the modern SH 21 crossing on the Angelina River.

ROUTE OF THE CAMINO DE ARRIBA

Departing San Antonio, the route of the *Camino de Arriba* follows the earlier *Camino de los Tejas* to the community of Comal. From Comal, *Camino de Arriba* follows the route of FM 482 to IH 35 and then along old US 81 through New Braunfels. At New Braunfels, the route again joins IH 35 heading north to Nail Hill and beyond that location joins the Old Bastrop Road near York Creek. The present Old Bastrop Road closely follows the original *camino* as evinced by land grant boundaries and on-the-ground remains of the road as far as the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad at SH 21 in San Marcos. The route is coterminous with SH 21 to near Umland where it follows earlier versions of the road and forms the boundaries of Hays and Caldwell counties. It again departs SH 21 at US 183, as indicated in early land grants, and heads directly east into Bastrop County to join a county road northeast of Lytton Springs and continuing to FM 812. From there the route heads east and northeast to the junction of SH 21 and SH 71 and crosses the Colorado River at Gills Branch. Heading upstream along the creek to Pecan Street in Bastrop, the route resumes its eastward path on SH 21 (Figure 32).

The retraced path follows SH 21, except where the modern highway has straightened curves, as far as the Little Brazos River in Brazos County. From this point, the route departs SH 21 and becomes a modern stretch of highway designated SH OSR, which forms the boundary between Brazos and Robertson counties and Leon and Madison counties (Figure 33). The route rejoins SH 21 at Midway and continues along SH 21, crossing the Neches River and running through Alto, and then along the north bank of Beans Creek to the Angelina River. The route passes south along the west bank of the Angelina and crosses at the point where the uplands approach the river about a mile south of the mouth of Beans Creek. From the crossing of the Angelina, the route passes eastward to join FM 225 at Legg Creek and follows FM 225 into Nacogdoches. (This stretch is the same as the *Camino de los Tejas*.) The route follows SH 21 from Melrose to San Augustine. At San Augustine the road passes south of town through the Mission Dolores de los Ais, and rejoins SH 21 on the east side of town.

At Maddox Creek the route departs SH 21 to follow a county road southeast but rejoins SH 21 south of Geneva. The route continues eastward on SH 21 to Pendleton Harbor and crosses the Sabine River into Louisiana at Candy Cemetery where it joins Louisiana SH 191, then SH 6 to Los Adaes.

An earlier segment of this road lay between Augusta on the *Camino de Los Tejas* and Crockett. The segment of SH 21 between Crockett and Alto appears to date after about 1830.

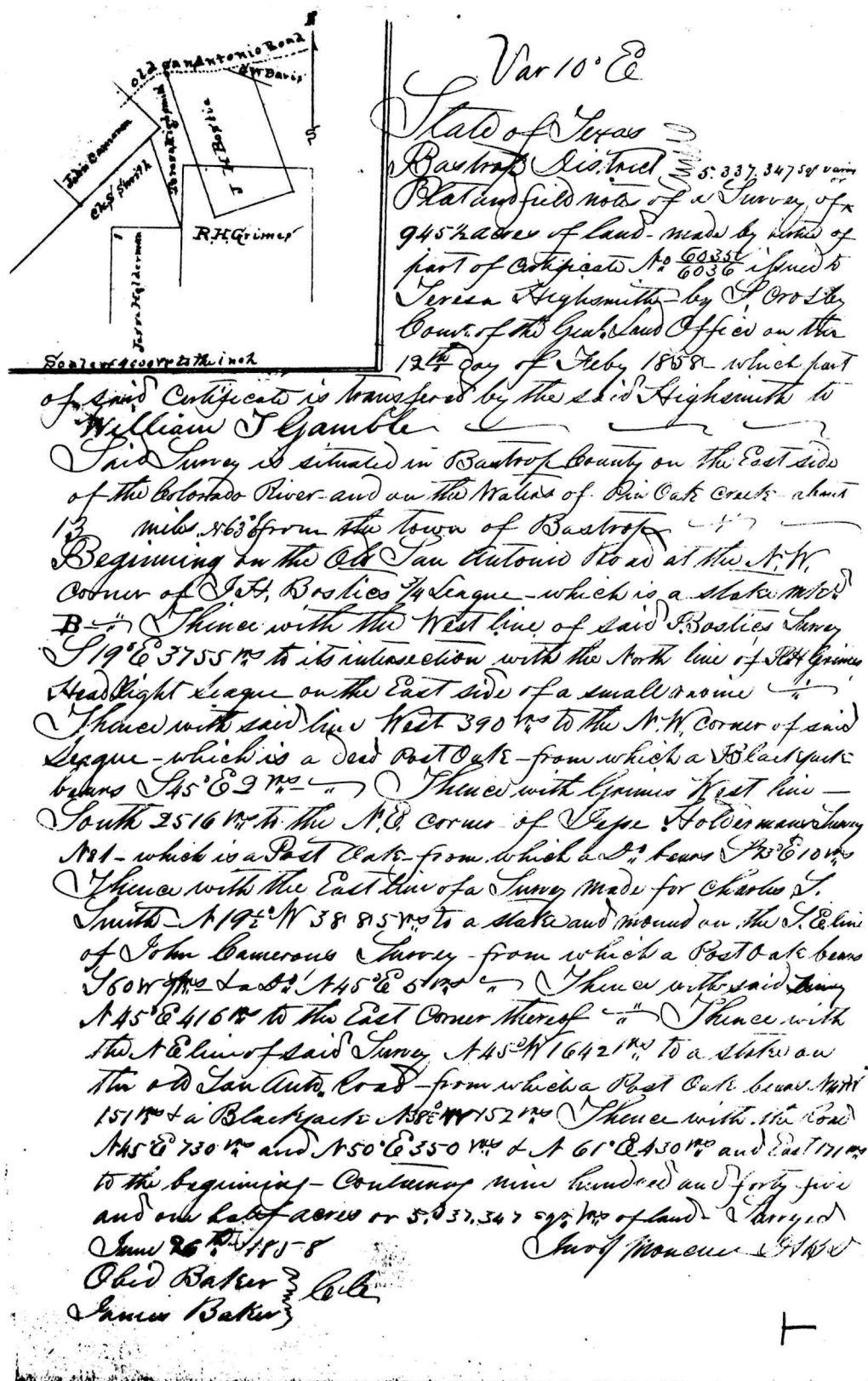


Figure 32. Field survey notes, Bastrop District, 1858, showing route of the Old San Antonio Road. (Archives, GLO, Austin.)

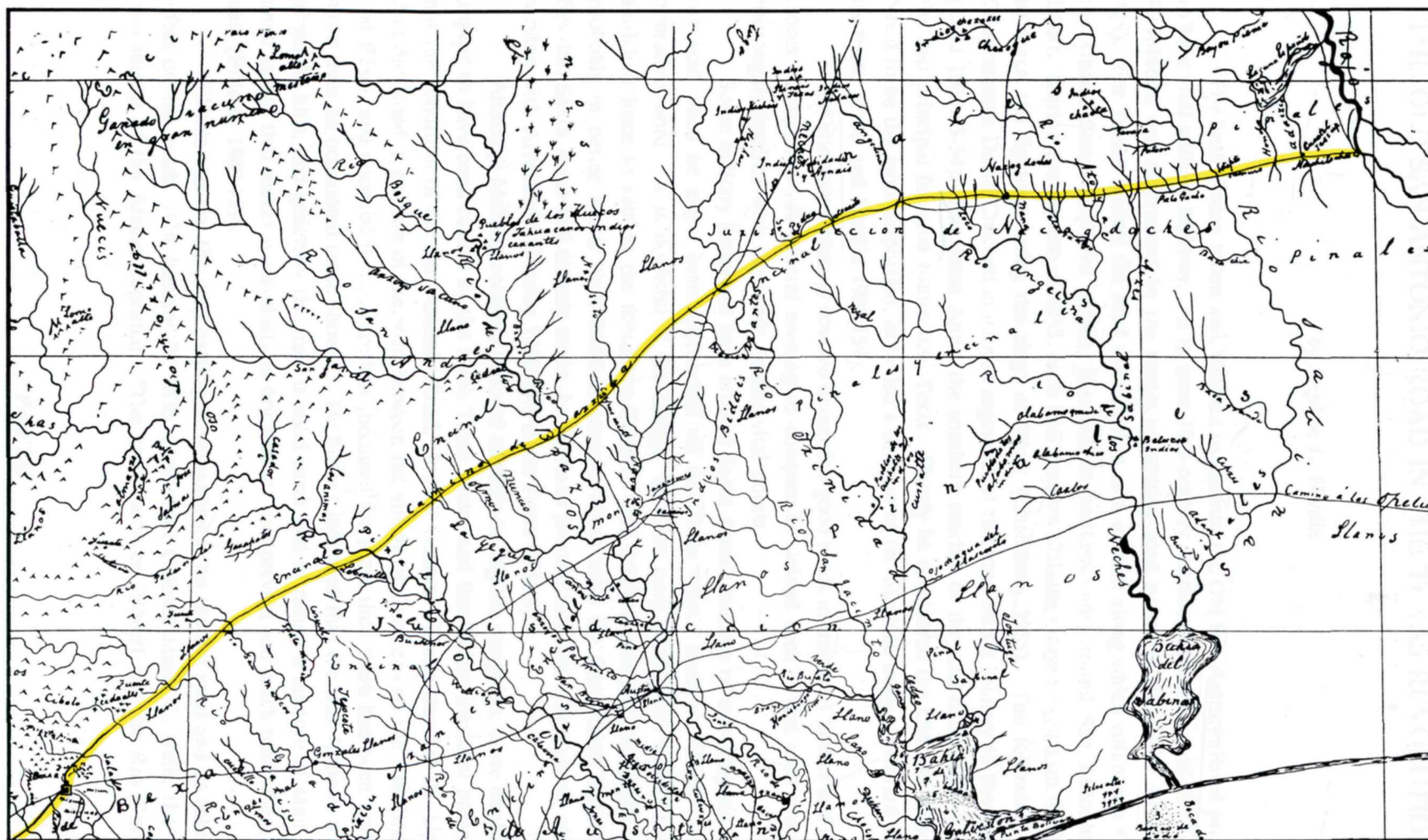


Figure 33. Stephen F. Austin's sketch map of routes between San Antonio and the Neches River, circa 1828. Note the *Camino de Arriba*.

THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION

by *Stephen L. Hardin*

For both Texian rebels and Mexican centralists, the Old San Antonio Road proved to be a vital military highway. As in most 19th-century conflicts, the strategy of the Texas Revolution was determined by the routes of existing road networks (Chandler 1979:421-428). For Texian leaders the road was valuable as a conduit along which volunteers from the United States could be quickly funneled to battlegrounds around San Antonio de Béxar. During the autumn of 1835, units like the New Orleans Grays traveled on the road to reach the fighting during the siege of Béxar (Ehrenberg 1935). The following year Congressman David Crockett employed segments of the road on his journey to the Alamo (Lord 1961:53-54). For Santa Anna, the southern reaches of the trail constituted one of the two principal invasion routes into Texas. Clearly he considered the Old San Antonio Road to be the more important, as he led a division of the Mexican army northward along its route (Pohl and Hardin 1986:159).

The immense distances covered demanded good roads to transport armies and large stores of supplies. A general seeking to conquer or defend such a vast area must be thoroughly familiar with the roads linking vital points.

Some military historians have criticized Santa Anna's strategy of marching his army overland when he might have approached via the Texas coast. Even so, "might" is the operative word. It is doubtful if the meager Mexican navy could have transported a sufficient force to subdue the rebellious Texans. All things considered, the roads were probably in better repair than Mexican vessels, which were far from being shipshape. Besides, Santa Anna had already made the overland journey into Texas as a young officer serving with Arredondo (Presley 1959:497; Santa Anna 1974:5).

Although Mexican *soldados* suffered mightily during the campaign, those hardships appear to have been caused by the harsh Texas winter and insufficient logistical planning, not the condition of the San Antonio Road. Indeed General Filisola traveled the Upper Presidio Road, a portion of the road between the village of Guerrero on the Rio Grande and Béxar, and declared it ". . . excellent [because] for some time there had been nothing more than an occasional small shower." He further indicated that the trail "follows a line of gentle hills, and generally the road is solid earth and in places a mixture of sand and small stones that makes it less dusty in dry weather and prevent too much mud when it is wet" (Filisola 1987:159).

Filisola was not the only participant to comment on the dry spell and its salutary effect on the roads. On January 28, 1836, Lieutenant Colonel James C. Neill, the first commander of the Alamo, reported: "The roads between [Béxar] and the Rio Grande,

which is fordable, are now good as the season there has been a dry one." (Jenkins 1973:174).

Neill realized the importance of effective reconnaissance along the approaches to Béxar and envisioned a campaign to delay the enemy between the Rio Grande and the town:

As I expect the Enemy to be on the point of commencing their march, I intend sending out tomorrow a spy to reconnoiter and on the arrival of Col. [William B.] Travis and his men I shall also dispatch them to cut off their supplies, a policy I conceive to be at this juncture most expedient as by depriving the enemy's troops of their provisions & of means of progressing they will become discouraged and be induced to return. The first misfortune that may happen to them, far from this place will be productive of the best effects. I shall instruct Col. Travis to cut down the bridges over the Leona and Nueces to embarrass the enemy in crossing those streams . . . (Jenkins 1973:174-175).

One can trace the route of Santa Anna's march by plotting his various campsites. Indians, and later Spanish explorers, tended to camp at particular places along the trail. These *parajes* became vital stopping places for travelers at a time when few towns or ranches marked the road. As the Indians and Spaniards before them, Mexican soldiers pitched camp at specific *parajes* on their march from the Rio Grande to San Antonio de Béxar, as several primary accounts clearly state. Most of these *parajes* were located on or near rivers or creeks that provided water for travelers and their mounts.

The Mexican army advanced in stages, with various contingents of the army strung out along the roads for miles. Hence, Santa Anna, Filisola, and José Enrique de la Peña mention the same places on their respective journeys to Béxar and appear to have taken the same road, but arrived at their destination on different dates.

Judging from the *parajes* mentioned in the various accounts, it appears that the bulk of Santa Anna's army marched to Béxar along the Upper Presidio Road, or *Camino Arriba del Presidio del Río Grande*. Given the size of his army, it seems odd that Santa Anna did not order some of his men to advance along the Lower Presidio Road. In Napoleonic strategy, troops approach the battlefield dispersed along parallel roads and then concentrate to deliver the crushing blow. Santa Anna was a great admirer of Napoleon and it was said that he would "listen to nothing which was not in accord with [Napoleon's] ideas." (Peña 1975:79). Even so, no Mexican source mentions a single *soldado* traveling to Béxar via the Lower Presidio Road. Why then did Santa Anna fail to employ that particular route?

While none of the Mexican sources provide precise answers to that question, the 1838 Erasmo Seguin manuscript in the Texas General Land Office (see "The Lower Presidion Road: The Seguin Transcript," Part II) suggests the answer. Seguin reported that the Lower Presidio Road, the road he referred to as *camino de en medio* had fallen into disuse by the 1830s and only old-timers could even remember its original route. Moreover, early documents revealed that the area traversed by the lower road was exceptionally sandy and covered by dense brush. Earlier accounts reported horses bogged down in the deep

sand and that travel in the neighborhood of the Atascosa River was slow and arduous. Indeed the Spanish word *atascosa* means boggy or sticky. In 1836, therefore, the Upper Presidio Road, or *Camino Arriba del Presidio del Rio Grande*, was the only viable route available to Santa Anna's centralist army.

Santa Anna hoped to drive quickly up the Upper Presidio Road and surprise the Béxar garrison. He may well have accomplished that goal had not heavy rains made the Medina River impassable. After a day delayed on the south bank of the flooded Medina, Santa Anna hurried toward Béxar only to discover that the Texian garrison had taken refuge behind the walls of the Alamo (Filisola 1987:168; Lord 1961). The prolonged siege that he had wished to prevent was unavoidable.

From the opposite perspective, the question arises: Why did the woefully outnumbered Texians try to hold the mission-fort against such overwhelming odds? The answers are altogether logical. In the first place the men of the Alamo fully expected reinforcement from Fannin and his larger force at Goliad (Jenkins 1973:419); they also anticipated the rest of Texas to rally to their aid. They never planned to fight against unfavorable odds. Alamo officers and men hoped to oppose Santa Anna at Béxar on the frontier and away from the bulk of Texian settlements. The so-called "Runaway Scrape," during which centralist armies burned Anglo settlements and drove the bulk of their inhabitants beyond Texas borders, demonstrated that such concerns were warranted (Webb and Carroll 1952b:514-515). Another factor was undoubtedly the Alamo's location on the San Antonio Road. The fort blocked one of two main arteries into Texas. If the post were left undefended, Santa Anna would have been able to drive unopposed to Bastrop, and ultimately, all the way to Nacogdoches and the Sabine River, outflanking the forces at Goliad and the majority of Anglo towns. James C. Neill and James Bowie made the decision to defend the fort contrary to General Sam Houston's urgings to demolish the works and abandon Béxar (Jenkins 1973:238). Neill, a citizen of Bastrop, realized all too well the fate of his hometown if the Alamo were not defended and subsequently fell.

When the Alamo did fall, Santa Anna directed a 600-man division under General Antonio Gaona up the road to Bastrop, just as Neill and Bowie had anticipated (Castañeda 1970:174). Gaona plundered and burned the settlement, but instead of driving all the way to Nacogdoches, which Houston and the Texian army would have found almost impossible to prevent, he shifted course to march toward San Felipe on Gotier Trace. Gaona lost his way in the Lost Pines area east of Bastrop and was unavailable to Santa Anna for the remainder of the campaign (Filisola 1987). He would probably have done better to stay on the San Antonio Road.

American settlers understood that the Mexicans were not their only enemies. In the western reaches of Anglo settlement, Comanches were a frightful and almost constant menace. The Bastrop area was especially harrassed. In February 1836, settlers Alexander Thompson and G. A. Pattillo advised Acting Governor James W. Robinson to dispatch Captain John J. Tumlinson's ranging company to reinforce the Alamo and "that the militia class' No. 5, that are above the San Antonio road in the municipality of Mina [another name for Bastrop], be ordered to guard the frontier from Indian depredation" (Jenkins

1973:472). The Alamo fell before Tumlinson received his orders, but his company was active in local Indian defense.

The makeshift rebel government took the Indian threat seriously. On March 4, 1836, the "Executive Department of Texas" responding to reports "of a large force of Indians above the San Antonio road" near Bastrop, resolved that "a company of volunteers, not to exceed fifty men . . . proceed forthwith to the place specified, to disperse them, and after so doing, proceed to Bexar" (Jenkins 1973:324). Of course the Alamo fell two days later so there was no need for the volunteers to "proceed to Béxar."

The San Antonio Road was also important in the Texian government's relations with friendly Indians. On November 13, 1835, the General Convention, eager to keep the Cherokees neutral, declared that the tribe had "derived their just claims to lands included within the bounds hereinafter mentioned, from the government of Mexico, from whom we also derived our right to the soil by grant and occupancy." The Convention then defined the limits of the Cherokee grant. "We solemnly declare, that the boundaries of the claims of the said Indians to land is as follows, to wit: lying north of the San Antonio road and the Neches, and west of the Angelina and Sabine rivers" (Jenkins 1973:284). The old trail, long a route for war, served also as a means to achieve peace.

Although its impact has been largely overlooked, the Old San Antonio Road played a critical role in determining the conduct of the Texas Revolution. It was an indispensable avenue of approach for both Texian and Mexican armies, and scholars seeking to unsnarl the complex events 1835-1836 would do well to consider the effects of road networks on that bloody contest.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD AND THE *CAMINOS REALES*

by *A. Joachim McGraw and Stephen L. Hardin*

The evolution, decline, and sometimes the abandonment of varying segments of the early roads create a complex subject and warrant a separate volume by some future researcher. The regional routes that were part of the trans-Texas road changed through time from both natural and human causes. The earliest routes, little more than mule trails, were affected strongly by natural conditions and seasonality. Spring rains often flooded major rivers, and streams were often difficult to cross along the lower routes in South-Central and East Texas. In southern Texas, the scarcity of waterholes and features of the topography, *e.g.*, the deep sands of Atascosa County, affected rates of travel and the choice of route. The threat of hostile Indian attacks during this time also critically affected both the choice of a road and the extent of its use.

The changing pattern of the OSR is illustrated by what the current study believes was the last major 19th-century San Antonio-Presidio del Río Grande variant of the road in South Texas. Surprisingly, a major portion of this route, known as Woll's Road in the middle 1800s, may have been established, used, and abandoned a century earlier. The route gained some historical distinction and its 19th-century name when it was employed by the Mexican General Adrian Woll during his 1846 attack on San Antonio. The road of Woll's invasion however, apparently closely followed an earlier route from both San Antonio and the Rio Grande to the Spanish Colonial mission of San Lorenzo de la Cruz in modern Edwards County.

The short-lived Mission San Lorenzo de la Cruz was established in 1762 near the present Barksdale in Edwards County. Intended to serve the region's Lipan Apaches, the mission closed in 1771 after much administrative haggling (Tunnell and Newcomb 1969:175-176; Webb and Carroll 1952b:557-558).

Although a French soldier of fortune, General Adrian Woll, has traditionally been credited for blazing a military road through the rugged South Texas brushland north of the Upper Presidio Road, he may have actually followed the traces of the Cañon Road, an old mission trail that had fallen into disuse when that facility was abandoned. Woll appears to have been guided by Juan Seguin, a native *tejano* from the Bexar area and an active participant in the Texas Revolution of 1836, who was probably familiar with the old Cañon Road (Nelson 1981:15-16).

Ironically, Woll's invasion route was soon adopted by Texians as a road of commerce. In 1844, Englishman William Bollaert recorded traveling on Woll's Road. In commenting on where the road crossed the Frio River, Bollaert declared it was "generally fordable." He also included the laconic entry, "Woll's Road good," although he mentions the shortage of water in the region and the danger to travelers from Mexican robbers and Comanche Indians

(Bollaert 1956:354, 356, 358). During the Republic period, Texas Rangers under John C. Hayes seem to have routinely patrolled the road. In 1844, Indians surprised a small ranger detachment near Woll's Road and the "three forks of the Nueces." Several of the rangers were wounded but after a painful trek finally found their way back to Béxar (Sowell 1900:148-154).

When the Mexican War began in 1846, Brigadier General John E. Wool invaded Mexico via Woll's Road. A unit of topographical engineers under Captain George W. Hughes forged ahead of Wool's column to map the route. Hughes later provided a detailed report of the journey and commented on the crossing of the Medina River near Castroville:

There are two fords above the town—one called the *cañon*, two and a half miles distant, and is pretty good; rocky bottom, somewhat worn into holes, and rather dangerous for horses; the banks precipitous and rather marshy. It was here that the Mexican General Woll, in 1842, in his descent on San Antonio, crossed his artillery and infantry, and in his subsequent rapid retreat, passed over his entire army. Woll's ford, where the infantry crossed, is three miles beyond, but is now impracticable, owing to the mud deposited several feet deep. There is said to be no other ford for thirty miles above. The ford below the village is passable, but not very good, the bottom being rather muddy (Hughes 1846:18).

After its reestablishment in 1842, Woll's Road became a vital component in the network of South Texas Roads. The map that accompanied the Hughes report revealed that a road that ran between the Rio Frio and the Rio Leona linked Woll's Road with the Upper Presidio Road. Woll's Road may, therefore, be considered among those trails which over time became viable portions of the *camino real* network. In the 20th century, U.S. Highway 90 between San Antonio and Uvalde approximately follows the route of Woll's Road.

By the early 19th century, government officials made significant efforts to open new, shorter routes throughout the state and to maintain those already in existence. The Texas New towns often followed (Appendices 2 and 3). Republic and early Statehood periods of Texas history saw the expansion of a route network to accommodate developing settlements. Immigration, an increased emphasis on coastal trade, and a shift northward and eastward to new markets contributed significantly to the growth of the transportation network.

The late 1800s also saw the arrival of the railroads, perhaps the single most important element in the 19th-century evolution of the early roads. Railroads sometimes closely followed previous routes but where they did not, pre-existing settlements often fell into decline or shifted closer to the rail lines. The railroads often replaced the preceding roads in importance and strongly influenced commerce, transportation, and the beginnings of the modern market systems.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE HIGHWAY 21

By the early 20th century, the influence of the automobile and the development of modern trunk roads or networks effectively ended many of the previous patterns of transportation. The once eminent San Antonio Road had been reclaimed by the elements

in many places. The OSR was not forgotten however and during the early 1900s Americans were rekindling their interest in historic highways. This resulted in the commemoration of several transcontinental routes of westward migration.

One of those fascinated with the history of historic trails was Claudia W. Norvell, a Texas booster and leader of the Daughters of the American Revolution. In April 1911, her concern intensified when she attended the Congress of the National Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D.C. While there, Mrs. Norvell became aware of the reports of the Old Trails Roads of America, consisting of those trails which had traversed the Great Divide. The report recognized the contribution of old trails as conduits of American culture into the Trans-Mississippi West and labeled routes such as Burns Lick, the Wilderness Road, and the Oregon Trail as "Civilization roads of the United States." Prior to the meeting the Sante Fe Trail had been surveyed and marked with a number of monuments. While addressing the conclave, Miss Elizabeth Butler Gentry of Missouri, boasted that, blazed in 1848, the Sante Fe Trail was the oldest trail in the United States (Norvell 1945).

Mrs. Norvell, as a Texan and one who had spent her childhood in Bastrop, knew that the Texas *camino real* predated 1848. She rose and, as delegate from the Texas chapter of the DAR, requested to speak on behalf of her state and the Old San Antonio Road (Norvell 1945). Mrs. Norvell was apparently convincing, for afterward *El Camino Real* was added to the list of National Old Roads Trails.

In November 1911, Mrs. Norvell was named Chairman of the Texas National Old Trails and Roads Committee of the DAR and given the task of organizing a survey of the trail and subsequent commemorative efforts (Norvell 1945). She set about the task of lobbying local politicians and creating public support for the commemoration of road. In 1915, her efforts resulted in the Texas Thirty-Fourth Legislature appropriation of \$5,000 to survey the route (Owens 1962). The DAR, along with the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and other patriotic organizations sponsored and endorsed the proposed project. Mrs. Norvell began extensive research into the old road, but soon realized that she alone could not hope to retrace the trail; she needed the help of a civil engineer.

Help arrived in the form of V. N. Zivley, C. E. In July 1915, Governor James E. "Pa" Ferguson appointed him to survey and relocate the OSR (Zivley 1916). Zivley maintained close contact with Mrs. Norvell who oversaw his progress. The task was a daunting one but Zivley found that old field surveyors notes were often valuable research tools in relocating the ancient route.

In 1917 the Thirty-fifth Legislature established the State Highway Department, a development that was to exert considerable influence upon the OSR's future development. Because of its involvement in marking and maintaining the OSR/State Highway 21, the history of the Texas Highway Department and that of the road's were intertwined. Mrs. Norvell later described the State Highway Building in Austin as the "Home of the Camino Real" (Norvell 1945).

Working closely with the newly created state agency, the DAR progressed to the next step in the commemoration, which was to mark in some permanent fashion the route that Zivley had surveyed. The Daughters proposed to commemorate the route by a series

of pink granite monuments, placed about every five miles along the trail from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande. In 1918 the first of these monuments were placed on locations pinpointed by Zivley. In October of the next year, Mrs. Norvell requested the help of county judges in assuring the correct number and the exact location of granite markers in each county (Norvell 1945:242-243). These distinctive monuments still dot the Texas landscape but in many cases the monument itself became the object of interest, not the path it was intended to mark. Since 1918, many of the stone markers have suffered abuse from both nature and human capriciousness. Several show evidence of informal target practice.

After Zivley completed his survey, the notion arose of a modern road that would follow the route of the OSR. In the early 1920s, Zivley observed that "the desire is making itself manifest in many parts of the State to open the road as a great highway of travel and commerce" (Zivley 1916). He added,

The fact is the King's Highway is the natural road across the State, the one route meeting with the least resistance from nature, and as about sixty per cent of it is now used as a road, let us hope that the near future will see the entire road opened and maintained by the State, in cooperation with the Counties through which it passes. (Zivley 1916)

Zivley thought that as much as 60 percent of the OSR was used as modern roads, but he did not indicate where that was the case. In 1920, however, State Highway Engineer J. D. Fauntleroy presented a report in which he outlined the current disposition of the road:

At the present time the old Camino Real in Texas follows State Highway No. 21 through Sabine, San Augustine, Nacogdoches, Cherokee and Houston counties. From the border of Houston County to Caldwell in Burleson County it is not a designated State Highway. From Caldwell to Giddings in Lee County to Bastrop in Bastrop County, it is not a designated State highway. From Bastrop to about 15 miles west, it follows State Highway No. 3-A, and from that point to San Marcos it is not a designated Highway. From San Marcos to San Antonio it follows State Highway No. 2, and from San Antonio, south almost to McMullen County and thence west through Frio, La Salle, Dimmitt and Maverick counties to the Rio Grande river it does not follow a designated highway (Norvell 1945:277-278).

On March 19, 1929, recognizing the persuasion of Norvell, Zivley, and other advocates of a modern highway along the old route, the Texas Legislature passed Senate Bill No. 570. While the legislation pledged the preservation of such portions of the road already part of the highway system, it committed to no additional construction. The bill also made it clear that the counties through which such historic road passes should provide a right-of-way of 100 feet in width.

Proponents of a modern OSR realized that support was necessary at local levels because counties were to supply the necessary right-of-way. To champion the notion of a modern road along the path of the Old San Antonio Road, Mrs. Norvell and other interested parties organized The Old San Antonio Road Association (Norvell 1945:299). Several state and local officials were present at the organizational meeting on August 20, 1929 and concurred

when speakers emphasized that any new road should follow the original route of the Old San Antonio Road.

The Texas Highway Department, as it was then known, eventually assumed responsibility for construction, maintenance, and preservation along the historic route in counties that had ceded a 100-foot wide right-of-way. In the southern portion of the state, the THD never acquired county right-of-way because of the extent of private property.

Throughout the 1930s, the Old San Antonio Road Association, either by donation or direct purchase, sought to obtain the required right-of-way. On May 26, 1934, leaders called a meeting at Caldwell. They requested the "recreation of the Old San Antonio Road looking for the Federalization of the highway across Texas to Mexico City" (Norvell 1945:302). There is no evidence, however that the Federal Government, encumbered as it was in the throes of the Depression Era, addressed the request.

The Second World War, however, produced an unexpected dividend. J. M. Owens (1962:89) noted that in 1941, State Highway 21, (The Old San Antonio Road) between San Marcos and Bastrop was declared a military access road to connect the military installations at San Antonio, San Marcos, and Bastrop. Officials of the War Department met with representatives of the Texas Highway Department and the respective counties to consider two alternate routes. Consensus favored the route of the Old San Antonio Road (Owens 1962:2). There was apparently a small county road already along the route, but it was considered inadequate to move large bodies of troops and matériel. The War Department declared the route an "Access Road" and the state agreed to finance the project. By the end of the war, some 29.5 miles of paved highway had been added to the OSR through Bastrop, Caldwell, and Hays counties.

About the time that road crews were building the length of road between Bastrop and San Marcos, Gibb Gilchrist, the Texas Highway Department's chief administrator, gave an address regarding the OSR's history from 1915 to 1940. Gilchrist displayed a map 12 feet long and 24 inches wide that illustrated Zivley's route (Owens 1962). Gilchrist was later asked to prepare an entry on the Old San Antonio Road for the *Handbook of Texas*, published by the Texas State Historical Association in 1952. For his article, Gilchrist relied upon Zivley's survey and Mrs. Norvell's 1945 book. Thus the Zivley route although incomplete, was indirectly endorsed by the Texas State Historical Association.

On May 1, 1962, Gilchrist, then Texas A & M chancellor emeritus, dispatched a letter to the departmental districts that requested district engineers and maintenance personnel to:

1. Locate all granite markers that are within the right-of-way of an existing State Highway.
2. In each county make a record from East to West by reading speedometer at the East County line, recording a reading at each granite marker, indicating whether on the South or North. whether it has concrete foundations, and whether it has a number corresponding to the number on the Zivley Report . . . Also record other readings such as Court Houses, prominent buildings or streams to help correct any variation in my own speedometer.
3. Locate markers that are not on the traveled route.

Gilchrist and the efforts of the district personnel resulted in the first systematic review of the Old San Antonio Road and Zivley's plotted route of 1915-1916.

Interest in the Old San Antonio Road continued throughout the modern era. In 1986, during the Texas Sesquicentennial, the *el camino real* was nominated for designation as a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark by the Texas Section of the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE). After designation, the placement of a commemorative marker in San Pedro Park in the City of San Antonio was proposed by the ASCE and endorsed by the City of San Antonio.

Today, traces of these historic routes and the shadow of their evolution can still be recognized by a careful inspection of modern road maps. State Highway 21 and the segment known as State Highway OSR, closely follow one of the later routes in East and South-Central Texas. In Central Texas, IH 35 bears just east of the 18th-century upper route. South of San Antonio, portions of IH 35, US Highway 81, and State Highway 16 closely follow segments of the former Upper and Lower Presidio Roads. South of the modern city of Devine, at Moore, US Highway 57 travels westward to Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande. The vicinity of Moore and nearby Hondo Creek is the locale where project research estimates Alonso de León crossed the Hondo Creek in 1689. Eagle Pass is approximately 30 miles north of *Paso de Francia*.

The Old San Antonio Road and the *caminos reales*, as an integral part of Texas history, have evolved into the modern network of state highways. As such, the early roads must be considered the foundation of the Texas' modern system of highways and transportation.

PEOPLE AND EVENTS ALONG THE *CAMINOS REALES*

by Stephen L. Hardin

People blaze the paths that over time become great highways. As roads are established, they influence the lives of those who live along their routes. The Old San Antonio Road illustrates this relationship between people and their thoroughfares.

Long before Spanish explorers trekked across Texas, indigenous peoples had established a complex network of trade and subsistence routes. The Spaniards—pragmatic to the core—followed existing Indians trails toward East Texas and, marking a few trees and clearing some brush, regarded the road as their own. La Salle's incursions prompted a Spanish presence in East Texas. The agents of Spain hoped to persuade the Hasinai to develop trade with the Spaniards and shun contact with the French. The relative stability of the Hasinai convinced the Spaniards to establish the earliest East Texas missions and presidios near them.

Shifting conflicts and alliances among Texas Indians prejudiced their attitudes toward Europeans. Comanche incursions into Texas displaced the Apache and influenced the Apaches' apparent willingness to cooperate with the Spaniards. The status of Indian relations profoundly affected trade and settlement patterns, including the routes of Spanish *caminos* (Bolton 1914).

Royal roads afforded the sovereign a tremendously long reach. During the 18th century, the presidio, the mission, and the civil settlement became New Spain's instruments of conquest and consolidation on the northern frontier but each had to be constantly resupplied. Each institution, whether military, religious, or civil, served as a conduit of the imperial will only so long as it remained linked to other imperial establishments: orders and decrees were dispatched; soldiers and priests were transferred from post to post, raw goods were transported to the interior. If travel along the king's road was for any reason impeded, the king's business was obstructed. For that reason, those roads designated as the *caminos reales* were vital administrative units connecting royal establishments. Any depredation committed on a road so specified was considered an affront to the king himself. Travelers on the king's roads were assured the king's protection, although such guarantees meant little to raiding Indians.

Roads must be maintained to prevent their reclamation by the elements. Under the direction of the government, soldiers regulated and maintained provincial thoroughfares. With the establishment of the *Provincias Internas*, supervision of road maintenance shifted to the provincial governor, but lowly troopers and convicts still did the pick-and-shovel work. Spanish officials had posts erected at major fords, such as *Puesta del San Marcos*, near present San Marcos, and *Puesta del Colorado*, near modern Bastrop, where small detachments of soldiers scrutinized foreign travelers and collected duties. During

the Mexican Republic period, Stephen F. Austin and other *empresarios* supervised the maintenance of roads through or bordering their grants. Indeed, the boundaries of the land grants were normally marked by existing roads. Despite the increased involvement of *empresarios*, government officials still issued and strived to enforce regulations concerning roads and river crossings (Gutiérrez 1808; see Appendix 5).

Like the presidio, mission, and civil settlement, an efficient road network became a vital element of the Spanish presence in Texas. As Spanish fortunes waned, the silver from Mexican mines became ever more critical to the survival of the crown. In North America, the English, French, and Russians were encroaching on lands claimed by Spain. After 1783, even filibusters from the fledgling United States constituted a threat. Spanish officials well understood the urgency of protecting the rich silver loads in Sonora and sought to colonize the northern borderlands as a buffer to foreign expansion. The royal roads were intended to bolster Spain's defense of the region. Roads, however, are neutral objects, traveled as easily in one direction as another. When North Americans flooded into East Texas, the *caminos* assisted such movement, especially for those traveling alone or in small groups.

Other enemies lurked closer to home. The presidial troopers, the rugged *soldados de cuera*, were hard-pressed to hold against repeated Indian onslaughts. Apache raids and the difficulties of administration fostered the creation of the *Provincias Internas*, an administrative unit which sought to strengthen the far-flung posts on the northern frontier. The road network became part of this flexible strategy. The gradual southward shift of the Presidio Road between Béxar and the Presidio del Río Grande during the 18th and early 19th centuries was partly a response to the growing perils to travelers along the upper road (Bolton 1970:78).

Despite the crushing economic problems facing the settlers of Spanish Texas, they developed a distinctive market system. The threat of French territorial expansion was at the heart of Spanish interests in Texas, but trade was also a leading concern. It had been the Texas Indians' trade relations with the French that undermined Spanish authority in the northern borderlands, and these anxieties spurred the creation and early use of *los caminos reales* in the first place. Over time, local corridors evolved, such as the Béxar-La Bahía Road and the Béxar-Laredo Road. These commercial roads were vital components of the Spanish Colonial transportation network. *Rancheros* drove horses and cattle and hauled hides, tallow, tobacco, and other raw goods down *los caminos reales*, along with an occasional Indian captive. On the return trip hardy muleteers, or *arrieros*, along with teamsters, or *carréteros*, brought needed supplies: food, tools, hardware, finished goods, and household and ecclesiastical items. Because of the harsh South Texas terrain, the vast distances, and the Spanish and Mexican penchant for regulation, legal commerce developed lethargically until Anglo-Americans settled the region and promoted alternate means of commerce.

Since Texas lay far away from centers of Spanish and Mexican government, regulating and taxing commerce proved difficult. *Tejanos*, with or without the knowledge of local officials, conducted illicit trade with the French, Americans, and even hostile

Indians. Smugglers, such as Antonio Gil Y'Barbo, operated most extensively between the Neches and Red rivers at the outermost limits of official supervision. But such irregular activities were known to have occurred even among the steadfast citizens of San Antonio de Béxar (Bolton 1970:426-431).

Spanish Colonial officials sought to discourage settlement along the Texas Gulf Coast, where, by virtue of numerous bays, smuggling would be even more difficult to curtail. As a result of this shift, the Béxar-Laredo road replaced the *Camino Pita* and the Upper Presidio Road as the key commercial route to the interior and north-south routes to the coast became more prominent than the east-west *caminos reales*.

The inaccessibility of Texas was a factor in the numerical disparity between *tejano* and Anglo-European colonists. North of the Rio Grande, Hispanic settlers advanced at a much slower pace than the Anglo pioneers that crossed the Red and Sabine Rivers. The vast distances between Texas settlements and the interior strained resources and inhibited *tejano* population growth. For most families of New Spain and the Republic of Mexico, Texas was part of the *despoblado*, the uninhabited land, and any notions of immigrating they might have entertained were squelched by reports of Comanche depredations and wide-spread disease. Texas was not to gain substantial non-Indian populations until *empresarios* recruited foreign settlers (Hatcher 1927).

Not that such recruitment was all that difficult. During the 1820s, throngs of North American immigrants swarmed into Texas, bringing their slaves and Jacksonian institutions with them. The Panic of 1819 had ruined many frontier families, and the push of the bill collector appeared to have been more of a factor than the pull of inexpensive land. Immigrants from the United States flocked to Texas in unforeseen numbers, many building rude cabins along the Old San Antonio Road. They were welcomed by many leading native Hispanic residents who needed all the help they could muster against the Comanches. The young Mexican Republic could ill-afford to supply the presidial companies and frontier defense was often augmented by militia led by Juan Seguín and others. Francisco Ruiz of San Antonio spoke for many of his peers, "I cannot help seeing the advantages which . . . would result if we admitted honest, hard-working people, regardless of what country they come from . . . even hell itself." (Weber 1982:176).

National government policy was more ambiguous. After his inspection tour of the province, Manuel Mier y Terán concluded, ". . . either the government occupies Texas now, or it is lost forever." (Weber 1982:170). When Stephen F. Austin heard of this scheme, he wryly compared it to "trying to stop the Mississippi with a dam of straw" (Weber 1982:175). The figures speak volumes. In 1830, the number of North American immigrants stood somewhere around 7,000 and the native Hispanics hovered around 3,000. By 1836, the number of Anglo-European colonists had vaulted to 35,000, while Texas Mexicans totaled no more than 3,500. The outcome of the Texas Revolution is easier to comprehend, when one considers that by the time of San Jacinto battle foreign immigrants outnumbered native *tejanos* by 10 to one (Weber 1982:177).

The new Texas Republic, on December 20, 1836, adopted an act "authorizing and requiring county courts to regulate roads," which stipulated "that all free males, Indians

excepted, between the age of eighteen and forty-five years, and all male slaves over sixteen and under fifty years of age, shall be liable to work on public roads." Even so, the act further stated that "no person shall be compelled to work . . . more than ten days in the year on any road." Some counties made do by employing convicts to clear and improve roads. While the number of roads increased, the quality did not. Texas had no graveled or macadamized roads until after the Civil War (Wheeler 1968:82). Frederick Law Olmsted disparaged Texas roads as "a mere collection of straggling wagon-ruts, extending for more than a quarter of a mile in width, from outside to outside, it being desirable, in this part of the country, rather to avoid the road than follow it" (Olmsted 1978:246).

During the Texas Republic and Early Statehood periods, the Old San Antonio Road diminished in significance. Galveston and Indianola were new transportation hubs, while some older routes became less prominent. Portions of the Old San Antonio Road gradually fell into disuse, particularly in its southern reaches. By 1850, farmers in Bastrop County requested and received permission from county officials to build their fences across the old trail; indeed, among the chief tasks assigned county courts by the 1836 act was to "discontinue or alter such roads as shall at any time prove useless." By the 20th century, these once prominent routes had all but vanished.

Three centuries have elapsed now since Spaniards first trod *el camino real*. The road, once a major avenue of commerce, is today only faintly visible as it twines across the Texas landscape. A mere portion of its route, State Highway 21, is now modern asphalt. What remains is chiefly pride and amazement for those intrepid travelers who once measured progress in leagues and their success as the civilization of a province.

We are, today, far down the road from a natural, naive, wilderness Texas to an artificial, managed, and packaged State . . . The result is that an ever-increasing population cannot, as they gaze across the fields and the cities, conceive of the original, natural Texas any more than one can, from opening a milk carton, imagine milking a cow or, from eating a package of potato chips, picture himself digging a hill of potatoes. They are cut off from their environmental sources as surely as they could ever be from their social or hereditary roots. (Weniger 1984:vii)

A TRAVELER'S VIEW OF THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

A. Joachim McGraw and Elizabeth A. Robbins

INTRODUCTION

The historic landscape and the natural regions of Texas have changed much in the three centuries since explorers first traveled on the *camino real*. Eighteenth and 19th-century descriptions of flora and fauna reflect a marked contrast to the modern setting. Del Weniger in *The Explorer's Texas* (1984) has illustrated some of these changes by reviewing historical descriptions of over 300 different observers. Commenting on this data, Weniger (1984:viii) observed that although a vast wealth of information exists in historical documents ". . . [there is] a real lack of knowledge of this period's natural history" He added, ". . . the very volume of these accounts makes this body of evidence significant and formidable."

While it was perhaps not the original intent, the accounts of early travelers often contain an abundance of information on the state's historical natural regions. The value of travelers' journals and diaries is not based on any individual document since a single document may contain only a fragmentary glimpse of the natural setting. Current research has found, like Weniger, that a cumulative review of historical accounts ranging over two centuries offers valuable insights in recognizing the state's past natural setting and understanding its changes through time.

The SDHPT study has focused on the historical and modern natural setting of the Old San Antonio Road. The emphasis of this work was to identify the important past environmental components and to address preservation planning regarding the surviving natural elements. Like Weniger (1984) and Inglis (1964) earlier, this report has reviewed a number of historical documents and noted observations of past natural conditions. Unlike the detailed work of Weniger or Inglis, however, the current study presents only a preliminary overview of the general landscape in the late 17th through the early 19th

centuries. The SDHPT effort has focused only along the routes of the Old San Antonio Road and the associated *caminos reales*.

In the course of the SDHPT examination, several terms were noted that historically described natural areas along the *caminos reales*. These appellations were coined by explorers and travelers to describe the characteristics and importance of certain locations. The elements of these natural areas qualitatively affected both the direction and choice of routes. While in many cases, the descriptive words were found in Spanish colonial and 19th-century documents, the significance of some localities may have had ancestral, aboriginal (Native Indian) roots. As an example, some of the Spanish names of Texas streams and rivers are direct translations of historic Indian meanings.

The characteristics of the landscape influenced the schedule and direction of early travelers' routes. The Mexican Colonel Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, as part of his secret report on Texas in 1834, noted that the best months for travel on the *camino reales* were during September, October, and November. June was considered the worst (Gutiérrez Ibarra 1987:Apéndice B, p. 24).

It is believed that the past regional place names, discussed below and derived from different sources, will contribute to the understanding of the former and still rapidly changing Texas landscape.

THE NATURAL SETTING ALONG THE *CAMINOS REALES*

From the Rio Grande eastward, the former routes of the Old San Antonio Road crossed or bordered a number of distinctive natural areas. Composed of different physiographies and biota, these natural regions contained seasonally attractive resources that were exploited by native peoples. Some of the historical names used to describe these distinctive areas once identified physical features of the landscape or the natives that lived there.

In South Texas, the trails led northward across the Rio Grande through the rocky, eroded hills that bordered the river valley. The area from the Rio Grande to just south of the Nueces River was once known as the *Sabanna* (or savannah) *Grande*. The savannah was distinctive enough to be included as a major landmark along the *camino real*. It was referenced in several descriptions of the Lower Presidio Road or the *camino de en medio* (see the Seguin Transcript of this volume). It is possible that what was known as the *sabanna grande* later became a major part of the *brasada* in the middle-1800s. The routes led toward the Nueces River and crossed what later became known as the *brasada*. The trails also avoided a large sheet of waterless inland sand dunes to the southeast known as *la costa* (McGraw 1984).

The origin of the name *brasada* is not known although it was commonly used in the 19th century. The *brasada* was described in some detail in J. Frank Dobie's 1929 biography *A Vaquero of the Brush Country*. Dobie (1929:201) noted that some far-ranging

cowboys who traveled across North America considered the chaparral of the region not as the worst brush in Texas but as "the worst brush in the United States of America" (cf. McGraw, Van Note, and Jones 1987:4-5).

The *brasada*, or brush country, consisted of extensive areas of dense thornbush, usually prickly pear and mesquite, between the Rio Grande and the Atascosa Rivers. The terms *brasada* or *maleza* described a small thicket, in contrast to *el monte grande*, a larger thicket (Gonzales 1983:4). Given the descriptions of the regional thornbush, "small" may have referred to the height of vegetation and not simply to its density or extent. The *brasada* was roughly bounded in the north by *Lomería Grande* (see below) and in the east by the Texas coastal prairies. To the northeast, it bordered the deep sands and forest of *el atascoso* and the *tapado*, the umbrella-like growth of oaks and vegetation near the Atascosa River (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:97).

The region's thornbush was contrasted to a dense riparian vegetation along the Nueces and Frio rivers. The *galería* pattern (Weniger 1984:36-44) of large trees along such streams was sometimes called *monte grande* (Hatcher 1932:52), *tapado* (see above), or occasionally, *el encinal del río* ____ (cf. Schwarz 1985:137).

Although it is generally believed that the predominance of the region's thornbush is the result of modern land use patterns, the SDHPT's review of early diaries has shown that this vegetation was extensive even in the 17th and early 18th centuries. The diary of Alonso de León's 1689 expedition recorded that the company was forced to use axes and cutlasses to cut a passage through a tangled thicket of prickly pear and mesquite for almost three miles (West 1905:207). Fray Espinosa in 1709 (Tous 1930a:3) commented on the extent of thorny plants along the Nueces River and compared them to his own name.

The *brasada* of South Texas was characterized by and generally synonymous with the *llanos de los mesteñas*, the plains of vast herds of wild horses and cattle that proliferated in the region until the mid-19th century (cf. Weniger 1984:60-61; Dobie 1952).

A major consideration to early travelers in the region was the occurrence of water sources. Historical southern Texas was characterized by only a few large rivers and a number of intermittent streams and *charcos*, or waterholes, often described as *mala agua* (bad water). Names of campsites and streams such as *Agua Verde* (green water), *arroyo seco* (dry creek), and *las lagunillas de mala agua* (ponds of bad water) reflected an early distaste for certain locales. Green or bad water and an occasional alligator notwithstanding, these locations still attracted both native Indian groups and thirsty explorers.

Ominously, to the north of the trails and in the Edwards Plateau lay *Apachería* (cf. Campbell 1975:2). Weniger (1984:66) noted that 18th-century travelers referred to the Edwards Plateau as *Lomería Grande* (large hills), home of the warlike Apaches. Later, in the 19th century, it became known as *Comanchería* as the invading Comanche displaced the earlier Lipan Apache. Although *Comanchería* was centered in Texas, its boundary shifted seasonally and was dependent on the wandering movements of the Indian group. In the winter, the Comanche ranged southward to San Antonio and often camped along the banks of the Llano, Colorado, and Brazos rivers. In the spring, the Comanche moved north

toward the Red River and in the summer, they ranged into the mountains of New Mexico (Berlandier 1969:121).

As the routes approached San Antonio, the upper trails (the Upper Presidio Road and the *Camino Pita*) closely followed a natural environmental transition zone of Blackland Prairie intermixed with strips of sand and sandstone materials (Johnson 1931:Fig. 19). In modern times this area lies in portions of Frio, Medina, and Bexar counties, adjacent to the Balcones Escarpment. The Lower Presidio Road, in use during the last half of the 18th century, paralleled the upper trails but looped southward through modern La Salle and Atascosa counties. Through the deep, loose sands of modern Atascosa County, the routes often followed the valleys of intermittent drainages northward. A long-time local resident in the area (C. Cochran, personal communication) suggests that the difficulty of travel may have been eased somewhat by the more compacted soils found in the stream valleys.

Throughout the historical periods, all the routes of the Old San Antonio Road, from east or south, converged in the town of San Antonio near the headwaters of the San Antonio River and the former San Pedro Springs. The locale, originally a large Payaya Indian encampment known as *Yanaguana*, was first described by Fray Mazanet on June 13, 1691. On the following day, Mazanet conducted the first Catholic High Mass in what was later to become San Antonio (Hatcher 1932:55). As Weniger noted (1984:109) the presence of the former springs and the ease with which nearby fields could be irrigated were deciding factors in the location and founding of San Antonio in 1718.

The exact locale of Fray Mazanet's first religious service in what later became San Antonio has never been clearly identified. Both San Pedro Springs and the headwaters of the San Antonio River were notable early landmarks and were often mentioned by travelers. It is likely that the historical locale was in the vicinity of the headwaters of the San Antonio River however, as Fray Mazanet (Hatcher 1932:54-55) described the location as near a river rather than a smaller *arroyo*. If true, then it is also likely that this occurred near where the party camped and crossed the San Antonio River as the expedition blazed the *Camino de los Tejas* toward East Texas.

While Mazanet's brief reference gave little further information, the historical San Antonio River crossing of the *Camino de los Tejas* has been brought to light by Bexar County Archivist John O. Leal and local historian Richard Garay using a curious source. Leal recently noted that the earliest murder recorded in San Antonio occurred on August 21, 1744. The murderer was Antonio Tello, the master stonemason of Mission San Antonio de Valero (later known as the Alamo) and the crime was committed a short distance from *Paso Tejas* (BCA, Vol. 15, Hunnicutt file). In establishing the historical scene of the murder, Leal and Garay believe that the modern-day location of the *Paso Tejas* (or Tejas Crossing) of the San Antonio River may be plotted at the Brackenridge Park golf course on the right bank of the river. If Leal and Garay are correct, they may have also more clearly identified the locale of Fray Mazanet's 1691 first Catholic mass in San Antonio along the *Camino de los Tejas*.

The luxuriant natural setting of San Antonio de Pádua, as it was first known, was often commented on by its early visitors. Fray Espinosa of the 1716 Ramón expedition

counted seven streams of pleasantly clear water at his campsite (Tous 1930b:10). Over a century later, travelers noted five separate springs that flowed into San Pedro Creek and a spring of the San Antonio River which "boils in a vast volume from a rocky basin" (Weniger 1984:109-110). In 1840, a traveler counted 100 large springs four miles above the townsite (Weniger 1984).

Northeastward, beyond San Antonio, the upper and lower routes of the *caminos reales* deliberately led through different geographical areas. The earliest and upper route, the *Camino de los Tejas*, skirted the edge of the Balcones Escarpment (along the natural discharge zone, the springs, of the Edwards Aquifer) and followed a narrow band of Blackland Prairie soils between the Edwards Plateau to the west and dense woodlands to the east. The margin of this woodland, called *el monte grande* (see below), apparently extended northward along the Brazos River drainage. Early travelers encountered the dense region of oaks between the Little River and the Brazos crossings (Gonzalez 1983:5). Eventually, the road turned eastward and crossed the Brazos River in eastern Milam County toward the pine forests and the Sabine River of East Texas.

The early 19th-century variant of the *camino real*, the *Camino Arriba* (and a large part of modern Texas Highway 21) was originally established through a dense post oak savannah in southeast Central Texas. Anibal Gonzalez (1983) has identified this region by its historical title: *el monte grande*. The Spanish term was used frequently in early diaries and Gonzalez believed it referred to a large, almost impenetrable forest of dense vegetation that stretched from the Guadalupe River (east of San Antonio) northeastward through modern Bastrop County and beyond the Brazos River. Gonzalez (1983:6) proposed that the existence of the *monte del Diablo*, as it was also disparagingly called in the 18th century, created enormous difficulties for early travelers. The avoidance of this region and the lack of any early routes through it during the first century of Spanish settlement would explain why, for example, the area of Bastrop developed relatively late along the best-known but most recent variant of the trans-Texas *camino real*.

From even a brief review of the natural setting encountered by early travelers along the routes of the Old San Antonio Road, it is obvious that the countryside seen today beyond the ribbon of modern highways bears little resemblance to what Del Weniger once called "the original natural Texas." Future researchers, historians, and even environmentalists must be aware of the extent of these changes before further addressing cultural and natural studies.

A brief review, by county, of the natural setting along the Old San Antonio Road and the *caminos reales* is presented in the following pages.

THE NATURAL SETTING ENCOUNTERED: THE SCENIC LANDSCAPE

by Elizabeth A. Robbins

The scenic and biotic summary which follows has been garnered from the early journals in Part II, "The First Routes Into Texas", and Appendix 1. Inglis' *A History of Vegetation on the Rio Grande Plain* (1964) served as a useful model for organizing data from the primary descriptions. The descriptions given here are in broad terms with little attempt at the definition of specific plants, animals, or locations. When these are noted, they should be regarded as tentative or speculative and based on the present understanding of where each diarist traveled. Although the accounts are patterned after Inglis' work, it is hoped that the present effort advances understanding of the routes and their cultural, scenic, and biotic aspects. Note that, where there is difficulty projecting modern county boundaries backward in time, the accounts will overlap and repeat some of the information for the adjacent county.

County-by-county accounts are presented in order of direction traveled, roughly west to east. Within each account, entries occur from earlier journals to later ones; not every diary has information attributable to a given county. For further information, see the itineraries in Part II and Appendix 1 which present some of this data in different format.

Maverick County

All of the early expeditions that entered Texas by passing through San Juan Bautista, crossed the Rio Grande into present Maverick County. Of these, the first expedition to head eastward across the entire province was Alonso de León's of 1689. De León reported traveling across level ground that was untimbered. He also reported seeing a gathering of 3,000 or more crows (possibly *Corvus cryptoleucus*, cf. Oberholser and Kincaid 1974) at the place that he then named Charco de los Cuervos (West 1905:206).

In 1691, Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Damián Mazanet made their way across present Maverick County. Mazanet reported traveling over broken country for three leagues. At that day's camping place, Charco de los Cuervos, Mazanet reported hackberries. Mazanet gave the Indian name for the Rio Grande as *Guanpache*, meaning "muddy water" (Hatcher 1932:51-52).

Gregorio de Salinas Varona made his *entrada* in 1693, crossing the Rio Grande where an arroyo debouches into it on the south bank. He followed Terán's route. Salinas Varona mentioned meeting people of the Agualohes nation, but made no other comments on his surroundings (Gómez Canedo 1968:281).

In 1709, Isidro Félix de Espinosa kept a diary as he traveled through the area of present Maverick County with the Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre expedition. He reported only that the water of their camping place at Los Cuervos was brackish (Tous 1930a:3).

The next expedition to enter the province and head east, was Domingo Ramón's of 1716. Neither Ramón nor Espinosa (who also traveled with this expedition) mentioned much of their surroundings in the region except to say that they found no water at the Charco de los Cuervos and returned to the river at another crossing then in use, the Paso de Diego Ramón. They traveled over level ground with sparse mesquite flats, passed some pools of water, and camped at Cuerva [*sic*, Cueva is meant] del León (Foik 1933:9; Tous 1930b:5).

Francisco Céliz, reporting on the Alarcón expedition of 1718, told of traveling over rough and hilly country that then leveled out. This expedition crossed the Rio Grande at Paso de Francia, and camped at the Real del Cuervo, no doubt the same place as Charco de los Cuervos visited by the other expeditions (Hoffmann 1967:43).

The Marqués de Aguayo's expedition of 1721 crossed the Rio Grande, traveled along the road to El Real del Cuervo, passing glens and creeks and various ponds (*esteros*) along the way to the camp at Las Rosas de San Juan. Juan Antonio de la Peña, the diarist for the expedition, noted mesquite (Forrestal 1934:10-11).

Juan Agustín Morfi apparently entered the province at the Paso de Francia on the Rio Grande. He reported nothing of his surroundings in this part of the province, possibly because he was in the region in late December, unlike the other expeditions which reached this place in the spring or early summer (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:92-93).

In his travels with Mexico's Boundary Commission in the 1820s and early 1830s, Jean Louis Berlandier reported hills in the vicinity of El Cuervo which he found dry in late June. He reported level country elsewhere in the area. Berlandier observed willows on the Rio Grande, but found the region treeless beyond Cuervo (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:567-572).

Dimmit County

De León, in 1689, reported traveling over level country for three leagues, then mesquite thickets for two leagues beyond that. Crossing several dry creeks along the way, the party camped at Arroyo de Ramos. The next day, they were still traversing level land and encountering mesquite thickets. As they approached and crossed the Nueces River, De León observed pecans and flint rocks (*pedras de fuego muy fina*) (West 1905:206-207).

De León's 1690 description of this region is much the same: level land and mesquite brush. On this expedition he reported crossing the Arroyo de Ramos, Arroyo Caramanchel, and the Nueces River (Bolton 1959:406-407).

In the diary of his 1691 expedition, Terán reported crossing Arroyo de Ramos which he called San Cayetano, Arroyo Caramanchel which he called San Francisco Solano, two unnamed ravines, and the Rio Nueces which he called San Diego. Terán also described stretches of timber and mesquite (Hatcher 1932:13).

Mazanet was more informative in his account. He told of crossing an arroyo that ran from northeast to south and then the Arroyo San Matías, also known as Arroyo del Pullón or *Samenpajo*. (This is apparently the same place as Terán's and De León's Arroyo de Ramos.) They crossed Arroyo Caramanchel, then a dry arroyo that ran to the south, and then encountered the Nueces River which has the Indian name *Chotilapacquen*. Mazanet described the terrain as level and mentioned open mesquite woods as far as Caramanchel. From there, they encountered no trees until the woods of a Monte Grande. In this open unwooded stretch, the party also saw bison. Mazanet reported meeting various Indian groups: Quemis, Pachules, Ocanas, Chaguan, Patulac, and Paac (Hatcher 1932:52).

Salinas Varona's diary of this area describes ravines, creeks (*arroyos* and *arroyuelos*), plains, some hills, and a swampy (*pantanosa*) area near Caramanchel. The party crossed San Ubaldo pool, Charco Puyón, Arroyo Caramanchel, the Nueces River, and camped at the *paraje* San Atal on the Nueces. They saw bison herds and traveled through areas of mesquite. Salinas Varona reported meeting Pacuase, Tepacuache, and Sacuache Indians (Gómez Canedo 1968:281-283).

The 1709 expedition of Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre traveled over level ground and open country, except for a few low, sandy hills and occasional mesquite groves and thickets. In a dry arroyo, Espinosa reported oak trees and at a camp at a permanent spring, haddock (perhaps a translation error), and catfish. The party crossed Arroyo Caramanchel, observing that both branches were dry. Espinosa noted ash, elm, and alfalfa (*Medicago sativa* is not native to North America; the plant must be some other herbaceous legume, cf. Correll and Johnston, 1970.) They continued to an arroyo that flows into the Nueces from which the land was level, and then camped at the Nueces River and found the water fresh and clear and with many fish. Here they met three Pacuases (Tous 1930a:3-4).

In 1716, Ramón described traveling over level country, then along the foot of some hills, observing good pasturage all along the way. The expedition passed Carrizo post and a spring (*ojo de agua*), and crossed Caramanchel Creek, Hondo Creek, and then the Nueces River which then had little water. Ramón described well-pastured country with mesquite thickets, much cactus, and many flowers. He mentioned that some Pacuaches stole some of the expedition's horses (Foik 1933:9-10).

On the same expedition in 1716, Espinosa described the country as level with low hills. He reported sandy brooks, marshes, and pools on the path to the spring of Caramanchel. Here, Espinosa reported mesquite and "Indian fig" (cf. Berlandier's Indian-cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana*), and identified the Indians who stole the horses as Bozales. Further on, up to and past Carrizo ponds, mostly level ground supported groves of mesquite, cactus (*nopal*), flowers, and pastures with pools of water. Past another spring and on toward the nearly dry Nueces River, the terrain was of small plains with mesquite woods, wild marjoram, holm-oaks (live oaks, cf. Vines 1960), ash, walnut, and mulberry. Near the Nueces, the party passed an abandoned village (Tous 1930b:6-7).

Céliz, with the Alarcón expedition of 1718, reported that the road was level for three leagues, then became hilly at the approach to El Carrizo spring. The road continued through open woodland to a dry crossing of Caramanchel Creek. Here, the party

encountered a Pacuaxin Indian. Toward Los Charcos de los Encinos, the road was smooth, little wooded, and continued level across the Río de las Nuezas (Hoffmann 1967:43-45).

Peña's diary of 1721 noted that the Aguayo expedition left the old road for a short distance over rough and hilly terrain in search of water. They again struck the old road after about five leagues and camped at El Ojo de Agua de San Diego. On the way to Caramanchel Creek, Peña noted many turkeys along the creek, and quail, rabbits, and hares (jackrabbit, *Lepus californicus*, Davis 1974). The party crossed a very deep creek before reaching and crossing the Nueces (Forrestal 1934:11-12).

In Morfi's *Derrotero* of 1777, the description is of a region of rocky, arid hills, then a plain of red sand. Following a different and more southerly route than that of earlier travelers, Morfi passed the waterhole (*aguaje*) at San Ambrosio and the spring (*ojo de agua*) of San Pedro and camped at Aguaje San Lorenzo (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:93).

Much later, in the 1820s and 1830s, Berlandier traveled the upper road to the Río Grande. He crossed the Nueces River, passed Cañada del Negro, and observed that streams became farther apart and that there was more prairie and less forest in this region compared to further east. Berlandier continued across the Arroyo Barrosito, Laguna Espantosa (where he observed fish and turtles), and the dry Arroyo Carrizo. Then the terrain became uneven to the crossing of Arroyo Saladito and from there it became even rougher. Passing the *paraje* and spring of La Peña, the party camped at the *paraje* Palo Blanco where there were small ponds (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:567-572). The locale of La Peña, about 10 miles southwest of modern Carrizo Springs, is thought to be the same as the former Arroyo Caramanchel mentioned in the diaries of 18th-century explorers.

La Salle County

In 1689, De León reported traveling through a glade after crossing the Nueces River, then through a very dense thicket of mesquite and *nopal*. Further along, the country was level and presented good pasturage. He passed through more glades and some oak motts, and came to the white rock banks of the Río Sarco where he found carved into the rocks crosses and other figures. At this point the descent to the river is about 35 feet, or 7 *stadia* (West 1905:207-208).

In describing his 1690 journey across this area, De León reported level land and mesquite up to the crossing of the Río Sarco. Beyond that river were plains and knolls (*lomas*) as far as the Río Hondo (Bolton 1959:407).

Morfi, in 1777, recorded various camping places along this lower road south of San Antonio. These *aguajes* (waterholes) were Catarina, Charcos de Barrera, and San Roque. From Aguaje San Roque Morfi came to a crest of a hill where the Nueces River could be seen. Two leagues later he came to Aguaje La Romana, and then to La Cochina hill four leagues further still. Morfi's party crossed the Nueces River at a swampy pool, and then passed Palo Alto (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:93-96).

Zavala County

Terán, in 1691, described traveling through woods of pecan in this region beyond the Nueces River. Mazanet enlarged upon this description and reported entering a valley of pecan trees after crossing the Nueces. Then the party traveled through a forest of large oaks and mesquite, and came to a small hill (Hatcher 1932:13, 52-53).

The next expedition through this area, Salinas Varona's in 1693, described also the pecan woods, mesquite, live oaks (*encinos*), and other oaks (*robles*). This party then passed several small creeks (Gómez Canedo 1968:283-284).

Espinosa's 1709 *entrada* crossed level ground for one league and then two leagues of mesquite and thorny thicket to the Nueces River. Once across, they saw many trees including mulberry, elm, and oak (Tous 1930a:4).

In the diary of his 1716 expedition, Ramón described a level country with many holes and open ground as far as Ranas Lake. The lake contained plenty of fish, and an alligator gar was caught (Foik 1933:10-11).

Beyond the Nueces River with Ramón's party in 1716, Espinosa reported level ground but with some rough and swampy places. Espinosa named this camp La Tortuga, where they caught fish and an eel (Tous 1930b:7).

Céliz also reported stopping at El Charco de Ranas and from there traveling over a smooth road to a camp called La Resurrección. On this part of his journey with Alarcón, Céliz reported meeting some Pacuaxin Indians (Hoffmann 1967:44-45).

The 1721 Aguayo expedition passed this region of open country. La Tortuga was still a camping place in 1721, when Peña described it as a large *estero* with year-round water. Peña reported many turkeys and quail and many flowers. The company made its camp at Los Encinos del Río Frío, also known as Los Muertos. The next day, they found a crossing on the Frío, noting the river was flowing at that place (Forrestal 1934:12-13).

Berlandier reported ascending low, gentle hills during this part of his trip southward from San Antonio to the Río Grande. He mentioned passing a small mount he called Buenavista and seeing many wild horses. The camp was at some pools near Arroyo de las Tortugas (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:566-567).

Frio County

Passing through the southeast corner of present Frio County, De León's accounts from 1689 and 1690 record the area along the Hondo as one of plains and knolls (*lomitas*). In 1689, De León found traces of Indians from long ago but no living Indians. He kept near the river and passed two ravines and a creek in a thicket. Then, over level land, he came to some pools in a large mesquite thicket. In 1690, he again followed the river and headed for an Indian encampment that was reported to be nearby (West 1905:208-209; Bolton 1959:407-408).

The route of Terán and Mazanet in 1691 turned away from De León's earlier route at about this point. This and most of the later expeditions traveled in the northwest part

of present Frio County. Terán recorded hills and plains on the way to the Río Hondo which he called San Pedro. About a league and a half further the party crossed the Arroyo San Diego (Hatcher 1932:13-14).

Mazanet described crossing a dry arroyo about one league from the Río Frío and then across the Frío. Mazanet gave the Indian name as *Guanapacaus* for this river. The party continued over a range of hills to a small pointed hill to the east where there were mesquites and oaks. They camped on the Río Hondo which Mazanet called San Bartolomé and gave the Indian name as *Guanapajao*. The various Indian groups encountered were the Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanaca, Parchiquis, Pacuachiam, Aguapalam, Samanpac, Vanca, Payavan, Patabo, Pitinay (Piutaay), Apaysi (Apayu), and Patsau. The next day, the party came to an arroyo with fish; Mazanet gave no name for this stream (Hatcher 1932:53).

After crossing the Río Frío, Salinas Varona traveled over ravines, hills, and plains, and passed pools of water; at one place he found a cross that had been placed there by De León three years earlier and at another place a hill covered with flint. In this region there were Sacuaches. Toward the Río Hondo, there were trees including live oaks (Gómez Canedo 1968:283-285).

In 1709, the Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre expedition crossed many ravines, including a dry arroyo with oaks. Here they met two Xarames and some Pacuases. The company camped on the Río Sarco and the next day continued traveling over a small mesquite flat and level ground to the crossing of the Hondo River where they found pools of water in the river bed (Tous 1930a:4).

Ramón's *entrada* of 1716 passed through the region of present Frio County along the foot of hills with canyons. On the way to their camp at Encinos lake (also called San Juan Bautista) which is a spring on the Frio River, they saw oaks, flowers, and wild marjoram. They found the Frio dry but still with vegetation and they caught four turkeys. At their next camp, San Lorenzo lake, some Pataguas [*sic*] Indians arrived from a nearby village. Traveling onward, Ramón observed much vegetation along the good roads. About two leagues before reaching the Río Hondo, they arrived at San Alexo lake in a canyon and camped (Foik 1933:11).

Espinosa's diary of this expedition records a terrain of low hills and plains, knolls with mesquite, and pools of water. Espinosa observed oaks and flowers near the Frío at a spring where camp was made. The party continued traveling near the base of a low hill to some large ponds of water and then crossed the dry Frío in an oak forest. Espinosa reported grapevines, brazilwood (possibly *Condalia hookeri*, Correll and Johnston 1979), and turkeys at this place he called San Lorenzo creek. The expedition continued past three villages of Paraguas [*sic*] and then through glens of mesquite. They went as far as the Hondo but turned back to meet the stragglers and to search for water elsewhere. At some pools about two leagues from the Hondo, the party camped and called the place San Miguel. A Mesquite Indian arrived in camp (Tous 1930b:7-8).

The Alarcón expedition, as recorded by Céliz, traversed a dry creek, then a hill covered with flint, and then crossed the dry Frio River. There were dense oaks and deer and turkey at this camp which was called La Hedionda because the water smelled bad. The journey continued over level ground for a league-and-a-half, then went through forests to

a crossing of a deep creek. At this crossing there was a giant pecan tree. They named this camp Arroyo Hondo (Hoffmann 1967:45-46).

Beyond the Río Frío and on the way to the pools Los Gatos, Peña reported deer, rabbits, quail, turkeys, and dense woods. They passed a dry gorge before coming to Arroyo Hondo. Crossing the Hondo, the expedition passed by the place called Las Cruces (Forrestal 1934:12-13).

Morfi traversed the southeast corner of present Frio County, passing Las Encinas and then coming to the Río Frío. He passed Aguaje Las Esperanzas, then San Miguelito, and traveled on to camp at Las Lagunillas de Mala Agua (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:95-97).

Berlandier reported that this part of his journey was through hills and reddish sandy stretches. Then he and his companions entered Tahuacano valley about three leagues from the Hondo and bordered by Arroyo Seco to the south and southwest. The party then crossed Arroyo Seco and entered a small forest of mesquite, traveling through it for about two miles. Beyond were more hills of sandstone; they passed a hill called Tierritas Blancas and a league further a small gorge. Still further, they came to flat country, crossed a stream, then swampy Cañada Verde, a dense forest, and finally crossed to the south bank of the Frío. From here to Arroyo de los Olmos the terrain is level prairie, then mesquite forests with many turkeys. At that arroyo, to the north of Arroyo No Lo Digas, were rocky hills and in places thick forest until Arroyo La Leona was reached (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:563-566).

Atascosa County

On De León's 1689 journey through present Atascosa County, he described a region of good land and thickets. He reported crossing a dry creek and then a running creek with many oaks and grapevines. This place is where he camped and he called the stream Arroyo del Vino. *Atascosa* means "boggy" and may refer not only to difficult crossings but also to the loose sand that covers major portions of the county (West 1905:209).

In 1690, De León again traveled in this region. After crossing the Río Hondo, he traversed level land and crossed the Chapa River and camped at some pools of water. Then his route carried him through woods to the Arroyo de los Robalos, which may have been the Arroyo del Vino recorded on his previous journey (Bolton 1959:408).

Morfi, in 1777, mentioned passing the pools of La Parrita about four leagues beyond his camp at Las Lagunillas de Mala Agua. Further along his route he camped at the Arroyo el Atascoso (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:97-98).

Medina County

After his expedition crossed the Río Hondo and at that point left the route traveled by De León, Terán camped at an arroyo he called San Simón. This may be the modern Francisco Perez Creek. Mazanet gave a fuller description of the journey through this area. Past the Hondo, they came to an arroyo with fish. Crossing this arroyo turning east, they continued northward, and observed some low hills to the east. Then they skirted a high, black, round hill to the north of the route. Passing this hill, they climbed ranges of low hills. Mazanet then reported traversing a level stretch as far as the camp at Arroyo San Bernabé. He gave the Indian name of this place as *Potopatana* which means "a well." This is believed to be the modern Chacon Creek (Hatcher 1932:14, 53-54).

In 1693, the expedition led by Salinas Varona entered this region. His travel journal reported passing the Arroyo de Chapa with difficulty. Then the expedition passed plains, hills, and ravines and camped at a creek with pools of water called San Eubaldo. Beyond this camping place, the party passed a ravine, traveled to a hill, encountered thorny brush (*chaparras*), passed another ravine and a series of pools called Charco del Aire, Charco del Róbal, and an unnamed arroyo with live oaks where they camped. Salinas Varona gave the place the name Santísima Trinidad y San Pascual. From here, they passed more ravines (*cañadas*) and hills. They observed a few small oaks along this stretch. After passing a dry arroyo, the party came to and camped at Arroyo San Félix (Gómez Canedo 1968:284-285).

The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre expedition traversed the area, and Espinosa's diary recorded the ascent of the Arroyo Capa [*sic*] where they made their camp and hunted turkeys. The trees of this place included elms, sables (sable here means cypress), and live oak. The next day they passed small valleys with clumps of mesquite and groves of oak as far as the crossing of the Arroyo Chiltipiquie. Beyond this arroyo, the expedition traversed plains for three leagues, passing groves of live oak. They camped at Arroyo Robalos (perhaps the previous Rosales). On the return trip, Espinosa reported Pampoa and Paxti Indians (Tous 1930a:4, 13).

Ramón's diary reported many large pecan trees and grapevines at the camp beyond the Hondo at Santa Rita lake. The next day's journey was along the foot of hills where there was good pasturage. The party camped in a canyon with lakes which Ramón named Santa Isabel (Foik 1933:11).

On the same expedition, Espinosa observed oaks, brambles and briars, mesquite clusters, and a woodland of oak and poplar (probably cottonwood *Populus deltoides*, cf. Vines, 1960, 1984). Crossing two creeks of good water, they halted at Santa Rita camp. Espinosa then reported traveling over level ground and encountered clusters of oaks and pools of water. Then the terrain became hilly until they reached some stony or gravelly plains. They crossed some large creeks, and the road crossed a partly level and partly hilly area. Along this stretch there were glens and oak groves and grapevine. Fish and turtles were plentiful in Pita pond, that day's camp. The next day's journey was over rough

ground, and through oak forest and mesquite clumps for about a league, then groves of *encinos*, *robles*, and walnut for two leagues more (Tous 1930b:8-9).

The next expedition to travel in this area was Alarcón's, and the diarist Céliz recorded woods for a league-and-a-half beyond La Hedionda. They passed by a hill, and then the rest of the way to El Tulillo was level. Céliz noted many flowers. The road to Los Charcos de la Pita was level with patches of woods. Oaks and grapevines bordered the pools. Of the vegetation on the way to Los Payayas Creek, Céliz noted mesquites, oaks, and pecans (Hoffmann 1967:46-48).

About two leagues past Las Cruces, the party of the Aguayo expedition came to El Tulillo where there were deer, wild goats, turkeys, rabbit, and quail. This party also camped at El Charco de la Pita. Peña reported seeing many turkeys and deer and good pasturage along the road from El Tulillo (Forrestal 1934:13-14).

On his way south of San Antonio and the Medina River, Berlandier passed a large plain and prairies covered with sunflowers (*girasol*). Then he entered some hills and forded Arroyo del Chacón three leagues from the Medina. It seemed to Berlandier that this creek joined the Arroyo de Francisco Perez which he also called the San Miguel (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:562-564).

Bexar County

From Arroyo San Simón, the 1691 expedition of Terán set out on a new road across the level land of present Bexar County. Camping at the Arroyo Medina, Terán named it San Luis Beltrán. The party camped next on Arroyo San Antonio de Pádua after passing some *rancherías* of Peyaye and traversing plains. Terán reported bison and oaks on the way to Arroyo San Ignacio de Loyola. The company subsequently camped at Arroyo Santo Domingo, Arroyo San Pedro de Alcantará, and Arroyo Santa Rosa Peruana (Hatcher 1932:14-15).

Of this same stretch of their journey, Mazanet recounted emerging from the woods at the foot of a high hill after leaving the previous camp at San Bernabé. He reported also a tall, round hill to the northeast and then another hill to the east when they arrived at the Arroyo San Basilio. The Indian name of this creek was *Panapay*. At the approach to the Arroyo San Antonio de Pádua, or *Yanaguana* as the Indians called it, the company met some Payayas. From this place, the expedition traversed many ranges of low hills, observing oaks along the road. At Arroyo Santa Crecencia, for which Mazanet reported the Indian name to be *Smatiniguiapacomisem*. Here, they encountered some Pacpul Indians. Continuing the journey, they skirted low hills to the north, passed a dry arroyo, and camped at Arroyo San Félix, or *Papulcasa*, where the water was hot and salty but with a cold spring. Mazanet noted mesquite on this day. Next, they crossed a dry arroyo with red banks, then another with water; Mazanet reported that these join further downstream. Several Indian groups were encountered: Catqueza, Cantona, Emet, Cabas, Sana, Tojo Toaa, and others. Mazanet gave the name of the road that they traveled as *Camino de los*

Tejas, the road to the Tejas. They camped at a place that the Indians called *Xaloton*, meaning "black nuts," and which Mazanet called San Marcelino. Beyond this place, they came to high hills where there were no trees and where they encountered Choma, Cíbola, Cantona, Chalomé (Cholomá), Catquezas, and Chaynaya peoples. San Gervacio was that night's camp, and was also called *Conaqueyadiasta* (Hatcher 1932:54-59).

Salinas Varona described a sandy plain with hills and ravines on his trip in the region. There were oaks, pecans, and mesquite brush up to the crossing of an unnamed river. Beyond that stream and to the crossing of the Medina River, he noted more mesquite and more hills and ravines. The camp on the west bank of the Medina was called Santa Prudencia. Having crossed the Medina, Salinas Varona reported oaks and mesquites along the ravines and hills leading up to Arroyo de León. San Bernardino de Sena was the next camping place. The party continued past more ravines and hills and saw more oaks and mesquites all the way to Río Salado, which Salinas Varona named Corpus Christi San Secundino (Gómez Canedo 1968:286-287).

Espinosa's account of this region from his expedition with Olivares and Aguirre started from the Medina River. After crossing the river, they found a Payaya village on its north bank. Here, they also observed pecan, cottonwood, and elm. Then the party traversed plains for three leagues and met some other Payayas and later some Pampoas. They crossed the Medina again and yet a third time at a Pampoas village. Leaving the vicinity of the Medina, the party crossed several ravines, crossed Arroyo León, then a large plain, and came to the *acequia* at San Pedro Spring. All along this stretch, Espinosa noted live oak, mesquite, and white oak, and at the spring, pecan, poplar, elm, and mulberry. Near the spring was a village of Siupan, Chaulaames, and Sijames. Water from the spring flowed into the San Antonio de Padua River, where they camped after crossing an arroyo of briny water (perhaps Salado Creek). On the return trip, Espinosa reported meeting some Sijames Indians in this area (Tous 1930a:4-5, 14).

Ramón noted passing pecan groves and other timber, and reported loose soil and some pasturage near the crossing of the Medina River. He mentioned catching fish in the river. On his approach to San Pedro Spring, he noted mesquite brush and good pasturage, and reported crossing two dry creeks. Across the San Antonio River and upstream the party camped and caught fish in the river. Leaving the San Antonio River, the company passed over hills and observed good pasturage, mesquite, and grapes. They crossed and camped at Salado Creek (Foik 1933:11-12).

Espinosa's 1716 account describes level ground, groves of boxwood (possibly a translation error) and a large forest on the way up to the Medina River. At the river, he noted cottonwood, blackberry, and grapevines. He described hills and dales covered with green grama grass and flint stones to the crossing of Arroyo de León, where there were pools of water. They traversed the plain of the San Antonio River to the point where San Pedro Creek flows into it. At this place Espinosa noted quite a few plants: *nopales*, cottonwood, elm, grapevine, black mulberry, laurel (possibly a translation error), strawberry (possibly a native species of *fragaria*, cf. Correll and Johnston 1979), palmetto (*Sabal* sp.), flax, hemp (possibly a translation error), maidenhair fern, and medicinal herbs. In the river were fish and alligators (Tous 1930b:8-10).

Céliz reported a level road, many groves of trees and many flowers up to the Medina. The members of the Alarcón expedition crossed the Medina with difficulty because of high water. Céliz noted dense woods in the area of the river. He described the road to Arroyo or Cañon de León as mountainous (possibly a translation error). From there the road continued level to San Pedro spring on the San Antonio River (Hoffmann 1967:48-49).

Peña's diary of the Aguayo expedition in 1721 described the approach to the Medina as flat country; he noted many deer, turkeys, and quail. Across the Medina, the road to León Creek was through low hills, where they found much flint. After León Creek, there were plains all the way to San Antonio de Béjar. The expedition passed by the *acequia* of Mission San Antonio de Valero, where Peña noted grapevines. From here to Salado Creek the terrain was hilly. Then they traveled a mostly flat country with low hills. Peña reported live oaks and mesquite (Forrestal 1934:13-20).

Of the region that is present Béxar County, Morfi reported only passing the Medina River and camping at Misión Espada (Del Hoyo and McLean 1967:98-99).

Berlandier's description of the region begins at Béxar. The names of the streams forded were Cabezo del Apache, Arroyo del León, and Arroyo de en Medio. He passed stands of mesquite and oaks and hills to the north and northwest. He noted deer along the road to their camp on a small hill. The streams forded next were La Potranca, El Ojo de Agua de San Lucas, and El Sauz. About two leagues after El Sauz, over hilly terrain, they arrived at La Rosita camp. On the approach to the Medina River from the northern side, Berlandier described prairie, but on this stretch he mentioned that they were not on the road. They crossed the Medina a little above the low-water crossing, since at the usual crossing the river was too high. Berlandier called the place of his crossing Paso del Río Grande del Camino Arriba, or Tío Alberto. Here, Berlandier noted turkeys, oak, and cypress (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:557-562).

Comal County

Terán reported crossing the Río Guadalupe, which he named Arroyo San Agustín, and then another branch of the Guadalupe, and he remarked on the hilly country in this area. He also reported camps of Jumana, Cíbola, Catqueza, Cantona, and Mandones in the vicinity (Hatcher 1932:15).

Of the same area, Mazanet reported traversing level country with trees as far as the camp at some ponds he called San Silvestre. Woods began beyond the ponds, and along this stretch he reported meeting Muruam captives from the vicinity of the Guadalupe River. Next, Mazanet recorded crossing a branch of the Guadalupe River which he called San Juan and gave the Indian name as *Canocanoyestatetlo*. His account also mentions that Choma Indians were with the party. After they crossed the river, they came to some small hills and crossed many arroyos. Mazanet noted bison (Hatcher 1932:59-61).

Salinas Varona reported hills and ravines with oaks and live oaks to the Guadalupe River. He recorded crossing the river first to an island, then on across. He called this

trees in the motts. He reported Sinaoma, Mescales, and Toas Indians in his account of this region. Santa María Magdalena was their camp (Gómez Canedo 1968:287-289).

Heading for the Guadalupe River in 1709, Espinosa described open country with some mesquites. He crossed a deep arroyo with pools and then came to a branch of the Guadalupe (Comal River). The expedition arrived at the second branch of the Guadalupe through dense mesquite and oak and over a few bare hills. At the river, he observed cypress, elm, cottonwood, and willow and fish and alligators in the river and turkeys in the woods (Tous 1930a:5-6).

Ramón's account described hills, mesquite brush, and green pasturage to a creek flowing into a large pool which he named San Xavier. He observed hills, good pasturage, and scattered oaks and pecans as he approached and crossed the two branches of the Guadalupe River. He noted a spring in the first branch (Comal) which made the water very cold. He reported maidenhair fern, mulberry, and grapes around the spring, and plenty of fish in the water. At the second branch (Guadalupe), which he called San Ybón, there were also plenty of fish (Foik 1933:12-13).

Traveling with Ramón in 1716 in present Comal County, Espinosa reported mesquite clumps and oak clusters as they passed some high hills to the bank of a creek. Here, Espinosa mentioned that a Quía Indian was traveling with and guiding the party. Directing their march toward what he called the Guadalupe River (Comal) through dense mesquite and oak and over very high hills for about a league-and-a-half, they came to level ground, then mesquite clumps, low hills and ravines. They crossed a small stream and then crossed the Guadalupe (Comal) at a wide gravel crossing. Espinosa reported three main springs, and at this site walnut, cottonwood, grapevine, mulberry, and willow. As well, there were songbirds and ticks. From here to the San Juan River (Guadalupe), they traveled through a large dense woodland. In the river were many fish and alligators (Tous 1930b:10-11).

Céliz, with Alarcón's expedition, crossed Salado Creek and several dry ravines, noting live oak, hackberry, and elm, on the way to Síbulo [*sic*] Creek. He next crossed a creek he called San Miguel (Comal Creek), then the first branch of the Guadalupe (Comal River), and then the second branch of the Guadalupe River where they camped. After traveling as far as the San Marcos, Alarcón's party was forced to return to Béxar in order to buy provisions. On this leg of their journey, Céliz reported that the road was quite muddy and that the Guadalupe River was swollen from rain. They passed within half a league or so of the Edwards Plateau over mostly level ground and through woods. They traveled upstream along the Guadalupe River, seeking a crossing, but found only rough and rocky land which was heavily wooded. Finding the way too rough to continue upstream any further, they returned to their previous camp on the Guadalupe at a place of oak and juniper woods. The next day they made a difficult crossing and camped on a high hill. Reprovisioned at Béxar, the party once again set out, this time heading for the bay of Espíritu Santo and from there traveled eastward—well to the south of routes of previous expeditions (Hoffmann 1967:49-55).

The Aguayo expedition also camped at Cíbolo Creek along some ponds (*esteros*). From this camp, Peña noted woods of mesquite and live oak to La Loma de las Flores

The Aguayo expedition also camped at Cíbolo Creek along some ponds (*esteros*). From this camp, Peña noted woods of mesquite and live oak to La Loma de las Flores where there were many flowers. The party traversed mesquite plains, some hills, and a creek Peña called San Pascual Baylón. Here there were junipers, poplars, walnuts, mulberries, and vines. He reported crossing the Guadalupe River (Comal) about a quarter league from the watershed springs. The country was wooded. About three-quarters of a league further, they came to the north bank of the San Ybón River (Guadalupe) with all too many chiggers, ticks, and snakes (Forrestal 1934:19-21).

Berlandier mentioned the Guadalupe River and the Arroyo del Cíbolo, and gave no further details of his journey through the present county of Comal (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:341-342).

Hays County

Traveling through the area that was to become Hays County, Terán reported sketchily that the land was level and he saw bison. Arroyo Santo Tomás was the name of the river where his expedition of 1691 camped for the night. Over the next few days, Terán reported crossing the Arroyo San Marcos y Colorado twice a league apart. This second crossing would be the Blanco River. Terán called this pair San Pedro y San Pablo Apóstoles. Then the party traveled south through rough and wooded country, and camped at still a third crossing of the Río San Marcos y Colorado, from which members of Terán's expedition made a three-week side trip down to the Old Fort Saint Louis and then back to this camp (Hatcher 1932:15-16).

Mazanet gave Terán's Santo Tomás the name Arroyo San Juan y San Pablo. His account of the area is somewhat fuller than Terán's. He described traveling all day in the sight of a mountain to the east, and he said that the area around Arroyo San Juan y San Pablo was heavily wooded. Next, he reported crossing an arroyo and climbing small hills. The party arrived at some trees (cedars) on the banks of a river which he called Río San Marcos. From the camp there was a mountain to the north and the river to the south. They made another crossing of the San Marcos River (this would be the Blanco), this time calling the place by the name of San Pedro, or by the Indian name of Carcayantico. From here, they passed an unnamed running arroyo and came again to the Río San Marcos, calling it San Pablo. Here Mazanet noted finding a cross and a year (not specified) carved on a hackberry. During the period of Terán's side trip to the coast, Mazanet reported traveling through a forest to a tall, sharp-pointed hill from atop which could be seen a lagoon which the Indians called *Nenocadadda*. He named the lagoon San Nicolás. In the water were fish and alligators. He met some Cantona Indians near a place on the Río San Marcos called San Buenaventura. Next his explorations of the area took him toward a tall hill through unwooded country to Arroyo Santa Praxedis, which had the Indian name *Caideida*. Then he traveled through large woods to Santa María Magdalena. The Indian name of this place was *Sicoconoteta* (Hatcher 1932:61-64).

represents the San Marcos River, passing woods of oak and live oak. Salinas Varona mentioned stones along this stretch of his journey. At this place they encountered Cacastles Indians. Then the expedition crossed another stream which Salinas Varona called the San Marcos but which now is named the Blanco River. The party camped on an open field near the river, calling the place San Francisco y San Justo; Salinas Varona mentioned that this place was formerly known as San Francisco Buenavista y San Juan. The next day, the party passed woods of oak and crossed several creeks, some dry and some running, and one with a gravel bed. He climbed into higher and higher hills where grew oak motts and oak woods. He passed several pastures or fields and came to camp at some large pools which he named San Félix (Gómez Canedo 1968:289-290).

Espinosa's 1709 account of this same area approximates Salinas Varona's. Espinosa described hills and plains. He reported quite a few kinds of trees, especially in the vicinity of the San Marcos River: clumps of mesquite, and mixed woods of walnut, elm, black mulberry, cottonwood, and live oak. Also near the San Marcos River, Espinosa or one member of the party killed some turkeys. About two leagues past the San Marcos, the party crossed Arroyo San Rafael (Tous 1930a:6).

In 1716, Ramón's expedition also came to San Rafael creek, first passing through pecan and oak woods where grapevines grew and good pasturage was found, then across the San Marcos River, and finally to two springs on San Rafael creek. Ramón named these San Isidro and San Pedro del Nogal. At this place, they caught a turkey. Beyond this place they passed through more woods, passed other springs, and camped at a creek with pools. Ramón reported grapevines and pecan trees and other timber (Foik 1933:13).

Traveling with this same expedition, Espinosa again found himself at the pools of Arroyo San Rafael. To reach this point, he described traversing sparse mesquite flats where there were hills in sight. He next traveled to a copious spring he called San Bernardino, and from here to the San Marcos River and across. The party passed many dry arroyos between San Bernardino and the San Marcos River. Espinosa noted cottonwoods at the San Marcos. At the camp on Arroyo San Rafael, Espinosa was fortunate to observe an eclipse on May 21, 1716 (Tous 1930b:11-12).

The next group to travel through the area of present Hays County was the Alarcón expedition of 1718. Céliz, a diarist for the expedition, reported traveling through dense woods most of the way from the Guadalupe River to the stream called Salsipuedes Creek. Passing more creeks and dense woods, the company crossed the San Marcos River and camped at Entraaverlo creek. Near this place were tracks of bison. Searching for a suitable crossing, the party spent the next few days traveling downstream along the San Marcos to its confluence with the Guadalupe and then back upstream. Céliz noted dense live oaks, cottonwoods, pecans, and buckthorn (probably *Rhamnus* sp., Correll and Johnston 1979). Their crossing was difficult, and they continued the upstream direction of the journey, across hills and many creeks and dry ravines, most of which had rocky beds. The company came through a wooded stretch, made another crossing of the San Marcos at a wide ford, and headed back to Béxar to replenish their store of provisions (Hoffmann 1967:50-52).

wide ford, and headed back to Béxar to replenish their store of provisions (Hoffmann 1967:50-52).

Peña, with Aguayo's 1721 expedition to Texas, reported crossing Peñuelas Creek, a permanent stream with *esteros* or ponds. They crossed another creek and plains covered with mesquites, while traveling about a league to the south of the Apache area called Lomería Grande. Then the company traversed a flat country dotted with mesquite and live oak as far as Los Inocentes River, the San Marcos. Still covering flat country and through some trees, they met a group of Sanas and camped at San Rafael Creek (Blanco River). Here, Peña noted deer and turkeys. Past San Isidro Spring which was surrounded by trees, the country was open with low hills, and there were many deer and turkeys. The company camped at the small creek San Bernardino (Forrestal 1934:21-23).

In the 1830s, Berlandier wrote of this area as he headed westward to Béxar. He noted forests of mesquite and traces of bison in the vicinity of Arroyo Bisnais. There were plains and then sandstone hills that increased in frequency toward the San Marcos. Berlandier gave the Comanche name for Arroyo Blanco as *Pavococue*, and he described this stream flowing into the San Marcos from the northwest (*sic*, northeast?). He also noted pecan and plum trees in the area around the San Marcos River (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:341).

Travis County

Terán entered present Travis County, and described following a narrow trail with woods to either side. He noted bison, ticks, and chiggers. He called his camping place Arroyo San Emeterio y San Caledón, or Arroyo Garrapatas. Rejoined with Terán, Mazanet noted crossing Arroyo Nacasit near where the company encountered some Tejas Indians. Mazanet called the next stream Arroyo San Apolinario, giving the Indian name as *Nattcasba*. Past this point, the company traversed level country to some woods, and through the woods to the Río del Espíritu Santo. Mazanet gave the Indian name as *Beatsi*. This is the present Colorado River (Hatcher 1932:16-17, 64-65).

In Salinas Varona's account from 1693, he reported crossing several creeks on the way to the Río Espíritu Santo (Colorado River). One of these he named San Fernando creek. He also noted oak woods on his approach to the present Colorado River. Beyond the river, his progress slowed considerably since the expedition had to open the road through brush and fallen trees. He continued his journey passing pastures and prairies, ravines and several creeks. He named two creeks: Arroyo Colorado (Boggy or Walnut Creeks and Arroyo San Juan de Ortega (Gómez Canedo 1968:291-293).

Espinosa, Olivares, and Aguirre journeyed to the Colorado River and across in 1709. They crossed Arroyo Garrapatas and between here and the Espíritu Santo River (Colorado), the party killed five bison. About a league beyond the river, they passed a marsh where there were growing pecan, hackberry, elm, cottonwood, willow, and grapevines. Still close to the river Espinosa noted its sandy banks. They passed an abandoned Indian village, then returned through oak forest to the river and back across. Retracing their steps

always in sight of the river, they returned to their previous camp. From some Indians they encountered, Yojuan, Simonos, and Tosonibi, they learned of the whereabouts of the Tejas tribes, about three-day's journey away. The party camped at some ponds near the Colorado. The next day they visited a Yojuan village about four leagues away, then marched back to camp on Arroyo Garrapatas, and thereafter returned to San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande (Tous 1930a:6-10).

Ramón described the terrain of his approach, in 1716, to the Colorado River as barren hills and ravines, but with good pasturage. Then his expedition traveled upstream looking for a crossing. The crossing took two days, and from this point, the expedition headed in a different direction than earlier *entradas*. They continued their route over rough and broken land, where they saw bison for the first time on this trip; they were able to kill one. They camped at San Nicolás creek (Foik 1933:13).

Espinosa's own account, from Ramón's expedition, was of hills and arroyos. On the way to Arroyo de Garrapatas he noted a grove of live oaks. Beyond this creek the land was level with low hills. At the Río Espíritu Santo (Colorado River) there were oaks, grapevines, and pecan trees. They found plenty of fish in the river, and past the river to an area of high land, they killed a bison. The party passed a hill of oaks and traversed open, weedy ground as far as the pools called Cíbolo. Espinosa reported that they now were traveling with a Payaya guide who showed them the way to the road; the diary does not mention where they got lost (Tous 1930b:12-14).

Peña's diary of the 1721 Aguayo expedition reported very little of that part of their route running between Arroyo de las Garrapatas and the river Peña called San Marcos (Colorado River) in modern Travis County. Only past another creek (Boggy), did he observe tracks of bison. Then the company traversed plains and low hills and crossed tree-covered Santa Quitería creek. Their route bordered the Lomería Grande all the way to San Francisco Creek. In this region, they killed three bison (Forrestal 1934:22-25).

Williamson County

On the 1691 expedition through the area of present Williamson County, Terán's account mentions bison on the day the party camped at Arroyo Santiago. Mazanet's account reports little more, though he described traveling through woods, then up a dry arroyo at the edge of the woods, and to some salty waterholes in an arroyo where there were alligators. This place Mazanet also called Santiago; it was called by the Indians *Baconatdesta* (Hatcher 1932:17, 65).

Salinas Varona, in 1693, gave only a sketchy report of this area. He recounted passing a very boggy creek. His company continued past oaks, large pastures, and plains (Gómez Canedo 1968:292-293).

In 1716, Ramón's expedition passed through the area, and he described bad holes caused by the drought. He reported the killing of four bison, and gave the creek where his party camped the name of Las Animas (Brushy Creek). Another diarist with this expedition, Espinosa, who in his previous (1709) expedition, did not reach this far into the

province, reported on willows along the Arroyo de las Benditas Animas [Brushy Creek]. Espinosa's account says that three bison were killed (Foik 1933:15; Tous 1930b:13-14).

From Peña's journal of the 1721 Aguayo expedition, comes a description of the country around Las Animas Creek being flat, with wooded hills (Forrestal 1934:25).

Bastrop County

In the 1830s, on Berlandier's return to Béxar, he reported on the area of present Bastrop County. As he traveled, he noted plains, prairies, and forests of pine for about nine miles until he reached some high hills near the Colorado River. Heading southward, Berlandier recorded forests of oak, hickory, and juniper on a ground of small hills of sandstone. He and his party camped at Arroyo Lobanito which he said was the only stream with running water until the San Marcos River, and that the other parajes have only stagnant water and alligators (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:338-341).

Milam County

From his 1691 journal, Terán gave only the camping place on the Río Colorado; he named it San Gerónimo. Mazanet reported traveling between hills to the east and west, through an unwooded area where there were many dry creeks. He also reported bison in the area. Mazanet named the place Arroyo Santa Margarita, and noted the Indian name *Canobatodeano* (Hatcher 1932:65).

Salinas Varona reported crossing a small arroyo and coming to a hill with trees. Convinced he had found the previous expedition's camp, he noted a boggy Arroyo de Terán. He called this place San Melacio y San Spidio (Gómez Canedo 1968:292-293).

Ramón's diary from 1716 gives a lengthier account of the region. Departing Las Animas creek, he traversed hills and ravines. He noted abundant water and thickets, and he came upon tracks of Indians before coming to some villages of Yerbipame and Mescal. He passed good pasturage and plenty of water, and camped in boxwood groves (possible translation error for hackberry) at San Diego de Alcalá creek. Next, he crossed two dry creeks, more boxwood groves, good pasturage, and thickets. He camped at the San Xavier River where fish were caught. On the way to the next camp called Santo Domingo, Ramón noted wild fowl along the road. The party crossed a creek with difficulty and there killed an alligator. They meandered through dense woods of oak, still finding plenty of water and good pasturage. Near their camp in a clearing, they sighted a bison but did not kill it. Still wandering, the company arrived at another camp in a clearing near San Juan Bautista lake. Here they gathered wild grapes. Now heading in a south-southeasterly direction, the party traversed a partly wooded plain, finding more grapes. They camped at a spring named Corpus Christi and fished. The next day, Ramón reported crossing two creeks, one of which was dry. They met Indians of various nations, Yerbipame and others, and camped at a creek near an Indian *ranchería* (Foik 1933:14-17).

approach to the ponds of San Pedro de Alcantará. He reported passing a freshet of rainwater, quagmires, and woodlands. In Espinosa's account, the party came to, but did not cross the Arroyo San Francisco Xavier (perhaps San Gabriel or Little River). Espinosa observed that there were fish in the river. On the approach to Santo Domingo camp, they traversed glens and sparse woods of mesquite, oak, and grapevines. They made a second crossing of Arroyo de los Animas at a steep bank. From here, they passed through more oak forests with grapevines, and crossed the occasional dry arroyos. The next day, bison were sighted, and the party camped in a shady place with a spring that Espinosa called Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. Then the party traversed a plain surrounded by trees, and through sparse forest of oak and walnut. They passed the two springs called San Diego where wild grapes were growing. Passing through another forest, they came to a large lake, San Juan, where there were many alligators and clusters of cottonwood. There were more forests and plains beyond San Juan lake. The company camped at Santa María de Buenavista springs, and at this camp, Yerbipiame, Ticmamerás, Mesquites, and Asinai arrived from a nearby village. Next day, they visited the Indians' village, going through oak forest and noting the grapevines. Along the way, more Indians came to meet them: Pamayas, Payayas, Cantonaes, Mixcal, Xarame, and Sijames. From the Indian village, Espinosa reported level ground until they came to a very deep arroyo about a league away (Tous 1930b:14-17).

In the area in 1721, Peña reported crossing several creeks on the way to the San Xavier River. He observed many trees and vines, and said that three bison were killed. Peña noted crossing two branches of the San Xavier, and then continuing through dense thickets, passing an *estero*, going over hills and through mires, and passing an unnamed shady creek. He reported that 12 bison were killed during this part of the expedition's progress. They camped at San Ignacio creek. Peña next reported crossing 20 creeks, and said that at this point, the expedition departed from the routes of previous *entradas*. The camp here was on a creek he called San Fernando. From this place the party crossed a very shady creek, passed a mesquite grove, then traversed a flat country with small hills and a carpet of flowers. They reached the Río Espíritu Santo, which Peña said was the first branch of the Brazos de Díos (Little River) (Forrestal 1934:25-27).

Lee County

Following the Camino Arriba back to Béxar, Berlandier probably traveled through present Lee County. He noted the sighting of black foxes. The terrain was hilly and the route ran through oak forests. He passed the *paraje* at Arroyo de los Ailes; *ailes* possibly refers to the Indian-cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana*. Next he passed the Arroyo la Yegua, and eventually camped at a wilderness *paraje*. Continuing southwestward, Berlandier passed Agua Dulce and then Agua Negra [*sic*] which means bad water (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:338-340).

Robertson County

Terán named Arroyo San Bernardino as a camping place in present Robertson County. His diary of the 1691 gives no further information from this area (Hatcher 1932:17).

In 1693, Salinas Varona described traversing hills and valleys, until his party realized that they had lost the road. They stopped near a creek in a wood, El Monte Sin Fin, and Salinas Varona named the camp San Deciano (Gómez Canedo 1968:293).

Ramón's 1716 expedition passed into present Robertson County at the Brazos River. It is believed that Ramón called this the Trinity. After crossing the river, they came to another creek where an alligator was killed, and then entered *un bosque orroroso*, a horrible wood, and found some Spanish cattle. Their route continued through open country and sparse woods with grapevines. They made a camp in a clearing near an old Indian camp, and near this place they killed six bison. The next area they traveled through had good pasturage and groves of pecan and more grapevines. Passing a running brook, they met a Tejas hunting party. Ramón called the stream where they camped Río Corpus Christi. From here, they passed an open woodland of oak, pecan, and wild grapes, also with good pasturage. They crossed two running creeks, passed a lake they called Lampazos (waterlilies), and camped on the edge of a plain near a hill. Ramón named this camp San Cristóbal. Still traversing hills and plains with good pasturage, timbered regions, and some dry creeks, they came to a small Tejas village. In the Indians' field, green corn and watermelons were growing. Their final stretch, in this present county, was over flat land and through woods of pecan, oak, pine, and grapevine. Ramón reported that 14 turkeys were caught near their camp on Santa Clara Creek (Foik 1933:17-18).

Espinosa's diary of this expedition gives a similar account. He described the Trinity (Brazos) River's miry banks and swollen condition, that they crossed by means of rafts. Wandering through open forest of oak, they found an abandoned Indian village in a small plain. Espinosa recorded the nuisance of fleas and ticks and that the party killed six bison. The journey continued to the Arroyo Corpus Christi over plains, hills and dales, dry arroyos, and scattered forests of oaks and pecans. At this arroyo, they encountered some Tejas. From here there was an open path partly through oak forest and partly a shady plain. Espinosa named a running arroyo that was crossed San Buenaventura, and the lake near their camp Santa Ana. On the way to the Tejas village, he reported sparse forests of oak and plains. In the Indians' field, Espinosa also reported watermelon and corn growing. He described level ground, hills, and plains along the way to their camp at Santa Clara spring. Part of the way was through a thin forest. Espinosa noted turkeys here. Next, they came to a large lake that Espinosa named San Cristóbal which was near an arroyo, San Fernando, and a valley, Linares. Espinosa reported several lake and stream crossings on the approach to the Navasota River: San Luis Obispo lake, Arroyo Santa Rosa de Viterbo, and another small lake. In this area there were many high hills in sight. They crossed a plain and met a Tejas hunting party before camping on the banks of the Navasota which Espinosa named the San Juan Bautista River (Tous 1930b:17-19).

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Peña's account of this region is quite extensive. The terrain he described was generally broken and hilly and divided by deep streams, although he mentioned some plains and sandy country further to the east. From the lake Peña called Santa María, the company blazed their own road. Only nearer to a marsh of warm water called El Angel de la Guarda did the expedition resume the journey of the old route. The country was densely wooded with thorny trees which were probably mesquites. He also noted live oaks, oaks, walnuts, plum, vines, nettles, and green medlars (possibly a translation error). Near San José de los Apaches Creek, with banks of white soil and a terraced appearance, Peña noted bison and that they killed many of these animals. Still more bison were taken at the plain of San Silverio Papa which was their last time to find any. He also reported ticks, chiggers, and gadflies, and in the vicinity of Visitación de Nuestra Señora, they found two young puma cubs. At this place, Peña noted that they were now on the road to the Texas [Tejas] (Forrestal 1934:27-34).

Beginning at the crossing of the Navasota River, Berlandier recounted his journey on the lower road through present Robertson County and west-southwestward to B́exar. He mentioned crossing Arroyo de Corpus Christi, Arroyo de los Platos, Arroyo de las Tinajas, and the confluence of Brazo Chico and the Brazos River. On the way he reported passing an abandoned Anglo-American dwelling. He also noted forests of oak, pecan, willow, cottonwood, sycamore, hackberry, and elder. The Indians they encountered were of the Bidai, Kickapoo, Cherokee, Texas, Chickasaw, and Caddo nations. Their progress was slowed in this location because of time spent opening a road (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:332-335).

Leon County

In 1691, Terán described his route through the region of present Leon County as being over partly level and partly rough terrain. He reported that the region was wooded. The expedition camped at and then crossed the Arroyo San Cypriano and also camped at two waterholes which Terán named (together) San Isidro Labrador (Hatcher 1932:17).

Mazanet reported crossing the Arroyo Nabatsoto before arriving at the camp he called Nuestra Señora de la Merced. He reported passing two arroyos with waterholes and going over level, open country to a place he named Santa María; the Indian name he gave as *Asconascatvas*. Next, he described traversing level land with mountains in view to the east and west. The streams crossed were named by the Indians Arroyo Soadds and Arroyo Nuxnadte. Mazanet called another arroyo San Ygnacio and reported crossing several more before reaching the Trinity River (Hatcher 1932:65-66).

In Salinas Varona's 1693 diary, he told of searching for the road which Terán had followed. Once the path was located, the party continued through a large prairie, passed four running creeks, and camped at San Sancho Creek. He remarked on the *otate*, or cane, he observed. Beyond this camp, Salinas Varona reported crossing several small creeks, and

passing some hills and prairies. He named one valley San Francisco and the camp at a boggy creek San Norberto. He noted woods of oak and pine, and *sacaton*, a grass (perhaps *Sporobolus* sp., Correll and Johnston 1979). The company then began to follow an Indian trail that lead all the way to the Tejas (Gómez Canedo 1968:293).

Ramón described the vicinity of another branch of the Trinity River (the present Trinity) as good country but without much water. He noted grapevines and timber including oak and pecan. Ramón reported crossing two dry creeks before reaching the Trinity (Foik 1933:18).

Traveling with Ramón's expedition in 1716, Espinosa described the San Juan Bautista River (Navasota) as a very rapid river with deep, tree-covered banks. Beyond the river, they passed through a thin forest of oaks and then crossed a muddy stream and camped (Tous 1930b:18-19).

In 1721 with Aguayo's expedition, Peña recorded his observations of present Leon and Houston counties. After San Buenaventura Creek (Navasota River) and Santa Ana lake which he said was also called Las Cargas, he reported passing three clearings, a thin woods, two running creeks, and camped at a third named Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Continuing through more thin oak woods and over open level country, the company crossed Carrizo Creek. At Santa Clara, also known as Las Cruces, they found crosses carved on trees. The terrain then became broken and hilly until San Fernando Creek. Leaving behind a large plain, they came to some huts of a Texas village. Here, at a small creek named Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, they found Viday (Bidais) and Agdochas. Peña reported that the road continued through thin woods and clearings, across two muddy creeks to Linares valley (Forrestal 1934:34-38).

From the Trinity to the Navasota in the 1830s, Berlandier followed the *camino de arriba*, describing few marshes and streams which were easy to cross. He noted that they were traversing Hueco, Tawakoni, and Taovayo country, and that two Kickapoos joined the party as hunters. White-tailed deer were their prey. They came to the Arroyo de la Leona which ran amid sandstone hills and sandy soil. There were small forests and prairies with flowers. Berlandier recorded finding pieces of petrified wood on the way to the eastern bank of the Navasota River (Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980:331-332).

Houston and Cherokee Counties

From his 1691 travel-diary, Terán described the area of present Houston County as hilly and rough country with dense woods. He renamed the Trinity River the Incarnación de Verbo and mentioned another stream, Arroyo San Salvador. Mazanet gave its Indian name as *Conayentevantetsos*. In this second diary from the 1691 expedition, Mazanet reported crossing the Arroyo Naats and going through woods to the Arroyo Nequebatse (Hatcher 1932:18, 66).

In 1693, Salinas Varona described the area around the Santísima Trinidad River. He noted big oaks and clearings (Gómez Canedo 1968:294-295).

The next expedition to travel this far east was that of Ramón in 1716. He reported passing a lake with fish, then crossing San Fernando River and Linares valley with heavy pasturage and bordered by cedar, willow, cottonwood, oak, and pine. The expedition then came to San Luis Lake (Foik 1933:18-19).

In Espinosa's diary from this 1716 expedition he named Arroyo Santa Efigenia, the second of two arroyos he mentioned crossing. He noted forests of scattered pine, pecan, oak, live oak, and grapevines (Tous 1930b:19-20).

From the Trinity River, Peña reported traversing broken country, several streams, and two lagoons. There were woods of oak, pecan, and pine, and Peña noted also vines. At the crossing of San Juan Creek, the Marqués de Aguayo met the *cacique* of the Hasinai (Forrestal 1934:36-39).

In his account from 1691, Terán described dense woods. His company camped near a small arroyo and began to search for the Hasinai in this locality. Terán reported a meeting place with the Tejas Indians. The mission established at this location he named Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana. By now traveling separately from Terán, Mazanet noted pine trees at his camp on the Arroyo San Esteván. The water was cold in this stream which the Indians called *Conandotdetra*. Mazanet called it San Francisco de los Tejas. To get to the Tejas settlement, Mazanet reported crossing six arroyos and woods (Hatcher 1932:18-20, 66-67).

Salinas Varona recorded live oaks, oaks, and pines covering sandy hills. He crossed several ravines and creeks, passing the *paraje* of Arroyo de los Frailes before arriving at the camp he named San Pedro y sus Compañeros. He reported many small creeks, hills, and ravines, and of the trees, he noted live oaks, oaks, pecan, and pine. Salinas Varona called the mission by the name Mazanet gave: San Francisco (Gómez Canedo 1968:294-295).

Ramón in 1716 passed several low places and ravines with plenty of water. He found pine and other timber. He reported encountering some Tejas possessed of French muskets. Espinosa reported a meandering path across four small arroyos and through a forest of scattered pine, walnut, oak, live oak, and grapevines. He reported traversing a large plain with two lakes at the center. The party camped at a copious but unnamed arroyo (Foik 1933:19; Tous 1930b:20-21). Ramón's expedition of 1716 traveled over hills and valleys and found plenty of water in the creeks and fish in two lakes. Ramón noted grapevines, pecans, and pines. When the party encountered a large group of Tejas, namely Nasonis and Nacogdoches, Ramón reported that they went to the Indians' village to camp. Near this village, Ramón located a site for a mission, and over the next few days founded Misión San Francisco de los Neches (in modern Cherokee County).

Peña's diary recounts a broken country and woods of pine, walnut, and chinquapin oak. The Aguayo expedition crossed two running creeks and camped at Santa Coleta creek (Forrestal 1934:39).

Nacogdoches County

About nine leagues away from Misión San Francisco de los Neches and across another river near a village of Asinay, Ramón founded Misión de Purísima Concepción. Ramón also founded two other missions: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches and San José de los Nasonis (the latter in modern Rusk County). In his diary, he noted fertile land, plenty of pasturage and water, and pines, oaks, and grapevines (Foik 1933:19-23).

Espinosa's diary from the expedition of 1716 recounts the establishment of a presidio at the margin of a large lake near a river and the re-establishment of a mission site (Misión San Francisco de los Tejas) in a plain. Espinosa reported open forest in the vicinity. Next, the party crossed a stream called San Pedro Creek which ran to the mission. He then described traversing a two-league plain and across three small streams to a village of Hinai (Hasinai). Espinosa recorded that the new Misión Concepción was established near two springs. The woods nearby were of cottonwood, pecan, oak, and pine. Near a village of Nasoni and Nacono, the Misión San José was re-established and the Misión Nuestra Señora Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches was founded (Tous 1930b:21-24).

As a diarist with Alarcón's expedition of 1718, Céliz described valleys, ravines, and clearings in open woods of oak and pecan. Céliz reported passing the 1690 site of Misión San Francisco de los Tejas, and after crossing the Neches River, came to the refounded site of this mission. Crossing a creek and plains for two leagues, the party came to a village of Caddodachos and Bidais. The Misión Purísima Concepción was near this village. Céliz recorded open woods of pecan, pine, and oak on the road past several Asinai villages. Two other missions which they passed were San Joseph de los Nasones and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches (Hoffmann 1967:72-80).

In his journal from the 1721 Aguayo expedition, Peña reported hills, gullies, and woods of tall oaks, mulberry, pecan, and pine. He reported passing the site of the 1690 mission, and where the party camped on San Pedro creek, Neches Indians arrived. Passing a plain they came to the site of the 1716 presidio. At the camp on the Neches River, Naconos visited. Across the Neches, Misión San Francisco de los Neches was refounded. The party crossed several creeks and plains and passed within half a league of Misión Nuestra Señora de la Concepción which, Peña noted, was also known as Santa Barbara. Near the site of Ramón's presidio, they re-established the mission for the Caddodachos. The Marqués de Aguayo also had other missions in the vicinity rebuilt: San José de los Nasonis and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches (Forrestal 1934:39-50).

San Augustine County

The Alarcón expedition reached present San Augustine County in 1718 by an interior trans-Texas route. (De León had come by way of a more coastwise or southerly path in 1690.) Céliz, the diarist, recorded a terrain of ravines and a winding road from the

Todos Santos River (Attoyac River). The party stopped for two nights at Misión Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais (Hoffmann 1967:80-81).

Aguayo's expedition crossed into present San Augustine County, in 1721, at the Todos Santos River (Attoyac Bayou). Peña reported a broken, wooded country. He noted passing the site of the former Misión Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais; about a quarter of a league away near a stream, the company rebuilt the mission (Forrestal 1934:50-51).

Sabine County

Still traversing a terrain of ravines, creeks, and clearings, the Alarcón expedition reached the San Francisco de Sabinas River (Sabine River). Céliz noted groves of pecan and some pine and woods of pine and oak (Hoffmann 1967:81).

In Peña's account from 1721, he observed woods of walnut (pecan) and pine and a country of high hills, gullies, ravines and muddy creeks. He recorded the names of two camps on lakes, or *lagunas*: San Bartolomé and San Luis. The latter place is about a league from the Sabinas River (Forrestal 1934:51-52).

Louisiana

Beyond the Sabine River, the Alarcón expedition continued through pine and pecan woods to the Misión San Miguel de los Adaes, where the company camped for several days. Nearby, Céliz reported a village of Nabadacho. After spending a few days in this area, the expedition returned to Béxar (Hoffmann 1967:81-85).

The 1721 Aguayo expedition crossed the San Francisco de las Sabinas River and continued past pools and miry places to a hill near a creek called San Nicolás Tolentino. Passing more hills, creeks, and gullies, and woods of pine, pecan, oak, chestnut, and medlar (possibly a translation error), the company came to a river in a plain which Peña called in his diary Santa Rosa de Lima. Further, they continued across similar country to San Agustín Creek, and then over open plains and through sparse woods of pecan, medlar, pine, and oak. They passed the site of former Misión San Miguel de los Adaes, and camped half a league away at a spring. Peña noted that the French settlement of Natchitoches was seven leagues distant. At the spring, and about a league from the lake near Los Adaes, the company built the presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar. Peña noted that there were fish and ducks in the lake, and bear and deer to hunt in the woods (Forrestal 1934:52-58).

THE DIARY OF JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AN ENVIRONMENTAL VIEW OF SOUTH TEXAS AND ADJACENT MEXICO, 1828-1834

by Raymond W. Neck

INTRODUCTION

Texas floral and faunal communities have undergone many changes since the appearance of European settlers. One of the prime requirements for proper management of present-day communities is knowledge of the composition and dynamics of these communities prior to massive anthropogenic alterations. Determination of composition of natural communities, *i.e.*, those existing prior to about A.D. 1500, can be made from remnant areas that contain biological communities with minimal human impact. Another source of valuable information is original diaries or letters of qualified observers who lived in or traveled through Texas prior to widespread human impact. Geiser (1948) summarized the efforts of the most important of these pioneer naturalists who recorded observations on early Texas. Inglis (1964) summarized general impressions and some specific descriptions of biological communities made by early Spanish and Mexican expeditionary forces. The historical diaries that described the natural landscape were often written by travelers of the early roads. While the previous section presents an overview of former natural conditions, this article illustrates the detail that may be extracted from early records.

The first European to explore the non-coastal areas of Texas was Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca who was shipwrecked on the central Texas coast in 1528. Núñez traversed yet undetermined portions of Texas (Coopwood 1899a, 18989b, 1899c, 1900; Campbell and Campbell 1981; Johnson 1985; Chipman 1987) before re-encountering Europeans on the western coast of Mexico. After returning to Spain, Núñez wrote an account of his travels. Although this narrative is the earliest European description of what is now Texas, this account was written from memory many years after most of his adventures in a strange new land. One must take into account the inexactness of human memory when utilizing Núñez' accounts for early descriptions of the natural Texas environment (natural, here, being defined as conditions unaffected by European culture). Even if one could accept, without question, the accuracy of his recollections, Núñez provided no detailed accounts of the natural biological communities of Texas.

In response to the arrival of Núñez in Mexico City in 1536 and his amazing stories of what he had seen in the northern frontier of New Spain, an expedition headed by Don Francisco Vazquez de Coronado was dispatched northward. Although Coronado's expedition produced natural history observations, these accounts are very limited in scope

and detail (Williams 1959; Strout 1977). Almost three centuries later, another European arrived in what is now Texas. Jean Louis Berlandier came to this area as part of a boundary survey expressly to collect biological specimens. Berlandier's accounts are the first detailed biological observations for central, southern, and east central Texas. In fact, the only previous meaningful descriptions of the biological communities of Texas prior to Berlandier are those of Peter Custis on the Red River in northeastern Texas in 1807 (Flores 1984) and Edwin James of the Canadian River in 1820 (McKelvey 1955).

Some limited effects of the initial European colonization had influenced the natural biological communities of Texas, even prior to the arrival of Berlandier in the late 1820s. However, the observations of Berlandier offer modern environmental scientists the best approximation of biological communities of Texas unchanged by the mindset of contemporary European culture.

JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER

Jean Louis Berlandier, a French biologist, was sent by Professor Augustin Pyramus de Candolle and associates of the Natural History Museum of Geneva, Switzerland, to the New World to be a part of the Mexican Boundary Survey. Berlandier was to function as both botanist and zoologist as he collected specimens to be sent to Geneva. Before traveling to the northern fringes (presently Texas) of then recently independent Mexico, Berlandier traveled from Tampico to Mexico City and southward to Cuernavaca. Much of the remaining journey with the Boundary Survey (led by Manuel de Mier y Terán) was spent in what is now Texas during 1828 to 1834. Berlandier eventually settled at Matamoros, Tamaulipas, where he practiced medicine. During his years of travel and residence in Mexico, Berlandier kept a journal on the cultures he encountered as well as geological, meteorological, and biological observations. For additional biographical details, see Geiser (1933). Observations made by Berlandier on the aboriginal cultures of what is now southern, central, and eastern Texas have been published previously (Berlandier 1969). More recently, a portion of Berlandier's journal has been translated from the French and published by the Texas State Historical Society (Berlandier 1980).

Berlandier is one of the more controversial figures among the early naturalists of Texas (Geiser 1948:30-54; Muller 1980). Candolle felt that he never received ample compensation (in the form of vouchered plant specimens) for his efforts and investment in Berlandier. However, Candolle and other quick-judging botanists in Europe and North America seldom or never experienced the inconveniences or dangers that faced Berlandier during his American travels, *i.e.*, quick weather changes, torrential rains and floods, pernicious insects, and sometimes unfriendly aboriginal people (Sanchez 1926; Geiser 1948:48-49). All of these problems existed in a land where scientific supplies were not readily procured. Berlandier's failure to defend himself concerning these criticisms appears to have been the result of his youth, origins in poverty, and the formidable reputations of his critics (Geiser 1948). In reality, Candolle received a large number of specimens from

Berlandier, some of which were overlooked or lost after receipt by the Botanic Garden (Muller 1980). Modern scientific historians have come to the defense of Berlandier and have restored his scientific reputation (Geiser 1933, 1948; McKelvey 1955).

Berlandier also recorded the first ethnographic observations on the native cultures in Texas (Berlandier 1969). Certainly entire tribes of native Americans had immigrated into Texas due to the expanding European-derived populations in the southeastern Texas. Few references to biological systems are present in the volume on the Indians of Texas. Most of the references involve cultural utilization of native plants and animals and were general in nature and without specific geographical reference locales.

A diary written by José María Sanchez, a draftsman on at least part of the 1828-1832 expedition, was translated by Carlos E. Castañeda (Sanchez 1926). Only a small portion of the Texas travels recounted by Berlandier (1980) are discussed by Sanchez (1926) who commented more readily on historical, sociological, and ethnographic aspects of the human inhabitants of the area. Most of his biological comments were very general in description. Sanchez' comments (1926) concerning a bullfrog population in southern Texas have been discussed elsewhere (Neck 1981).

Many intriguing subjects are discussed by Berlandier (1980). Campbell (1983) provided an analytical book review which provides a potential reader an idea of the breadth of topics discussed by Berlandier (1980). The following is a discussion and analysis of parts of this journal, particularly in relation to current biological communities of southern Texas and adjacent Mexico. Initially, various invertebrate and vertebrate animal species mentioned by Berlandier are treated here. Following these notes is a discussion of comments on the vegetation of the area. Parentheses pairs that contain only a page number refer to Berlandier (1980).

INVERTEBRATES

Berlandier made several observations concerning terrestrial and freshwater mollusks. He (p. 465) described the saline plains near Matamoros as being "composed of clay soil where one finds intermingled the shells of terrestrial mollusks, the same kind which are found alive today on the thickest of the region." The snail is the South Texas tree snail, *Rabdotus alternatus*. Relatively few dense populations of this colonial arboreal snail exist today (Hubricht 1960; Neck 1990), but such colonies once were rather abundant in southern Texas and northern Tamaulipas (Henry 1847:141; review in Neck 1990).

Berlandier (p. 259) reported a freshwater pearl industry on the Rio Salado between Lampazos and Laredo. The pearls were "whitish and not very lustrous." The clam involved was not described although Berlandier (p. 268) reported that it also occurred in the Rio Grande at Laredo. Only seven freshwater clam species occur in the Rio Salado (Metcalf 1982), although a few more species are known from the Rio Grande (Neck and Metcalf 1988). The species observed by Berlandier most likely was *Cyrtonaias tampicoensis* which forms fine-quality purplish pearls in the Concho River near San Angelo (Neck 1982).

However, many individuals of *C. tampicoensis* in the Rio Grande drainage have whitish nacre.

Berlandier (p. 268) referred to "a large crustacean improperly called langosta" in the Rio Bravo. Later (p. 295) he encountered a foot-long shrimp that was "rare" in the San Antonio River, a reference to river shrimp of the genus *Macrobrachium* of which four species are known from Texas waters (Hedgpeth 1949; Horne and Beisser 1977). These large crustaceans (500 mm long including claws) normally live in freshwater but require brackish water for survival of larvae (Choudhury 1971). Three species, *Macrobrachium ohione*, *M. carcinus*, and *M. acanthurus*, were reported from the Rio Grande by Hedgpeth (1949). An additional species, *Macrobrachium olfersii*, was reported from the Rio Grande and the Guadalupe River by Horne and Beisser (1977). These workers suggested that his new species record reflected recent introductions via coastal currents from southern Mexico where *M. olfersii* occurs as far north as Vera Cruz (Holthuis 1952). Recent construction of dams probably has restricted reproduction to populations below the lowermost dam in each river. Horne and Beisser (1977) reported that, of the Texas species, "only *M. carcinus* readily leaves the water to walk on land," an action that would be required to traverse the obstacle to upstream habitats. The various species of *Macrobrachium* known from Texas waters were apparently never very abundant and presently may be declining to very small populations.

Berlandier (p. 417) made reference to "blackish bugs . . . called chinchas" when he camped along the Frio River. He provided few clues to the identity of these insects, but current usage of the term *chincha* indicates that the most likely choice is one of the six species of kissing bugs of the genus *Triatoma* (Hemiptera: Reduviidae) known to occur in Texas (Elkins 1951). These insects carry the trypanosome parasite, *Trypanosoma cruzi*, and are most abundant around nests of wood rats, *Neotoma* spp. (Eads, Trevino, and Campos 1963). In Central and South America, *Trypanosoma cruzi* is the causative agent of Chagas' disease, a debilitating disease that often is fatal (James and Harwood 1969). Due to a less virulent strain of the disease-producing organism and/or better human nutrition (Eads, Trevino, and Campos 1963), very few cases of Chagas' disease have been reported in the United States (Woody and Woody 1955).

Cochineal is a well-known crimson dye derived from the dried bodies of cochineal insects, which are closely related to mealybugs found on various species of *Opuntia*. Commercial dye is obtained from *Dactylopius coccus*, which probably was native to southern Mexico and Central America (Mann 1969:138). A cochineal industry was established by the Aztecs prior to the 16th century and may have been maintained for several centuries prior to European colonization of the New World. Berlandier (p. 456) suggested that commercial cochineal be introduced into the area he explored, but noted (p. 460) that a native species was used by "women on the banks of the Rio Bravo." This "native species" most likely was *Dactylopius opuntiae* which occurs throughout Mexico northward to Texas and California (Mann 1969:139). This latter species is abundant locally on prickly pears of southern and central Texas today.

AMPHIBIANS

The natural southwestern boundary of the bullfrog (*Rana catesbeiana*) in Texas has been unclear due to introductions into areas beyond its native range. Conant (1975:338) considered that the "natural western limits are now hopelessly confused." Raun and Gehlbach (1972:10) believed that *R. catesbeiana* was "probably absent naturally from the Edwards Plateau, southern Texas south of Nueces County, and the Trans-Pecos region." Dixon (1987:75) remarked on the difficulties encountered in determining the natural distribution of *R. catesbeiana*. Reports of bullfrogs from Webb and Willacy counties in southern Texas represent descendants of modern introductions (Karges 1978, 1979; Neck 1983). The Willacy County population apparently is derived from a frog farm initiated in the 1920s (Neck 1983). Berlandier (1980) recorded two localities with apparently native populations of bullfrogs. The first locality (p. 274) was La Parida, Webb County, Texas, in the southern reaches of the drainage of the Nueces River. Interestingly, this record also was recorded by Jose María Sanchez (1926); see comments by Neck (1981).

Even more significant is the record of the bullfrog (p. 574) from south of the Rio Grande in springs near Villa de Guerrero or the Presidio of San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande (approximately 50 km south of Eagle Pass in modern Coahuila) an area that once had substantial water flow from a series of springs (Weddle 1968). This record is the only reference to a native population of *Rana catesbeiana* in Mexico as previous compilations did not include this species for Mexico (Smith and Taylor 1948). Remains of *R. catesbeiana* have been recovered from historic strata at San Juan Bautista by archaeologists (Jack Eaton, personal communication). Berlandier (pp. 295, 302) also observed *R. catesbeiana* in the San Antonio area from both the San Antonio River and Salado Creek.

REPTILES

Berlandier (p. 268) commented that "the caiman—which is found in all the rivers of Mexico from the frontier of Guatemala to the borders of Louisiana—does not exist at all in the Rio Bravo del Norte, although it abounds in the Rio Soto la Marina to the south and in the Nueces to the north. I do not know what to attribute that circumstance, which I mention because I thought it extraordinary." Berlandier (pp. 305, 307, 336-337, 493, 570) also referred to "caimans" in the Brazos, Guadalupe, Nueces, Soto la Marina, Guayalejo, and Panuco drainages. The species referred to north of the Rio Grande is undoubtedly the American alligator, *Alligator mississippiensis*. No confirmed records of this species are known from Mexico (Smith and Taylor 1950; Neill 1971:186). Crocodilians known from Mexico include American crocodile (*Crocodylus acutus*), Morelet's crocodile (*Crocodylus moreleti*) and a true caiman (*Caiman sclerops*).

Neill (1971) included the Rio Grande as part of the range of the American alligator while other workers (Raun and Gehlbach 1972; Conant 1975) have not accepted the few records as valid indications of natural range of this species. Dixon (1987:198) included Cameron and Hidalgo counties in the range of *Alligator mississippiensis*, but he does not differentiate between native and introduced populations. Gehlbach (1976) stated the "Rio Grande population is entirely unnatural" but gave no justification. Conant (1977) stated that the American alligator "may have been present in the [lower Rio Grande] during the nineteenth century" in reference to Yarrow (1882) who reported two specimens with no date or collector name. Mearns (1907:76) reported that the alligator "has once been taken about 32 km (20 miles) south of Fort Clark [Brackettville, Kinney County], and the species is said to exist in lagoons of the Rio Grande a short distance to the eastward."

Considering the specific reference to the absence of any crocodilian in the Rio Grande by Berlandier, the author considers the American alligator as non-native at least in the lower portion of the river. The report of Mearns (1907) and the existence of other disjunct populations of other austroriparian species in the southwestern Edwards Plateau area (see bullfrog discussion above) indicate the possibility of a small native population in the Del Rio area where spring-fed tributaries provided a more constant water supply than the Rio Grande proper. Present-day alligators in the lower Rio Grande (Potter 1981:23-24) represent recent adventive populations consisting of, or descended from, escapees and released individuals.

Berlandier (p. 468) described and provided new specific epithets for two land turtles that he found on "both banks of the Rio Bravo." One of the newly described species, "*Testudo tuberculata*," had "two rounded tubercles under the neck." This larger species "often serves as food for the military of the presidios when they travel in the wilderness." The second species, "*Testudo bicolor*," was "very small" and has on the "anterior part of the plastron two teeth, or prolongations" like the other species. These names undoubtedly refer respectively to mature and young *Gopherus berlandieri*. Description of the ontogenetic color changes of *Gopherus berlandieri* can be found in Auffenberg and Weaver (1969:171). Most populations today consist almost entirely of very small and very large specimens (Judd, personal communication). The separation of these two age classes by Berlandier from observations in 1830 suggests that this age structure is not the result of recent anthropogenic changes in the environment of southern Texas. Causes of this bimodal size class distribution are probably rapid initial growth rates and high juvenile mortality rates (Auffenberg and Weaver 1969).

Having heretofore been unpublished and unknown to previous workers (Auffenberg 1976), these two names (*tuberculata* and *bicolor*) date from 1980 and are synonymized under *Xerobates berlandieri* Agassiz, 1857, which has long been placed in *Gopherus*. As no type specimens are available for these two Berlandier names, they are best considered *nomina nuda*. A recent revision placed *berlandieri* in the new genus *Scaptochelys* (Bramble 1982), but this taxon has not been generally accepted (Dixon 1987:86).

BIRDS

Few references to birds were made by Berlandier (1980). However, he referred to Rio Grande turkeys, *Meleagris gallopavo intermedia*, (p. 364) in a winter turkey roost along Arroyo Hondo (= Hondo Creek) in present Medina County where the birds "come there in very numerous flocks to spend the night on the large trees." On the same page Berlandier stated that the "banks [of the Medina River] are populated with turkeys." Winter turkey roosts are seasonal concentrations that persist through long periods of time. Modification of a winter roost site is usually followed by fragmentation of the population. Density of turkey populations in surrounding areas then declines. Berlandier (p. 272) observed that turkeys were abundant "close to the streams" between Laredo and San Antonio. In June 1834, Berlandier (p. 566) reported "many turkeys" in "forests of mesquites" near the Leona River east of Uvalde.

Berlandier (p. 479-480) also referred to the northernmost occurrence of parrots in Tamaulipas. Along the coast parrots were not found north of the 24th parallel. While traveling southward, Berlandier first observed them on the plateau of the valley of Santa Barbara (Ocampo). At the same place, the vegetation changed suddenly. These observations involved the transition area between the southern temperate zone and the northern tropical zone. No description was given of the parrots other than reference to their "disagreeable cry;" therefore, the species cannot be conclusively determined. The yellow-headed parrot, *Amazona ochrocephala*, and the red-crowned parrot, *Amazona viridigenalis*, are the two parrot species closest to the Rio Grande (cf. Oberholser and Kincaid 1974:432-433). Recently, Gehlbach *et al.* (1975) placed the northeastern breeding limit of both these parrots in the valley of the Rio Corona, Tamaulipas, at 23° 55'N. In the past decade flights of *Amazona viridigenalis* have been observed often in residential Brownsville. Status of these populations (recent dispersants or escapees) still is unclear, but some of these birds are probably postreproductive wanderers (A.O.U. 1983:279; Neck 1988).

MAMMALS

The nine-banded armadillo, *Dasypus novemcinctus*, has expanded its geographical range northward and eastward to include much of the southern United States from Texas to the Atlantic during the past 100 to 150 years (Humphrey 1974). Various hypotheses to explain this rapid expansion have included warmer temperatures, change in regional environment, and evolutionary breakthrough. Human transport into uninhabited areas also was an important factor (Doughty and Smith 1982; Smith and Doughty 1984). The oldest published record of *Dasypus novemcinctus* in Texas was in 1849 in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Audubon and Bachman 1854:20 *et seq.*). An interesting observation by Capt. J. P.

McCown, U.S.A., an "esteemed friend" of Audubon and Bachman (1854:224) included McCown's "opinion that there are two species—the larger living on the low and wet lands and in the canebrakes, the smaller occupying the rocky hills and cliffs." However, Audubon and Bachman (1854:225) later remarked that they "have been unable to detect any other species than the present." The closest any other species of armadillo occurs to the lower Rio Grande is southeastern Guatemala where the Central American five-toed armadillo (*Cabassos centralis*) occurs (Hall 1981:282). The two "species" seen by McCown likely represented interpopulational or age-class size variation within *Dasypus novemcinctus*.

Interestingly, no mention is made of *Dasypus novemcinctus* by Berlandier (1980). Thus, one wonders if *Dasypus novemcinctus* should be considered a natural member of the undisturbed fauna of Texas. Absence of the easily recognizable dermal bones from archaeological sites in Texas (Lundelius 1967) is a further suggestion of its absence. The report of *Dasypus novemcinctus* from Miller's Cave, Llano County, Texas (Patton 1963) has been attributed to 20th century contamination (Lundelius 1967).

Humphrey (1974) hypothesized that either an environmental barrier in northern Mexico was released or an evolutionary breakthrough occurred. Massive modification of Tamaulipan grasslands (see discussion below) following expanded settlements by Spanish colonists was a likely causal environmental factor. Expansion of acreage occupied by woody vegetation increased suitable habitat for the armadillo in Tamaulipas and, later, in southern and central Texas. E. S. Wing (Humphrey, 1974) reported an armadillo record dated from 0 to A.D. 200 from northern Vera Cruz. Climatic limits (cold winter weather and insufficient rainfall) of the armadillo have been approached in some areas (Humphrey 1974). Known locality records for two Pleistocene edentates, *Chlamytherium septentrionale* and *Dasypus bellus*, are within the range of *Dasypus novemcinctus* during the 1950s (James 1957; Slaughter 1961).

No mention was made of the beaver (*Castor canadensis*) in Texas by Berlandier (1980). *Castor canadensis* ranges throughout the eastern two-thirds of Texas (Davis 1974). Population levels decreased drastically in the latter 19th century due to exploitation by the fur industry. However, decline of fur prices and efforts toward population reintroduction have resulted in the return of dense populations of *Castor canadensis* over much of Texas. However, the absence of mention of *Castor canadensis* in Berlandier (1980) should not be taken as an indication of the non-occurrence of this species. Ewers (Berlandier 1969:47-48, footnote 27) references a mammal manuscript by Berlandier in the Smithsonian Institution in which Berlandier reports *Castor canadensis* from the Brazos, Trinity, and Red Rivers and had been told that they "lived sometimes on the Rio del Norte" (Rio Grande).

Berlandier (p. 268) made an almost casual statement that "a few otters are found in the Rio Bravo." No otters are known to exist in the Rio Grande today and the river lies approximately halfway between the known extremes of the main ranges of both the northern river otter, *Lutra canadensis*, and the southern river otter, *Lutra longicaudus* (Hall 1981:1032). Hall (1981:1031) referenced a record of *Lutra canadensis* from Brownsville from a specimen in the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences (van Zyll de Jong 1972:98).

Previous references to river otters in the Rio Grande have been contradictory. Bailey (1905:196) reported that questioning of field personnel of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Biological Survey in addition to experienced trappers and fur buyers revealed no reports or specimens of *Lutra canadensis* in the Rio Grande of Texas. However, Bailey (1931:324) mentioned that "a few are reported along the Rio Grande near Española, Rinconada and Cieneguilla" in New Mexico. Thus, it appears likely that a small population of *Lutra canadensis* existed in the Rio Grande during the early 19th century. Berlandier (p. 253) also made passing reference to "traces of otters" in caverns near water at Carrizal, just south of Lampazos in the Rio Salado drainage in Nuevo Leon.

The American bison, *Bison bison*, occurred over much of Texas (Bailey 1905:68-70), although its occurrence and abundance must have fluctuated greatly during prehistoric times (Gunnerson 1972; Dillehay 1974; McDonald 1981). However, its occurrence in Mexico has been the subject of much debate. Allen (1876) believed that *Bison bison* was native to parts of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Durango as far south as the 25th parallel. The type locality of *Bison bison* in "Mexico" and has long been considered to have referred to an animal in the zoo of Montezuma in Mexico City (Hornaday 1889:373). Reed (1952) disagreed with this hypothesis and believed that *Bison bison* was not found in Mexico during historical times, although he later accepted (Reed 1955) records from Coahuila as presented by Coopwood (1900:234-237). Allen (1881) and Dobie (1953) presented folklore and documentary evidence that *Bison bison* occurred in Coahuila. Baker (1956:326) believed that *Bison bison* "moved into Coahuila from the north periodically." Elsewhere, Berlandier (1969:131-132, footnote 187; unpublished ms. reference by Ewers) mentioned a herd of *Bison bison* that occurred year-round on the Colorado and Guadalupe rivers; reference to this herd was not included in Berlandier (1980), Allen (1876) or Bolton (1914a, 1914b).

Berlandier (p. 355) remarked that *Bison bison* came as far south as San Antonio in November and December 1829, and further stated, "Before such a large number of them had been killed, they used to cross the banks of the Rio Grande, and the chronicles of bygone days tell us that they visited Nuevo Leon at that period." Berlandier (p. 269) reported that the Lipans were always at war with the Comanches in "dispute over the herds of bison," but also reported (p.356) that they hunted bison only from November through January. Population levels "diminished daily" largely due to unidentified "persecution" north of Texas according to Berlandier (p. 356). Berlandier (p. 357) further reported that,

Towards the end of the seventeenth century advanced much farther toward the south than in our day [1829]. In the eighteenth century they still came to the environs of the Presidio of Bexar during the winter, and sometimes even farther south, where they have never been since.

In a later compilation of bison occurrences, Allen (1876) believed that in 1540, *Bison bison* reached the Gulf Coast only at the mouth of the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers, but extended southward "along the coast" as far south as the Rio Grande, if not farther. He

believed that the species was "apparently wholly exterminated south of the Rio Grande" by the beginning of the 19th century.

Berlandier expressed the belief that bison should be domesticated both as a meat source and a draft animal. He recounted an instance of two bison that were used as draft animals in Zacatecas in the 17th century. *Bison bison* was in the area northeast of Monterrey when that city was founded in 1602, but have "not been seen in that locality for close to two centuries" (p. 454). Note, however, that all remarks placing *Bison bison* in Mexico were secondary sources and not personal observations by Berlandier.

In southern Texas between Laredo and San Antonio, Berlandier (p. 275) reported numerous herds of white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) with no more than 40 to 50 animals in the largest herds. He also reported that the Indians killed many, and that deer were not as numerous as travelers stated. The vague references to deer by Berlandier do not allow inferences as to abundance relative to present-day levels. The larger expanses of prairies in the South Texas Plains would have supported relatively few deer. Control of the screwworm fly has recently allowed higher deer populations, but the screwworm may be a recently developed pest in southern Texas (R. H. Richardson, personal communication).

Berlandier (p. 349) observed a "large quantity" of black bears (*Ursus americanus*) that were killed by hunters on the west bank of the Guadalupe River in the eastern Edwards Plateau. Berlandier (p. 360) also reported bears in the "large oak forests" (*Quercus fusiformis*) above Frio Canyon. Berlandier (p. 359) reported that "two varieties of black bears—or perhaps even two species—are found in Texas." One form was "completely black and not very fierce" while the other variety had a blackish-brown muzzle and was "intrepid and fearless." Only one species of black bear is known from Texas, however. The "intrepid and fearless" bear could have been a wandering grizzly bear, *Ursus arctos*. The single specimen known from Texas is from the Davis Mountains in 1890 (Bailey 1905:192; Schmidly 1977:139). A low-density population may have existed in the Guadalupe Mountains (Bailey 1931:362; Genoways, Baker, and Corney 1979:302). The western portion of the Hill Country, especially the Nueces River canyons, may have been within the wandering range of the grizzly bear. Fossilized bones of *Ursus arctos* are known from early Holocene deposits (ca. 9500 B.P.) at Schulze Cave, Edwards County, in the western Hill Country of Texas (Dalquest, Roth, and Judd 1969). Note, however, that *Ursus americanus* exhibits striking variation in pelage color (Hall 1928), although the native distribution and relative role of genetic and environmental control of the variation is not understood (Rounds 1987).

Berlandier (1980) made several references to the native species of cats. An interesting passage (p. 364) recounted that the bobcats, *Lynx rufus*, were so common along the Medina River that difficulty was met in retrieving downed turkeys. A rancher at Rancho de las Norias (12-13 leagues from Reynosa) lost horses to large cats, both jaguars (*Felis onca*) and cougars (*Felis concolor*). *Felis onca* during early historical times occurred over a large portion of the eastern two-thirds of Texas (Bailey 1905:164-166; Daggett and Henning 1974; Hall 1981:1039; Schmidly 1983:309).

In addition to *Dasyus novemcinctus* and *Castor canadensis*, several other mammalian species were not mentioned by Berlandier (1980). The javelina, or collared peccary (*Dicotyles tajacu*), today ranges over western and southern portions of Texas (Davis 1974), although populations have existed and may still occur along the margins of eastern Texas (Schmidly 1983:313). No prehistoric archaeological or paleontological records (either Pleistocene or Holocene) of *Dicotyles tajacu* are known from Texas (Lundelius 1967, 1974; Dalquest, Roth, and Judd 1969). Lundelius (1986:45) stated that *Dicotyles tajacu* arrived in Texas "probably after 1700 A.D." Possibly, the earliest record of *Dicotyles tajacu* in Texas is from historical deposits (18th or early 19th century) at Mission San Juan Capistrano in San Antonio (Lundelius 1969).

VEGETATIONAL COMMUNITIES

Remarks by Berlandier (1980) concerning plants generally were not as specific as his comments on the fauna. However, a number of significant observations were presented by Berlandier on plant community types or human utilization of and impact upon these communities.

The wide expanses of native prairies in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico were impressive to this European botanist. The area between Rio Salado and Laredo "was ever monotonous, for all the vegetation of an arid wilderness was reduced to short, dry, flowerless grass . . ." (p. 260). Woody plants at Laredo were limited to willow (*Salix nigra*), mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*), huisache (*Acacia smallii*), and several bushes including cenizo (*Leucophyllum frutescens*) (p. 264). Associated with the Nueces River was a "prairie covered with tall grass" next to the woodland along the river (p. 276). That Berlandier understood the dynamics of brush/grass interactions was demonstrated by a discussion of the mutual exclusion of brush and grass (p. 277).

The general impression of southern Texas was of an area with "rather infertile prairies and . . . completely deprived of forests. The part of the wilderness situated to the north of the Nueces belongs to Texas and is the most fertile . . . numerous streams . . . lovely vegetation . . . rich in forests" (p. 286). On the north side of the Nueces River existed a forest one mile from the river which was an "immense, half-dried-up swamp" consisting of ash, oaks, elms, and retama (pp. 418-419). The area between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was "comprised of large, little-wooded plains, seldom broken by streams" (p. 420) with decreasing soil fertility to the south due to increasing aridity. A trip from San Antonio to the Nueces traversed an area that "with the exception of the river bottoms and a forest [near] Encinal de Medina—is covered only with prairies and bushes" (p. 422). In the area "from the Nueces to Laredo the countryside is dreary, often half-seared, where there are few trees and little water." Berlandier (p. 543) referred to the Llano Mesteño (South Texas Sand Plains) as "a wilderness of plains almost twenty-five leagues wide, covered with small forests of oaks." South of the Rio Grande occurred "forests, immense

prairies, and here and there some more or less wooded hills" (p. 469) between Matamoros and San Fernando.

Although Berlandier lived in Matamoros until his death in 1851, he provided relatively few comments about the plant communities of the immediate area. Swamps were observed to form along the Rio Grande between Laredo and the estuary (p. 266), while at Reynosa "immense stretches were covered with marshes" (p. 431). The banks of the Rio Grande were "large plains covered with dense forests" (pp. 432, 438) of mesquite and Texas ebony, *Pithecellobium ebano* (formerly *P. flexicaule*) (pp. 443, 459). The forests were apparently more common on the right bank (p. 441), which is now in Tamaulipas. Toward the coast from Matamoros the forests declined until almost no arborescent vegetation existed (p. 440). Limited reference was made to the Mexican palmetto, *Sabal mexicana*, that occurred "in the vicinity of Matamoros, on both sides of the Rio Bravo between the town and the sea" (p. 510).

Berlandier may have been the first naturalist to recognize the vegetational regions of southern Texas although he did not characterize them as such. On a trip from Laredo to San Antonio, he remarked that "as soon as we had left the Nueces, one of the natural boundaries which separate a portion of Texas from Tamaulipas, we found a completely different vegetation" (p. 277). This area is the transition zone between the South Texas Plains and several central Texas prairie areas. The area between the Nueces and Laredo was "dreary . . . vast plains . . . few trees and little water. That portion of the route does not resemble either the temperate zone or the torrid zone of the New World" (p. 422).

Included in the journal notes are several comments concerning contemporaneous and projected utilization of southern Texas. Fires set by travelers were observed in areas of post oak–hickory (*Quercus stellata*–*Carya texana*) savannah (p. 303). Such fires tend to maintain an open woodland to savannah association; cessation of wildfires has converted much of these areas to more closed woodlands with extensive underbrush (Streng and Harcombe 1982). A greater threat was posed by inhabitants and military personnel which often "cut down a tree to harvest the fruit" (p. 297). The post oak–hickory savannah contained abundant pasturage that made livestock raising easy but farming was difficult (p. 298):

Agricultural industry will never be able to flourish between the Nueces and the Rio Bravo del Norte [Rio Grande]. The countryside does not lend itself to irrigation which is absolutely necessary in that region. For several centuries it will remain nothing but an immense prairie where herds can be bred (p. 423).

The most significant reference to alteration of plant communities described the conversion of prairies along the lower Rio Grande into brushland, as follows:

Nothing was to be found there but prairies, and today [1830] they are covered with bushes. I do not know what to attribute that change. Some people believe that the numerous herds of the friars destroyed the young plants, while others, with more reason, assert that the change is due to the increase of organic soil which is observed in that valley. What is certain is that the first colonists of the towns on the banks of the Rio Bravo all declared with one accord that when they arrived in

the colony of Nuevo Santander, forests were rare, and that before the introduction of their herds only grassy prairies were to be seen. Today everyone who has travelled in the region is surprised by immense forests of mesquites, which cover the ground between Matamoros and Reynosa and from Camargo to Mier (p. 483).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Previous publications of the environmental setting of southern Texas have included hypotheses concerning environmental changes (Price and Gunter 1942; Johnston 1963) or have reviewed reports and diaries of early explorers, soldiers, or residents (Inglis 1964; Weniger 1984). However, the diary of Berlandier (1980) provides a more in-depth description by a scientifically trained observer than has previously been available.

Berlandier observed southern Texas and northern Mexico before widespread alteration of the natural biological communities due to human land-use activities. The most dramatic changes in this area involved the transformation of prairies to brushland. This process had begun even in the early 19th century in areas of long and intensive inhabitation. However, note should be made that areas with certain soil characteristics supported brush as climax communities. Livestock raising occurred before Berlandier's observations (Lehman 1969), but extensive alterations occurred after Berlandier's time following the introduction of the windmill and barbed wire. Alterations of the natural communities also affected the faunal component. Notably, disjunct populations of animals characteristic of more mesic habitats have since been extirpated. Also, most of the large native animals have been reduced to a fraction of their original numbers. In other cases, animal species have been introduced into areas outside their native range.

Jean Louis Berlandier has given us an invaluable perspective on the natural communities of southern Texas and northeastern Mexico. We should be forever thankful.

SUMMARY

The project reported in this study is the result of public and legislative interest in the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the Old San Antonio Road (OSR). It is the culmination of almost a century of interest in the road and its historic associations. In July 1989 the Texas Senate passed Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 authorizing the creation of an OSR Commission and an advisory committee, and directed the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (SDHPT) to develop a preservation plan, identify the present disposition of the road, and prepare a comprehensive report. The limited time (one year) available for completion influenced the scope and direction of work.

The Commission appointed by Governor William P. Clements was to provide the SDHPT information to develop a preservation plan, inform the public concerning the anniversary and the significance of the road, mark the road and historic structures along the route, and promote. Members of the Commission included representatives from the SDHPT, Texas Historical Commission, Parks and Wildlife Department, Texas Department of Commerce, and from the public.

The objective of the SDHPT was to identify the present-day disposition of the road, create a preservation plan to identify and safeguard the cultural and scenic attributes of the road, and to publish a report on the results of the investigation. To that end, the SDHPT designated the Environmental Section of the Highway Design Division to perform the study.

Of primary importance was the disposition of the road. The legislation assumed that there was only one road established in 1691, marked by the Civil Engineer V. N. Zivley in 1915-1916. It quickly became apparent that the road study was a much more complex affair with its origins in prehistory and with routes that changed through time. The SDHPT study found that the route marked by Zivley represented at least three non-contemporaneous road segments. In order to sort out the complexities, a plan of action was devised using modern 7.5 minute United States Geological Survey topographic maps as a base and focusing on a series of data sources. This was supplemented with field checks by the SDHPT staff and other archaeologists.

An important means of determining the location of the early versions of road was through the utilization of Spanish *derroteros* or trip logs. These were itineraries of major early expeditions into Texas and were available in Spanish and/or in English translation. Transcriptions and translations were cross-checked for discrepancies. These journals occasionally revealed the presence of prehistoric Indian trails as portions of the early road. Such segments included one that roughly coincided with a 19th-century road re-established by Adrian Woll and another that coincided with major portions of what became known as the *Camino de los Tejas*. The *derroteros* also revealed that Alonso de León established part of the road from Monclova and across South Texas as early as 1689 and that the

routes of Terán de los Rios and Salinas Varona (1691-1693) did not exactly follow what became the *Camino de los Tejas*, established in the early 1700s.

A variety of documents from the late 18th and early 19th centuries were also used to identify road segments. Among these were land grant boundary descriptions with their associated plat maps. Land disputes which were adjudicated also provided important data as did Spanish acts of foundation for towns. These data not only provided information on road locations but also on the sequences of road use. Again, a number of trip logs were used as well as military and civilian maps.

Materials from the 20th century were also consulted and used. Important among these were the field notes and maps of V. N. Zivley. Much of the 20th-century materials involved the development of State Highway 21 and the OSR from San Marcos to the Sabine River. Other 20th-century materials tended to be secondary in nature and often less valuable than the primary documents.

Several discoveries concern the Spanish and revolutionary periods of Texas. As an example, a number of localities were investigated that retained physical evidence of the road. Among these were the crossing of the *Camino de Arriba* at Bastrop that followed Gills Branch Creek for a short distance; a fairly lengthy segment of the same road in Hays County along the Old Bastrop Road; segments west of Poteet, Atascosa County; near Espada Mission in San Antonio and; in parts of Medina and La Salle Counties. Smaller remnants were relocated in Leon and Houston Counties (*Camino de los Tejas*) and in Sabine County. With additional archaeological surveys, it is a certainty that more undisturbed segments would be identified.

Because extensive segments of road could be plotted on the 7.5 minute maps, other discoveries followed. Several town sites were relocated. The site of San Marcos de Neve is believed to be on the left bank of the San Marcos river at the crossing of the *Camino de Arriba*. This location is awaiting archaeological confirmation. One site for which extensive searches have been made since Bolton early in the century is the town of Pilar de Bucareli. This site has been provisionally relocated along a previously unrecognized segment of the early routes. Associated with Bucareli is the town site of Trinidad de Salcedo which also awaits confirmation.

The road location and a late 18th century map, copied in the early-19th century, provided the approximate location of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas. Unfortunately it is not in the state park nearby but near the town of Augusta in Leon County. This site is important because of its position as the earliest mission in Texas. This must be qualified however; the La Junta area and El Paso had earlier missions and settlements but these were not in the Spanish province of Texas. They were variously in Nueva Vizcaya or Nuevo México.

Another dividend of being able to reasonably locate various segments of the road was a clearer identification of several of the San Antonio mission ranch boundaries; these included the ranch of San Antonio de Valero, Monte Galván; two of the San José ranchos, El Atascosa and San Lucas and; the ranch of Espada Mission, Las Cabras. It is also

possible that certain archaeological remains at the archaeological site of Walker Ranch in San Antonio represent the headquarters, now largely destroyed by development, of the Monte Galván ranch. The boundaries for Rancho Las Cabras have been projected and it may now be possible to relocate features associated with El Atascoso and San Lucas using the location of the road and geographic features associated with these sites.

Several parajes or stopping places used over a long span of time have also been re-identified. Among these is *Las Cruces* on the Hondo mentioned by Alonso de León in 1689. Others include *La Espantosa*, *Rosas de San Juan*, *Caramanchel*, and others. Several of these were used by Santa Anna on his march to San Antonio. In addition to these camp localities, a small number of Indian camp areas were tentatively relocated including the mid-18th-century locale of *Ranchería Grande*, between Little River and the Brazos River.

The battle of the Medina in 1813 was one of the largest battles in North America prior to the Civil War. Using road locations, the battle report of Arredondo, comments made by Berlandier, an itinerary, and a map thought to have been drawn by Juan Pedro Walker, the likely site of that main engagement was established. This site still lacks archaeological confirmation. The battle was important not only because of the number of participants but because of its effect on the demography and economic development of the province for years after the battle.

A cursory study of place names along the routes of the road indicated that many places retain their Spanish names. Furthermore, it was noted that several of these names were direct translations of the Indian names for these places. Mazanet was particularly diligent in providing Indian names and their translations. Thus it may be assumed that some of these may relate to the late prehistoric period. The names for and descriptions of natural areas were also often identifiable in many historical accounts.

Although all of the above cited topics are discussed in the report, many more potential areas for research were noted. One of the potential areas of interest is the aspect of native Indian individuals such as Nicolás and Juan Sabeata acting as agents of acculturation for the Spanish. It appears that such individuals had high status among the native groups in Texas. Many other topics are noted in outline form in the chapter entitled "A Review of the Historic Context: Potential Research Topics." The list cannot be considered exhaustive. As research follows any of the topics, other data will become evident. It is obvious that, as preliminary as this study is, it has engendered a number of potentially valuable research topics for researchers with a wide variety of interests.

A major aspect of the SDHPT effort involved the development of a preservation plan. Several kinds of transportation-related preservation plans from other states were reviewed. Although there were positive aspects in all of them, none could be wholly adopted to the preservation of the Old San Antonio Road(s). It was therefore, decided to develop a plan appropriate to Texas and specifically to this project that considered the constraints of time and funding. Emphasis was placed on high-profile, low-cost activities

that could be accomplished in a short time by the SDHPT and by the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission.

The SDHPT activities involved a variety of activities including the publication of this report. John W. Clark, Jr. and the staff of the Environmental Section of the Highway Design Division developed a logo, designed information panels to be placed at selected rest stops, and designed signs to mark portions of the route. With the cooperation of the Lone Star Girl Scout Council and Capitol Area Boy Scout Council, the SDHPT also developed a scout patch program to be initiated in February 1991. With the cooperation of the Texas State Historical Association, social sciences coordinators, and the Travel and Information Division of the SDHPT, an educational packet for 4th- and 7th-graders was designed and distributed. The Travel and Information Division helped with the design of the information panels, news releases, and a historical brochure.

The OSR Commission developed its own set of news releases, coordinated certain local celebrations, made plans for a conference on the topic of the OSR, arranged for the presentation of certificates to landowners along the road, and initiated a commemorative caravan to travel parts of the road.

These were short-term, relatively inexpensive efforts. A second phase of longer-term goals was proposed that linked this commemorative effort to the Columbian Quincentenary of 1992 and further coordination with Louisiana and Coahuila. Consideration for the establishment of a permanent Historic Trails Commission was recommended in order to peruse further work on the OSR, and to consider other historic trails and roads. The development of local interest groups for preservation and tourism, and cooperative efforts between state agencies was also recommended.

In many ways it was unfortunate that this project was so limited by time. Even so, there were major accomplishments including the SDHPT efforts at commemoration and the location of many of the route variations of the OSR. The locales of many historic sites were identified for the first time, and the research potential for the project was realized. Although this report is somewhat detailed, it represents only a small portion of the research potential. It is hoped that other scholars will be stimulated to develop a few of these topics and the public will become more aware of the Old San Antonio Road, the *caminos reales*, and the contributions such trails have made to the heritage of Texas.

For the benefit of future researchers, an outline of potential research topics derived from the SDHPT study of the Old San Antonio Road is presented in the following section.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORIC CONTEXT POTENTIAL RESEARCH TOPICS

A. Joachim McGraw and John W. Clark, Jr.

The SDHPT's cultural resources survey of the Old San Antonio Road and the *caminos reales* illustrates many meaningful contributions of these early trails to the history and development of Texas. Like many complex historical and archaeological studies, the conclusions of the project offers as many questions and potentials for further research as it answers or brings to light.

The significance of the OSR study should be measured not only by its sweeping but brief glimpse into the state's history but by the potential that such work will generate for future research. These topics of additional study, or research themes, are beyond the present scope of work and cannot be discussed in sufficient detail to address their contribution to Texas cultural heritage. The more obvious of these subjects are presented below, in outline form, for the review and consideration of future researchers.

I. HISTORIC INDIANS

A. Definition and distinctions of:

1. Protohistoric cultures and complexes
2. Historic contact
3. Native and intrusive
4. Antecedents

B. Historic Indian trade networks and routes of travel

1. Spanish and other early references to Indian trails in *diarios*, *derroteros*, journals
 - a. Núñez
 - b. Saint-Denis
 - c. La Salle
 - d. De León
 - e. Terán
 - f. Salinas Varona
 - g. Juan Sabeata
2. Economics
 - a. trade
 - b. subsistence
3. Transhumance
4. Warfare
5. Other later accounts
 - a. Berlandier
 - b. Austin

- C. Archaeological evidence
 - 1. Intrusive aboriginal materials
 - 2. Distribution of key index markers
 - 3. Distribution of raw (trade) materials
 - 4. Identifiable changes of the material culture
- D. Site locations
 - 1. Names of locales
 - 2. Relocation
- E. Languages/cultural groups
- F. Cultural relationships
 - 1. Aboriginal
 - 2. Intrusive
 - 3. External influences
 - 4. Antecedents and postcedents
 - a. adaptation
 - b. displacement
 - c. assimilation
 - d. decline
 - e. acculturation
 - f. evolution

II. THE SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD IN TEXAS

- A. Exploration along the *caminos reales*
 - 1. Stimuli
 - 2. Processes
 - 3. Effects/results
- B. Settlement
 - 1. Initial success and failure
 - 2. Permanent settlements
 - a. The Marqués de Aguayo
 - b. Rivera
 - c. Ybaro
 - d. The Marqués de Rubí
 - e. Cordero/Salcedo
 - f. Arredondo
 - 3. Internal/external influences
 - a. Indian
 - b. Physiographic/natural
 - c. European: French/English/Spanish Bourbon reforms
 - d. American Jeffersonian/Jacksonian/socio-economics
 - e. Hispanic socio-economic/political systems
 - 4. Economics
 - a. Factors of exploration
 - b. Resource utilization
 - (1) *reales de minas*
 - (2) salt trade
 - (3) subsistence agriculture

- (4) market agribusiness
 - (5) ranching
 - (6) contraband
 - (7) secondary road networks
 - 5. Socio-economic/political institutions
 - a. Missions
 - (1) acculturation
 - (2) economics: agriculture, ranching, manufacture
 - (3) labor
 - (4) secularization
 - b. Civil settlements
 - (1) *milicias*
 - (2) economics: agriculture and ranching
 - (3) communication
 - (4) government
 - (5) laws of foundation
 - (6) effects of war/conflict
 - c. Military/presidio
 - (1) relation to missions and civil settlements
 - (2) military/Indian depredations
 - (3) escort/mail/road maintenance
 - (4) government policies
- C. Territory stabilization
- D. Settlement patterns
- E. Factors of destabilization
- F. Artifact associations
 - 1. Townsites
 - a. San Marcos de Neve
 - b. Salcedo
 - c. Bucareli
 - d. San Francisco de los Tejas
 - 2. Artifact complexes at campsites
 - 3. Settlement patterns
 - 4. Site functions
 - 5. Refuse patterns
- G. Architectural styles
 - 1. Missions
 - 2. Bridges
 - 3. Ranches
 - 4. Materials

III. MEXICAN REPUBLIC AND EARLY ANGLO SETTLEMENT

- A. Post-revolution political developments
 - 1. *Patria Chica* (proventialism [Presidio vs. Militia])
 - 2. Federalism vs. Centralism
 - 3. Military frontier strategies

- B. Demographic changes, wars of independence
 - 1. Depopulation (Arredondo)
 - 2. Increased Indian activity
 - 3. Recolonization/ethnicity
 - a. Mexican
 - b. *empresarios*
 - c. squatters
- C. Economic changes
 - 1. Reorientation to market economy
 - 2. Orientation to riparian agriculture
- D. Internal/External influences
- E. Economic factors
- F. Road network changes
 - 1. Orientation to coast
 - 2. Administration
 - 3. Settlement expansion/reorganization
- G. Archaeological considerations*
 - 1. Settlement patterns
 - a. Intrasite
 - b. Intersite
 - c. Community
 - 2. Material culture
 - a. local
 - b. imports
 - c. utilitarian
 - d. non-utilitarian
 - 3. Site refuse patterns
 - 4. Patterns of artifact groups
 - 5. Archival documentation and interpretation
 - 6. Integration of archaeological and archival data
 - 7. Architecture as a historical-archaeological feature
- H. Architectural styles
 - 1. Missions
 - 2. Bridges
 - 3. Ranches
 - 4. Materials

IV. REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

- A. Political considerations
 - 1. Houston Party
 - 2. Lamar Party
 - 3. Annexation
 - 4. Indian problems (Rangers)
 - 5. Military strategies

6. Recognition

B. Colonization

1. Routes of immigration
2. Land grants
3. Ethnic groups
 - a. German
 - b. French
 - c. Anglo-Celts
 - d. Blacks
 - e. Tejanos
 - f. others

C. Economic changes

1. Cash crop vs. subsistence agriculture
2. Incipient industry

D. Internal/external influences

E. Economic factors

F. Roads

1. De-emphasis of OSR
2. County control of building
3. National road
4. Other roads development

G. Archaeological considerations

1. Settlement pattern
 - a. Rural vs. Urban
 - b. Relation of sites to roads
 - c. Relation to markets
2. Material culture (market system)*
 - a. Use of locally made artifacts
 - b. Imported artifacts
 - c. Utilitarian
 - d. Non-utilitarian
3. Site refuse patterns
4. Patterns of artifact groups
5. Archival documentation and interpretation
6. Integration of archival and archaeological data
7. Architecture

V. STATEHOOD TO THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

A. Political developments

1. State rights
2. Northern economic imperialism
3. Abolition issue

B. Demographic changes

1. Land incentives

2. Gold Rush
3. Ethnic groups and their relationships
4. Rural communities
- C. Economic changes
 1. Introduction of national market
 2. International market considerations
 3. Military presence and contribution to economy and development
- D. Internal/external influences
 1. Use of land for colonization and debt payment
 2. Mexican War and the Texas border
 3. National power struggle
- E. Economic factors
 1. Rural vs. Urban
 2. Development of monetary system in Texas
 3. Effects of economic depressions
 4. Development of initial industrialization
- F. Road network changes
 1. Military roads connecting forts
 2. Overland mail
 3. Administration
 4. Development of local market centers for rural areas
 5. Use of OSR and other roads during the Civil War
 6. Mexican cotton market in the Civil War
- G. Archaeological considerations
 1. Settlement patterns
 - a. Development of small towns
 - b. Orientation to roads and other routes of commerce
 - c. Site function
 2. Material culture
 - a. Local
 - b. Imports
 - c. Utilitarian
 - d. Non-utilitarian
 3. Site refuse patterns
 4. Patterns of artifact groups
 5. Archival documentation and interpretation
 6. Integration of archival and archaeological data
 7. Architecture
 8. Industrial sites

VI. RECONSTRUCTION AND LATE 19TH CENTURY

- A. Political developments
 1. Radical reconstruction
 2. Law and Order
 3. Disenfranchisement
 4. Democratic reaction

- B. Demographic changes
 - 1. Developments between ethnic groups
 - 2. European immigration
 - 3. Mexican immigration
 - 4. Development of urbanism
- C. Economic changes
 - 1. National market economy
 - 2. Development of tenant farming
 - 3. Reorientation from local markets to regional centers
- D. Internal/external influences
 - 1. Indian wars and development of military roads
 - 2. Expansion into Panhandle, West, and South Texas
 - 3. Spanish-American War
 - 4. Development of coastal centers
- E. Economic factors
 - 1. Cattle economy
 - 2. Railroads
 - a. railroad towns
 - b. national markets
 - c. company towns
 - d. industrial development
 - e. railroad effect on towns bypassed
 - 3. Destruction of large herds (mustangs, bison, cattle)
 - 4. Impact of barbed wire
 - 5. Technological developments in communication
 - 6. Cotton boom
- F. Road network changes
 - 1. Fencing the OSR
 - 2. Market centers and roads oriented to new markets
 - 3. Administration
 - 4. Urbanization
- G. Archaeological considerations
 - 1. Settlement patterns
 - a. intrasite
 - b. intersite
 - c. urban vs. rural
 - 2. Material culture
 - a. local artifacts
 - b. imports
 - c. utilitarian
 - d. non-utilitarian
 - 3. Site refuse patterns
 - 4. Patterns of artifact groups
 - 5. Archival documentation and interpretation
 - 6. Integration of archival and archaeological data
 - 7. Architecture
 - 8. Industrial sites

9. Company towns
10. Ethnic considerations

VII. EARLY 20TH CENTURY

- A. Political developments
 1. Populism
 2. One-party politics
 3. National level
- B. Demographic changes
 1. European immigration
 2. Mexican immigration
 3. Ethnic considerations developing Black civil rights
- C. Economic changes
 1. National market
 2. International market
 3. Local market
- D. Internal/external influences
 1. World War I
 2. Isolationism
 3. End of Indian Wars
- E. Economic factors
 1. Technology
 - a. telephone
 - b. automobile
 - c. aviation
 - d. packaging
 2. Recession, depression, booms
 3. Oil boom
 4. Industrialization
- F. Road network changes
 1. OSR abandoned
 2. DAR and Zivley
 3. Development of SDHPT
 4. Farm-to-Market road system
 5. Building Highway 21
 6. Changes in Highway 21 route and improvements
 7. County road system
 8. Development of federal participation
 9. Urbanization
- G. Archaeological considerations
 1. Settlement patterns
 - a. urban/rural
 - b. intersite
 - c. intrasite
 - d. special function sites

2. Material culture
 - a. local artifacts
 - b. imports
 - c. utilitarian/non-utilitarian
3. Site refuse patterns
4. Patterns of artifact groups
5. Archival documentation and interpretation
6. Integration of archival and archaeological data
7. Architecture

*Evolution of kinship groups (genealogy).

PART III: THE PRESERVATION PLAN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESERVATION PLAN

In 1989, avocational historians in Bastrop and San Augustine Counties and the Texas Historical Commission encouraged state legislators to commemorate the 1991 tricentennial (also tercentenary or tricentenary) of the early Spanish route to East Texas. Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2, July 1989, addressed the state's interest in identifying and preserving that route. The resolution did not distinguish between the route of exploration that Terán de los Ríos employed to reach the first Spanish mission in East Texas and the later Anglo-American route called the Old San Antonio Road.

The 1989 legislation reflects the state's interest in identifying and preserving the history of the Old San Antonio Road. The Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (SDHPT) in cooperation with the Texas Historical Commission (THC) has prepared a historic preservation plan to identify and protect cultural and natural resources, as well as the scenic attributes, associated with the road.

The Resolution also authorized the creation of the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission (OSRPC). This Preservation commission was directed to: (1) advise the SDHPT staff preparing the preservation plan; (2) inform the public about the road's historical significance and recreational potential; (3) mark historic sites along the road; and (4) promote tourism along the road. To facilitate their work, the commissioners appointed an advisory board consisting of interested parties.

THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD TODAY A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- (1) The OSR and the associated *caminos reales* consisted of various routes in various seasons and years. Weather, Indian relations, terrain, destinations, and modes of transportation all influenced choice of route.
- (2) The Daughters of the American Revolution authorized the placement of historical markers along or near one route of the OSR in the 1920s, following a survey by V. N. Zivley. In some areas (notably southwest of San Antonio), the markers have been moved from their original sites or they mark a route for which Zivley had incorrect information, or both.
- (3) The current disposition of the route marked by Zivley in 1915-1916, involved two general patterns—northeast of San Antonio much of it is on public property, typically roadway or right-of-way; southwest of San Antonio, most is on private property, typically ranchland. Any type of preservation effort must recognize these variations.

- (4) Any sections of the original routes still on public land could continue to be narrowly defined and marked as one long strip of right-of-way, much as the DAR had treated it. If initiated, interpretive markers, maps, and brochures could be keyed to specific sections of extant road and sites still on or contiguous to it. Alternately, some type of corridor in which one or several routes comprise the key historical element may be considered. Additional elements might be included to provide historic context. Historical structures, archaeological sites, and significant geological and natural areas might fall within the parameters of a "heritage corridor." With wide latitudes of area and time, the corridor concept requires well-defined interpretations of historic context, yet acknowledges time-layered uses of resources (for example, land, roadways, and structures). A heritage corridor may be designed to include both public and private property.
- (5) This plan considers the historic context and current status of the Old San Antonio Roads by county. While the county summaries help in assessing the OSR remnants to date, land-use planning and coordination at the county, local, and regional levels will be key elements in any future developments.
- (6) It should be noted that the year 1992 involves two significant anniversaries related to *El Camino Real*. In that year, Spain and the U.S. will celebrate the Columbian Quincentennial, marking Christopher Columbus' contact with the Americas and Spain's subsequent influence here. Numerous government, private organizations, and international interests will collaborate in this international commemoration. Also in 1992, the SDHPT celebrates its 75th anniversary.
- (7) The states of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, and Chiapas have initiated efforts to mark and interpret *El Camino Real* in Mexico. In general, officials and academicians look to the Columbian Quincentenary as a key deadline for identifying the major routes and completing at least a minimal marking system along Mexico's highways. Meantime, several Louisiana officials also want to cooperate with Texas commemorations by marking the route through their state as well.

THE SCOPE OF THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN

by Roy E. Graham

This Historic Preservation Plan (HPP) is a systematic approach to coordinating the preservation, protection, and interpretation of this unique Texas resource with tourism development and heritage marketing. It will enable the State of Texas to guide all ongoing activities that might affect the scenic, aesthetic, and historic resources on one of the most important colonial routes in the United States. Moreover, the various *caminos reales* are a great opportunity for Texans and out of state visitors to realize the rich history of the development and civilization of Texas from the earliest point of discovery by Europeans to the latest interurban surge. In developing this Historic Preservation Plan, the planners hope to assure the citizens of the state the legacy, preservation, and potential development of the *caminos reales* for the foreseeable future.

As many federal, state, and local governmental conservation measures as possible were involved and a description of how the general public should and could be involved in the project has been projected. Indeed, the public can be the final perpetuators of the *caminos reales* in Texas. With the Quincentennial celebration of the landing of Columbus in 1992, the Spanish Colonial routes are a natural element to be commemorated at that time.

The preservation plan should be made a regular part of the on-going activities of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (SDHPT) and all other state agencies which must utilize many different types of procedures for preserving the historic resources. The preservation program will be best accomplished through a series of steps. Consideration should be given to a permanent body or commission authorized to do so on behalf of the state for the review and coordination of this process. These basic steps and their goals and objectives are summarized below.

1. Identification of historic resources

An initial contextual analysis has been made of the cultural resources along the corridor through Texas established by the SDHPT using extant documentation supplied by the Texas Historical Commission (THC) and the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD). These contexts could include: cultural factors, market systems, climatography, settlement patterns, and environmental factors affecting the routes.

2. Completion and consolidation of all inventories and existing data

An inventory was compiled from extant information supplied by the THC and TPWD. These lists included not only existing historic sites, from the National Register for

Historic Places, the Registered Texas Landmark list, and the eligible property listing, but also natural and recreational resources and protected species habitats now recognized by the SDHPT.

Each of these properties was evaluated according to its historic, architectural, archaeological, environmental, or scenic merit.

3. On-site investigation, evaluation, and documentation

To this inventory should be added the additional inventories existing at various universities which have compiled their own documents on historic sites which are associated with the *caminos reales*.

In addition, consideration should be given to a new, more comprehensive survey to be made in the immediate future of all other properties of a historic nature to determine if they are eligible for any of the registers. This will enable a complete plotting of all these resources as they pertain to each context and in the counties immediately adjacent to the *caminos reales*. Priorities of the cultural resources should be established according to the standards of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and with the consultation of the THC.

Nomination forms could be prepared for those properties that appear to be eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The Registered Texas Landmark listing should be checked for those eligible properties as well as existing listings of eligible properties.

Historic Structure Reports, or at least an existing condition report (HABS Level III) could be made for all the properties identified as first priority. This should be coordinated with the THC and various schools of architecture in Texas that have courses in measured drawings of historic architecture as part of their programs.

4. Guidelines for development of a resource management plan for all cultural resources which address measures for preservation and interpretation.

Limitations of modification or usage might be placed on each historic resource according to its determined category of significance. The interaction of various parties and the management of the HPP should require the coordination of agencies such as the THC, TPWD, SDHPT, and other local, state, and federal agencies involved.

Individual preservation programs and memoranda of agreement (MOA) should be considered for historic properties based on the appropriate preservation technique, such as rehabilitation, preservation, or restoration. All buildings and other tangible sites should have stabilization and maintenance plans. In the case of a government-owned resource, the method of interpretation would be an additional item of concern.

Programs for each historic property should be coordinated with the overall preservation program and with the preservation programs of THC and TPWD.

5. Additional research

Additional historical research must be undertaken whenever necessary. Generally, the extent of documentation required for a particular historic resource will be determined by the following factors: the value of existing available documentation, the significance of the historic property, the type of preservation to be implemented, and the specific phase of the preservation activity being undertaken, *e.g.*, survey, nomination, maintenance, *etc.*

6. Program for tourism development

Much research has already been completed on management systems created for the preservation and marketing of historic routes (refer to the next chapter "Preservation Concept").

7. Development of management systems

Consideration should be given to the formation of a group (tentatively called the Texas Historic Trails Commission, THTC) created for the express purpose of managing the HPP for the *caminos reales*. This group could be given the additional responsibility of overseeing the management and preservation of the historic resources and the interpretation of additional, other routes of historic roads in Texas. The general duties of this commission could be as follows:

- a. Meet regularly or at least three times a year. More frequent meetings may be necessary in order to respond to problems, to evaluate inventoried properties, to nominate places to the National Register, and to evaluate and promote tourism and interpretation.
- b. Review and recommend action to be taken on all completed inventory forms and evaluate them according to categories of significance.
- c. Review and recommend action to be taken on all activities and decisions that may affect a historic property or its environment.
- d. Review and recommend action to be taken on all actions proposed on historic properties.
- e. Review and oversee development of all historic property programs and the *caminos reales* HPP.
- f. Assist state agencies in developing programs for tourism and visitors that include the historic properties associated with the roads.
- g. Assist in publicizing historic trails, their historic resources, and the interpretation of the route.
- h. Recommend policies on preservation and enhancement of the cultural and historic environment.

- i. Establish and coordinate the program (in coordination with THC) to preserve, restore, or rehabilitate designated properties and sites of historical, architectural, archaeological, or environmental significance.
- j. Maintain, as part of an inventory, a record of all properties designated historic by the HPP of in subsequent inventories.
- k. Review and evaluate construction programs and master plans developed along the routes of the *caminos reales* to minimize or eliminate adverse impacts on properties of historic, architectural, archaeological, or environmental significance.
- l. Insure that all actions undertaken with this guidance have been coordinated, where applicable, with local historical societies, THC, and all other local, state, and federal agencies.
- m. Issue guidance and promote technical assistance on the development and execution of historic preservation projects.
- n. Provide guidance and advice in fund-raising projects undertaken by private organizations designated to do so on behalf of the *caminos reales*.

The proposed THTC might include a full-time executive director who would be responsible for the continued efforts of the group and for the coordination necessary with all state agencies, local organizations, and individuals concerning the preservation and interpretation of the *caminos reales* and other historic trails.

A nonprofit organization should be formed to conduct private surveys, raise funds, and spearhead promotional themes for heritage marketing.

The *caminos reales* should be promoted for designation as a National Historic Trail under the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543, as amended), with certification of individual structures and historic resources for preservation and marketing. In addition, when the State of Texas participates in the Scenic Byway Program, the *caminos reales* should be a candidate for that designation as well.

A long-term financial strategy and plan of action must be developed for revenues and grants from the national, state, and local levels as well as from private sources and foundations.

Finally, the HPP sets up long-range objectives, such as complying with existing state and federal laws concerning preservation, tourism promotion, and above all, increasing awareness of the historic corridor to the citizens of Texas. The plan identifies short-range tasks which implement the longer range goals. These would include proclamations, signs, maps, brochures, and other easily and economically feasible projects.

In developing the HPP, a study was made of other historic resource plans produced by federal agencies, other states, and various private groups with similar historic routes to preserve. The *caminos reales* and the resource configuration were found to be unique, and no entire existing plan in another part of the country serves as a complete model for the preservation and future development of the project envisioned here. However, parts of several existing preservation plans were used in developing a tailored plan for the *caminos*

reales. One of the most important aspects in the development of the HPP for the Texas *caminos reales* is the fact that many of the most important sites and the continuation of the routes lie in areas outside Texas. The Louisiana/Natchez/Florida connections with Colonial French and additional Spanish routes are very important because the capital of Texas was at Los Adaes (in present Louisiana) for 50 years. The State of Louisiana is embarking on a similar preservation plan that will need to be compatible with the Texas project.

Similarly, governmental officials in Mexico, which own what was one of the most important presidios on the Rio Grande and the *caminos reales*, el Presidio del Río Grande (now Guerrero, Coahuila) have expressed and demonstrated strong official interest in the possibility of that site as an international cultural park. The National Park Service, the Texas Parks and Wildlife Commission, and the Texas Historical Commission have all expressed interest in the study of this possibility.



ASUNTO:

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT
ON TEXAS AND COAHUILA HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

WHEREAS, the State of Coahuila and the State of Texas were for many years a part of the same state under Spanish rule and were later under the rule of the Mexican government, and Coahuila, through the mission and presidio complex at San Juan Bautista, located on the Camino Real, was the gateway to Hispanic Texas; and

WHEREAS, the mission complex at San Juan Bautista was the cradle of Texas civilization, serving as the staging area for the founding of missions in the state of Texas, for the military campaigns into Texas, and for the settlement of Texas, including, in 1731, the Canary Island families that founded San Antonio, Texas; and

WHEREAS, the capital of the state of Coahuila y Texas was, on several occasions, located in Monclova; and

WHEREAS, the historical sites documenting the joint history of the states of Texas and Coahuila are essential in preserving and studying this common heritage; and

WHEREAS, the story of that joint history is contained in the historical archives of both states; and

WHEREAS, by virtue of our shared past, individuals and institutions in both states desire to continue to study that past and to visit those historical sites; and

WHEREAS, this historical relationship continues through cultural, linguistic, commercial, and economic ties;

THEREFORE, the parties hereto do mutually agree to the following:

The governors of the states of Coahuila and Texas request that the Secretary for Education and Culture for the state of Coahuila and the President of the University of Texas at Austin:

1. Develop for their respective states an action plan and cooperate to create a museum of Texas and Coahuila history to be located in Monclova; and
2. Develop for their respective states an action plan and cooperate to research, restore and interpret for the visitor the important historical sites relating to the mission complex of San Juan

Figure 34. Cooperative Agreement on Texas and Coahuila Historical Preservation.

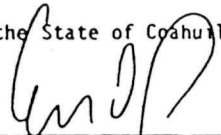


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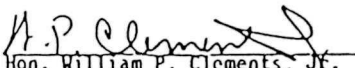
Bautista, including the Presidio (now the municipality of Guerrero), and Mission of San Juan Bautista and Mission San Bernardo, which played a significant role in the history of both states, and publicize historical sites of common interest on both sides of the border, as well as identify materials in historical archives in both states that may be microfilmed and exchanged.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties have executed this agreement in the City of Austin, Texas, on this the 27th day of April, 1988.

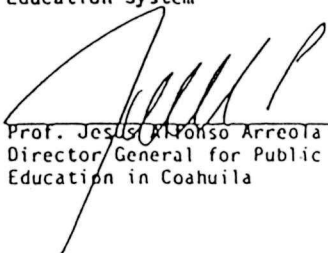
For the State of Coahuila


Lic. Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto
Governor, State of Coahuila

For the State of Texas


Hon. William P. Clements, Jr.
Governor, State of Texas

For the State of Coahuila Public Education System


Prof. Jesus Alfonso Arreola Perez
Director General for Public Education in Coahuila

For the University of Texas at Austin

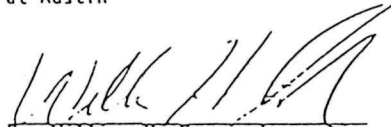
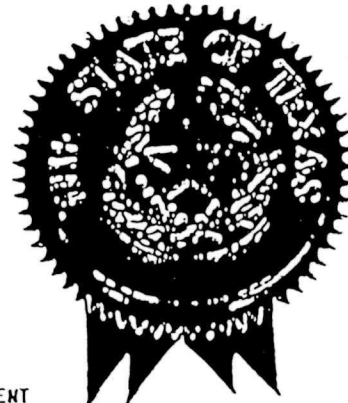

Dr. William H. Cunningham
President, University of Texas at Austin

Figure 34. (Continued)



PODER EJECUTIVO



A S U N T O :

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT
TO ENHANCE INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, AND TOURISM RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE STATES OF COAHUILA, MEXICO AND TEXAS, U.S.A.

WHEREAS, the federal governments of Mexico and the United States of America are permanently engaged in the development of mutual understanding via framework agreements; and

WHEREAS, according to our respective constitutions it is possible and convenient to agree to establish means for collaboration between peoples and states that share a common border, and that foster a better relationship and reciprocal development; and

WHEREAS, the State of Coahuila has one of the most active state economies in Mexico, occupying first place nationally in non-petroleum exports such as automobiles, motors, farm equipment, steel, cattle, textiles, etc.; and

WHEREAS, the State of Texas' major industrial centers such as Dallas, Houston and San Antonio are in close proximity to Coahuila and are easily accessible by both air and ground transportation; and

WHEREAS, the State of Coahuila has the headquarters of over forty of Mexico's largest companies and shares a 223-mile border with Texas; and

WHEREAS, major metropolitan areas in Texas hold the headquarters and major offices of over 151 Fortune 500 companies in the United States; and

WHEREAS, both Coahuila and Texas could greatly benefit from enhanced effort to vigorously pursue joint industrial and commercial projects that encourage business linkages; to maximize the comparative economic advantages of our two states.

THEREFORE, We the Governors of the States of Coahuila, Mexico, and Texas, U.S.A., do hereby agree to promote and facilitate joint economic development opportunities and direct Coahuila's State Commission for Border Development and any other appropriate agencies and the Texas Department of Commerce to develop and execute a working agreement between the two agencies to include:

1. Promotion and creation of awareness of maquiladora and other production sharing venture benefits to business and economic development in both states.
2. Endorsement of the establishment of a State of Coahuila office in Texas, as well as office space in Saltillo, Coahuila for Texas, to promote joint investment and industrial, tourism, and commercial projects that open up markets and create jobs in Texas as well as in Coahuila.

Figure 35. Cooperative Agreement to Enhance Industrial, Commercial, and Tourism Relations between the States of Coahuila, Mexico and Texas, U.S.A.



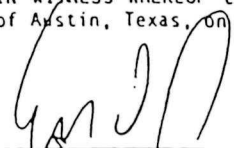
PODER EJECUTIVO

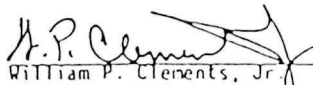


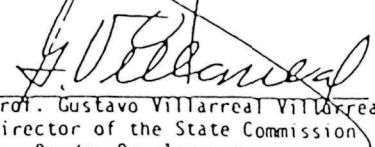
ASUNTO:

3. Establishment of stronger linkages between the Texas State Office and the Coahuila State Office in Mexico City to jointly pursue economic development opportunities for both states.
4. Encouragement of cooperation between the respective business associations and chambers of commerce (among others CANACINTRA, FECANACO, the Texas Association of Business and the Texas Chamber of Commerce) in both the State of Coahuila and the State of Texas in order to establish stronger private sector business linkages.
5. Development of joint programs to promote a "Vacation-in-Two-Nations" project. This may include jointly funded advertising promotions, distribution of Coahuila tourism promotional materials in Texas and vice-versa, and a sharing with Coahuila of the extensive mailing list of persons from other states who have expressed an interest in visiting Texas, and also the joint examination of tourism procedures to advance more efficient tourism flows between both states.
6. Establishment of a joint program to promote the development of a similarly protected ecological area adjoining Big Bend National Park and the Coahuila area known as Boquillas del Carmen to its full potential as a tourist attraction.
7. A joint plan of action with clearly defined goals to promote industrial, commercial, tourism, and business opportunities and linkages between the two states.
8. Creation of a State of Coahuila/Texas Commission which will be responsible for identifying economic, industrial, commercial, tourism, agriculture, livestock and fishing industry development opportunities as well as education, health and the environment along the border.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties have executed this agreement in the City of Austin, Texas, on this the 27th day of April, 1988.


Lic. Elixio Mendoza Berrueto
Governor of Coahuila


William P. Clements, Jr.
Governor of Texas


Prof. Gustavo Villarreal Villarreal
Director of the State Commission
for Border Development



Edward U. Vetter
Chairman of the Board,
Texas Department of Commerce

Figure 35. (Continued)

PRESERVATION CONCEPTS

CONSIDERATIONS FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND COORDINATION

by Sherilyn R. Brandenstein

In order to assess options for preserving and coordinating interpretation of the Old San Antonio Road, the OSR Project staff examined a range of historic resource plans and studies from similar projects in several other states. Four of these involved a geographic element, such as a canal or river. The fifth route system connects non-contiguous sites with a common Indian origin.

The most successful plans in other states have been implemented by collaborations of organized and committed constituent groups advised by experienced technical teams (usually from government or academia). Essential to the long-term viability of preserving an extensive trail or corridor is a balance in the constituency's and technical team's commitment and influence.

Few of the coordinating agents studied have purchased properties. Instead, they have assisted rehabilitation, certification, interpretation, and marketing of existing properties owned by member groups. Typically, property ownership and management remains with individuals and/or agencies having membership in councils or commissions; the latter oversee planning and coordination.

Regionally Coordinated Theme-linked Sites

A regional network of governments and commercial groups coordinates tourism marketing for multiple sites and events linked by a thematic (and, in some cases, a geographic) element. The parameters of the project area may take in a narrow strip or a wide corridor. The network solicits volunteers, hires its own staff, and/or contracts for services, especially for developing resource surveys, historical interpretation, and tourism marketing plans. The regional entity's work complements local, state, or federal efforts in historical interpretation and economic development, but coordination and oversight belong to the regional organization.

The Alamo-La Bahía Historical Corridor, along the San Antonio River in Texas, exemplifies this approach. Though it contains significant historic sites, the corridor was created more to promote tourism than to preserve historic structures or routes. The Alamo Area Council of Governments has formed a task force to develop the corridor.

State Government(s)-Coordinated Historic Route

Agencies of one or more states collaborate to identify a route, then develop surveys, plans, and interpretive services to preserve and market it. In general, attention is focused more on the historic route itself than on properties or sites affiliated with it. The states may authorize private and scholarly groups to administer resource surveys, historic preservation plans, and interpretive materials. The state agencies then designate an approved strip and related sites for inclusion in on-going interpretive and marketing plans.

An example of this arrangement is the coordination of a western branch of El Camino Real by the states of New Mexico and Chihuahua. Their joint project involves public right-of-way stretching over hundreds of miles and crossing an international boundary. Though the states do not oversee property management beyond the right-of-way, they are procuring interpretive services regarding the route's history (see Note 1, at end of chapter).

In Oregon, a governor's advisory commission has prepared a plan for protecting and developing the Oregon Trail within state boundaries. The National Park Service already had identified large sections of this historic trail from Missouri through Oregon. The governor's commission enabled six departments of state government to collaborate on increasing public awareness of and visitation to trail sites. The state's preservation and interpretive efforts will culminate in 1993, the sesquicentennial of the trail.

Federal, State, and Private Cooperation for National Historic Trail

This arrangement has been used to administrate and interpret narrowly defined historic and scenic trails, mostly for hiking, biking, or horseback riding, which cross varied jurisdictions—federal, state, county, city, and private. The routes themselves are the focus of designation and interpretation.

Non-federal entities agree to maintain the historic and interpretive integrity of their trail-related property in order to obtain National Park Service (NPS) certification. The NPS designation makes them eligible for: (1) federal tax credits, (2) federal technical advice in historic preservation and interpretation, (3) NPS-produced interpretive resources (brochures, maps, audiovisual materials, and staff presentations), and (4) NPS marketing, including trail markers. Generally, state governments assist by enacting legislation which protects private landowners from liability when recreational visitors use their property at no charge.

The National Park Service is collaborating with five states and the Santa Fe Trail Association, comprised of private property owners, to coordinate the 1,200-mile-long Santa Fe National Historic Trail. The trail's historic emphasis is the network of commercial overland routes which 19th-century North American wagoneers traveled between the Mississippi River and Santa Fe. Ninety percent in private ownership, the designated trail will be accessible for hiking and horseback riding and for limited auto touring in places. The NPS has identified 199 historic sites and landmarks and 30 wagon rut sections with

high potential for interpretation and recreation. Non-federal property owners along the trail must grant permission for the NPS to erect trail markers on their land and admit visitors (see Note 2, below).

Federal, State, and Local Cooperation For National Heritage Corridor

In a few cases, the National Park Service works with state and local agencies to oversee heritage corridors. These corridors, broad in area and purpose, are each linked by a common feature. The heritage corridor is designed to maximize historic and scenic preservation, public recreation and education, and economic development along a roadway or waterway. Typically, it has wide geographic and temporal scope. Consequently, federal, state, and local collaborators must determine how best to delineate each entity's authority and maintain unity on resource preservation and interpretive priorities. To date, Congress has authorized and funded each corridor administration individually.

The oldest such authority is the Illinois & Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor. It runs for 100 miles from Chicago's West Side to Peru, Illinois, in a four- to twelve-mile-wide swath that takes in the 42 communities, as well as parks, nature preserves, historic landmarks, and industrial sites. The corridor addresses several key themes: (1) canal transportation within Midwestern industrial and commercial history, (2) major historical settlement and architecture patterns in the Illinois/Chicago River Valleys, and (3) significant local geological and botanical resources. The 19-member corridor commission includes the NPS regional director and representatives of the State of Illinois, counties, industry, history and architecture groups, and conservationists (see Note 3, below).

The national heritage corridor concept seems to be in a nascent stage. According to the NPS Southwest Regional staff, the Park Service is still developing guidelines for heritage corridors, and, to date, it has not created any such corridor in the Southwest. It is possible to have the NPS study an area to determine its potential for heritage corridor status.

Federal- or State-Coordinated Thematic Auto Route

A federal or state agency establishes a tour route linking non-contiguous, agency-owned sites which share a cultural, biological, or historical theme and which meet certain standards of maintenance and interpretive services. (Extra-agency properties may be included if they meet agency standards for thematic integrity, maintenance, and interpretative services.) In this case, the historic or cultural sites have greater significance than the auto route linking them. The route is planned to maximize access to cultural and scenic attractions and tourist accommodations for various trip lengths.

The coordinating agency employs existing sites and public roads, but improves interpretive and marketing services to increase visitation. In time, the agency may choose

to restrict any site where the volume of visitation threatens the property's integrity or to add new sites developed to meet agency criteria (see Note 4, below).

The National Park Service is planning a vehicular touring route to promote visitation at NPS-owned Anasazi Indian sites in Arizona and New Mexico. The Southwest NPS office encourages managers of any non-NPS Anasazi sites appropriate for inclusion on the tour routes to form an association and set up cooperative agreements with NPS to have their properties added to the tour (see Note 5, below). The State of Wisconsin coordinates a similar network of roads and biking trails linking sites, mostly state-owned, where evidence of historic glaciation has been protected and interpreted for visitors.

Any state also may combine a historic-sites tour with a scenic byway. Administered and promoted by state highway departments, scenic byways encourage improvement, interpretation, and marketing of significant roadways using federal matching funds. Scenic byways may, but need not, account for historic sites and structures adjacent to highway property.

Following are some examples of preservation plans from other states. The concepts reviewed here serve as preservation and tourism considerations for the OSR preservation project.

Example: The Oregon Trail (1988)

The Oregon Trail Council had three years to identify and make suggestions for managing a trail segment within the state of Oregon. (The entire trail stretches from Missouri to the Pacific.) The goal was to balance historic preservation and economic promotion.

The Council was composed of seven voting members appointed by the governor and three *ex officio* members representing the Oregon Historical Society, State Parks Division, and the Oregon Department of Transportation. The legislature provided modest state funding for secretarial support. The already existing Oregon-California Trails Association was very active in promoting state protection and interpretation of the Oregon Trail.

First Phase:

- a. Identify the routes, with assistance from NPS.
- b. Design and install trail signs directing visitors to nearby information kiosks, historic sites, and hiking segments.
- c. Solicit help from local historical societies to identify private landowners along the trail.
- d. Coordinate the marking of exact routes by state and federal agencies, local governments, and private landowners.

Recommendations of the Oregon Trail Council

1. Give the trail high priority as a state project with focus toward the 150th-anniversary celebration in 1993.
2. Allocate funds for and hire a full-time director to carry out coordinating functions through 1993 (director is affiliated with a state agency).
3. Coordinate trail activities between key state agencies:
 - a. Governor plays a key role in promoting the trail, especially in relation to landowners along trail.
 - b. Economic development/tourism agency develops a trail map and includes trail information in general tourism materials about Oregon.
 - c. Land Conservation and Development Commission works with county planning agencies to ensure local protection of the trail.
 - d. Oregon Department of Transportation is repairing existing information kiosks, installing new highway signs and unstaffed kiosks, and marking graves on highway right-of-way. This department coordinates its kiosk design and development with the Parks Department, which manages other kiosks.
 - e. State Parks Division is updating and maintaining kiosks on its properties, is acquiring and developing a specific trail site, and is funding nominations of trail sites to the National Register of Historic Places.
 - f. Department of Education provides information on the Oregon Trail within the public school history curriculum, encourages state symposia on trail history at colleges, and promotes scholarly research regarding the trail.
 - g. Oregon Historical Society serves as a state repository for trail research and expands its assistance to county historical societies in order to upgrade their trail programming and research (especially regarding diaries and accounts of trail use).
4. Continue cooperation with federal agencies already developing trail resources and establish working agreements with others still to be contacted. Also, the governor should be in contact with federal sources of funding for historic property preservation and management.
5. Develop a series of coordinated visitor centers—unstaffed and staffed. The National Park Service should provide guidance on scope and design, with the trail director coordinating development of the entire set. Request combination of state and federal (NPS) funds to create and operate them.
6. Finish signing highways and marking trail routes.
7. Promote protection of trail resources on private land, with encouragement from the governor. If necessary, consider a tax credit program later.
8. Give priority to historical accuracy in interpretation and protection of trail resources by developing management standards and ways to enforce them. If overuse degrades sites, access should be restricted.

9. In a later phase, set up program to recognize the secondary routes which branched off of the Oregon Trail.
10. Promote designation of Oregon City, the trail's westernmost terminus, as a National Historic Site. Develop a large-scale interpretive complex there, including a living history area to dramatize early settlement life and river front activities.

A designated advisory council solicited public comments on the draft report at seven towns along the trail route. Citizens emphasized a desire for accurate and informative map brochures in several languages to distribute to visitors and sought good direction from and coordination between state agencies (and between Oregon and adjoining states) in planning trail information. Many citizens asked for more opportunities for educating children about the trail. Much concern was expressed of the need that private owners of trail resources be informed of the value of these sites and the need to preserve them. Others expressed concerns about trespassing on private land affiliated with the trail.

Oregon's governor also commented on the draft report. He asked for the public hearings noted above. Also, he requested a list of trail-related projects that could be accomplished quickly with minimal funding and maximum volunteer citizen participation, especially involving young people.

Example: Oregon Historic and Scenic Highway Program (1986)

During Oregon's 1983 legislative session, widespread support for preserving major historic and scenic features of the Oregon highway system resulted in a mandate for a preservation study. The legislature directed the Oregon Department of Transportation to study the features of state highways and to designate particular highway segments and/or related structures for preservation.

The Highway Division had assistance from an eight-member citizen advisory committee in creating an inventory of significant sites and segments. The initial staff inventory accounted for:

- Highway segments with remarkable vistas, especially those with landforms, vegetation, or aesthetic appeal unique to the region
- Highway segments or structures which embody key historical values, especially as they illustrate the state's development
- Highway segments or structures with "unique design or construction features" and/or features associated with a noted designer or architect
- Recognition of significant historic or scenic values of these highways by the local population and publicity in local or regional travel promotional literature

In a second stage, the staff ranked the road segments according to their beauty and/or historical significance, their recognition-value statewide, and their relative use as destinations or preferred routes for travelers. After the ranking was completed, a Senate committee required that the staff separate the segments into two categories: features *within* highway right-of-way and highway segments that offer noteworthy scenic views *outside* right-of-way.

The segments/features inside the right-of-way were recommended for inclusion in a Senate bill designating and setting policies for Oregon's historic and scenic highways. They are mostly bridges, historic roadways and rockwork walls. Scenic qualities apparently received secondary consideration. Only recently has the Oregon highway division begun writing criteria for scenic highways with notable views beyond the right-of-way.

Oregon Senate Bill 263 authorized restoration (if needed), protection, and signage for features having "historic, engineering, recreational, scenic and tourism significance." It outlines state maintenance and construction procedures, as well as tourism development policies, for these protected highway features. Proposed deletions from or additions to the list of designated highway areas are to be evaluated annually.

Example: National Trust for Historic Preservation's Case Studies of Scenic Byways

The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) is concerned with historic resources along scenic byways, and especially preservation of resources in light of the increased visitation scenic byways are intended to generate. NTHP favors a holistic preservation approach which accounts for tourism impact in advance. This study was designed to: (1) identify preservation techniques, (2) provide several examples of each technique, (3) determine the efficacy of these techniques regarding resource protection, tourism promotion, and safety, and (4) prepare a draft report on the case studies. Highway case studies were selected for diversity in geography, jurisdiction, and protection techniques.

A report, *Overview of Scenic Byways*, describes the variety of designation criteria used, especially among federal and state agencies. The report mentions that "no state program isolates *historic* byways for special promotion or protection" (NTHP 19XX:10). Generally, states have preferred not to acquire land beyond the right-of-way or acquire easements for protecting scenic byways, but Washington and New Hampshire have used National Highway Beautification Act funding to do both.

AN OVERVIEW OF PRESERVATION TECHNIQUES

Fee-simple ownership ensures all rights "not specifically restricted by a government entity."

Scenic/conservation easements provide acquisition of certain limited rights to, or interests in, (another's) real property. They are agreements that the land will be restricted from certain specified uses that might compromise its scenic or historic qualities.

Zoning and related ordinances. A zoning ordinance contains both a map showing various land uses by area and boundaries and the ordinance text detailing the development guidelines for each type of zone. Also, the ordinance may include "overlay zones" pertaining to specific purposes, *i.e.*, highways or historic districts. Within these, special restrictions apply to all land regardless of its zoning.

Comprehensive plans project future expectations onto properties, accounting for anticipated changes. But unless zoning ordinances evolve from them, they are little more than guidelines since they lack the force of law.

Policy statements by governmental bodies may provide "a measure of protection" for scenic or cultural resources, especially in combination with citizen support or zoning ordinances.

Tax incentives are reduced tax rates on land retained in an undeveloped or "open-space" condition, *i.e.*, an incentive *not* to develop (or, regarding a historic structure, to preserve or restore it to enhance historical authenticity). These incentives do not always work, because local jurisdictions often prefer not to lower the tax base, and landowners may want to retain the option to develop their property eventually.

Local initiatives include specific beautification and cleanup campaigns, fund-raising, and lobbying for resource preservation.

Scenic designation includes markers, signage, and interpretive materials to educate the public regarding the byway/structure significance. These may lead to other preservation measures, but do not themselves protect resources.

CASE STUDIES

THE BLUE RIDGE PARKWAY: A 470-mile federal highway between national parks in Virginia (north) and North Carolina and Tennessee (south-southwest). The Parkway offers a scenic, leisurely, ridgetop drive through wide right-of-way with few intersections, access points, billboards, commercialism, or ugly views. Participating states acquired property rights via *fee-simple purchase* (125 acres per parkway mile) and *scenic easement* (25 acres per parkway mile). Certain agricultural uses have been allowed to continue in places within specific guidelines.

The Parkway is a historic resource itself (New Deal work project). It also takes in 280 wayside exhibits regarding historic, cultural, and environmental resources, including sites on the National Register of Historic Places.

Techniques: The parkway includes more than 87,000 acres, of which 77,000 are owned by the NPS. It has 1,300 acres in scenic easement, the technique studied in this report. Easements have been expensive and challenging for NPS to prevent tree-cutting and building of residences or farm structures.

The agency generally has employed land exchanges to solve conflicts over easement restrictions. Where the right-of-way is narrow, *i.e.*, where no public/preservation areas front it, scenic easements have proven inadequate to preserve "the viewshed." An NPS study (1974) notes the management problems derived from older vague parkway easement language. New parkway guidelines provide more specific language about the scenic elements to be preserved. Also, the 1988 parkway plan calls for cooperative agreements with local government to exchange information for enhanced planning and zoning to protect the parkway and its viewsheds.

ROUTE 75, SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA: A 140-mile, two-lane road, of which 90 miles abuts or crosses the mountainous recreation area in the Sawtooth National Forest, Idaho. The United States Forest Service (USFS) worked with the State Highway Department to reroute most traffic around this segment of (former) US 93, retaining the scenic, leisurely ambience of current Route 75. The USFS and the Idaho Tourism Department now jointly promote the scenic route and offer interpretive audio-cassettes to visitors.

Techniques: The USFS has employed *fee-simple acquisition* of some land, but has used *scenic easements* more typically. (For 75 percent of private lands in the recreational area boundaries, most of it in agricultural/ranching use). The USFS regulations and management plan guide development and use; for example, subdivision of land is prohibited. Three communities front the road and have no easement arrangements, but the USFS is working on design and use restrictions, despite past resistance. Some landowners are using the USFS voluntary certification program agreeing to restricted property uses in exchange for protection from USFS acquisition/condemnation.

As in the Blue Ridge Parkway, scenic easements have been upheld, in general, but at a great cost to the USFS, partially due to vague wording. Other preservation techniques along the route have proven difficult to implement often because county and state governments have resisted federal intervention in local affairs. In some cases, the Trust for Public Lands has negotiated with landowners on behalf of the USFS to acquire property or easements.

ROUTE 5, RICHMOND TO WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA: This route, connecting numerous colonial-era historic sites, falls within five jurisdictions—the two cities and three counties. The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) study only examined the counties' stance regarding preservation. Much of the property adjacent to the road in the counties is in private ownership, used for agriculture or tourism (*i.e.*, historic

plantations). James City County has a fast-growing population. In the past decade, since Route 5 was designated a "Virginia Byway," traffic has increased dramatically in James City County, moderately in Charles City County, the most rural county, and negligibly in Henrico County.

Techniques: Other than gaining distinctive signage, a Virginia Byway has no state-sponsored enhancement or preservation but the generic Junkyard Law and the Litter Control Act. A road with byway designation seems to gain no special consideration when the state transportation department plans widening or straightening to meet traffic and safety concerns. Nor does Virginia promote byways for tourism.

The state prefers to grant the byway designation to roads in jurisdictions with planning and zoning. State law enables, but does not require, local entities to provide tax reductions for open space and obtain easements. Each county along Route 5 has approached preservation differently:

Henrico County's comprehensive plan gives the route no special status.

Charles City County's zoning ordinance requires a 100-foot setback all along Route 5, except for signs. County sign regulations limit the number and size of roadside signs. The draft comprehensive plan makes the area from the James River (south of the route) to 1,000 feet north of it a Preservation and Planned Development District, restricting future commercial and residential development. Route 5 would also be within a greenbelt, having a suggested setback requirement of 300 feet. To date, county residents have expressed strong resistance to this plan, so a compromise version of it seems likely.

Though James City County's comprehensive plan has indicated that Route 5 should be greenbelt of 150-foot width, the county's zoning ordinance has not incorporated the greenbelt designation.

Private groups have been an equally effective force in preserving Route 5's scenic elements. However none of these has "presented the spread of commercial development and residential subdivisions from Richmond to Williamsburg." Charles City County, with the most historic and scenic resources still intact, has only avoided substantial development due to minimal sewer and water infrastructure.

A Virginia House and Senate resolution has initiated a study of alternative protection options for the Route 5 corridor. Representatives from all five local government entities involved with Route 5 are contributing to this effort.

ROUTE J-40, VAN BUREN COUNTY, IOWA: This two-lane, 60-mile road runs through three rural counties, connecting villages and parks along the Des Moines River. Historic resources beside the route include properties associated with 19th-century riverboat commerce. Since the State of Iowa has no scenic highway program, a local initiative by

citizens included the road in their restoration and promotion activities, especially in Van Buren County. The NTHP study group has seen the need for addressing preservation efforts along the road before the route received a scenic designation. This would avoid the threat to existing resources by increased tourism. Van Buren County is developing a comprehensive plan and considering adopting a zoning ordinance.

CONCLUSIONS

- A. Outright state or federal ownership of property in a corridor, greenbelt, or district provides the greatest guarantee of resource preservation. However, it removes that land from the local tax base which is expensive and legally complex. This is not recommended nor considered a feasible option within the State of Texas.
- B. Easements have been successfully used by NPS and USFS to save money (*i.e.*, on land purchases) and allow continued occupancy and agriculture or ranching while keeping the affected land on the local tax rolls. The best recent easements incorporate more specific language, to avoid the disputes which older, vaguer easement documents allowed.
- C. State scenic highway designation in itself has proven inadequate without strong local management and zoning ordinances. The NTHP endorses the California scenic highway designation program. This approach authorizes local jurisdictions to apply for scenic road designation from the State. The California transportation department then collaborates with the jurisdiction on a plan to preserve the route. An "overlay zone," a suggested 2,000-foot corridor, is protected via local zoning regulations for land use, billboard control, utility planning, and landscaping. All development in the overlay zone must be approved by permit.

NOTES:

- 1. In New Mexico, the highway department contracted with the private, nonprofit Camino Real Project (CRP) to conduct historical and archaeological surveys and report on the trail's historic context. The CRP cooperated with a historical research team at the University of Ciudad Juarez. The highway departments of New Mexico and Chihuahua have begun setting out markers on those roadways still on or alongside the early trail. While the University of New Mexico's Latin American Institute and the CRP are creating a touring exhibit to interpret the trail's significance, the CRP also is designing a map and brochure to be distributed at rest stops, hotels, and museums along the trail route.
- 2. Those entities which manage the trail are parties to a cooperative agreement. The key role of the NPS on this project involves coordination, technical advice, and interpretation. The NPS staff retains the final authority in certifying, categorizing, and decertifying potential trail properties and trail managers who wish to be "Volunteers-in-the-Parks." The Santa Fe Trail Association is the other key partner in the project. Most association members are ranchers and farmers who have trail remnants and historic structures on their land or their land abuts the trail.

According to the NPS Southwest Regional Office, the association has been the prime force in promoting the trail for protection, recreation, and education. State governments are functioning as auxiliaries to the Association and the Park Service in trail management. See the National Trails System Act (Public Laws 90-543 and 100-559) and the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan for the Santa Fe National Historic Trail (1990) for more details.

3. The National Park Service supports the corridor's administration and also provides funding for planning, restoration of properties, and interpretive resources. The State of Illinois manages canal structures and numerous historic sites, parks, and nature preserves within the corridor. It also supports specific short-term projects, from historic preservation to economic planning. Local governments and private groups purchase and maintain properties along or near the former canal for recreational and educational uses. The Upper Illinois Valley Association, an industrial and civic group, has been instrumental in private land conservation and development for recreation. Despite its coordinating role, the NPS owns no property and has no zoning enforcement authority in the corridor; these functions remain with state and local entities, public or private. See *Illinois and Michigan Canal Corridor: A Concept Plan* (1981), the "Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor Act of 1984" (Public Law 98-398), and *Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor: Interpretative Plan* (1988) for more information.
4. One advantage of an experienced federal or state agency coordinating the certification and marketing of related sites in a wide area is to unify their interpretation. Federal or state agencies also may be better able than local and private groups to maximize site preservation.
5. For additional information, refer to *The Masau Trail: Comprehensive Management Plan* (Draft, August, 1989), available from the Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service.

THE PROPOSED PRESERVATION PLAN

Given the complexities of a statewide preservation effort and the unique aspects of both Texas and Texans, the SDHPT has concluded that no previously developed extra-state corridor conservation plan is entirely appropriate to address the Old San Antonio Road preservation plan. Based on these other states' concepts and experience, however, the report here presents a pragmatic, phased effort to address the recognition, preservation, and development of Texas' oldest and most significant trans-state route.

It is the conclusion of the SDHPT that to realize the intent of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2, 1989, and the original emergency legislation of Senate Bill No. 570, 1929, and to consider the importance of "the road" as an integral part of a unique Texas heritage, the road's varying, documented, historical segments should be addressed within any developed preservation plan. This expanded perspective invites the participation of a number of Texas counties, organizations, and interested parties toward the development of the state's largest plan of preservation, interpretation, and tourism development.

Since portions of the proposed preservation options must involve the concurrence, cooperation, and coordination of various agencies, organizations, and individuals, the SDHPT does not assume nor recommend the initiation of any efforts without the consultation, review, and concurrence of all parties.

GUIDELINES FROM THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., has identified five principles that should be addressed during the development of a heritage tourism program. These principles are presented below for the benefit of the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission (OSRPC) and serve as guidelines for proposed aspects of the preservation plan.

1. **AUTHENTICITY AND QUALITY.** Tell true stories of historic sites or areas. The specific development of an area and the contributions made by previous generations are what distinguish one place from another.
2. **EDUCATION AND INTERPRETATION.** The interpretation of historic places should be creative and exciting.
3. **PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION.**
4. **LOCAL PRIORITIES AND CAPABILITY.** Strong, comprehensive tourism programs based on local priorities ensure that tourism is and continues to be of economic and social benefit to the community and its heritage.

5. **PARTNERSHIP.** Cooperation among business people in tourism is important to enhance tourism activities. Historic sites and districts deserve special funding consideration for operations and maintenance since they are often the reasons people visit the community.

PHASES OF THE PROPOSED PRESERVATION PLAN

The proposed preservation plan is composed of two phases. The first, given the limitations of time and development, is directed toward the recognition of the Old San Antonio Road in 1991. This phase addresses the commemorative aspects of the routes and the involvement of the SDHPT. Proposed signage and information panels are included at this phase. Phase 2 will occur during and after 1991 and will initiate actual preservation and developmental aspects of the routes.

A key element in both phases is the understanding of the historic and heritage corridor concept. The SDHPT recommends that a distinction be made between the two and that both be utilized. The historic corridor for the Old San Antonio Road Project is defined as narrowly as possible to identify the actual physical locale of the historic road segments. This is generally one mile wide and varies somewhat throughout the state depending upon how well it is identified in the area. Considerations for preservation are directed toward public land or right-of-way within that corridor. Any consideration for preservation should include a local area's specific or unique attributes that were associated with the Old San Antonio Road.

The heritage corridor concept is a mechanism to develop or promote an area's or region's tourism potential. This concept is also useful for a better public understanding and appreciation of an area's contribution to Texas history. An Old San Antonio Road heritage corridor thus, should be as wide as possible for easier management by area councils of government, chambers of commerce, or other organizations.

A most significant element of any preservation plan or proposed commemoration activity and particularly applicable to the Old San Antonio Road Project, is Item 1 listed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (see above). Any commemoration or proposed tourism activities should be based on the authenticity of a site, property, city, community, or event, and its association with the actual historical and not the popular perception of the *camino real*.

There were, as an example, many routes in Texas history that were known as the Old San Antonio Road: the San Antonio Road to El Paso, the San Antonio-Corpus Christi Road, the San Antonio-Laredo Road, and the San Antonio-La Bahía Road, to name a few. All of these routes contributed significantly to Texas history and should be recognized individually and as a network that developed from the trans-Texas routes described in this report. The routes identified in this report, however, are historically and qualitatively distinct. Any commemoration activities that occur and include other roads for tourism

development, should carefully and clearly distinguish such routes. Specific aspects of the proposed preservation plan are listed below.

Scope of Work: To initiate and coordinate a phased program of preservation, interpretation, and tourism development of the Old San Antonio Road and its varying segments that changed through time and were known as *caminos reales*. The results of the proposed efforts will ensure the preservation and recognition of the OSR and *caminos reales* as an important and unique aspect of the state's historical heritage.

PHASE 1: Recognition/Commemoration Phase

Schedule: September 1990-91. Proposed commemoration date: the first week of June 1991. Three hundred years ago, in June, the Terán-Mazanet expedition of 1691 crossed the Rio Grande to begin its trans-Texas journey to East Texas.

Purpose: To recognize the routes of the earliest trans-Texas road and commemorate its 300th anniversary in 1991.

Management Design: Initiate a systematic program of public information to: (1) develop public awareness of the OSR, (2) establish interest in the OSR, and (3) coordinate with regional organizations interested in the preservation, historical research, and tourism development of the OSR.

Proposed Objectives of Phase 1:

1. Identify the historical and heritage corridors of the varying routes of the Old San Antonio Road and associated *caminos reales* throughout the state.
2. Prepare and publish an SDHPT-developed statewide preservation plan for the Old San Antonio Road and an accompanying historical review that identifies the present disposition of the routes. The historical background will identify existing remnants and also describe the varying routes within historic contexts to justify the preservation plan recommendations.
3. Initiate statewide press releases about the Old San Antonio Road, in coordination with the THC, other state agencies, the OSRPC, and through SDHPT Travel and Information Division.
4. Develop educational packets for primary and secondary schools to be distributed through and with the cooperation of the Texas State Historical Association.
5. Develop a popular SDHPT brochure (in cooperation with the THC) that summarizes the historical importance of the route.
6. Design and construct a series of information panels to be placed in existing rest stops along major highways in the vicinity of the historic routes. Such information panels would provide historical information of the early trail and, on a reverse

- panel, identify local and regional points of interest. These would be developed by the SDHPT, in cooperation with local communities, county historical commissions, and area councils of government.
7. Develop SDHPT signage to identify intersections of the trails with public property and highway rights-of-way.
 8. Develop, in cooperation with the Governor's office and the THC, a variation of the Texas Land Heritage Program to include the identification and recognition of private properties and landowners/families associated with the OSR. Recognition would include certificates presented by the Governor's office. Such certificates would increase interest and awareness of the route throughout the state, act as informal conservation covenants, and could be accompanied by invitations to consider selective conservation easements (see Figure 36).
 9. Re-establish a variation of the Old San Antonio Road Association to develop state-wide awareness and local support for OSR activities and the proposed Texas Historic Trails Commission.
 10. Implement an SDHPT review process for OSR routes that may be affected by future SDHPT construction projects.
 11. Coordinate with local and regional organizations already established to develop specific activities for tourism, development, and conservation. Coordinate with intergovernmental and transregional councils of government, regional planning commissions, as well as local, county, and regional historical commissions and preservation societies to promote the above goals.
 12. Consider, in cooperation with the THC and the National Park Service, the development of the OSR and associated *caminos reales*, as National Historic Trails.

ADDITIONAL GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PHASE 1

**[These Recommendations Require the Consultation, Review, and
Agreement of State Agencies, the OSRPC, and Other Parties]**

- A. Recommend, in consultation and agreement with other involved state agencies and the State Legislature, that the OSR become a high-priority state project for recognition of the "300th Year" in 1991.
- B. Consider the appointment, in cooperation with the OSRPC, of a coordinator/director of commission efforts to coordinate the interaction of state agencies' efforts. Such an individual should be familiar with the organization of both state and federal agencies and assume responsibility/accountability for such coordination.

- C. Recommend that the OSRPC, in consultation with its Advisory Committee, make consensus decisions regarding commission endeavors during periodic meetings. Such a procedure will avoid individual policy decisions and ensure a coordinated effort.
- D. Develop a logo and/or slogan for the 1991 recognition of the OSR.
- E. Establish, in coordination with the THC, an Old San Antonio Road Conservation and Development fund.
- F. Recommend that the OSRPC in coordination with others, develop an OSR tour to promote recognition of the road, particularly in modern communities in the vicinity of the historic routes.
- G. Consider the development of a popular book that describes the significance of the historic road in Texas history and heritage. This would be a tangible product and a lasting, statewide contribution of the preservation effort.

PHASE 2: Formation of Preservation and Development Efforts

Schedule: 1991-94 (Tentative)

Purpose: To continue and update a data review initiated by the SDHPT in 1989, that recognizes the significance of the important network routes that developed from the OSR (*i.e.*, the Old San Antonio-Laredo Road, the San Antonio-La Bahía Road, *etc.*); to develop complementary preservation plans; to generate expanded plans for tourism and development; and to coordinate such efforts with the 1992 Columbian quincentenary. Coordination with the State of Louisiana and the State of Coahuila, Mexico, is recommended.

The SDHPT also recommends that the establishment of a Texas Historic Trails Commission (THTC) be considered to develop further aspects of the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Plan and to review systematically the potential significance of additional historic Texas trails. Such an organization would act as a coordinating office at the state level to interact with local, regional, national, and international sources for the purposes of developing preservation plans, tourism development, and reviewing funding options. The proposed THTC would be distinct in goals and objectives from the existing Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission. Such a commission could include the existing OSR Preservation Commission as members.

Management Design: It is proposed that Phase 2 efforts be directed toward the establishment of regional committees or task forces which develop local preservation, interpretation, development, and tourism goals. Such work may involve a cooperative effort between county historical commissions, area councils of government, local conservation groups, and other parties.

Phase 2 proposals involve the cooperation and agreement of various state and local organizations, individuals, and possibly federal agencies. The recommendations of the SDHPT for this phase, therefore, are tentative and assume a consultation period between involved parties that would result in coordinated efforts. The SDHPT specifically does not recommend or assume any commitment or involvement from any party without a systematic process of consultation and review.

Two critical elements of this phase are (1) the requirements of adequate funding at local and regional levels and (2) the technical control and coordination necessary at a state level to guide regional and local efforts. These issues must be addressed prior to any other considerations. Inherent also are the requirements of a specific statewide program of development, an evaluation process and checkpoints of objectives, and an accountability of responsibilities. The necessity or potential for a formal Memorandum of Agreement between organizations and agencies should be considered.

Because of the vested interest of the SDHPT (a substantial portion of these routes are within or adjacent to SDHPT rights-of-way), it is strongly recommended that the SDHPT assume a participatory if not the lead role in the process of further preservation plans. This may include acting in the role of a coordinating instrument or as technical advisor to other state agencies, local governments, or preservation organizations.

Pragmatically, the continued role of the SDHPT and the extent of Phase 2 preservation efforts will be based on the response to and interest generated by Phase 1 undertakings.

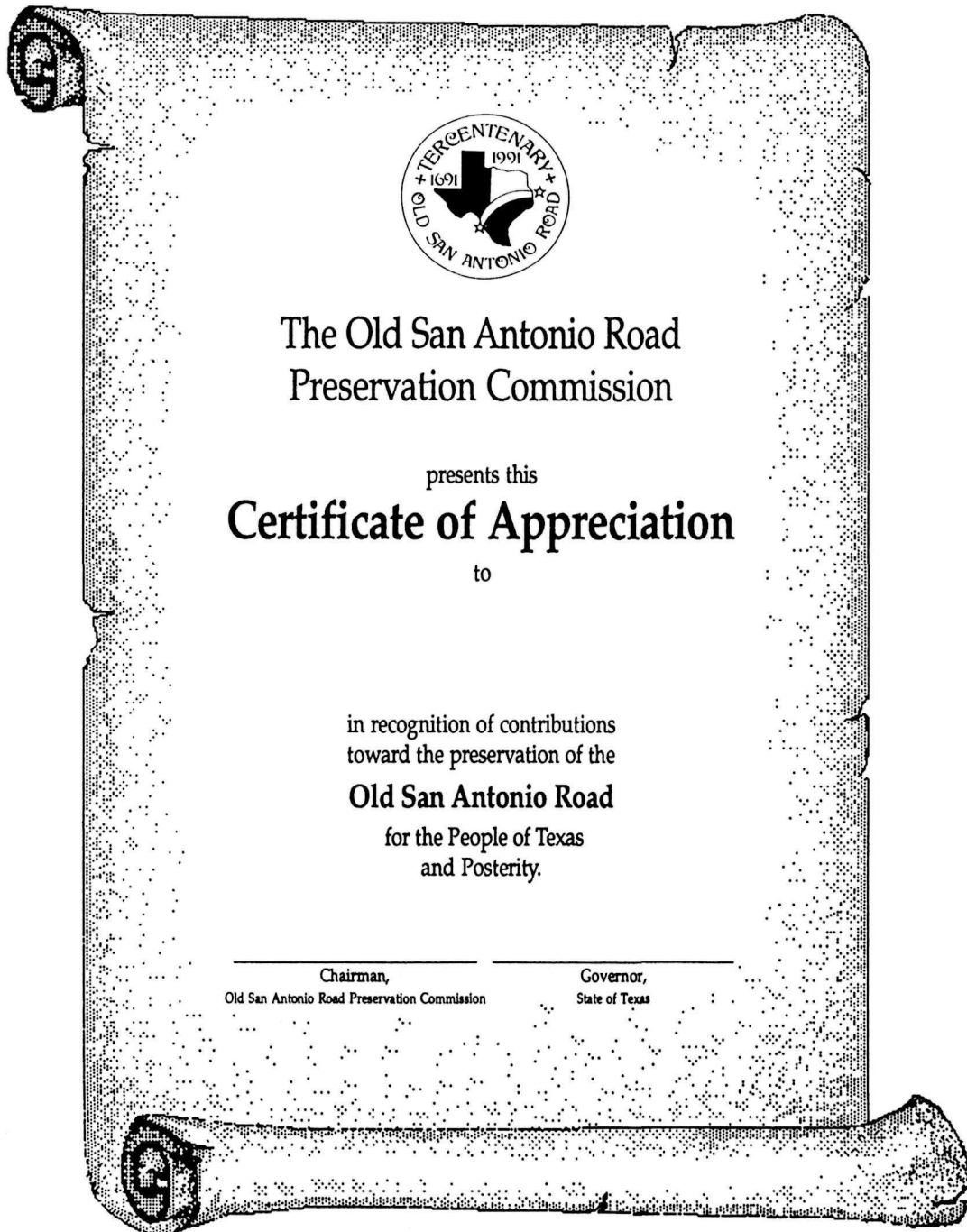


Figure 36. Proposed certificate of appreciation for landowners along the Old San Antonio Road and the *caminos reales*. The design was developed by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department for the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission.

INTERSECTION OF ROUTES WITH ROADWAYS AND STREAMS

by Elizabeth A. Robbins

The tables compiled in this section specify the intersections of the various old routes with existing roads, whether state- or county-maintained, railroads, and named water courses. The tables are separated by different segments of the routes. For purposes of commemoration, these intersections may be suitable places for such development as historical markers or information-rest stops for tourists.

Table 10. Camino de los Tejas

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Comal	New Braunfels West	Krueger Lane Loop 337 Loop 453	Dry Comal Creek Comal River
	New Braunfels East	MKT RR SH 46 (Loop 337) FM 306	Guadalupe River
	Hunter	MKT RR	Alligator Creek York Creek
Hays	San Marcos South		Cottonwood Creek Willow Springs Ck Purgatory Creek
	San Marcos North		San Marcos River Blanco River
	Buda	Loop 4	Plum Creek Bunton Branch Richmond Branch

(Continued)

Table 10 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Travis	Oak Hill	FM 1626 Chunn Road IH 35/US 81	Onion Creek Slaughter Creek Boggy Creek Williamson Creek
	Montopolis	East St. Elmo Rd. Burleson Road MoPac RR US 183	Colorado River
	Austin East	US 183 A&NW RR MLK Blvd. US 183 Rogge Lane at Manor Rd.	Boggy Creek Little Willow Ck Walnut Creek
	Manor	US 290	Gilleland Creek
	Pflugerville East		Wilbarger Creek
Williamson	Coupland	FM 1660	Brushy Creek
	Taylor	US 79 SH 95	Boggy Creek Mustang Creek
	Thrall	US 79 FM 1063	
Milam	San Gabriel	FM 486 FM 908	Turkey Creek San Gabriel River
	Rockdale West	FM 487	Alligator Creek
	Pettibone	FM 1600 FM 845 US 190	Little River Ackerman Slough Wolf Spring Slough Bear Creek
	Cameron	FM 2269 W. 22nd St., Cameron US 77	

(Continued)

Table 10 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Robertson	Ben Arnold	FM 485 FM 1444 FM 1445	Big Elm Creek Walkers Creek
	Baileyville		Brazos River
	Baileyville		Brazos River
	Hammond	MoPac RR SH 6	Little Brazos River Walnut Creek
	Calvert		Tidwell Creek Sandy Creek
	Hearne North		Little Mud Creek
	Owensville		Touchstone Branch
Leon	Franklin Camp Creek Lake		South Mineral Cr. Duck Creek
	Marquez		Lake Branch Shesky Branch Alum Branch Navasota River
	Marquez	FM 3	Navasota River Brushy Creek
	Jewett	US 79 B-N RR FM 39	Shaw Branch Cedar Creek Mustang Creek Brushy Creek
	Donie		Alligator Creek Tape Creek Panther Creek
	Buffalo	SH 164 IH 45 US 75 US 79	

(Continued)

Table 10 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Houston	Flo		Cow Slash Creek Wheelock Creek Serasca Creek
	Lake Leon	FM 831	Resaca Creek Haley Creek
	Halls Bluff		Trinity River
	Halls Bluff		Trinity River Hurricane Bayou
	Porter Springs	FM 2160	
	Grapeland	US 287	Elkhart Creek Bennett Creek San Pedro Creek
	Percilla	FM 2022	Murchison Creek
	Augusta		Peter Branch Silver Creek San Pedro Creek
	Weches		Butler Branch Neches River
	Weches		Neches River Box Creek Allen Branch Bowles Creek
Cherokee	Forest		Forman Branch

Table 11. Upper Presidio Road

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Maverick	Tovar Creek West (from international boundary)		Rio Grande
	Indio Creek		Cuervo Creek
	Indio Tank		San Ambrosio Ck
Dimmit	Palo Blanco Tank		Rosita San Juan Ck
	Asherton NW		Peña Creek
	Carrizo Springs West	FM 2644 US 277	
	Carrizo Springs East	MoPac RR FM 1407 US 83	Salt Creek Espantosa Lake (Soldier Slough) Nueces River
	Brundage	MoPac RR FM 65	Tortuga Creek
Zavala	Sugar Creek		Loma Vista Creek
	Loma Vista	FM 1867	Leona River
	Batesville		Liveoak Creek
	Johnnie Little Hill	US 57	Little Yoledigo Creek Yoledigo Creek
Frio	Holcomb Reservoir		Elm Creek
	Frio Town	FM 140	Frio River Cocklebur Creek
	Wilson Ranch		Live Oak Creek

(Continued)

Table 11 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Medina	Wilson Ranch		Squirrel Creek Seco Creek
	Moore	FM 462	Tehuacana Creek East Tehuacana Creek
	Biry		Hondo Creek
	Devine	SH 173 FM 463	Black Creek San Francisco Perez Creek Burnt Boot Creek Chacon Creek
	Castroville		Chacon Creek
	Lytle	FM 471 FM 463	Chacon Creek Ewell Creek West Prong Atascosa
	La Coste		Medina Irrigation Canal Polecat Creek
Bexar	Macdona	FM 1604	Medina River Lucas Creek Potranca Creek
	Culebra Hill		Medio Creek
	San Antonio West		Leon Creek Apache Creek Alazan Creek
	San Antonio East (to the SE corner of the Alamo)		San Pedro Creek San Antonio River

Table 12. Camino Arriba [lower road from San Marcos]

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Comal	New Braunfels West		Dry Comal Creek Fourmile Creek
	New Braunfels East	SH 46 (Loop 337) MoPac RR	Guadalupe River Alligator Creek Mesquite Creek
	Hunter		Water Hole Creek Caney Creek York Creek
Hays	San Marcos South	SH 123 FM 621 SH 80	Cottonwood Creek San Marcos River
Hays/Caldwell line	San Marcos North	MKT RR	
	Uhland		Hemphill Creek Clear Fork (Plum Creek) Plum Creek Brushy Creek
	Lockhart North		Elm Creek
Caldwell	Creedmoor		Cowpen Creek Cedar Creek
	Lytton Springs		Lytton Springs Creek
Bastrop	Lytton Springs	FM 812	
	Bastrop SW	FM 535 SH 21 SH 71	Cedar Creek Greens Creek Cottonwood Creek
	Bastrop	SH 304	Colorado River Gills Branch

(Continued)

Table 12 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Lee	Smithville NW		Price Creek Alum Creek Little Alum Creek
	Paige		Orts Branch
	Paige		Dead Mans Hole Creek Schilling Branch
	Giddings	Meier Branch	
	Lincoln		West Yegua Creek Rocky Branch Middle Yegua Creek Moore Branch Bush Branch
Burleson	Deanville		Boggy Branch East Yegua Creek
	Deanville		East Yegua Creek Dry Hollow Creek
	Frenstat		Second Davidson Creek
	Caldwell		Elm Branch Davidson Creek Porter Branch
	Mumford		Brazos River
Brazos	Mumford		Brazos River Mooring Slough Little Brazos River
	Bryan West	MoPac RR	Elm Creek Peach Creek

(Continued)

Table 12 (*Continued*)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Brazos/Robertson line	Dunn Creek		Walker Creek Campbells Creek Pecan Branch Bee Creek Tiger Branch Town Branch
	Edge		Sparks Branch Cedar Creek Cajka Branch Smith Branch Little Cedar Creek Snake Branch Cobb Branch McDonald Creek Parker Branch
	Canary		Navasota River
Leon/Madison line	Canary		Navasota River Mud Lake Cottonwood Creek Red Bank Creek
	Hilltop Lakes		Carryall Creek West Caney Creek
	Normangee		Caney Creek Hollis Branch Salt Creek East Caney Creek Copeland Branch Pond Branch Middle Branch
	Leona SW		Riley Creek Leon Creek Twomile Creek

(Continued)

Table 12 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Madison	Leona SW		Pine Branch
	Elwood		Cobb Creek Person Branch Cedar Lake Branch Ivey Creek
	Sand Ridge		Ivey Creek Cedar Lake Branch Youngs Creek Trinity River Trinity River
Houston	Sand Ridge		
	Austonio		Black House Creek
	Pearsons Chapel		Hays Gully
	Crockett		Town Branch Spring Creek Hurricane Bayou
	Crockett NE		Hickory Creek Black Branch
	Augusta		Peter Branch Silver Creek San Pedro Creek
	Weches		Butler Branch Neches River
Cherokee	Weches		Neches River
	Forest		Forman Branch
	Alto		Alto Branch Larrison Creek Beans Creek Allen Creek
	Douglass		Angelina River

(Continued)

Table 12 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Nacogdoches	Douglass		Angelina River Gibbons Creek King Creek
	Lake Nacogdoches N		Yellow Bank Creek Little Bayou Loco Bayou Loco
	Nacogdoches North		Mill Creek
	Nacogdoches South		Morral Bayou Ysleta Creek Bonita Creek Bayou La Nana
	Woden		Bayou Carrizo Atascoso Creek Martin Creek
	Melrose		Puerta Suelas Creek Moss Creek Polysot Creek
	Chireno North		Amaladeros Creek Attoyac River
San Augustine	Chireno North		Attoyac River Niciper Creek
	San Augustine West		Rocky Branch Caney Creek Venado Creek Perkins Creek
	San Augustine East		Ayish Bayou Carrizo Creek Tiger Creek
	Geneva		Palo Gaucho Bayou

(Continued)

Table 12 (*Continued*)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Sabine	Geneva		Lobanella (Boggy) Creek Maddox Creek
	Milam		Boregas Creek Wilson Branch Beaver Creek Allen Creek [Toledo Bend Res] Sabine River
	Salter Creek, La. (to state boundary)		

Table 13. Lower Presidio Road

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Maverick	Tovar Creek West (from Paso de Francia)		Rio Grande
	Tovar Creek East San Pedro Creek	FM 1021	San Ambrosio Cr. Rosita San Juan
Dimmit	San Pedro Creek		San Pedro Creek
	Dentonio		San Lorenzo Creek El Moro Creek
	Farias Tank	FM 2688	
	Dabney Tank		Catarina Creek
	Catarina	US 83	San Roque Creek
La Salle	Flying W Ranch		Sage Creek
	Harris Lake	US 81	
	Cotulla	MoPac RR	Nueces River Mustang Creek Elm Creek
	Burns Ranch (lower variant)	FM 469	
	Cayman Lake (lower variant)		Cibolo Creek [Jahuey] Frio River
	Hindes		Esperanza Creek
Frio	Hindes	FM 1582	
Atascosa	Hindes	SH 97	San Miguel Creek Live Oak Creek

(Continued)

Table 13 (Continued)

County	Topo	Roads	Streams
Bexar	Charlotte	FM 140	Lagunillas Creek La Parita Creek
	Jourdanton	SH 97 Spur 162 SH 173	Stancel Creek Goose Creek Salt Branch
	Poteet	SH 16 FM 476	Atascosa River Rutledge Hollow Galvan Creek
	Losoya		Gallinas Creek Palo Blanco Creek
	Thelma		Gallinas Creek
	Southton (western branch)		Medina River
	(mission branch)	US 281 FM 1937	Medina River Minita Creek Sixmile Creek
	Terrell Wells (western branch)		Sixmile Creek
	San Antonio West (western branch)		San Pedro Creek
	San Antonio East (mission branch)		San Antonio River San Antonio River
	San Antonio East (eastward beyond the Alamo)		San Antonio River
	Longhorn	MKT RR	Salado Creek
	Schertz		Cibolo Creek
Comal	Schertz		Cibolo Creek

TOURIST ATTRACTIONS ALONG THE ROUTES OF THE OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD

by John W. Clark, Jr.

Although the Old San Antonio Road Project staff was not compelled to consider tourism as a part of its legislative mandate to develop a preservation plan, we felt that the potential should briefly be explored. In order to perform this task, a list of major towns along the routes of the Old San Antonio Roads was compiled. Using this list for the Upper and Lower Presidio roads, the *Camino de las Tejas*, and the *Camino de Arriba* (The lower road indicated in the list consists of the Lower Presidio Road and *Camino de Arriba* while the older upper road consists of the Upper Presidio Road and the *Camino de los Tejas*), a list of tourist attractions was gleaned from *Texas State Travel Guide* published by the SDHPT, Division of Travel and Information. Only tourist attractions within reasonable distance of one of the OSR routes were included. Some of the attractions listed have no historic association with the OSR. The list is arranged in order of towns from the Rio Grande to the Sabine. Further attractions along the routes are provided in Appendix 7.

Table 14. Tourist Attractions

Lower Road	Upper Road	Attractions
Eagle Pass	Eagle Pass	Fort Duncan Piedras Negras, Mexico Guerrero
San Antonio	San Antonio	Alamo The Arsenal Botanical Gardens Brackenridge Park Buckhorn Hall of Horns General Cos House Hall of Texas History & Wax Museum HemisFair Plaza

(Continued)

Lower Road	Upper Road	Attractions
		Hertzberg Circus Collection IMAX Theatre Institute of Texan Cultures José Antonio Navarro State Historic Site King William District La Villita McNay Art Museum Memory Lane Museum of Dolls and Toys El Mercado Mexican Cultural Institute Military Bases Mission Concepción Mission San José Mission San Juan Mission San Francisco de la Espada Ripley's Believe It or Not River Walk San Antonio Museum of Art San Antonio Zoo San Fernando Cathedral Sea World of Texas Southwest Craft Center Spanish Governor's Palace Texas Star Trail Visitor Information Center Water Park U.S.A. Witte Memorial Museum
	Austin	Austin Children's Museum Austin Nature Center City parks Elizabeth Ney Museum French Legation G.W. Carver Museum Governor's Mansion Harry Ransom Center Laguna Gloria Art Museum L.B.J. Library and Museum McKinney Falls State Park Mount Bonnell Museo del Barrio National Wildflower Research Center Neill-Cochran House O. Henry Home

(Continued)

Lower Road	Upper Road	Attractions
		Old Bakery and Emporium Old Land Office Museum Sixth Street State Capitol State Cemetery Texas Memorial Museum Texas State Library Town Lake Treaty Oak University Art Museum Wild Basin Preserve
	Franklin	Carnegie Library Scenic Drives Walter Williams Grave
Nacogdoches	Nacogdoches	L.T. Barret Memorial and Oil Springs Marker La Calle del Norte Millard's Crossing Oak Grove Cemetery Old Nacogdoches University Old North Church Old Stone Fort Sterne-Hoya Home Washington Square Archaeological Site
Devine		Bigfoot Wallace Museum Stroud Blacksmith Shop
Poteet		World's Largest Strawberry Monument
New Braunfels	New Braunfels	Baetge House Gruene Guadalupe Valley Winery Historic Homes and Buildings Historic Inns Landa Park Lindheimer Home Museum of Texas Handmade Furniture Natural Bridge Caverns Natural Bridge Wildlife Ranch River Camps River Guides, Outfitters

(Continued)

Lower Road	Upper Road	Attractions
		Scenic Drives Schlitterbahn Sophienburg Museum
San Marcos	San Marcos	Aquarena Springs Belvin Street Historic District Indian Village San Marcos River Walkway Scenic Drives Wonder World
Bastrop		Bastrop Advertiser Bastrop Museum Bastrop State Park Central Texas Museum of Automotive History Lock's Drug Memorial Medallion Trail Old Haynie Building
Caldwell		Burleson County Historical Museum Kraitchar House
Crockett		Davy Crockett Memorial Park Davy Crockett National Forest Davy Crockett Spring Downs-Aldrich House Monroe-Crook House
Weches		Mission Tejas State Park
Alto		Caddoan Mounds State Historic Site Davy Crockett National Forest
San Augustine	San Augustine	Angelina National Forest Ezekiel W. Cullen Home Mission Señora de los Dolores de los Ais Old Town Well Sabine National Forest

PERCENTAGES OF ROUTES ON AND OFF PUBLIC ROADWAYS

by Elizabeth A. Robbins

The tables presented below are a preliminary compilation of estimated distances measured on each of the various identified segments of the *caminos reales*. These distances were measured on USGS 7.5-minute topographical maps with a map-measure, giving inches. Mileage figures were computed based on the map scale.

Table 15. Routes Southwest of San Antonio

Route	Miles		
	On-road	Off-road	Total
Upper Presidio Road	31.7	114.0	145.7
Lower Presidio Road	72.6	131.2	203.8
	104.3	245.2	349.5
	<u>29.8%</u>	<u>70.2%</u>	

Table 16. Routes East of San Antonio

Route	Miles		
	On-road	Off-road	Total
Camino de los Tejas	112.3	169.8	282.1
Camino Arriba	313.9	39.4	353.4
	426.2	209.2	635.5
	<u>67.1%</u>	<u>32.9%</u>	

Table 17. Upper Routes

Route	Miles		
	On-road	Off-road	Total
Upper Presidio Road	31.7	114.0	145.7
Camino de los Tejas	112.3	169.8	282.1
	144.0	283.8	427.8
	<u>33.7%</u>	<u>66.3%</u>	

Table 18. Lower Routes

Route	Miles		
	On-road	Off-road	Total
Lower Presidio Road	72.6	131.2	203.8
Camino Arriba	313.9	39.4	353.3
	386.5	170.6	557.1
	<u>69.4%</u>	<u>30.6%</u>	

Table 19. All Routes (minus Camino Pita)

Route	Miles		
	On-road	Off-road	Total
Upper Presidio Road	31.7	114.0	145.7
Lower Presidio Road	72.6	131.2	203.8
Camino de los Tejas	112.3	169.8	282.1
Camino Arriba	313.9	39.4	353.3
	530.5	454.4	984.9
	<u>53.9%</u>	<u>46.1%</u>	

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

ITINERARIES OF SELECTED JOURNEYS ACROSS TEXAS

by *Elizabeth A. Robbins*

This appendix consists of extracts from trip logs, or *derroteros*, from the following expeditions: the Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre journey of 1709 on the Upper Presidio road and *Camino de los Tejas* to the Colorado River, and their return to Presidio del Río Grande; the journey of Francisco Céliz of the Alarcón expedition in 1718 and 1719 on the Upper Presidio road and the *Camino de los Tejas* to the Colorado River; and two journals of Jean Louis Berlandier on the *Camino de Arriba*, from the 1820s and 1830s, in 1828 from the Trinity River to Béxar and from Béxar to Presidio del Río Grande.

These trip logs contain valuable information on the different routes at different time periods. They provide geographical, natural, and cultural data of identifiable areas. The extracts provide this information in tabular form which eases the interpretation of the documents but loses the flavor of the original documents.

Note that English translations were used to create the tables. In the examination of the translations, there appear to be a number of translation errors affecting interpretation that were detected. Despite attempts to clarify many of these errors, some may have wormed their way into these tables. In any event, these tables provide significant information on many aspects of the roads.

Lack of certain information in the translated source appears here as empty brackets []. Other bracketed information is assumed.

Table 20. Espinosa's Account of the 1709 Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition

Tous, Gabriel

1930a The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition of 1709: Espinosa's Diary. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, 1(3):1-14.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
April 5	San Juan Bautista Mission	Cuervo encampment	4	[]	heading for the San Marcos River; pools at Cuervo contain brackish water
6		permanent spring	8	E	level ground; mesquite groves; dry arroyo with oak trees; crossed a thicket of mesquites; over a few low sandy hills; haddock and catfish in the spring
7		[Nueces River]	5	[]	open country; crossed a small thicket of mesquites; descended to Arroyo Caramanchel (both branches dry); ash, elm, alfalfa ¹ at Caramanchel; after an arroyo to the Nueces land is level; water of river is fresh and clear; many fish; met three Pacuases
8		Sarco River, Río Frío	7	E	level ground for 1 league; 2 leagues of mesquite and thorny thicket; crossed the Nueces; many trees, including mulberry, elm, and oak; good water in the river; crossed many ravines; crossed a dry arroyo with oaks; met two Xarames and some Pacuases
9			[7]	NE	through a small mesquite flat and level ground; crossed the Hondo River, the bed of which is filled with pools of water

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
9 (cont'd)		Arroyo Capa [sic]	2*	N	ascended the Arroyo Capa [sic]; hunted turkeys; camp has elms, sables, ² and live oak
10		Arroyo Robalos	8	E	passed small valleys with mesquite clumps and oak groves; crossed dry Arroyo Chiltipiquie; crossed plains for 3 leagues to the east; holm oak groves ³
11		Medina River	5	E	crossed the Medina River; found Payaya village on its north bank; walnut, poplar, ⁴ elm
12		Medina River	5	E	through plains for 3 leagues; met some Payaya, later some Pampoas; crossed the Medina again and a third time at a Pampoas village
13		San Antonio River	8	E	crossed ravines with holm oak, ³ mesquite, and white oak; crossed Arroyo Leon; crossed a large plain with mesquite and holm oak, ³ to the <i>acequia</i> at San Pedro Spring; walnut, poplar, ⁴ elm, mulberry; spring is near village of Siupan, Chaulaames, Sijames; the spring feeds the San Antonio de Padua River; passed mesquites; to an arroyo of briny water
14			[]	NE	heading for the Guadalupe River; open country; some mesquites; crossed a deep arroyo with pools; to a branch of the Guadalupe

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
14 (cont'd)		Guadalupe River	[]*	NE and E	to the second branch of the Guadalupe; through dense mesquite and holm oak; ³ to a few bare hills; sables, ² elm, poplar, ⁴ willow; fish, alligators, turkeys; crossed the Guadalupe
15		San Marcos River	6	NE	mesquite clumps; killed some turkeys; over hills and plains; walnut, elm, black mulberry, poplar ⁴
16			2	E	crossed the San Marcos River near its source; through mesquite and elm; crossed Arroyo San Rafael at 2 leagues; holm oak, ³ elm
		Garrapatas Creek	[6]*	NE and E	toward low hills and beyond; to Arroyo Garrapatas; killed a bison
17		Colorado River	5	NE	heading for the Espíritu Santo River; four bison killed
18			[1]	[]	crossed the Colorado; passed a marsh; walnut, ash elm, poplar, ⁴ willow, grapevine; sandy banks of river; passed an abandoned Indian village
			[6]	E	through oak forest; crossed the river again
		ponds near Colorado River	2*	NE	traveling in sight of the river
19		ponds near Colorado River			retraced steps of yesterday and returned to camp; Yojuan, Simonos, Tosonibi; killed six bison; received information on the whereabouts of Tejas tribes, some three days away

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
20			4	NE	to Yojuan village
			4	SW	returned to previous camp
		Arroyo Garrapatas	2	[]	
21		San Marcos River	9	[]	returned by previous route
22		Comal River	5	[]	crossed the Guadalupe River; then to its lesser branch
23		Medina River	14	[]	crossed the San Antonio River, San Pedro spring, Leon Creek; met some Sijames at this last place
24		Arroyo Robalos	16	SE	Pampoia and Paxti arrived and lead the party
25		Arroyo de Chapa [sic]	9	W	
26		Sarco River, Frio River	8	[]	crossed the Jondo [Hondo] River
27		2 leagues from spring at Caramanchel	16	[]	
28		San Juan Bautista Mission			to the Rio Grande and across

* April 9: 9 leagues total
 April 14: 9 leagues total
 April 16: 8 leagues total
 April 18: 9 leagues total

¹ Alfalfa, *Medicago sativa*, is not native to North America; this plant is presumed to be some other herbaceous legume (Correll and Johnston 1979)

² May refer to either cedar, cypress, or juniper; cf. Ohlendorf, Bigelow, and Standifer 1980.

³ Refers to the live oak, *Quercus virginiana*; cf. holly-oak in Vines 1960; holm is a variant of holly, cf. Morris 1978:628.

⁴ Probably the cottonwood, especially *Populus deltoides* Marsh., see Vines 1960.

Table 21. Céliz' Account of Alarcón's 1718 Expedition

Hoffmann, Fritz Leo

1967 *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition in Texas, 1718-1719 by Fran Francisco Céliz.* Reprinted. The Quivira Society, Los Angeles. Originally published 1935, The Quivira Society, Los Angeles.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
1718					
April 9	San Juan Bautista	Las Rosas de San Juan	7	NE	crossed probably at Paso de Francia; road from the river to Real del Cuervo is rough, hilly; then it levels
10 - 11		El Carrizo, spring	7	[]	road level for 3 leagues then hilly
12 - 13		Caramanchel Creek	3	[]	open road through woodland; dry crossing; met a Pacuaxin Indian
14		Los Charcos de los Encinos	3	[]	smooth road, little wooded; creek at 2.5 leagues
15		El Charco de Ranas	4	[]	level road; Río de las Nuezas at 1 league
16		La Resurrección	6	[NE]	smooth road; encountered Pacuaxin
17		La Hedionda	8	[]	dry creek crossed at 2.5 leagues, then a hill covered with flint; then dry Frio River; dense oaks; deer, turkey
18		Arroyo Hondo	2.5	[]	level for 1.5 leagues; then though forests; crossed a deep creek; a giant pecan tree is at crossing
19		El Tulillo	4.5	[NE]	woods for 1.5 leagues; hill at 2.5 leagues; the rest of the way is level; many flowers

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
20		Los Charcos de la Pita	3	[]	road level; intermittent woods; pools bordered by oaks; grape-vines
21 - 22		Los Payayas Creek	3	[]	mesquites, oaks, pecans
23		Medina River	6	[]	road level; many groves of trees, many flowers
24		Medina River	[]	[]	crossed the Medina with difficulty because of high water; dense woods
25 - May 5		San Antonio River	6	[]	mountainous road to de León cañon/arroyo at 3 leagues; road continues level; San Pedro spring about .75 league from main part of San Antonio River
May 6		Síbulo Creek	8	[NE]	crossed Salado Creek at 3 leagues; live oaks, hackberries, elms; crossed several dry ravines
7		second Guadalupe River	7	[]	crossed a creek called San Miguel at 5 leagues; .5 league further is the first branch of the Guadalupe
8		Salsipuedes Creek	10	ESE	dense woods at creek; 4 leagues of open road, the rest is wooded
9		Entraaverlo Creek	10	[ESE]	near two other creeks; dense woods; crossed San Marcos River at 7 leagues; tracks of bison
10		confluence of San Marcos and Guadalupe Rivers	6	S	dense live oaks, poplars, pecans, buckthorn; route followed river; traveled 4.5 leagues downstream, then 1.5 leagues back upstream
11		[camp on San Marcos]	10	[]	difficult crossing at 5 leagues; continued upstream; hilly; crossed many creeks and dry ravines, most with rocky beds

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
12		[camp on San Marcos]	12	[]	wooded
13			8-9	[]	crossed San Marcos River at a wide ford
		camp	4*	[]	toward Guadalupe River
14		Guadalupe River	4	[]	muddy road from last night's rain; level with some ravines; river swollen; Edwards Plateau is .5 league away; woods
15			3	[]	upstream over rough land; heavy woods; rocky
		Guadalupe River	3*	[]	no crossing found; road too rough to continue upstream, so returned to previous camp; oak and juniper woods
16		camp on high hill	6	[]	difficult crossing
May 17 - August 27		[Party returned to Béxar and then to presidio of Río Grande to buy provisions and to find Indian guides.]			
September 5		spring of San Antonio	1	[]	Juan Rodriguez, the Indian governor, accompanied Alarcón
6		Síbulo Creek	6	[]	heading for bay of Espíritu Santo
7			3	[]	left the road to head for the coast
		camp on high hill on a bank of Guadalupe River	5*	E	hills; woods; waterfalls
September 8 - 27		[Party headed for the coast; then, from the coast resumed the journey eastward.]			
28		San Bernard River	4	NE	crossed the Colorado; thick woods of oak; hills

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
29			4	N	through oak forests; village of Malleyes
		San Gerónimo Creek	4*	[]	over level hills; Huyugan
30		camp	3	[]	Xanac, Emet, Too, Malleyes, Huyugan, Curmicai
October 1		Yegua Creek, pools	10	N and NE [NW]	level ground, some ravines after skirting a forest; three bison killed
2		camp	8	N [NW]	thick wood; crossed several creeks; oaks, live oaks; <i>tejocotes</i> , plum
3 - 4		camp on Brazos	8	N	through 1 league of plum trees; heading for road to the Tejas half a league before reaching the Little River where it joins the Brazos River; five bison killed on the 3rd, six bison on the 4th
5		Los Angeles Creek, camp	7	ENE	crossed the Little River at half a league, near its confluence with the Brazos River; thick woods of mulberry, pecan, poplar; ¹ crossed the Brazos
6		camp on creek	1	[]	rain storm; five bison killed
7		Corpus Christi Creek	4	ENE	crossed many creeks
		camp on Lake Santa Ana	5	ENE	crossed San Buenaventura Creek
8		Santa Clara spring (camp of the Crosses)	10	ENE	level ground; little wooded; some creeks; a spring
9			3	ENE	came to San Cristóbal lake; then crossed a running creek
		camp on small hill	1*	[]	to lake San Luis Obispo and Santa Rosa Creek

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
10		Trinity River	5	ENE	through woods and standing water (from rain); river swollen
11 - 12		Trinity River	[]	[]	crossed the Trinity River
13		Santa Coleta creek [Neches River]	12	ENE	hilly; forested—pecan, pine, chestnut
14		Misión San Francisco de los Tejas	12	NE	valleys, ravines, clearing, open woods of oak, pecan; an extensive clearing, at 4 leagues, bordered by a permanent creek that runs east to west and where Misión San Francisco de los Tejas (1690) had been; crossed the Neches River; came to the refounded site of Misión San Francisco de los Tejas
15 - 30		creek near Misión Purísima Concepción	8	NE/ENE	crossed a creek; then 2 leagues of plains; Caddodachos and Bidais Indian village
31 - November 3		Misión San Joseph de los Nasones	[]	NNE	cold north wind; ridge of mountains 1 league distant
November 4		Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches	10	NE [SE]	passed several Asinai villages; open woods of pecan, pine, and oak
5		Todos Santos River	15	[ESE]	winding road; ravines; open woods of pecan, oak, and pine
6 - 7		Misión Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais	6+	[]	
8		camp on creek	14	ENE	ravines, clearings; groves of pecan and some pine; crossed several creeks
9		San Francisco de Sabinas River	13	ENE	through woods of pine and oak

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
10		Misión San Miguel de los Adaes	15	ENE	through pine and pecan woods
11		Los Adaes	2	[]	to lake Los Adaes and returned to the mission; lake on the Red River
12 - 27		[Party remained at Misión los Adaes.]			
28 - 29		San Pedro de los Navidachos	[]	[]	Nabedacho village; began return to Béxar
30 - December 21		camp on creek near Trinity River	[]	[W]	flooded creek and river
December 22 - January 11, 1719		Béxar		W	crossed the Brazos River, the Puerco River, many other creeks; crossed Monte Grande; crossed the Colorado River; then a "river of three branches;" then Onion Creek; then the Blanco River; then the San Marcos River; then the Guadalupe River; then the Comal River; then the San Antonio River at Béxar; encountered Xarames, Payayas, Pamayas

* May 13: 13 leagues total
 May 15: 6 leagues total
 September 7: 8 leagues total
 September 29: 8 leagues total
 October 9: 7 leagues total

¹ Probably the cottonwood, especially *Populus deltoides* Marsh. (Vines 1960)

Table 22. Berlandier's Diary East of San Antonio

Ohlendorf, Sheila M., Josette M. Bigelow, and Mary M. Standifer (translators)

1980 *Journey to Mexico During the Years 1826 to 1834*. II:331. Texas State Historical Association, Austin.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
May 29	Trinity	Arroyo de la Leona	5	WSW	following upper road (<i>camino de arriba</i>); few marshes, streams are easy to cross; Hueco, Tawakoni, Taovayo country; two Kickapoos join the party as hunters (white-tailed deer); arroyo is amid sandstone hills, sandy soil; hills; small forests, prairies with flowers
30					
31		eastern bank of the Navasota River	4	WSW	small sandstone hills; pieces of petrified wood; river in a forest
June 1		Arroyo de los Platos	6	WSW	crossed the Navasota River; passed Arroyo de Corpus Christi; passed an abandoned Anglo-American dwelling
2 - 7		north bank of the Brazos River	6	WSW	Arroyo de las Tinajas at 3 miles from previous paraje; then to the confluence of Brazo Chico on the north side of the Brazos; forests of oak, pecan, willow, poplar, sycamore, hackberry, and elder; various indigenes: Bidai, Kickapoo, Cherokee, Texas, Chickasaw, Caddo; spent time at this location opening a road
8		paraje Ojo de Agua	3	WSW	crossed the Brazos; sandy soil; [uncertain where Berlandier diverged from the upper road, but this is now the lower road]

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
9		<i>paraje</i> Los Olmos	6	WSW	crossed sandstone hills covered with hardened clay; prairies, small forests; passed Nuncio Creek and Viperina Creek; waterlilies, alligators
10		wilderness <i>paraje</i>	7	WSW	black foxes sighted; hills; oak forests; <i>paraje</i> at Arroyo de los Ailes is 3 leagues from Los Olmos; Arroyo la Yegua is 6 leagues from Arroyo Ailes**
11 - 12		Colorado River	22+ miles [10 leagues]	[]	Agua Dulce at 9 miles from Los Olmos; Agua Negra [<i>sic</i>] (bad water) is 3 miles further; plains, prairies, forests of pine for 4 miles; 5 miles more through pines to high hills
13		Arroyo Lobanito	4	S	forests of oak, hickory, juniper; small hills of sandstone; this is the only stream with running water until the San Marcos, other <i>parajes</i> have only stagnant water and alligators
14		Arroyo Bisnaías	4	[]	forests of mesquite; traces of bison
15		San Marcos River	5	[]	plains, sandstone hills increase toward the San Marcos; Arroyo Blanco (Comanche = Pavococue) flows into the San Marcos from the northwest; pecan, plum
16 - 18		Guadalupe	6		
		Arroyo del Cíbolo	7		
		Béxar	5*		

* June 16-18: 18 leagues total

** *Ailes* = Indian cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana*

Table 23. Berlandier's Diary South of San Antonio

Ohlendorf, Sheila M., Josette M. Bigelow, and Mary M. Standifer (translators)

1980 *Journey to Mexico During the Years 1826 to 1834*. II:557. Texas State Historical Association, Austin.

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
1834					
June 10	Béxar	small hill	[]	W	forded streams: Cabezo del Apache, Arroyo del León, Arroyo de en Medio; mesquite forests, oaks; hills to the north and northwest become higher and higher; deer
11		camp La Rosita near El Sauz	[]	[]	passed streams La Potranca, El Ojo de Agua de San Lucas, El Sauz; hilly; ford of El Sauz is 2 miles from camp
12 - 16		north bank of the Medina River	~ 2 miles	W	large oaks; prairie; did not follow the road from El Sauz; crossed a little above the low-water crossing; turkeys; river too high to cross
17		south bank of the Medina River			crossed the Medina at Paso del Río Grande del Camino Arriba, also called Tío Alberto; oak, sabino*
18			2	WSW, W	large plain; prairies covered with sunflowers (<i>girasol</i>)
		Arroyo de Francisco Perez, San Miguel	5	SW	entered some hills; forded Arroyo del Chacón (at 3 leagues from the Medina) which seemed to Berlandier to join the San Miguel

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
19		Arroyo Seco	8	WSW	hills; reddish sandy stretches; then entered a valley (Tahuacano) which is about 3 leagues from the Hondo and is bordered by Arroyo Seco to the south and southwest
20-21		south bank of Frío	5	SW, WSW	crossed Arroyo Seco; entered a small forest of mesquite; then after 2 miles, more hills of sandstone; passed a hill called Tierritas Blancas; then 1 mile later, a small gorge; beyond is flat country; crossed another stream about 5 miles before the Frío; another 2 [miles?] to swampy Cañada Verde; then a dense forest; crossed the Frío; turkeys
22		Arroyo La Leona	6	WSW	level prairies; then mesquite forests; many turkeys; rocky hills where flows Arroyo de los Olmos to the north of Arroyo No Lo Digas; thick forest
23		pools near Arroyo de las Tortugas	7 - 8	W, WSW	ascended low, gentle hills; small mount Buenavista at about 4 leagues; many wild horses
24		Nueces River	3	W	crossed the Nueces River
25 - 26		<i>paraje</i> Palo Blanco (small ponds)	7	WSW, SSW	passed Cañada del Negro; streams becomes farther apart; more prairie, less forest; Arroyo Barrosito at 3 miles from Nueces to the southwest; 2 miles southwest of Barrosito to Laguna Espantosa (fish, turtles); crossed Arroyo Carrizo (dry); uneven terrain; crossed the Saladito; rougher terrain; passed <i>paraje</i> La Peña (spring); rabbits

(Continued)

Month/Day	Starting Location	Ending Location	Distance Traveled (leagues)	Direction	Comments
27		Río Bravo del Norte	8	WSW	drought; passed La Rosita, San Ambrosio, El Cuervo (all dry); level, treeless; hills of El Cuervo; willows on the Río Bravo
28		ford at the presidio San Juan Bautista del Río Grande	2	S, SSW	mesquite forest; sandy near river, clayey beyond

* May refer to either cedar, cypress, or juniper.

APPENDIX 2

ACTS OF FOUNDATION: SALCEDO

The Acts of Foundation document from the Texas General Land Office relates to the establishment of the town of Trinidad de Salcedo. The document serves as an aid in locating the Camino de los Tejas and provides the key not only to locate the town site of Trinidad de Salcedo and the road but also provides the key to identify the location of the earlier town site of Pilar de Bucareli. The document provides uniquely detailed survey data from which the center of the town is estimated. It also provides valuable information on the survey techniques and equipment used in the layout of the *ejidal* lands of the town.

Trinidad de Salcedo and Pilar de Bucareli were founded on the routes of the Old San Antonio Road and existed for only a short time. Unlike communities lasting from colonial times to the present (San Antonio, Goliad, and Nacogdoches), these sites are individual time capsules which have not been significantly disturbed since their abandonment. The historical archaeological significance of these sites is enormous. Understanding the artifact inventory available at a particular time aids in understanding more disturbed and longer occupied sites. These briefly occupied Spanish Colonial sites may have buried structure remnants that would enable archaeologists to understand more about Hispanic site-patterning and social organization. These data could well provide valuable information not discussed in the historical documents such as the objective behavior patterns of the sites' inhabitants.

TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

by John W. Clark, Jr.

In this village of the Holy Trinity on the sixteenth of April 1810: I, Don Pedro Prieto, Captain of Cavalry Militia, Commander and judge of it.

Act of	In completion of the order of Señor Governor of the province, Lieu-
Measurement	tenant Colonel of infantry of the Royal Armies Don Manuel de Salcedo
	in his specific and general offices, I proceeded to measure the communal
	lands belonging to this new establishment giving two leagues to each
	cardinal direction. To validate I had them examined by the witnesses Hugo
	Coyle, a resident authorized by the Señor Commander General of these
	provinces (<i>Internas</i>) to survey these lands: and in person I swear that he
	was made aware of the order of the Señor Governor and he was prepared

to measure fields and lots of the inhabitants and, understanding this, he said they would swear and swore to work legally according to his knowledge and understanding in the position of Surveyor. And he signed it with me and two attending witnesses with whom I acted as receiver because of the lack of a notary which is not present at the end of the other (document). This is on common paper because of the lack of any other, I swear: Pedro Lopez Prieto, Hugo Coile; attending, José Manuel Prieto y Garzia; attending Juan Manuel Maldonado.

First
Measurement

In the cited village the same day, month and year. I the cited judge proceeded to the first measurement which I took from the center of the plaza toward the south using an iron surveyor's chain of 25 Castillian varas. Two men took the chain with a sage expert on the land and other helpers and continued the survey which arrived at a mott of oaks at 5,000 varas which was marked because of the proximity of the river and there was no space for the other league which was surveyed by an offset to the east made by the surveyor to the point named the small cypresses where a thick oak was marked. The compass was placed there and the second league arrived at a point named the Camps where an oak was marked which was much thicker than the first. With that the first measurement was concluded. We returned to begin the following. Signed by the surveyor and expert who was Manuel Cassanova, and early inhabitant of the area with me and my attending witnesses with whose authority I swear. Pedro Lopez Prieto, José Manuel Casanova, Hugo Coile, witness José Manuel Prieto y Garzia, witness Juan Manuel Maldonado.

Second
Measurement

In the said village on the seventeenth of the referenced month, placing the chain at the same point in which the first began, the measurement was directed to the east and at 5,000 varas which comprise a league a thick oak was marked which is shortly before arriving at a creek which was named the old one. And from here the compass was placed and in the same direction the second league reached a point on the plain of Jie on the lower end where the clearing ends where another thick oak was marked. This measurement is concluded at two leagues in said direction whose description is signed by the cited surveyor and expert with me and those with me who did the measurement, I swear. Pedro Lopez Prieto, José Manuel Casanova, Hugo Coile, witness José Manuel Prieto y Garzia, witness Juan Manuel Maldonado.

Third
Measurement

In the said village on the eighteenth of the expressed month and year, I the cited judge in the company of the surveyor and expert, I had the chaining pin placed in the same place where the previous two measurements began and turning toward the north the first league arrived at a creek named Dispallier where two oaks of adequate size were marked. Continuing the measurement, the second league to the north arrived at the head of a creek named Esquivel where two oaks and a walnut were marked

because they were all together at that site. There the two leagues remain measured as those corresponding to this direction. Signed by the surveyor with me and my attending witnesses who acted as cited. I swear: Pedro Lopez Prieto, Juan Manuel Casanova, Hugo Coile, witness José Manuel Prieto y Garsa, witness Juan Manuel Maldonado.

Fourth
Measurement

In the cited village on the nineteenth of the same month and year in view of the conclusion of the three previous measurements I proceeded to the one toward the west placing the compass in the same place that the former measurements began I directed it to the said direction. The first league arrived at the point of a lake which was named Los Paxaritos (the small birds) which serves as a marker accompanied by a thick stake I ordered set because there was no tree thick enough in the plain in which the said lake exists. From there the measurement continued to the second league which ended between two creeks which are called *puentesitas* (small bridges) where a thick oak which is on the edge of the road which goes to Bexar was marked. With this the measurement of the two leagues to the said direction and the four measurements designated for this area are concluded. The division of lots and fields will be assigned successively as they occur and are perceived and their measurements will be a continuation of these. After having been divided among each applicant. I swear that these measurements are complete. Signed by the surveyor and expert with me and those attending witnesses who conducted this for aforesaid reasons. I swear, Pedro Lopez Prieto, José Manuel Casanova, Hugo Coile, witness José Manuel Prieto y Garza, witness Juan Manuel Maldonado.

This is a faithful copy of
the original which remains in the archive of this village which I
remit and certify. I swear:

	Pedro Lopez Prieto
witness	witness
Jose Urbano Flores	Juan Manuel Maldonado

En esta villa de las Sma. Trinidad á los dies y seis del mes de Abril de mil ochocientos diez: Yo Don Pedro Prieto Capⁿ de Milicias de caballeira, Cm^{te} y Justicia de ella.

Auto de
medidas

En cumplim^{to} de orⁿ del Sor. Gov^{or} de la Prov^a teniente coron^l de Ynfanteria de los R^s Exercitos de Stt D. Man^l de Salcedo, en su actual y gral. visita procedi á medir los cridos correspond^{te} á este nuevo establecim^{to} dando dos leguas p^r cada viento, y p^a el efecto hize comparacer ante mi y testigos de asist^a á Hugo Coyle vecino de ésta autorizado p^r el Sor. Comand^{te} gral. de estas Provencias p^a medir tierras en esta: y en su

persona y doy fee conosco le hice saber la ordⁿ del Sor. Govor. y se estiendiendo a medir suertes y solares a los vecinos de esta, y entendido de ello dixo: qe. juraba, y juró obrar con legalidad segun su leal saber y entender en la facultad de agrimensor, y lo firmo con migo y los dos testigos de ass^a con quien^s actuó p^r receptoria a falta de escrivano qe. no le hay en el termino del otro. y en el presente papel comun p^r inopia del seltud de todo doy fee= Pedro Lopez Prieto= Hugo Coile= de ass^a Jose Man^l Prieto y Garza= de assit^a Juan Man^l Maldonado.=

Primera
medida

En la referida villa mismo dia, mes, y año yo dho. Jues procedi á la prim^{ra} medida, qe. le sacó del centro de la plasa, rumbo al sur, con un cordel de veinte y cinco var^s castellanas de cadena de fierro, y tomado dha. cordel p^r dos hombres y un perito intelig^{te} en la tierra y otros asistentes, se continuó la medida, la qe. llego con cinco mil var^s á un mogote de encinos en donde se demarco, y p^r estar inmediato el rio, y no haber camp. p^a la otra legua qe. seguia á medirse, hizo el agrimensor los escambian rumbo al oriente hasta el parage nombrado las sabinillas en donde se demarco un encino muy grueso, y puesto el ahujon rumbo al sur se llegó con . . . la seg^{da} legua al parage nombrado las rancherias en donde se demarco otro encino mucho mas grueso qe. el prim^{ro} con lo qe. quedó concluida dha. medida, y regresamos p^a comenzar la siguiente: y lo firmaron el agrimensor y Perito, qe. lo fue Man^l Casanova Primitivo poblador de esta, con migo y los testig^s de mi asist^a con quien^s autuo como dicho es de qe. doy fee= Pedro Lopez Prieto= Jose Man^l Casanova=Hugo Coile=de asist^a Jose Man^l Prieto y Garzia=de ass^a Juan Man^l Maldonado=

Segunda
medida

En Dha. villa á los diez y siete dias del referido mes poniendo el cordel en el mismo punto en donde se comensó la primera, se dirigió la medida rumbo al oriente y se llegó con cinco mil var^s qe. compone una legua a un encino grueso qe. se demarcó, el qe. está poco antes de llegar al arroyo qe. nombrarana la vieja: y de este se puso el ahujon al mismo rumbo, y se llegó con la seg^a legua a la punta del llano del Jie del lado de abajo en donde se acaba dho. llano, en donde se demarcó otro encino gordo con la qe. quedo concluida la medida de dos leguas p^a dho. rumbo: cuya delig^a firmaron los referidos agrimensor y Perito con migo y los de mis ass^a con quien^s actuo con dho. es: de qe. doy fee= Pedro Lopez Prieto= Jose Man^l Casanova= Hugo Coile= de ass^a Jose Man^l Prieto y Garsa= de ass^a Juan Man^l Maldonado=.

Tercera
medida

En la expresada Villa a los dies y ocho dias del expresado mes y año yo dho. Jues en comp^a de los referidos agrimensor y Perito, hize poner el ahajon en el mismo punto en donde se comensaron los dos antecedentes y jirando rumbo al norte llegó la primra legua al arroyo qe. llamaron de Dispallier, en donde se marcaron dos encinos de gruesor suficiente, y continuando la medida qe. la seg^{da} legua rumbo al norte llego esta á la cabesera del arroyo qe. nombraran de Esquivel, en donde se marcaron dos

encinos y un nogal p^r estar todos juntos en aquel sitio con la qe . . . quedaron medidas las dos leguas qe. corresponden á este rumbo, y lo firmaran los expresados agrimensor y perito con migo, y los de mi assist^a con quiens actuo como dho. es de qe. doy fee Pedro Lop^z Prieto= Juan Man^l Casanova= Hugo Coile = de ass^a Jose Man^l Prieto y Garsa de ass^{ta} Juan Man^l Maldonado=

Quarta
medida

En la expresada Villa a los dies y nueve dias del mismo mes y año, en vista de estar concluidas las tres medidas antecede^{tes} se procedió a la qe. corresponde al poniente, y poniendo el ahujon en el mismo punto en donde se comensaron las antedichas se dirigió al sitado rumbo, y se llegó con la prim^{ra} legua á la punta de la laguna qe. nombrando los paxaritos, la qe. sirve de mohonera acompañado con un palo grueso qe. mandó enterrar p^r no haber ningun arbol de concistencia en el llano en qe. dha. laguna está, y de ella se continuó la medida p^a la seg^{da} legua qe. se concluyó entre los dos arroyos qe. nombran las puentesitas, en donde se demarcó un encino muy grueso, qe. está a orillas del camino qe. va p^a Bexar, con le qe. quedaron medidas las dos leguas qe. corresponden á dho. rumbo, y de conciquiente las cuatro medidas consignadas a los exidos de este lugar: quedando p^r practicar el repartim^{to} de solar^s y suertes, qe. se mandolos qe. se iran dando sucesivam^{te} segun ocurranlos qe. han de percirirlos, cuyas diligencias se practicaran á continuación de estas, despues de haber hecho separación de las mentes aplicadas a propios y la dehara y prado Bollal, p^r lo qe. doy p^r concluida esta medida, qe. firmaron el agrimensor y perito, con migo, y los de mi assist^a con quien^s actuo p^r las razones ante dichas de qe. doy fee=Pedro Lop^z Prieto=Jose Man^l Casanova=Hugo Coile=de ass^a Jose Man^l Prieto y Garza=de ass^a Juan Man^l Maldonado.

Es copia fiel de un original que queda en el archivo de esta Villa, á qe. me remito, de qe. certifico, y doy fee

de ass^a

Jose Urbano Flores
(rubric)

Pedro Lopez Prieto
(rubric)

de ass^a

Juan Man^l Maldonado
(rubric)

APPENDIX 3

SAN MARCOS DE NEVE

by Adán Benavides, Jr.

SOURCE: Spanish Collection, General Land Office (Austin), Box 129, Folder 20: ff. 139-40, 143-53.

[f. 139]

Year of 1808

9th Day of April

THE NEW TOWN [VILLA] OF SAN MARCOS DE NEVE

Founded by order of Señor Colonel Don Antonio Cordero y Bustamante, Governor of the Province of Coahuila, Interim Governor of this Province of Texas, and Commander of Arms of its coasts and borders, with date of 1 April of the present year. Its first building and marking of boundaries was concluded on the ninth day of the same month by the Lieutenant of the Cavalry Company of the Royal Presidio of Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Don Juan Ignacio de Arrambide.

[f. 140: Copy of letter from Antonio Cordero to Juan Ignacio Arrambide, 1 April 1808.]

In compliance with Señor Brigadier Commander General Don Nemesio Salcedo's order of 16 December 1809, which directs me on the formation of new settlements in this province, and because the number of founding families required by law have already met at the military post at the San Marcos River, I have determined that from this day forward the said establishment be known as the town of San Marcos de Neve. It is to be under the protection and guardianship of the said holy evangelist, patron and advocate of its residents. Consequently, I advise you to transfer to the referred place as my commissioner to found the said new settlement, surveying, marking boundaries, and setting landmarks of the four leagues of its territory in which the common lands and cattle pastures ought to be included. You shall grant lots [*solares*] and corresponding farmlands [*suertes*] to the residents, according to the instructions for this province's new settlements of which I enclose a copy. You shall make a certified copy [*testimonio*] of it which, with this order, is to remain at the head of the registry [*protocolo*] that is going to be created in the said town. Following this order will be the record of titles of land grants that you, as the first

chief justice [*justicia mayor*] of the said town and my commissioner for the purpose, give to the new settlers in the royal name of His Majesty (Whom God protect) and by authority of my commission.

When all has been accomplished in due form, [f. 140v] you shall come to give me an account leaving that town's jurisdiction under the charge of its assistant justice [*teniente de justicia*] and first municipal attorney [*síndico procurador*], Sergeant José Manuel Granados. Thus your absence will not cause detriment to the military command that that post deserves.

The extent in every direction of the district and royal jurisdiction of the said town shall be stated below relative to other points so that there be no doubt regarding contiguous jurisdictions.

May God protect you many years. Béxar, 1 April 1808.==*Antonio Cordero==Señor Don Juan Ignacio Arrambide.==

I certify that this is an exact copy of the original.

[signed:] Juan Ignacio de Arrambide

[ff. 143-50v: "Translation into English of the Plan of Pitic," by Rubén Cobos, prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of Interior, n.d. Translation based on Engineer Gasiot y Miralles' "Brief approved by His Majesty, and which was drawn up for the establishment of the new town of Pitic in the Province of Sonora, and ordered to be adapted to other new settlements planned for and to be established in the district of this Commandery General," copy, Chihuahua, 14 November 1789, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. In this printing, some minor changes have been made according to the GLO copy.]

1. Although by Law VI, Title VIII, Book IV, viceroys, audiencias, and governors are prohibited from granting titles to cities or towns or from exempting the settlements of Spaniards or Indians from their head towns, this decree limits itself to those villages already founded. With respect to new settlements and places to be inhabited, it provides for the observance of that resolution by referring to other laws that deal with this matter, such as the second [law], Title VII of the same book, which decrees that, having selected the land, province, and site where a new settlement is to be founded, and once ascertaining its latent benefits and possibilities of improvement, the governor, in whose district said settlement may lie or confine, is to state if said settlement is to be a city, town, or hamlet and that, in keeping with his statement, the town council, its government, and officials should be set up, as is the custom of this authority. Keeping in mind the extent of the site which has been selected and the advantages that its lands promise, making the soil productive by

*In Spanish document copies, the double dash "==" indicates line breaks or paragraphs.

irrigating it with the waters of the large irrigation ditch built for this purpose, you may call the settlement town by assigning it the name that it is to bear and use for purposes of identification.

2. In accordance with what is prescribed in Law VI, Title V of the same Book IV, for the towns of Spaniards to be established by contract or concession, and especially those that, for want of concessionaires are applied for by private parties, that is to say, settlers who get together and agree to found them, the town in question may be granted four leagues of land, either square or long, whichever is more advantageous from the viewpoint of the location of the land. This land is to be designated and landmarked in order that its exact boundaries may be known and recognized. There is to be no difficulty in this as long as it is more than five leagues away from any other city, town, or hamlet of Spaniards and not cause any damages to any private party or Indian *pueblo*, for the Indian *pueblo* of the Seris Indians is to fall within the demarcation [of Pitic] as an integral part or quarter of this settlement and subject to its jurisdiction and with the advantage of enjoying, as neighbors, the same public and common benefits enjoyed by the settlers and which, at present, those natives are not enjoying due to their natural lack of industry and intelligence, which robs them of the right to elect their own magistrates and councilmen, who would have the economic jurisdiction and other powers provided by Laws XV and XVI, Title III, Book VI.

3. After moving the garrison of San Miguel de Orcasitas to the site of Pitic so that under the protection of said garrison the new settlement may be founded, according to what has been decreed by Articles 1 and 2, Title XI of the new regulations on garrisons of September 1, 1772, and in the fifth of the old regulation of Viceroy Marqués de Casafuerte, dated April 20, 1729, which is ordered to be observed by deposition dated May 15, 1779, the political government and Royal, ordinary, civil, and criminal jurisdiction of the first instance would belong to the captain and commandant of the new settlement, which jurisdiction he was to exercise as long as he was in the presidio in charge of that office, with the right of appeal to the Royal district *audiencia*; but when you resolved that the detachment is to be considered as stationed in the new settlement and, consequently, that the use and exercise of the Royal jurisdiction is to remain in the hands of the political governor of the province and the mayor or lieutenant whom he may appoint, it now becomes necessary that the person chosen for this appointment should be a well-instructed and learned individual in order to promote the development of the new settlement, make distribution of dwellings, ground plots, and water, and observe exactly the provisions of the Brief and others that will be dispatched to him from time to time.

4. For the better management and administration of the settlement, according to what is decreed by Laws X, Title V, 2 and 19, and Title VII, first, second, and third, Title X, Book IV of the *Compilation* [of Laws of the Indies], as soon as the number of inhabitants goes beyond thirty, a council or town hall is to be formed. [This body] is to consist of two ordinary magistrates, six aldermen, one city attorney or agent of the community, and one *mayordomo* of lands, who will be charged with the management of the post exchange, the care of supplies, and the cleaning and policing of the new settlement. The above-named officials shall be elected the first time by all the inhabitants and thereafter by voting

members of the town council, according to what the laws provide on this point. The names of the persons elected shall be sent annually to the political governor of the province so that, with his approval, those elected will be able to take possession and practice their respective functions.

5. The two ordinary magistrates will share jointly and under the supervision of the commissioner or chairman of the town council, the Royal, ordinary, civil, and criminal jurisdiction of the first instance, with the right of appeal to the Royal *audiencia*, the governor, or to the town council in cases corresponding to each, according to the laws of the Kingdom, as provided by Laws 1 and those which follow Title III, Book V.

6. Once land-marking and fixing the limits of the four-league land granted for the new settlement, its pasture lands, woods, waters, game, fish, rock deposits, fruit trees, and other fruit bearing species shall be set apart from the common use of Spaniards and Indians living in the environs of said settlement and their quarter or hamlet of the Seris Indians; also for common use shall be the pasture lands of farms [*heredades*], once they are harvested, as provided by Laws V and those which follow, Title XVII, Book IV of the *Compilation*.

7. Likewise, the settlers and natives will enjoy in common the woods, pasture lands, waters, and other advantages of whatever Royal or uncultivated lands may lie outside the designated land granted to the new town. These advantages shall be shared by the settlers in common with the natives of the adjacent or contiguous *pueblos*, whose designation or name and authority shall stand until, through His Majesty's intervention, they may be granted or alienated, in which case they will be adjusted according to whatever is provided in the grants issued in favor of the new tenants or proprietors.

8. Once selecting and designating the site considered most convenient for the founding of the new town, the commissioner in charge of its establishment will take care to see that all houses and other buildings erected conform to the plant or plan designed by the chief engineer Don Manuel Mascaro. In order to keep this in mind, this plan is to be put together and attached to the top part of this brief or municipal order; under its method the streets will turn out straight and better fitted to handle the traffic and communication of the inhabitants and settlers; their evenness and symmetry will contribute to the beauty, cleanliness, and perfection of the town for the benefit of those who might gaze upon it.

9. After determining what land each [city] block is to occupy in the plan or plant of the town, and in case it is not easy to assign the plot that each settler may need, due to the lack of similarity among the families and the means and aptitudes of those who decide to settle, the chairman of the council, at his prudent discretion, will have the power to grant the yards of land that, according to the size of the family, its wealth, and other just considerations, he may consider each of the inhabitants may need to till and improve. To this end, and in order for everyone to have what corresponds to his rights, he can allot one [city] block, a half, a fourth, or one-eighth part, which are the most adequate divisions used in making the buildings of the town as uniform as possible.

10. In order to avoid complaints arising from the free distribution of ground plots due to the preference or improvement of most plots with respect to others, the distribution

shall be made among the first settlers by drawing lots, as prescribed by Law XI, Title VII, Book IV of the *Compilation* [of Laws of the Indies].

11. Once chief engineer Don Manuel de Mascaro has designated the site where the new town is to be located, there shall be marked out, on all four fronts of its circumference, adequate commons for the recreation of the inhabitants and for their livestock to graze without causing any damages or injury and so that, as provided by Laws VII, XIII, and XIV of the aforementioned Title VII, Book IV of the *Compilation*.

12. Likewise, there must be designated and marked out the common or Royal pasture deemed sufficient so that therein may graze abundantly and comfortably the work stock and livestock kept for the supply of the new town, making an effort to select for this purpose, those lands that have an abundance of pasture but not quality of lands which can be used to grow wheat or other grains and vegetables used for the consumption and subsistence of the settlers and their families, as provided by the aforementioned Laws VII and XVI, Title VII, Book IV of the *Compilation*.

13. Once completing the boundaries of the common and Royal pasture of the community, the chairman of the town council shall draw up a rough estimate of all the useful and productive plots that can be irrigated by means of the irrigation ditch made and also of the remaining plots, which, without this advantage, he may consider proper for dry farming; and, dividing both of these lands in equal parcels of land of approximately 400 varas long by 200 varas wide, which is what an ordinary hundredweight of sowing corn requires, he will ascertain the existing number of plots of both kinds to be allotted to the new settlers and to those that may join or augment the settlement later.

14. Having thus divided the most useful plots which lie closest to the town and which enjoy the benefits of irrigation, eight plots will be designated and landmarked and will be set apart as the estate of the town council, whose proceeds will be managed by the town proctor appointed by the town council and who will render a yearly account to be examined and approved after first hearing a report by the town attorney or agent for the common, so that, for its defense, thereon be affixed the corresponding comments and corrections that he may deem are justified and pertinent. In the case that its proceeds have to be used for the common benefit of all the settlers under regulations that have been issued to guarantee their honest management and legitimate investment, and, if at the time there are no public monies whatever with which to meet the cost of its initial tilling, planting, and harvesting, the settlers and neighbors will be under obligation to get together and do this work themselves or have it done by their farm hands, oxen, and farm stock in an equitable manner, as arranged by the chairman of the town council, who will allot the farm chores so that everyone will share them equally, without exception as to settlers or neighbors whatsoever, and with the understanding that this work is to limit itself to the initial tilling, planting, and harvesting, the proceeds of which will be used in part to meet the cost of this work in subsequent seasons, with the rest remaining net for the benefit of the community fund and estate in order to be invested in the interest of public welfare, although, by the laws of the Kingdom, these assets may stand appropriated.

15. Having verified the land markings and adjustment of the eight plots of irrigable land in behalf of the town corporation, the rest that may be productive in its district, either

irrigable land or dry farming land, will be left for the benefit of the settlers to whom these lands will be distributed and granted subsequently as the settlers establish themselves in the town. And not being able to set a fixed rule on the number of plots that may be distributed and granted to each settler, there shall be left to the discretion of the chairman of the town council the power to regulate and grant those plots that he may consider sufficient for the support of the family of each settler, keeping in mind, on this account, the number of Indians that make up the settlement, including among said Indians those that can work and till the land; the farm implements and other tools that each has in order to undertake the work; and, finally the persevering assiduity of each, it being only just that he who is diligent shall receive, as reward for his work, a greater number of land plots than those who, because of idleness and lack of diligence, might leave untilled those lands assigned to them. Under these considerations the chairman of the town council will complete the first allotment among the then present settlers, without exceeding three plots, which he will grant to each, leaving the rest to be distributed among those who subsequently join the settlement and to the children of families who, upon marrying and in view of the industriousness and assiduity with which they have endeavored to till the first plots distributed, have earned the right to receive still others that are never to exceed a number equal to that assigned in the first allotment.

16. It being very convenient to the settlers that the number of land plots allotted to them be adjacent to one another, so as to facilitate their cultivation, without the inconveniences caused by the distance from one plot to another, the chairman of the town council shall try to keep this point in mind in order to give them, as far as possible, the benefit of consolidation of land, or at least the shortest distance from those that were first allotted. In order to avoid complaints that may arise due to some plots being better than others, once the plots are divided in the prescribed manner, the chairman of the town council shall proceed to carry out the first distribution by drawing lots, according to provisions pertaining to ground plots on Article 10 of this Brief.

17. The chairman of the town council in charge of the new settlement and the distribution of lands and ground plots, shall make a memorandum book or notebook to keep the original transactions relative to land distribution that he executes. This notebook shall be kept on file in the town house of the new settlement, and, in connection with it, he shall give each settler a certified deed or legal instrument explaining briefly, distinctly, and clearly the location and limits of the lots and ground plots respectively allotted. This legal instrument will serve the settlers as a title of ownership for themselves, their children, and descendants, the settlers being advised that, to this end, they must preserve this title, and, in case they should lose it, through some unforeseen circumstance, they can go to the town council and get an exact copy of the transaction kept on file for this purpose.

18. Both in the original transactions, as well as in the deeds or titles of ownership given to the settlers, the chairman of the town council shall specify that the ground plots are allotted and granted in the name of His Majesty, perpetually, forever, and by right of hereditament, for himself, his children, and descendants; he shall also specify the precise conditions that the settlers are to carry arms and keep horses and be ready to defend the country against the insults of enemies that may hostileize them, and to go against them

whenever so ordered; that they are to cultivate their lands and keep their homes and live with their families in the new settlement at least four years; that during this period they are not to alienate, mortgage, nor impose any encumbrance on the lands and ground plots that they were allotted, even though it may be with a charitable purpose; that within a specified period of two years they will keep under cultivation the lands they were granted or at least that they have started building their homes in the ground plots assigned to them, under penalty of losing them if they abandon them during this time, so that, once it has elapsed, these lands may be given to someone more diligent. Once these conditions are met and, after residing in their homes in the new settlement, for four years, they will acquire true ownership of the lands and ground plots allotted to them and of the houses and buildings erected on said lands. From then on they will have the right to sell them and do freely whatever they please, as their own and inalienable property, as provided by Law I, Title XII, Book IV of the *Compilation*, but with the condition that they are never to sell them or dispose of them in favor of a church, monastery, clergymen, church community, or any other of the so-called *mortmain*, or ecclesiastical corporations, as provided by Law X of the same book, under penalty of loss of property for any violator, in which case said lands and improvements shall be allotted to other persons; and, lastly that three months after receiving the land grant and allotments, they shall be under obligation to take possession of the ground plots and lands assigned to them and to set all the boundaries and limits of said lands, plant fruit trees or other trees that may be useful for the supply of the settlement, through which trees the district will enjoy a prosperous and attractive appearance. The settlers can take advantage of the fruit, wood, and lumber derived from them for domestic consumption and for the farm implements they may indispensably need, as provided by Law XI of the aforementioned title and book.

19. The benefit of irrigation being the principal means of making land productive and the most conducive to the development of the settlement, the chairman of the town council must be especially careful to allot the water so that all irrigable land can benefit from it, specially in the spring and summer when said water is most necessary to the sown fields in order to assure the harvest. For this purpose, the chairman, by making use of experts and skilled persons, will divide the land into sections or property, assigning to each settler a channel or irrigation ditch which will issue from the main or mother ditch, and which will carry the amount of water deemed sufficient for the irrigation of said lands during the aforementioned seasons of the year and other seasons, as needed. By these means each settler will know what channel and irrigation ditch is to be used in irrigating his land. The settler cannot nor shall have the right to usurp water belonging to another, nor can he take more water than what his own land is entitled to get. To this end and in order not to increase the amount of water to the detriment of the other settlers, back or farther down in the main ditch, it might be convenient to construct flood gates or sluices which must be made of lime and stone and which must be paid for by the settlers themselves.

20. In order for the settlers to enjoy equally and justly the benefits of the waters in proportion to the needs of their respective farm lands, every year the town council shall appoint a deputy or ditch boss for each ditch. This deputy will take care of water distribution to the farm lands comprising the district or property irrigated with said waters

in proportion to the need of this benefit and indicating by a schedule, which he will make up, the hours of the day or night when each land owner is to irrigate his farm lands; and, in order that, due to carelessness or indolence on the part of the owners, none of the lands that need irrigation shall be left unirrigated, in order not to lose the harvest, for, besides the personal damage, there also follows public loss and that of the community, which, in turn, then results in a dearth of commodities and food supplies; therefore, it will also be the duty of the ditch boss of each ditch to keep a farm hand or day laborer, with instructions as to the hours assigned to each property or farm land. This ditch guard, in the absence of the landowner, will take care of irrigating his lands. The charge of his work shall be set by the chairman of the town council or by the court and he shall be paid immediately by the owner of the lands that he has irrigated.

21. The repairs and cleaning that the main ditch needs for its conservation will be paid for by all the inhabitants, at a time set by the chairman of the town council in conjunction with the council, with each settler contributing personally with his work or, this failing, with the sum that, by allotment or *pro rata*, is assigned for him to pay to satisfy the farm hands. And, with respect to repairs and cleaning of the flood gates, sluices, or dividers and ditches used for irrigation of the districts or property into which the land must be divided, these too will be at the cost of the land owners or heirs whose land plots and properties are irrigated with them. The resulting cost, pro-rated according to the number of land plots owned by each in that section or property under the jurisdiction of the town council, will be distributed among the land owners, with the chairman of the town council making it clear that, without damage to the sown fields, the aforementioned cleaning and repairs have to be done.

22. In order to avoid damages and injury caused by cattle and sheep in the sown fields, which damages and injury are the result of carelessness on the part of the owners, the town council shall appoint each year two deputies or field guards, one of whom is to work during the day and the other at night. These public servants will swear in the town hall that they will perform their duties to the best of their ability and their depositions are to be believed, unless sufficient proof is offered to the contrary; they will be under obligation to watch by day and by night and to see to it that livestock cause no damages to sown fields belonging to the inhabitants, and to catch stock found in the act of causing said damages. The stock thus caught is to be placed in a corral built for this purpose by order of the town council and shall be designated as the town council corral. A citation shall be issued and the strays reported immediately to the authorities so that they will proceed immediately and without delay or formality to make an investigation and estimate of the damages caused and make the owner pay for said damages to the satisfaction of the owner of the sown fields that suffered the damages.

23. Since, in an effort to contain and avoid damages caused by livestock to sown fields, it is not sufficient to make the owners pay the estimated cost of said damages, it becomes necessary, in order to attain this end, to impose some other moderate pecuniary fine which, when demanded irremissibly in every case of violation, will make said owners care for their animals and keep them from causing damages again. And, since, in order to determine the above mentioned monetary fine, it is necessary to have a special, first-hand knowledge of

the country, of the condition of its inhabitants, and of the value set on their livestock, this point shall be left to the members of the town council so that, in conjunction with their chairman, they determine the fine that is to be imposed or required in cases of violation, seeing to it that the fine shall be heavier for damages caused at night, due to the greater difficulty involved in seizing the animals.

24. And, lastly it being the exclusive prerogative of town councils or town corporations, for they are more aware of what is to the best interest of the community which they represent, to decide and propose those points and provisions which they consider more practical and conducive to the best management and economic and political government of said community, and which provisions, when unanimously approved, become the type of municipal ordinances that must be obeyed as private laws of each settlement, as long as they do not conflict with the general laws established by the Sovereign, the town council of the new settlement shall enjoy this same authority and, in full use of it and proceeding by agreement with the commissioner upon its establishment, will decide and propagate those statutes or municipal ordinances which it deems more useful and practical. Of these ordinances it will render an account to this superior government so that, with its approval, they may be put into practice and observance.

[f. 150v, GLO copy continues:]

These are the general regulations adapted as completely as possible according to the laws of the Kingdom, which I believe can be sent to the commissioner so that they be observed in the establishment of the new settlement of Pitic. They are also applicable to any other settlement which may be formed. Of course, it is easily understood that in all places other, more specific [*menudas*] and particular measures shall be indispensable. It is impossible to vary the regulations and make them adequate for every new settlement without having a practical knowledge of the terrain in which the quality and circumstances of its settlers are to be verified, and without making other various combinations of regulations that time and experience subsequently make obvious. Therefore, it seems to me that if it please Your Lordship, you may consent and order that the proposed regulations be reviewed with the commissioner who is appointed for their observance and execution. Or, you may, however, resolve whatever may be to your pleasure.==Arispe, 22 December 1782.==Galindo Navarro.==This is a copy, San Diego, 25 April 1800.==Manuel Merino.==

This is a copy. [signed:] Cordero

[f. 152]

As clerk of the Royal Rents, I received twenty-two and a half reales from Lieutenant Don Ignacio Arrambide for forty-five sheets of official government paper which

were provided because there was no required sealed paper left. This was done so that he may act as chief justice of the new town of San Marcos de Neve which Señor Don Governor Antonio Cordero has already declared. San Antonio de Béxar, 2 April 1808.

[signed:] Francisco José Pereyra.

[f. 153]

In the town of San Marcos de Neve on the ninth day of April of eighteen hundred and eight, before me Don Juan Ignacio Arrambide, Lieutenant of the Cavalry Company of the Presidio of Bahía del Espíritu Santo and chief justice of this territory by authority of Señor Colonel Don Antonio Cordero y Bustamante, Governor of the Province of Coahuila, Interim Governor of Texas, and Commander of Arms of its coasts and borders, appeared Don José Salinas, whom I testify to know. As one of the new residents allowed by Your Lordship and in the name of His Majesty (Whom God protect), I gave possession of a lot having thirty varas frontage and sixty in depth on the plaza of this town. On it, he is to build a residence for himself, his sons, heirs, and successors with the duty to construct, fence, and contribute to all taxes that he is obligated to pay as a settler. He is likewise required to maintain arms and horses for its defense and that of the King's domains to the extent he is able. That being the case and to remain understood, the interested party signed it in the said town, on the day, month, and year stated, with two witnesses in attendance since there was no public notary.

[signed:] Juan Ignacio de Arrabmide

In attendance

[signed:] Miguel Pando

[Note variant spelling of *Arrabmide*]

In attendance

[signed:] José Ignacio Ibañez

SOURCE: Spanish Collection, General Land Office (Austin), Box 129, Folder 20: ff. 179-89.

[f. 179]

[printed:] Two reales.

THIRD SEAL, TWO REALES, YEARS OF ONE THOUSAND

[SEAL]

EIGHTEEN-HUNDRED EIGHT AND EIGHTEEN-HUNDRED NINE.

[written:] Valid during the reign of the lord Ferdinand
the Seventh.

[signed:] Salcedo.

Dear Governor:

Don Felipe Roque de la Portilla, married, native of the Kingdoms of Castile, Diocese of Santander, resident and original settler of the new town of San Marcos de Neve since before it was so founded, and prostrate at your feet with the proper respect, place in your hands the attached document in four useful folios. I hope that you will deign to read its contents, and having done so, order that it be joined to this letter. In it, I state the unfortunate distress in which I find myself. From this have flowed my great losses and damages; and consequently, I have made only small contributions to the growth of this new town and to the service of both Majesties. I hope that you, like a father, deign to take pity on the misfortunes and labors of his sons.

I raised this convoy and took it from its homeland, settlers as well their menservants [*sirvientes*]. I exposed my family and small fortune which I had acquired through much hardship and labor over many years in this Kingdom; and, more importantly, also exposed my credit. I decided to do this because when I came to see these lands, for myself and in the name of my companions, no one had legal title to them. After I had presented myself to this government, to Colonel Antonio Cordero, his Lordship told me that he had commissioned Lieutenant Arrambide for the said settlements. His lordship ordered Arrambide to accompany me on the said examination. Arrambide was not to set apart a summer pasture for me, but was to grant me a square [*que me cuadrara*], provided it was unoccupied. We departed the following day. Having arrived at Guadalupe Point [*punto de Guadalupe*], [f. 179v] I told him that I wanted to see the place [*paraje*] or pasture called Tío Jerónimo's. He told me that Your Lordship had already granted it. The place is unsettled to this day and is reputed to be the best one, because it offers more conveniences than any other. It also promises fewer cost for its founders, which advantages would have been very useful to us. Finally, we arrived at San Marcos. He placed me

where we are with our belongings. At that time, Captain Treviño was there with his troops. He gave me to understand, through the said Señor Arrambide, that there would always be an armed force like his, or its equal, for the defense of the settlers.

I likewise understood that the necessary seed and grain [*semillas*] would be given to us to plant and to feed us, for all my companions as well as for the menservants, until we were able to reap a harvest. And until we returned what we owed, little by little.

He also told me that by having ten residents, our spiritual nourishment would be provided with our own priest.

That we would be provided with firearms to protect our harvests, and to defend ourselves and our property.

That a primary schoolmaster would be hired and that he had almost found one.

That drawing water from the river would be provided immediately for the irrigation of our fields, since the river had much water, was not at all difficult to draw, and that the King would pay for the costs.

That the government was making an attempt, with great determination, to bring twenty-five Tlaxcaltecan families who would advance the work. He did not doubt that this would come about because he was certain that all attention and effort would be placed on that town.

Since as a child I have heard it said that Our Sovereign enjoins his settlers and protects them in His principles, I did not doubt at all what he told me. Well, since he was the commissioner for the people of that town, he may have been informed of superior dispositions in its favor. Furthermore, [f. 180] under this assurance and disposition, he was compromised to protect our interests. He enjoyed the satisfaction that all of his proposals had always been received well by the superior government. And he was given all the credit. According to his reports, that settlement had begun and was affirmed by the commission which he had. As I saw it, he established his merit in the said proposals to have the commission that he was performing. Thus, I had no reason to doubt him and I blindly submitted to his proposals. I left to tell my companions and menservants all of these advantages. Upon this, they resolved to accompany me to settle this place. *Until then it was particularly feared, by both travelers as well as troops, because of the barbarous infidels.* Thus I did not doubt giving my word to the government and *devote myself to gain their support. They will strive to help me fulfill my word. In particular, when I was told that an account had already been given to the commandancy and to the King as is expressed in detail in the cited document on folios two recto to the end. To comply with this, I am in danger of losing my honor and the reputation that I have with my creditors, not to mention the small principal which I had acquired.* By the great goodness of God, eighteen months have passed and none of the promises of the said commissioner have been met.

All of which the said companions say to my face every instant. The only thing is that last year a priest did go to hear the people's confessions on Good Friday, even though all of the families had not yet arrived with the horse herd.

By this date, which is 13 May, we have yet to receive this spiritual help even though there are many more of us and in spite of having a *jacal* ready for the purpose.

In this way I beseech Your Lordship on my behalf, [f. 180v] for my companions, menservants, and in the name of all the residents, that you deign by God to order to help us in this spiritual need. And if it cannot be done now, at least during the annual requirement. It is not possible for the menservants to leave the property exposed to danger. Neither does our poverty allow us to leave from there.

Everyday, the menservants threaten to quit and leave me with my belongings thrown about. I have no recourse in these remote and isolated places to replace them. Nor do I have the means to because of my debts. It is already one and a half years that I do not give them provisions. For this reason they are nearly naked, as we are also. I am sustaining them by coming to see Your Lordship. It is painful for me to lessen the harvest, so as not to become delinquent with my creditors.

Sir, the armed force there, is not the equal of that at Colorado and Guadalupe. The latter do not have to guard residents nor goods and chattels [*bienes de campo*], save the most necessary for the Royal service. Even though the residents report whatever news that occurs, they are not given credence nor are any precautions taken. The post commander's response is that there are no people and that the truth be ascertained. Sir, it is inarguable that soon, for 1600 mares, cows, *etc.*, that will be in San Marcos in a short time, a few other menservants will be necessary. If livestock is corralled, they will be killed; if they are gathered, they would blight everything in their path and would not eat; and finally, this is no [f. 181] way to breed, nor would they breed, nor maintain themselves. Neither the pastures nor the watering-holes allow it, nor will its produce support it. It is impossible for the menservants that are working during the day to watch the whole night through without reliefs. This cannot happen. And even if it were possible, the pastures are surrounded on every side with woods and thickets [*monte*]. Whatever was wanted could be taken, not only at night, but even during the day.

The herd of brood mares feed only on what they eat on the range. It sustains them and thus it is indispensable to free them at night. The next day in the woods and brush [*monte*], it takes time to gather them. By the time the number missing is determined and its cause is investigated, two or three days have passed. If Indians are responsible, it is too late to do anything. And by the time one comes to the capital to report it, it cannot be remedied.

It is for this reason, Sir, that all of the settlers have been left almost on foot, without a tame horse herd. The Indians are taking them, little by little: by two, by four, by eight, even by nineteen at a time. This happened a few days ago when the Comanches were there and they took the said livestock. It was not until after four days that the cause was investigated by the cowboys [*vaqueros*], who found fresh signs of fire, grills, whole bones, and skins of a mare from the tame herd and of one cow which they killed and ate in very thick woods [*monte muy espeso*] in a bend in the river, difficult to find and enter--which can still be seen today. This has just been confirmed now with the horse and the mule that they brought from the said nation to this [f. 181v] government, and which were delivered to me. Their colors and brand are included in the list submitted of those that were missing.

The said commander let the said nation pass there and camp below my ranch in spite of the inhabitants and reports that were given to him of their bad signs that were observed by day and night. Realizing that nothing more could be done there, it happened quite by chance that Captain Casal and Lieutenant Múzquiz were there with their troops on an other matter. They followed the tracks of the said horse herd and of a herd that was rented, but they were unable to overtake the said Indians.

Most of the Indian parties that come and go to the said town do minor or great damage there because they join together into a large group, sneaking about until they take something or slaughter a cow.

The Tancahue nation, which we continuously have upon us, camp in the place set aside as the pasture and in the center of town. This results in cows with their ropes around the neck, some wounded and some dead. This happens among the horses as well, those that the cowboys let loose maimed. The Tancahue frighten and drive away the horse herd with their running of deer and the rest, and even with their smell and sight the livestock is frightened because the Indians keep crossing the pasture.

All that is cited should be seen as indispensable in this presentation to Your Lordship, in case you should deign to decide something in our favor. If Your Lordship does not know what we need or what we suffer, how may you effect a remedy? Thus I humbly beseech Your Lordship, for myself, my companions, residents, and menservants, that you deign to grant us the favor to order a slight increase in troops. Also, that Your Lordship effect the remedy which you find convenient so that by this means we recover something. We are all terrified and cling together in fear. [f. 182] In this respect, the Indians will be contained and they will be restrained, according to Your Lordship's clear will.

In like manner, I inform Your Lordship that with all my companions and menservants, we are without firearms. Without them we are exposed to every risk. Since it has been impossible for us to get them from anyplace, we hope that Your Lordship will think it fitting to supply them to us so we may protect our harvests.

I paid for all of the costs of such a protracted transport; of all of the people, that without the soldiers, totaled 52 souls; as well as the maintenance and baggage. Six pack mules even died [*se peligraron*] on the way. Even now, I am bearing the major portion of expenses. Outside of the little with which I help them, the poor people are taking for their most urgent needs from the goods and property [*bienes*] that I gave them. Thus, they are making it impossible for themselves to be able to pay me back.

We are all now planting, although with much toil. We are managing with an incomplete set of tools. And to clear the field for corn, we do not have a hoe.

We have been left without household items to use in the homes, for whatever did not break on the journey has been lost.

I, my companions, and menservants have not received any allowance. And the residents say the same thing. Nor do we ask or claim one. But only mention it if Your Lordship deign to look upon us with loving eyes.

The menservants suspect that I may have appropriated some allowance of theirs. It is very necessary to assure them of the contrary. This suits me so that my valued conduct and integrity, which I have always known how to maintain, remain undamaged.

They assume the responsibility of reviewing my constancy, effort, and the interests which [f. 182v] I have sacrificed.

Regarding our goods and chattels [*bienes de campo*], we cannot have progress, nor any increase, nor hardly keep them alive since part of them goes to the wild stock [*mesteñas*], another part is taken by the Indians, and another we eat. Since we have no grain, meat is our reserve [*troja*].

The young livestock [*cría*] is eaten by wolves. This we cannot remedy because we do not have the means to get the necessary implements. This is due as much to our poverty, as by the distance of the resources and the work spent in planting and building. But for these, we would have made some places [*loveras*] for the bothersome animals and their howling would keep the wild stock [*mesteñada*] away.

All of my credits, Sir, are nearing default. The first is due by September of this year and totals 6,132 pesos, 3-1/2 reales as stated in the cited document. I think that if all my property in this area were sold, it would barely cover the said debt. And I would be unable to maintain my family. Nonetheless, I would be happy provided my creditors were paid in full. But I doubt it. Because in similar situations, what is worth ten is sold at five in good condition. But the last of the creditors would be the most hurt, because there would be nothing left for them. Only the first creditors would be paid in full, while the other innocents would be liable.

[f. 183] These concerns, Sir, are the ones that worry me, keep me awake, and make tears of blood flow (and not those of having lost my principal costs). I leave this at the mercy of Your Lordship's consideration.

Sir, I am left with only one recourse with which I think that I would be satisfied in the middle of this sea of tribulations. That is, that you in the name of Our Sovereign would deign to grant me the favor (without being a precedent) by which I would travel to interior Spanish lands to sell 300 mules and horses for common silver coin. I ask this for myself and my companions, so that I, as I want to, can pay my creditors in full. Even if I were to take the said animals, the brood stock would remain unharmed for increase. Relieved by this means of the business affairs which enclose me, I would supply the necessary implements which we all lack.

I, Sir, have no further remedy nor benefit here than my valued conduct. Nor do I have the capacity to dress my reasonings which I present to Your Lordship naked, born and begotten [f. 183v] from my grave necessity. For which, I beseech Your Lordship's mercy and that you deign to excuse my poorly stated and extensive explanation. My discourse does not extend to a more succinct manner to manifest to Your Lordship my condition and concerns. Thus I hope that your high capacity will give you the intelligence based upon the spirit with which I write, and not from where they come nor who I am. Likewise, I hope that you deign to protect me with the mantle of pity (where I take refuge) so that I leave consoled from your presence, and I get up from your feet comforted. And if it were necessary to avail myself of your help, I would give you whatever draft that Your Lordship would find suitable. Likewise, if it were necessary, to send me immediately whatever is convenient, so that my outcries be given the faith that they deserve in this my sincere petition. Therefore:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship deign to order as I ask, for which accept many thanks. I completely swear that I ask this without malice, and for what is necessary, *etc.*

Another thing, and only if it is convenient for the one who presents the Royal license with which he travels to these dominions, I shall verify it.

Also, that having decided by Your Lordship's authority what is suitable, you deign to order the return of all the documents and the others which are executed, if possible, because this will benefit me [f. 184] in the future.

[signed:] Felipe Roque de la Portilla.

[f. 185]

Town of San Marcos de Neve, 1 May 1809.

Declaration of the goods and chattels [*bienes de campo*] transported from the Colony of Nuevo Santander to the settlement of this new town at the expense and request of Don Felipe Roque de la Portilla, native of the Kingdoms of Castile, Diocese of Santander.

Married Settlers.

Families	Person(s)
1...Of Don Felipe Roque with	9.
1...Also of Don Juan Ramírez	6.
1...Don Pedro Flores	4.
1...Don José Gil Gómez	3.
1...Don José Mateo Gómez	3.

Married Menservants.

Families	Person(s)
1...Pedro Salazar	2.
1...Santos Hernández	4.
1...Basilio Gómez	2.
1...José María Castañeda	4.
1...Ignacio Cantú	3.

Single Menservants.

Francisco Gómez == Pedro Gómez == Eustaquio Cantú == José
Eleuterio == Máximo Salazar == Estanislao Salazar == who all total . . . 6.

Menservants of Ramírez, Flores, and Solís.

Alejandro Peña == Jesús Valdez == Manuel Bárcena == José María
García == and Juan Nepomuceno, who total 5.

Primary Schoolmaster

Don Esteban García 1.

10 Families with 52.
persons

[f. 185v]

Note.

José María del Barrio, married, with 4 persons. I brought him as a manservant, but shortly thereafter he enlisted as a soldier. He is not counted in the total number since he is not here. He left owing me 13 pesos and some reales which Captain Treviño, who admitted him into his company, did not want to pay me.

Goods and chattels that, among all of us, we brought from the said Colony.

Cattle or bovine 1,625.

1,024 reached San Marcos. 601 head were lost.

Now there are . . . 730, and 294 are now missing. Added to the earlier ones the total losses increase to 895 head.

Twenty-four herds of brood mares for horses and mules which numbered a little over 1,400. On the way, 108 head were lost. There was not as much loss on the road because there was more water; although this was not generally the case.

Now there are 18 herds, 6 are missing. For death affected many due to the foreignness of the land with its many cold fronts [*tantos fríos*] as well as to the wild herds [*mesteñas*] and Indians.

45 brood she-asses, 5 were lost on the way. And 35 now exist. Thus, 10 in all are missing. In this, the majority were lost to wolves. Consequently, they leave no young livestock that they do not eat.

18 asses or lead burros [*manaderos*] for the young mule herds. There are now 12. The wolves have eaten those that are missing.

On 8 December of the year of 1807, half of the families left the said Colony with the large livestock [*ganado mayor*]. They arrived at San Marcos on 8 February of the following year of 1808, before it was declared a town. They spent [f. 186] two rigorous months on the journey of very cruel freezes and snowfalls. And we had five days without water. We had the luck of getting the most rigorous year of

drought which caused many losses of the said livestock, and many thirsts, hardships, and afflictions among the women and children.

On the first day of September of the said year of 1808, we, the remaining families, left that province with the horse herd. We arrived at San Marcos on the eighth of October of the said year. We spent a month and eight days on the road. Since there were not yet any houses in the said post upon the arrival of the said families so that they might lodge while they were built, it was necessary for us to take refuge in the shelter of the woods [*montes*]. We endured all the severity of the winter and summer. It broke our heart to see the children. Nonetheless, it was necessary not to lose sight of the animals. The people could not provide enough for one or another with the brief time that necessity required. It was no less inconvenient for the lack of enough axes.

Likewise, we had the luck of getting the two leanest years for seed and grain [*semillas*] that could be seen. As a result, we have sustained ourselves mostly with meat, as we still do. In spite of the fact that seed and grain can now be found, it has caught us very spent and otherwise engaged.

Equipment [*habilitación*] that Portilla gave as a loan without any fee to the settlers to leave the Colony, arrange his journey, and pay his creditors, so that he may come out with all honor. It was likewise given to them so that they strive to help me fulfill my word which I had given to Señor Cordero, who had given me to understand that he had reported all regarding this transport to the Commander General and to the King.

To Don Juan Ramírez in reales	300p0
Also to the same, 50 brood cows appraised at 7 pesos	350-0

Carried forward on the next page. 650-0

[f. 186v]

Brought forward from the previous page	650-0
To Don Pedro Flores in reales	080-0
To the same, 25 brood cows appraised at 7 pesos	175-0
To Don José Gil Gómez in reales	072-0
To the same, 25 brood cows appraised at 7 pesos	175-0
To Don José Mateo Gómez in reales	035-0
To the same, 1 cow at	007-0
To the married and single menservants, 1 brood cow each, which appear to be 14, appraised at 7 pesos	098-0
To Corporal José de Jesús Solís of the Squadron of Camargo who brought 200-odd head of cattle, and who later was unable to acquire the license to transfer his family from that province, in reales	300-0

Amounts to. . . . 1,592-0

I help the schoolmaster Don Esteban García with housing [*asistencia en casa*], 50 pesos per year since there are few children, and his supplies.

[signed:] Felipe Roque de la Portilla

[f. 187]

The aid we received is the following:

Troop escort from the boundary line dividing the two provinces to San Marcos.

Also 620 pesos, paid in advance, for 62 head of cattle which I arranged at the Paymaster's Office of Béxar. I immediately readied them for delivery in sound condition, but Captain Varela did not wish to accept them lest the soldiers lose them. They would be received a few at a time, as is being done with a voucher that he sends me every now and then [*cada mil años*]. Far from doing me any good, it is doing me harm for I am suffering that much more costs and losses.

I have been urging that they take delivery of them from me, but it has not been possible. I have observed that they buy elsewhere.

The settler José Mateo Gómez told me that Captain Arrambide had furnished him with three pesos.

This is all. [signed:] Felipe Roque de la Portilla.

Declaration of my current debits.

To The Béxar Paymaster's Office I owe six-hundred pesos incorrectly counted as a result of the settling of accounts on the heads of cattle mentioned above. This is to be paid with cattle, as recorded by contract	600-0
To Don Ambrosio María de Aldasoro, engaged in commerce in Monterrey	2,639-7
Also to the same, the interest of the said amount at 6% for 2 years. It matures in September of the present years	0,318-0

Carried forward on the next page . . . 3,557p7

[f. 187v]

Brought forward from the previous page	3,557p7
To Don Pedro Villarreal, of the Congregation of Refugio	0,482-0
Also to the same, 102 brood cows rented at 4 reales per head per year, with the condition that if they die I am to pay him each at 7 pesos	0,714-0
Also to the same, the revenue for 1-1/2 years of the said cattle	0,076-4
To Don Matías García, of the said settlement	0,098-0
To Don José María Villarreal, of the same	0,020-0
To Don Juan Antonio Estanillo, engaged in commerce in Mexico City	0,229-0
To Captain Cantú of Salinas, resident in Béxar, on account of one manservant [<i>mozo</i>]	0,076-0
To Don Antonio Baca, of Béxar	0,102-2 1/2
To Don Apolinario, engaged in commerce in Béxar	0,134-6
To Don Melchor Ruiz, engaged in commerce in Camargo	0,500-0
To the tithe collector of the Congregation of Refugio, Don Vicente López de Herrera, on account of the young livestock that was just born	0,080-0
To Vitorino, the carpenter, resident of San Marcos	0,020-0
To Dionisio López, resident of El Alamo, on account of seed and grain for everyone	0,042-0

This is the amount that I owe	6,132p-3-1/2

to these individuals. The last term matures in September of the current year.

[signed:] Felipe Roque de la Portilla.

[f. 188]

This is in answer to your official letter of the 27th of the present month and return in it the request of Don Felipe Roque de la Portilla which you forwarded to me. I must tell you that for this settler as well as for the others that presented themselves for the new establishment of the town of Neve, I made no other agreement than the one which is pursuant to the regulation which governs these settlements. Which document I delivered to Lieutenant Juan Ignacio Arrambide, now Captain, who led the settling families to that point. He did so as my commissioner for that establishment, as you may have seen by the records in the archive in your charge to which I refer.

May God keep you many years. Béxar, 30 June 1809.

[signed:] Antonio Cordero

[To:] Señor Governor, Don
Manuel de Salcedo.

[f. 189]

Declaration of the property that I have in fact on the day stated and
of the buildings which I have made.

14--Herds of brood mares each composed of 25 with their studhorse and 8 for breeding mules.

10--tame burros or lead animals for the mares.

200--mules with a high brand [*de fierro arriva*], poorly counted.

20--odd horses. All are the worst because the best have been taken by the Indians and some have joined the wild herds [*mesteñas*].

20--odd brood she-asses.

300--odd head of cattle or bovines.

1--ranch house of eighteen varas in length, with three living rooms [*salas*], two bedrooms [*aposentos*], two pantries [*alacenas*], and roofed with cypress bark. It is generally said to be very good.

1--corral *de estantería* of sixty Solomonian paces square, with its two bull pens [*toriles*] of sixty paces in length and thirty in width between the two, and four gates with their hinges and crossbars, perfectly made. It is generally said to be very good.

1--corral *de barda* to separate the pregnant livestock.

1--A cultivable field [*labor*] that was a tall, dense grove of trees in which four men have worked two months, and they have not yet finished. It promises many advantages, as is generally said. It is on this side of the river.

On the other side of the river

in front of the ranch is where the horses graze,

1--corral *de enlatado*, with a provisional bull pen.

1--A pasture [*potrero*] that I have just made in the said summer pasture [*agostadero*] for the tame horse herd so that they not go astray so easily. Notwithstanding that it has its groom [*caballerango*].

1--A *jacal* in the town which for now is twelve varas in length, with a bedroom [*aposento*], roofed with grass.

[f. 189v]

1--A separate kitchen of six varas in length, also roofed with grass.

1--A cultivable field fenced haphazardly in which we are planting for now and until the principal one is finished.

I have delivered to Sergeant Granados, the commander of the town, one manservant [*mozo*] so that in the company of the inhabitants they make a *jacal* that would serve temporarily as a church and another for the school. Measures for which are already made. This is the truth.

[signed:] Felipe Roque de la Portilla.

GRANTEES OF LAND AT SAN MARCOS DE NEVE

Don	José Salinas
	Juan de Ayamontes
	Pedro Gallegos
	José María Carrillo
	Felipe Montoya
	Juan Soto
Don	Felipe Lapontilla
	Juan Ramírez
	Mateo Gómez
Don	Visente Flores
	Gil Gómez
	Saferino Losoya
Don	Pedro Flores

APPENDIX 4

ORDERS RELATING TO THE POST ON THE COLORADO RIVER

Presented in this appendix are two short documents from the Bexar Archives. They relate to the appointment of Militia Captain Don Ylarion Gutiérrez to the military post on the Colorado River and to his relief due to ill health. They are an example of the day-to-day functioning of the military, which aspect in part makes the *Camino de Arriba* a *camino real*. The documents also suggest a fraction of the wealth of information available in the Béxar and other archives.

TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

by John W. Clark, Jr.

G - F By the order of Your Lordship of the 18th of October last and the insert to the militia captain of the colony of Nuevo Santander, Don Ylarion Gutiérrez is informed that this officer must take charge of the command of the posts of the *camino real* of this village on the Colorado and San Marcos rivers because lieutenant Don Miguel Serrano who was in command is ill. He must provide me his post (mail) and reach an understanding with me concerning all that is provided and observe the orders found in the power of interim commander of San Marcos.

God grant Your Lordship many years

Béxar

3rd of November 1806

José Joaquín Ugarte

Señor Governor Coronel Don Antonio Cordero

G - F Por la orden de V.S. de 18 de octubre ultimo y la inserta al capitán de Milicias de la colonia del Nuevo Santander Dⁿ. Ylarion Gutiérrez quedo impuesto de que este oficial deve encargarse del mando de las apostadas del camino Real de esta villa sobre el Río Colorado y San Marcos, por haverse enfermado el Alferéz Dⁿ. Miguel Serrano que lo obtenia, que me deveria pasar sus partes, entenderse inmediatamente con migo en todo lo

que se ofrezca y observar las ordenes que hallara en poder del comandante interino de San Marcos.

Dios que a V.S. M^s. a^s. Béxar
3 de Noviembre de 1806

Jose Joaqⁿ.
Ugarte

S^r. Gov^{or}. Coronel Dⁿ. Antonio Cordero

His Lordship Comandante General on the date 27th of June last, there comes to me the following.

By order of your Lordship number 852 of the 26th of last May and the one which is attached to the orders of the commanders of the Viceregal Militia Corps which serve in this province, please be informed that the captain of these same corps, Don Hilarion Gutiérrez, posted bond last month asking leave from service in his corps. Immediately following my granting leave for him to cure himself he avowed that he is unable to serve in campaigns. You are asked to inform the cited commander in the established terminology requesting the replacement of said officer because of the vacancy in his company.

I transfer this to your Lordship for your information and records.

God guard your Lordship at Béxar, 17 July 1808

[Note variation of spelling; *Hilarion* / *Ylarion Gutiérrez*]

El Señor Comandante General con fecha 27 de Junio ultimo me previene lo siguiente.

Por oficio de V.S. n^o. 852 de 26 de Mayo ultimo y el que acompaña del comandante de los cuerpos de Milicias del Virreynato que hacen el servicio en esa provincia, quede enterado de que al capitan de los mismos cuerpos Dⁿ. Hilarion Gutiérrez solo se le abonó el haver respectivo á el ultimo mes en que pasó revista en su cuerpo: ynmediante á que despues de la licencia que le concedi para curarse, ha acreditado su inutilidad para el servicio de campaña, advierta V.S.: al referido comandante q^e. en los terminos establecidos solicite el reemplazo de dicho oficial; pues deve hacer falta en su compañía.

Y lo traslado a Vm para su inteligencia y cumplimiento.

Dios que a Vm m^s. a^s. Béxar 17 de Julio de 1808

APPENDIX 5

THE LEGAL BASIS OF THE ROADS

by John W. Clark, Jr.

One of the concerns in this study is to locate, in so far as possible the Spanish Colonial and Republic of Texas period laws concerning the legal aspects of roads, including responsibility for maintenance and administration. For the Spanish Colonial period, the basic source of information is the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*. Several items from the 1841 edition are presented here.

Libro Cuarto
Titulo Diez y Seis
Ley Primera

D. Felipe II en Madrid á 16 de agosto de 1563.

Que se hagan y reparen puentes y caminos d costa de los que recibieren beneficio.

Los vireyes, ó presidentes gobernadores se informen si en sus distritos es necesario hacer, y facilitar los caminos, fabricar, y aderezar las puentes, y hallando que conviene alguna de estas obras para el comercio, hagan tasar el costo, y repartimiento entre los que recibieren el beneficio, y mas provecho, guardando con los indios la forma contenida en la ley 7, tit. 15, de este libro. (1)

(1) En la ley 10, tit. 16, lib 2, se manda á los oidores que no se mezelen en estas cosas, y que traten de espedir sus pleitos conforme á su obligacion.

That bridges and roads are repaired at the cost of those who receive benefit.

The viceroys or presiding governors are informed that if it is necessary to make and facilitate the construction or repair of bridges, and finding these works convenient for commerce, they are to assess the cost and divide it among those who receive the benefit. And to be more beneficial to make sure that the Indians share the work in the manner described in Law 7 title 15 of this book. (2)

(2) In Law 10, title 16, book 2, it is ordered that the judges do not become involved in these things and that they try to expedite their suits according to their obligations.

Libro Cuarto
Titulo Dies y Siete
Ley IV (Part)

El mismo alli á 17 de diciembre de 1614. Ejecutoria de el consejo por sentencias de 10 de mayo y 16 de octubre de 1665.

Que de Portobelo á Panamá no se tragine carga que pase de ocho arrobas y media.

Ordenamos que los mercaderes de Portobelo, y Panamá no puedan dar, ni entregar, ni de los dueños de requas recibir, ni traer en ellas ningunas cargas, que pesen mas de ocho arrobas y media, de forma que cada tercio tenga cuatro arrobas y libras, que no pase de las dichas ocho arrobas y media la carga, en fardos, cajonse, baules, barriles, ú otras piezas de qualquier género que sean, liadas ó por labrar; y los cajones de plata que escedieren de cuatro arrobas y media de peso, no se abran, y se admitan, como no pase de nueve arrobas la carga, y los demas cajones de los otros géneros, pasando de cuatro arrobas y media, se regulen por una carga

That from Portabelo to Panama no loads should be heavier than 8 □ arrobas (215 pounds).

We order that the merchants of Portabelo and Panama should not give, send or, the owners of droves, to receive or carry with them any loads over 8 □ arrobas in the manner that each third have four arrobas and a few pounds, and that it does not go over the said 8 □ arrobas as bales, crate, chests, barrels or other pieces whatever kind they may be, packed or loose, of iron, raw or worked copper or refined copper. The crates of silver that exceed 4 □ arrobas in weight are not to be opened and can be carried if they do not weigh more than nine arrobas per load. The other crates of other kinds over 4 □ arrobas are to be regulated by load

Libro Cuarto
Titulo Diez y Siete
Ley primera

El emperador don Carlos y la emperatriz gobernadora en Valladolid á 13 de mayo de 1558.
El mismo alli, y los reyes de Bohemia á 16 de julio de 1550.

Que las justicias hagan dar á los caminantes los bastimentos y recaudo necesario, y haya aranceles.

Mandamos á los vireyes, presidentes, gobernadores, y justicias, que dén las órdenes convenientes, para que en las posadas, mesones y ventas, se dén á los caminantes bastimentos, y recaudo necesario, pagándolo por su justo precio, y que no se les hagan estorsiones, ni malos tratamientos, y todos tengan arancel de los precios jastos, y acomodados al tragin, y comercio. (3)

(3) Sobre caminos, ademas de la real orden que se cita sobre la ley primera del título anterior, véase la de 2 de diciembre de 94, en que se ha declarado privativo el conocimiento de caminos al superior gobierno, y que las apelaciones se concedan solo para S.M. por la via reservada de G. y J.

That the justices see that travelers are given supplies and required bond and that there are tariffs.

We order the viceroys, presidents, governors, and justices to give appropriate orders so that the inns, taverns and shelters provide supplies and bonds necessary to travelers, paying them a just price. They should not extort or maltreat them. All are to have just fees and be accommodated to the work and commerce. (4)

(4) Concerning roads, although the royal order cited in the first law of the preceding title, see that of December 2, '94 in which the knowledge of roads has been declared privileged to the higher government and that their names are given only by his majesty by discretion of governors and judges.

Libro Cuarto
Titulo Diez y Siete
Ley II

D. Felipe II en Aranjuez á 23 de noviembre de 1568.

Que no se impida la libertad de caminar cada uno por donde quisiere.

Algunos vecinos tienen ventas y tambos en los caminos, que antiguamente se traginaban, cerca de ríos y pasos [difíciles], y los caminantes, y arrieros han descubierto otros mas breves, y mejores, y los vecinos interesados en que hagan noche y medio día en sus ventas y tambos, para poderles vender sus bastimentos, y otras cosas salen á los caminos, y los hacen volver, y no consienten que vayan por los nuevamente descubiertos, en que los caminantes reciben notorio agravio: Mandamos á los vireyes, audiencias, y gobernadores, que no lo permitan, y provean lo que convenga, para que cada uno pueda caminar con libertad por donde quisiere.

That the liberty for everyone to travel where he wishes not be impeded.

Some residents have shelters and inns on the roads which were, in early time, placed near rivers and difficult fords. Travelers and mule drivers have since discovered other shorter and better routes, and the concerned residents, who work night and day in their shelters and inns to enable them to sell supplies and other things, go to the road and make the travelers return to the inns and do not consent to them searching for new discoveries which scandalizes and aggrieves the travelers. We direct the viceroys and governors not to permit this and promote the liberty of travel anywhere by anyone.

These laws are only a few of the rules and regulations concerning roads. There are no doubt others within the *Recopilación* and many others in the viceregal and local archives. The information on mule loads is interesting and suggestive of the possibilities of valuable research that can be done on the *arrieros*. Certainly the last law cited is interesting with regard to the *paraje* of Caramanchel as a possible site where supplies were sold.

APPENDIX 6

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF DOCUMENTS IN THE SALTILLO MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES AND GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF COAHUILA

A very significant part of the study of the Old San Antonio Road has been the consultation of original Spanish sources in several archives. These documents have provided detailed data that are currently unavailable in secondary sources. The original data was most helpful in locating the routes on the ground and for an understanding of policies and events related to the road. Several archival sources were consulted in Austin but it was also considered very important to explore those in Mexico. Marta Rodriguez G., director of the Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, and Carlos Valdés Dávila, director of the Archivo General del Estado, were contacted. They were able to locate quite a large number of documents and photocopied a representative sample for this report.

Of the documents selected for copying, all show the wide variety of topics covered. They also indicate the untapped rich resource available to researchers of early Texas history. The value of these documents is obvious, and the SDHPT is grateful for the interest and cooperation displayed by Ms. Rodriguez and Mr. Valdéz, and their staffs in a preliminary survey of relevant information.

In this appendix, brief abstracts of selected documents are provided to illustrate the significance and variety of the source material. The illustrated documents are divided into two parts: those dealing directly with Texas, and those dealing with localities and events along the road in Coahuila, especially the area of Guerrero, Coahuila, as represented by the missions of San Bernardo, San Juan Bautista, San Francisco, and the Presidio del Río Grande. An additional portion of this appendix reproduces selected examples of these documents. Copies of the documents are on file with D-8E, SDHPT, Austin.

DOCUMENT ABSTRACTS

PART I

1. Carta de fray Francisco peñasco de Lozano sobre su viaje de la Villa del Saltillo al Río de las Sabinas: Las Sabinas, 10 febrero 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 191.1, f. 1-2v.

4 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones, C1, E3, 4F.

2. Carte de fray Jerónimo de Talavera sobre la cristianización de los naturales de Coahuila; habla de las tiranías que han empleado con ellos los españoles: Saltillo, 15 febrero 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 191.3, f. 5-6.

3 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones, C1, E4, 5F.

3. Carta de fray Juan Larios al padre comisario general sobre su entrada a la provincia de Coahuila: Saltillo, 26 febrero 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 191.5, f. 8-9v.

4 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones, C1, E5, 4F.

4. Carta de fray Francisco Peñasco de Lozano sobre su llegada a la nueva población de Santa Rosa de Santa María de la Nueva Coahuila: Santa Rosa de Santa María y Valle de la Concepción, 7 julio 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 191.2, f. 3-4.

3 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones, C1, E7, 3F.

5. Carta de fray Juan Larios al padre provincial en que le pide interceda ante la Real Audiencia [de Guadalajara] para que se fomente la conversión de las provincias de Coahuila y Cíbola: San José del Parral, 15 septiembre 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 191.7, f. 12-14.

5 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones C1, E4, 34F.

6. Memoria de las naciones que tienen dada la obediencia hasta el día de hoy que asisten en la provincia de Coahuila de la Cíbola, Cuatro Ciénegas, Río del Norte y La Caldera: 30 diciembre 1674.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 12, Exp. 192.1, f. 1-1v.

2 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones B. N. M., C1, E8, 2F.

7. 1690. Villa de Santiago del Saltillo.

Información levantada a petición del reverendo padre franciscano fray Antonio Baga, Procurador de las misiones de la Provincia de Coahuila, para contrariar ante el Virrey un falso informe rendido por Don Alonso de León, gobernador de dicha provincia.

Febrero 25 de 1690.

8. Diario de viaje que hicieron los religiosos destinados a las misiones de Texas, desde la misión de San Salvador, del Valle de Santiago, Coahuila, hasta la misión de San Francisco de los Texas; por fray Damián Mazanet; 16 mayo-2 agosto 1691: Misión de San Francisco de los Texas, 20 agosto 1691.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 1, Exp. 1.87, f. 240-253.

27 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones B. N. M., C1, E9, 27F.

9. 1721. Villa de Santiago del Saltillo.

El Capitán protector, su gobernador, cabildo y regimiento del pueblo de San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala, solicitan al alcalde mayor de esta villa les extienda certificación que haga fee de que su pueblo ha dado hombres para conducir los bastimentos a las tropas acantonadas en la provincia de los Texas y nuevas Filipinas desde el año pasado.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D12, 2F.

10. 1722. Villa de Santiago de la Monclova.

Joseph de Aslor Virto de Vera, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, certifica que los tlaxcaltecas del pueblo de San Esteban, han cumplido con el mandato del Virrey, que dispuso proporcionar gente para conducir los bastimentos de guerra y boca para las tropas establecidas en la provincia de los Texas y Nuevo Reyno de Filipinas.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D14, 2F.

11. 1731. San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala.

Certificación que hace Dn. Buenaventura de Aquirre, protector de indios y alcalde mayor de la Villa de Saltillo, de los servicios y ayuda que las autoridades de San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala les prestaron a las quince familias de las islas Canarias que van a poblar el presidio de San Antonio de Bejar.

Enero de 1731.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D17.

12. 1731. Villa de Santiago del Saltillo.

Ante Don Juan Sánchez de Tagle escribano público y de cabildo de esta villa se presentaron los miembros de las 16 familias procedentes de las islas Canarias que por mandato del Rey, salieron a poblar el pueblo de San Fernando de Bejar en la provincia de los Texas, solicitando a Don Matías de Aguirre les proporcione los avíos que necesitan para proseguir su viaje.

AMS, PM, C11, E43, 2F.

13. Carta de fray Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana al padre guardián del Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, fray Pedro del Barco, con una relación sobre el estado de las conversiones de San Antonio, La Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, San Francisco y San José [Coahuila] San Antonio, 20 febrero 1740.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 5, Exp. 99.1, f. 1-5v.

10 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.

14. Decreto del virrey Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas [I conde de Revillagigedo] en que ordena al mas antiguo de los capitanes del Valle de San Bartolomé o del presidio del Valle, reconozca todo el terreno medio entre los presidios de Nueva Vizcaya y Coahuila e informe sobre los lugares apropiados para el establecimiento de nuevos presidios: México, 17 junio 1747.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 28, Exp. 542.1, f. 1-5v.

10 paginas

AMS, Adquisiciones, B. N. M., C1, E14, 13F.

15. 1749. Nuestra Señora de la Purificación.

El Cabildo, justicia y regimiento de este pueblo, certifican que fueron familias tlaxcaltecas las que fundaron en 1687 la misión de Nuestra Señora de San Juan del Carrizal.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D36, 1F.

16. 1749. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

El Cabildo, justicia y regimiento del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del valle de San Bernardino de la Candela, certifican que el año 1698 familias tlaxcaltecas fundaron su pueblo.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D37, 1F.

17. Despacho de Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui, gobernador de Texas, en que ordena se rindan declaraciones sobre los límites de las jurisdicciones de Coahuila, Nuevo México y Texas, y sobre si las dos primeras gobernaciones han contribuido a la pacificación de los apaches, a fin de que se deduzca a que gobernación pertenecerá el presidio de San Sabá: Real presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, 3 noviembre 1756. Seguido de declaraciones sobre lo indicado: Real presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, 3-9 noviembre 1756; e informe de Barrios al virrey: Real presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, 21 noviembre 1756.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 9, Exp. 143-301, F. 1428v-1440v.

AMS, Adquisiciones, B. N. M., C1, E15, 25F.

18. Escrito de Ignacio José de Miranda [al virrey marqués de las Amarillas] en que propone no se manden utensilios de barro al Río de la Trinidad [Texas] porque se rompen en el camino; razón de lo que se ha de enviar de El Saltillo: México, 29 marzo 1757.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 2, Exp. 8.61, f. 164-165.

3 fotocopias.

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones B. N. M., C1, E16, 3F.

19. 1758. Real Presidio de San Antonio de Bejar.

Don Angel de Matos y Navarrete, gobernador y teniente de Capitán General interino de la Provincia de Coahuila, informa a las autoridades de la villa del Saltillo que la misión de San Sabá fue atacada por más de dos mil comanches, sacrificando a los misioneros e indios del lugar y pide le presten los auxilios necesarios.

AMS, PM, C22, E7, 26F.

20. 1759. Cuautitlan.

Orden del Virrey para que se organicen fuerzas militares que auxilien al Corl. Diego Ortiz Parrilla, quien está preparando la campaña contra los indios bárbaros que atacaron la Misión de San Sabá, correspondiendole a la Villa del Saltillo dar 25 vecinos milicianos con su oficial y cobos.

AMS, PM, C22, E12, 27F.

21. 1760. San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala.

Fray Joseph Antonio Lazo, predicador y cura ministro de doctrina de este pueblo, certifica que los naturales a su cargo son obedientes de las ordenes de sus superiores, mantienen de su peculio un situado de caballada, han dado familias para poblar Parras, San Francisco de Coahuila, Nuestra Sra. de la Candela, San Miguel de Aguayo, Guadalupe, Purificación y Concepción.

AMS, PM, C1, E32, D32, 1F.

22. Carta de Felipe de Rábago y Terán al virrey marqués de Cruillas sobre los auxilios militares que se le enviarán de Coahuila y de Los Adaes: Real presidio de San Sabá, 13 octubre 1764.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 8, Exp. 143.154, f. 750v-751.

2 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano. AMS, Adquisiciones, B. N. M., C1, E7, 2F.

23. 1778

Descripción histórico político geográfica del Real Presidio de S. Juan Bautista del Río Grande del Norte y su jurisdicción en los Confines de Coahuila. (23 de enero de 1778) Erección del Presidio el año de 1701. El Capitán Diego Ramón-Misiones del Dulce Nombre de Jesús de Peyotes, San Juan Bautista, San Bernardo y San Francisco de Visarrón-Población de San Pedro de Gigedo-Rancho de Santa Mónica y San Nicolás. Ríos de San Pedro, Puerco, S. Diego, S. Rodrigo, S. Antonio, Nadadores y Babinas afluentes del Río Grande del Norte. Habitantes y producciones.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 5, Exp. 119.1, f. 1-16.

16 paginas

AMS, Adquisiciones, B. N. M., C1, E21, 16F.

24. Relación resumida de los principales acaecimientos ocurridos en la campaña que sobre las fronteras de la provincia de Coahuila, Nuevo Reino [de León], jurisdicción del Saltillo y entrañas del Bolsón de Mapimí, hizo el gobernador de la dicha provincia, coronel Juan de Ugalde.. contra la nación gentil apache mezcalera: Santiago de la Monclova, 30 junio 1782.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 5, Exp. 120.1, f. 1-7.

8 paginas

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.
AMS, Adquisiciones, B. N. M., C1, E22, 8F.

25. Sumario de lo ocurrido en la cuarta campaña que el coronel D. Juan de Ugalde gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila, hizo en septiembre de 1782 contra los Apaches Mezcaleros arrecholados en el Bolsón de Mapimí-Breve relación de las campañas que dicho gobernador efectuó con ayuda de los Lipanes en mayo de 1779, nov. de 1781 y marzo de 1782. Villa de Santiago de la Monclova, capital de la Provincia de Coahuila a 26 de marzo de 1783.

Archivo Franciscano, caja 5, Exp. 121, f. 1-20v.

40 fotocopias

Biblioteca Nacional de México, centro, Fondo Reservado, Archivo Franciscano.

26. 1784. Durango.

El Comandante General de las Provincias Internas dispone sean quitadas las cruces que se encuentren a ambos lados de los caminos colocados en recuerdo de personas muerteeas a mano de laos indios pr acobardar al viajero y envalentantar y acrecentar el orgullo del salvaje.

19 de Febrero de 1784.

AMS, PM, C36, E74, 1F.

27. 1784. Durango.

Duan Velazquez, dispone se enteren en las Reales Cajas, las cantidades para la redención de cautivos en poder de los indios apaches, manifestando que actualmente se encuentran secuestradas 150 personas que habitaban el norte de la provincia de Texas.

AMS, PM, C36, E59.

28. 1794. Monclova.

Miguel José de Emparan, gobernador de la provincia de Coahuila dispone se preste el auxilio que necesite el Cabo Yldefonso Barrera quien escolta los regalos que se daran en la Provincia de Texas a los indios de paz o amigos.

AMS, PM, C46/1, E111, 1F.

DOCUMENT ABSTRACTS

PART 2

All documents are from the Archivo General del Estado de Coahuila and deal with affairs on the Camino Real in Coahuila.

1. Año de 1699.

Relato de la fundación de la Mission de San Francisco Javier, en el Valle de San Cristobal, entre los rios de Savinas y de San Rodrigo.

Situada a cuarenta leguas de la Villa de Santiago de la Monclova, en incorporacion al nuevo pueblo, y a la Santa Fee Católico, por indios gentiles.

Fundación hecha por el Governador de la Provincia de San Francisco de Coahuila y sus fronteras, Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdes.

Carpeta No. 4

No. 7

2. Año de 1728.

Nuevos Reglamentos, y Estatutos para las tropas de las provincias de Coahuila, hecho por el visitador general de ésta governación, el Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, diferente al estipulado en 1719 en la Isla de Cuba, y Puerto de San Cristobal de la Cd. de la Havana.

Por orden del Excelentísimo Señor Marqués de Casafuerte, Virrey y Governador de estos otros reynos.

Expediente 45

No. 76

3. Año de 1730.

Petición al Governador de la Provincia de la Coahuila Nueva.

Para fundar y ayudar la escuela de los pueblos de San Francisco y San Miguel de Aguayo.

Petición hecha por el Alcalde Bernal de José, en representación de los gobernadores de dichos pueblos.

No. 85

4. Año de 1732.

Fundación del nuevo pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Victoria Casafuerte, en la Mision de Santa Rosa de los Nadadores.

Petición por parte del Gobernador de la Mision de Santa Rosa, Don Manuel de Sándobal al Virrey y Gobernador de la Nueva España, el Señor Marques de Casafuerte, para incrementar la población en dicha Mision, que por ser poca, temían a los ataques de los indios enemigos.

Traslado e incorporación de familias de las Misiones de San Miguel, y San Estevan del Saltillo.

Legajo. 1

No. 87

5. Año de 1734.

Orden del Virrey, Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron, gobernador de la Nueva España, al gobernador de Coahuila, Don Blás de la Garza, para que amparase a los Indios de las Misiones de San Juan Baptista y San Bernardo, negandose a la petición por algunos Españoles de formar una nueva Villa en propiedad de las dichas Misiones, con el pretexto de que sus ganados se mezclaban continuamente con los de los Indios.

Carpeta No. 1

No. 59

6. Año de 1736.

Petición para la formación de una nueva Mision, San Francisco de Bizarrón, por Fray Joseph Antonio Rodríguez.

Efecto de posesión de tierras, otorgado por el Gobernador del Real Presidio de San Juan Baptista, Joseph Antonio de Eca y Musquiz, en representación del Gobernador de la Nueva España, Don Juan Antonio de Bizarrón.

Expediente 3, C2, E8.

7. Año de 1738.

Ordenes del Virrey Gobernador de la Nueva España, Don Juan Antonio de Bizarrón al Gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Clemente de la Garza Falcón.

Narraciones de los continuos ataques de los Indios Apaches a los Presidios.

Carpeta No. 1

No. 84

8. Año de 1738.

Reconozimiento y adjudicamiento de las tierras y aguas de la despoblada Mision de San Ildefonso, para la Mision de San Bernardo, por el Governador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Clemente de la Garza Falcón.

Carpeta No. 1
Expediente 131
No. 80

9. Año de 1738.

Petición por Fray Gabriel de Bergara, Guardian de La Mision de San Bernardo, en la Provincia de Coahuila, que por tener en esta Mision, Sólo aguas salitrosas, quería utilizar las tierras y aguas dulces de La Mision de San Ildefonso, y deshabetadas, a causa de los continuos ataques de los indios enemigos.

Aprobación y concedo por el Virrey de La Nueva España, Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron.

Carpeta No. 1
No. 81

10. Año de 1738.

Nuevos descubrimientos de un mineral que llamaron, dulcisimo nómbre de Jesús.

Petición para formar una Villa en el paraje del ojo de agua de Seal, y llamarla Villa de San Phelipe del Real de Jesús.

Opociones por parte de Indios y Misioneros que ya usaban ese ojo de agua para riego de sus cosechas.

Carpeta No. 1
Expediente 21
No. 86

11. Año de 1738.

Narracion del descubrimiento de minerales en el Lomerio de Peyotes, en el Presidio del Dulce Nombre de Jesus, Provincia de Coahuila.

Consentimiento y Regulaciones para las explotaciones de las nuevas minas.

Carpeta No. 1
No. 131 (original)
No. 85

12. Año de 1741.

Narración del descubrimiento de Minerales, y atestiguación de la explotación de los mismos, en el Valle de Santa Rosa María, en la Provincia de Coahuila, y petición para poner una hacienda de fundición en el Presidio del Santísimo Sacramento, por la Justicia Mayor del Presidio, Don Miguel de la Garza Falcón.

Carpeta No. 1
No. 145 (original)
No. 97

13. Año de 1742.

Santiago de la Monclova, 1742.

Petición de Juan Antonio Barrera al Gobernador, para que se le consediese un pedazo de tierra para él y su familia.

Aprobación y concedo del Gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Juan Garzía de Pruneda.

Carpeta No. 7
Expediente 28-A
No. 23 (original)

14. Año de 1744.

Narración de quejas en contra del Capitán del Presidio del Santísimo Sacramento, Dn. Miguél de la Garza Falcón, por haber favorecido a los soldados en el repartimiento de tierras y aguas, por parte de los pobladores del mismo Presidio, y del Valle de Santa Rosa María de Jesús.

Relatado por el mismo Miguél de la Garza Falcón, hacia el Virrey y Gobernador de la Nueva España.

Carpeta No. 1
No. 148 (original)
No. 100

15. Año de 1748.

Orden del Virrey Gobernador de la Nueva España, Don Juan Francisco de Guemez y Horcassittas a los Capitanes de los Presidios de San Francisco de Coahuila, San Juan Bautista, Del Sacramento y del Valle de Bartholome, para formar una expedición y buscar un lugar propicio para la fundación de un nuevo Presidio en las adjuntas de los rios Conchos y Rio Grande del Norte.

Narración de la expedición por Don Pedro de Rabago y Theran, Capitán de la expedición.

Legajo No. 2
Expediente 55
No. 150 (original)
P. 214

16. Año de 1749.

Fundación de la Villa de Pedro de Ggedo en la Lómeria de Peyotes, para resguardo de las Misiones del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, y la de San Francisco de Bizarron.

Actos de posesión por los habitantes en presencia del Gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Pedro de Rabago y Theran.

Legajo No. 2
Expediente 15
No. 152

17. Año de 1749.

Orden para que se poblase el paraje con inmediación a las Misiones del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, y de San Francisco de Bizarron, con el proposito de proteger a las dos Misiones de los contínuos ataques de los Indios Barbaros.

Orden del Gobernador de la Provincia de Santiago de Coahuila, Don Pedro de Rabago y Theran.

Expediente 15
No. 152 (original)

18. Año de 1752.

El Gobernador de la Provincia de San Francisco de Coahuila Nueva, Don Pedro de Rabago y Theran, solicita la colaboracion del Gobernador de la Cd. de Monterrey, Don Bizente Bueno de la Borbolla, concerniente a los derechos de herederos, sobre las tierras cerca al Presidio del Rio Grande (Puerto de Baluarte).

Carpeta No. 2
No. 20

19. Año de 1752 y 1753.

Visita General a toda la Provincia de Coahuila, por el Gobernador de la misma, Don pedro de Rabago y Theran, por órden del Rey.

Llamado a todos los habitantes de la Provincia para que demostrasen sus títulos de propiedad, sobre sus tierras, ganados, armas, etc., y para ser escuchados por si había inconformidades e irregularidades por parte de sus gobernantes.

Censos de familias e inspeccion de armas cavallos y municiones.

Legajo No. 3
Expediente 17
No. 207 (original)
No. 177

20. Anero de 1753.

Donación de Terreno para los indios gentiles de la Misión de San Francisco de Bizarron, por parte de un soldado del Real Presidio de San Juan Bautista del Río Grande del Norte.

Verificación y testimonio de la propiedad por amigos y conocidos de Diego Hernández.

Legalización hecha por el Gobernador de la Provincia de San Francisco de Coahuila, Don Pedro de Rabago y Theran.

Legajo No. 2

No. 146

21. Año de 1754.

Deserción de los Indios que habitaban la Misión de San Lorenzo, y petición de los Indios Apaches apra formar una comunidad en el paraje de San Ildefonso.

Expediente 8

No. 780 (original)

22. Años de 1756 y 1757.

Visita General a los Presidios, Misiones, Villas, etc., de la Provincia de Coahuila, por el Gobernador de la misma, Don Miguel de Sesma y Escudero.

Reconocimiento de Títulos de Propiedades, de tierras, ganados, armas, etc.

Censo de habitantes, quejas de individuales sobre sus gobernantes, y aclaraciones de las mismas.

Expediente 24

No. 204 (original)

No. 171

23. Año de 1757.

Solicitud de ayuda por el Predicador Fray Diego Martín García, en representación de los Indios de las Misiones de San Juan Bautista y San Bernardo, para que se liquidasen las deudas debidas a estas Misiones, por robos y fechorías cometidas por vecinos de las mismas.

Declaraciones e investigaciones hechas a los acusados por el Alguacil del Presidio de San Juan Bautista, Don Joseph de Castilla y Theran.

Expediente 23

No. 199 (original)

No. 55

24. Año de 1758.

Información otorgada al General, Don Miguel Martín Nieto, del Coronel Don Miguel De Sesma y Escudero, con aprobación del Virrey de la Nueva España, sobre las conductas que observó durante su visita general a la Provincia de Coahuila.

Narración de los sucios manejos del Capitán del Presidio de San Juan Bautista, Don Manuel Rodríguez.

Expediente 37
No. 210 (original)

25. Año de 1758.

Petición de Don Melchor de los Santos Barrera, para fundar una nueva Villa en el Paraje de las Encinas, adjunta a la Villa de Santiago de la Monclova.

Aprobación por el Gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Angel de Martos y Navarrete, y narraciones sobre agravios a las propiedades de Don Melchor de los Santos Barrera en la nueva villa.

Carpeta No. 7
Expediente 41
No. 70 (original)

26. Año de 1758.

Petición para formar una Nueva Villa con veinticinco familias, por Don Melchor de los Santos Barrera, al Gobernador de la Provincia de Santiago de la Monclova, Don Angel de Marcos y Navarrete.

No. 245 (original)

27. Año de 1759. Noviembre.

Nuevo Mandato para los encargados de las Minas, de llevar un respectivo orden cada vez que se sacasen metales para su fundición, después de calcular notorias pérdidas y castigo para quién no diera cuentas de ello.

Resolución tomada por el Gobernador de la Provincia de San Francisco de Coahuila, Don Jazinto de Barrios y Jauregui.

Expediente 10, C6.

28. Año de 1759.

Nuevo mandato para toda persona extranjera que llegara a la Capital de Santiago de la Monclova, de presentarse ante las autoridades, para conocer su origen, y el proqué de sus visitas, para evitar inoportunos pérkanses, por orden del Gobernador de la Provincia de Coahuila.

Expediente 7, C6.

29. Año de 1778.

Ordenes para repartir tierras en la Villa de San Pedro de Ggedo.
Nóminas de sus Pobladores que iban a recibir nuevas propiedades, y de Indios agregados a la población.

Donación al Estado, de la Hacienda de San Ildefonzo, por su dueño Don Bizente Rodríguez, para que sus familiares fundaran una villa en la misma propiedad.

Nominas de la numerosa familia de Don Bizente Rodriguez.

Carpeta No. 5

No. 35

30. Año de 1777.

Inventario de Presidios, Misiones y Ranchos que habitan en la Provincia de Coahuila. Inventario de Propiedades, ojos de agua, Minas de oro y plata.

Inventario de Armamento, ganado vacuno, bovino, ovejuno, etc.

Censo de familias de los Presidios, Misiones ranchos, etc.

Estado de Habitantes en total, con distincion de origen.

Carpeta No. 5

No. 5

31. Año de 1777.

Mision de Nadadores, Diciembre de 1777.

Administración de los Santos Sacramentos a la Villa de Buenaventura, San Antonio Bucarely, y haciendas anexas, por el C. Minustro de la Mision de Nadadores, La Juan Felico de Avendaño, en representación del Cura Párroco de la Monclova, ya que el Cura Párroco se nego a hacerlo por temor a los indios enemigos.

Representación dirigida al Asesor de la Comandancia en la Cd. de Chihuahua.

No. 276

32. Año de 1777.

Mandato para los dueños de propiedades, de presentar sus legítimos, documentos de propiedad ante el Governador de la Provincia de Coahuila, Don Jacobo de Ygarte.

Carpeta No. 4

No. 69

33. Año de 1791.

Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Agosto de 1791.

Petición de los ornamentos para la Iglesia del Presidio de la Bah a del Espíritu Santo, ya que se celebraban las misas en condiciones deplorables. Hécha por el Capitán de dicha Bahía, Don Juan Cortéz, hacia el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Conde de Revilla Ggedo en la Cd. de México.

Aprobación y remitenencia de los ornamentos hacia el Intendente de la Cd. de San Luis-Potosí, Don Bruno Díaz de Salcedo, que a su vez los encaminó a su destino en Marzo de 1792.

Libro No. 2
Carpeta No. 6
Expediente 34, A

34. Año de 1793.

Renuncia de Fray Isidoro de Puertollano, Guardian del Apostólico Colegio de San Francisco de Pachuca, que desde 1781 hasta 1793, servían a las Misiones de Coahuila.

Petición para regresar a su Colegio, por considerar las Misiones vastas y capaces de formarse solas, y poder continuar y recibir la administración espiritual por sacerdotes.

Consultas del Gobernador sobre el estado de las Misiones, opocisiones a la petición, y finalmente ordenes de incorporacion de nuevos sacerdotes para servir a las Misiones.

Libro V
No. 136
No. 136 (original)

35. Año de 1797.

Expediente y recomendaciones para que los antiguos Curas de otras Misiones, que por su experiencia habían sido escogidos para reintegrarse a las Misiones de Nadadores, Candela y Aguayo, todas de la Provincia de Coahuila.

Carpeta No. 8
Expediente 21
No. 5

36. Año de 1798.

Recordatorios sobre una deuda económica de Don Martín Nieto, exadministrador de correos de la Villa de San Fernando de Coahuila, para que sus herederos y fiadores la saldasen, a causa de su fallecimiento.

Carpeta No. 8
Expediente 12
No. 24

37. Año de 1799 y 1800.

Orden para el Theniente Casimiro Valdez de habrir un camino directo desde la Monclova, hasta la Villa de Chihuahua por el Bolzom de Mapimí.

Diario de Casimiro durante su viaje y regreso del mismo. Nuevas ordenes para examinar el area y reconocer los ojos de agua, para saber el propiciamiento de las tierras, para establecer una nueva Villa en la región del nuevo camino.

Narración del reconocimiento de los lugares adecuados. Orden para la fundación de la nueva Villa de Cuatro Cienegas, en la propiedad del Marqués de

San Miguel de Aguayo, y petición del Señor Marqués para que se le recompensare por el terreno dónde se fundaría la nueva Villa.

Cuaderno No. 1
Expediente 24
No. 498 (original)

38. Año de 1843

Tratado de paz celebrado por el Jefe del Cuerpo de Ejercito del Norte, con los Indios Barbaros Comanches.

39. Año de 1882.

Petición de Don Francisco González León al Governador del Estado de Coahuila, para archivar Autenticos Testimonios de tierras de su propiedad, exigiendo copia legal del susodicho testimonio.

Los documentos contienen desde el nombramiento de un subdelegado, por el Real Consejo de Indias de la Cd. de Mexico, para el buen manejo de expedientes sobre la venta de tierras y aguas pertenecientes al Reino, y cobros y recaudaciones de deudas a la Real Corona.

También esta incluido un largo e incompleto expediente de propiedades de tierras y aguas de la Provincia de Coahuila, que data del año de 1696, y que contiene los antiguos dueños de las propiedades de Don Francisco Gonzáles León.

Document 2

Item number 18, Part 1, letter from Ignacio José de Miranda to the Viceroy requesting that no ceramic items be sent to the Trinity River because of breakage.

[illegible]

Document 3

Item number 28, Part 1, Miguel José de Emparan, Governor of Coahuila orders an escort for gifts for Texas Indians.

C 46/1, e 111, 111

1794

Para à esta villa una partida al cargo del
cav. Placinto Barrera, con el objeto de
Escortar la memoria de efectos destinados
à cubrir el regalo q. se da en la Póvra
de Tovar à los Indios de Pazó Amigo, y
aunque el Señor Intendente de San Luis cui-
dara de facilitar Mulas de carga q.
la trasporten hasta esta villa, como
los caminos se dice q. estan en parte
me hace temer q. no puedan pasar de-
ra, y de consiguiente prevenia à Vm q. en
este caso las facilite con toda prontitud
para q. no sufra el menor retraso.

Dios Gué à Vm muchos años.
Monclera 14 de Mayo de 1794.

Miguel José de Emparan

Al Justicia de la
Ala del Saltillo

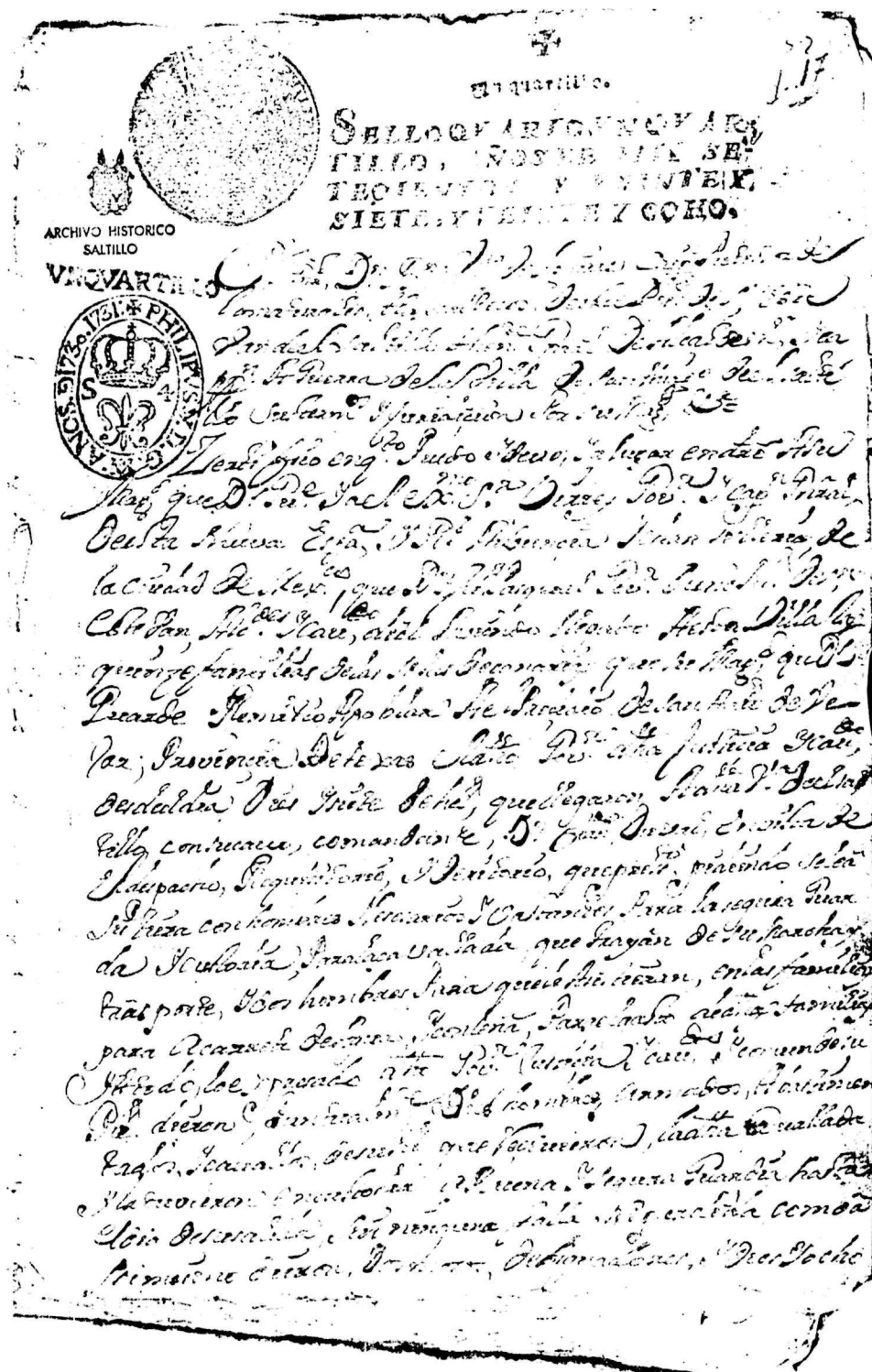
Document 4

Item number 16, Part 1, Antonio Cordero, Governor of Coahuila requests Tlaxcalan and Spanish families from Saltillo to inhabit the villages of San José, Concepción and Espada missions in Béxar.

1813^{60/} 6.73
 Con fha. ocho del presente me dio el Sr. Comand.
 Gral. lo que copia. De Resulta el de
 nota que sufren las Carrallas ha quedado en
 Prov.^a exaurida de manos auxiliaorias p.^a el
 curso de la agricultura y demas q.^e propor-
 cionan; En esta virtud y en la que trata el
 adelante de ellas le encargo vea si puede re-
 traer algunos Indios tlaxcaltecos p.^a poblar con
 ellos las misiones de S. José y Concepción; E igualmente
 algunos españoles p.^a la de la Espada,
 otorgando los que como voluntarios vendan en ca-
 so que les acomode si les ceden tierras p.^a sus tra-
 bajos. Translado al Sr. p.^a q.^e insinuando ex eua
 Superior Resolucion alor Indios y Españoles ex ese
 Distrito forme y me remita lista de las familias
 de una y otra clase quienes acomode venia
 a establecerse en Béxar y apoderar las sin igua-
 les tierras y aguas q.^e el gov.^o les franquice en el
 contrato ex que recibida que sea por mi los m.
 disponere como se debera asistir acada una ex las
 familias y lo correspond.^a para comodidad y seg-
 uridad de su viaje D.^o que al. m. d. Monclava
 Oct.^o 14. de 1813. = Ant.^o Cond.^o = S.^o Subd.^o del
 Salto

Document 6

Item number 11, Part 1, certificate of services provided by Don Buenaventura de Aguirre to Canary Island families for their journey to Béxar.



APPENDIX 7

TABLES OF NATURAL AND CULTURAL PROPERTIES

by Elizabeth A. Robbins

The tables which follow serve as a key or legend to scenic areas, biotic habitats, and historical or archaeological properties along the various routes of the OSR. Note that some of the items have no direct historical association with the OSR, but may still serve to draw modern travelers to a given area or segment of the OSR accessible to the public.

The tables were compiled from information provided by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department and the Texas Historical Commission. A table of abbreviation follows the main tables.

Table 24. Wildlife Management Areas and National and State Parks

County	Park Name or WMA Unit Number	Topo Quad
SB and SA	Unit 137, Type II WMA	3193-233 Geneva
SB and SA	Unit 104, Type II WMA	3194-144 Chinquapin
SA	Unit 106, Type II WMA	3194-412 San Augustine West
HO	Unit 121, Type II WMA	3195-241 Porter Springs
DM	Chaparral, Type I WMA	2899-132 Blocker Tank
HO	Mission Tejas State Park	3195-412 Weches
HO	Davy Crockett National Forest	3195-411 Forest 3195-412 Weches 3195-421 Augusta 3195-134 Crockett NE
HY	A. E. Wood State Fish Hatchery	2997-332 San Marcos South

(Continued)

County	Park Name or WMA Unit Number	Topo Quad
BX	San Antonio Missions National Historic Park	2998-132 Southton
BX	San Antonio Navarro State Historic Site	2998-133 San Antonio East
CE	Caddoan Mounds State Historic Park	3195-412 Weches
SB	Sabine National Forest	3194-411 San Augustine East 3194-144 Chinquapin 3193-233 Geneva 3193-234 Milam 3193-243 Salter Creek, La.
LN	Keechi Creek, Type I WMA	3195-234 Lake Leon
TV	McKinney Falls State Park	3097-213 Montopolis

Table 25. Endangered Species Critical Habitats

County	Park Name or WMA Unit Number	Topo Quad
BP	Houston Toad, <i>Bufo houstonensis</i>	3097-124 Lake Bastrop 3097-113 Smithville NW
BU	Houston Toad, <i>Bufo houstonensis</i>	3096-312 Caldwell
HY	Texas Wild Rice, <i>Zizania texana</i>	2997-332 San Marcos South 2997-333 San Marcos North
HY	San Marcos Salamander, <i>Eurycea nana</i>	2997-333 San Marcos North
HY	San Marcos Gambusia, <i>Gambusia georgei</i>	2997-332 San Marcos South 2997-333 San Marcos North
HY	Fountain Darter, <i>Etheostoma fonticola</i>	2997-332 San Marcos South 2997-333 San Marcos North

Table 26. Historic Metal Truss Bridges

County or Site	Property Name	Topo Quad Map Number
SA	Bridge at Niciper Creek on SH 21*	3194-421 Chireno North
SA	Bridge at Venado Creek on SH 21*	3194-412 San Augustine W
HO	Bridge at Hurricane Bayou on FM 2076	3195-241 Porter Springs
LE	Bridge at Middle Yegua Creek on county road (near SH 21)	3096-232 Lincoln
TV	Montopolis Bridge at the Colorado River on US 183*	3097-213 Montopolis
CM	Bridge at the Guadalupe River on East Faust St.* (out of service)	2998-414 New Braunfels E
BX	Bridge at the San Antonio River on Hildebrand*	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Bridge at the San Antonio River on Crockett St.*	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Bridge at the San Antonio River on North Presa St.*	2998-133 San Antonio East
ME	Bridge at San Francisco Perez Creek	2998-223 Devine

*Eligible for National Register of Historic Places

Table 27. State Archaeological Landmarks

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map	Pre-historic	Historic
41SA25	Mission Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Ais	3194-411 San Augustine East		+
NA	Adolphus Sterne House*	3194-312 Nacogdoches South		+
CE	George C. Davis site	3195-412 Weches	+	+
CE	Caddo Mounds SHP	3195-412 Weches	+	
RT	Robertson County Courthouse	3196-122 Franklin		+
BP	Bastrop Co. Courthouse and Jail Complex	3097-120 Bastrop		+
41HY133	San Marcos River sites	2997-333 San Marcos North	+	
	Man-hole site			
41HY134	Girl Scout Hut site		+	
41HY135	Fostbridge site		+	
41HY141	Road Cut site		+	
41HY161	Fish Pond site		+	
HY	Cock House	2997-333 San Marcos North		+
HY	Old Main Building at SWTSU	2997-333 San Marcos North		+
41BX24	Olmos Basin sites	2998-133 San Antonio East	+	
41BX287				+
41BX288			+	
41BX290			+	

(Continued)

*Eligible for National Register of Historic Places

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map	Pre-historic	Historic
BX	The Alamo	2998-133 San Antonio East		+
BX	Old Jail 120 Cameron, San Antonio	2998-413 San Antonio East		+
BX	Bexar Co. Courthouse	2998-133 San Antonio East		+
41BX677	Ditch and Midden	not plotted		+
BX	Limekilns at Mission San José	2998-132 Southton		+
41BX3	Mission San Jose SHP	2998-132 Southton		+
41BX266	San Juan Dam (weir)	2998-132 Southton		+
BX	Pioneer Hall (Museum)	not plotted		+
BX	Sunken Garden Amphitheater	not plotted		+
BX	Spanish Governor's Palace	2998-133 San Antonio East		+
CM	Comal Co. Courthouse	2998-414 New Braunfels East		+
41CM172	Landa Park Golf Course sites: holes 11, 12, and 17	2998-414 New Braunfels East and 2998-413 New Braunfels West		+
41CM173	holes 15 and 16		+	
41CM174	holes 13, 14 and 15		+	
41CM175	hole 2, water tank site		+	
41CM176	Volleyball Court site		+	
41CM177	hole 18		+	
41CM25	Comal Power Plant site	2998-413 New Braunfels West	+	

Table 28. National Register of Historic Places

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map
SB	Oliphant House	3193-234 Milam
SA	Horn-Polk House	3194-411 San Augustine East
SA	William Garrett Plantation Home	3194-412 San Augustine West
SA	Ezekiel Cullen House	3194-411 San Augustine East
SA	Matthew Cartwright House	3194-411 San Augustine East
41SA25	Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais	3194-411 San Augustine East
SA	Captain Thomas William Blount House	3194-412 San Augustine West
NA	Tol Barret House (original site)	3194-312 Nacogdoches South
NA	Adolphus Sterne House	3194-312 Nacogdoches South
NA	Old Nacogdoches University Bldg.	3194-312 Nacogdoches South
41CE19	George C. Davis site	3195-412 Weches
HO	Downes-Aldrich House	3195-132 Crockett
HO	Monroe-Crook House	3195-132 Crockett
RT	Hammond House	3096-343 Calvert
RT	Calvert Historic District	3096-343 Calvert

(Continued)

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map
RT	Robertson Co. Courthouse	3196-122 Franklin
MM	Milam Co. Courthouse and Jail	3096-332 Cameron
WM	Taylor National Bank	3097-422 Taylor
BP	Allen-Bell House	3097-121 Bastrop
BP	Bastrop Co. Courthouse and Jail Complex	3097-121 Bastrop
BP	Resources of Bastrop - City limits	not plotted
41TV42	Smith Rockshelter	not plotted
41TV289	McKinney Homestead	3097-213 Montopolis
HY	Hays Co. Courthouse	
HY	Cock House	2997-333 San Marcos North
HY	First United Methodist Church	2997-333 San Marcos North
HY	Historic Resources of San Marcos - City limits	not plotted
41HY164	Thompson/Cape Dam and Ditch Engineering Structure	2997-332 San Marcos South
CM	Breustedt House	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	Comal Courthouse	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	Comal Hotel/Klein-Kuse House	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	First Protestant Church, United Church of Christ	2998-414 New Braunfels East

(Continued)

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map
CM	Guadalupe Hotel/Schmitz Hotel	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	Hotel Faust	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	Stephen Klein House	2998-414 New Braunfels East
CM	Gruene Historic District	2998-414 New Braunfels East
BX	The Alamo	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Alamo Plaza Historic District	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Old Alamo National Bank	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Barr Building	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Alamo Portland and Roman Cement Works	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Bexar Courthouse	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	San Antonio Casino Club	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	San Fernando Cathedral	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	First National Bank of San Antonio	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	South Alamo Street - South St. Mary's Street Historical District	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	James Butler Bonham Elem. Sch.	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Central Trust Company Bldg.	2998-133 San Antonio East

(Continued)

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map
BX	Fairmount Hotel	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Fort Sam Houston	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	La Villita Historic District	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Meerscheidt House	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Main and Military Plazas Historic District	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	José Antonio Navarro House Complex	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Mission Parkway	2998-132 Southton
BX	San Antonio Loan and Trust Bldg.	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Staacke Brothers Building	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	San Antonio Loan and Trust Bldg.	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Staacke Brothers Building	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	The Quadrangle (Fort Sam Houston)	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	King William District	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	San Antonio Missions National Historic Park	2998-132 Southton
BX	Spanish Governor's Palace	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Stevens Building	2998-133 San Antonio East

(Continued)

County or Site Number	Property Name	Topographical Map
BX	The United States San Antonio Arsenal	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Fest Block & Steves Building	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Wright House	2998-133 San Antonio East
BX	Source of the River Archeological District	not plotted
BX	San Pedro Springs Park	2998-244 San Antonio West
41BX294	Salado Battle Field and Archaeological Site	not plotted
41BX128	Meyer Pottery Archaeological Complex	not plotted
ME	Devine Opera House	2998-223 Devine

Table 29. Abbreviations in Appendix 7 Tables

BP	Bastrop
BU	Burleson
BX	Bexar
CE	Cherokee
CM	Comal
Co.	County
DM	Dimmit
HO	Houston
HY	Hays
La.	Louisiana
LE	Lee
LN	Leon
ME	Medina
MM	Milam
NA	Nacogdoches
RT	Robertson
SA	San Augustine
SB	Sabine
SHP	State Historic Park
TV	Travis
WM	Williamson
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

GLOSSARY

- abajo*: lower
acequia: irrigation ditch
agostadero: summer pasture; see *potrero*
agostar: to pasture or graze
agua: water
 — *negro*: contaminated water or sewage
aguaje: a watering place
ailes: Indian cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana*
aire: wind
alacena: pantry
alto: tall or high; can also mean stop!
angel de guarda: guardian angel
animas: souls or spirits
Apachería: land of the Apache Indians
aposento: bedroom
apostada militar: military post
arriba: upper
arroyo: creek
 — *seco*: dry creek
arroyuelo: a brook
asistencia en casa: housing; room and board
atascoso: boggy or sandy
audiencia: court of appeal and governing
 body under the viceroy with legislative
 and administrative functions; the territory
 of its jurisdiction

bagre: catfish
bahía: bay
barón: baron, a member of the aristocracy
Bautista: the Baptist
Beato Salvador: blessed savior
bienes: wealth, assets, goods, property, estate
 — *de campo*: goods and chattels
 — *mostrencos*: movable property of no
 known owner; see *mesteños*
bisnais: membranes
bendita: blessed
blanco: white
bonanza: a mineral strike of large proportions
bosque: woods or forest
brasada: small thickets (of thorn brush)
Brazos de Dios: the arms of God, the Brazos River
burgos: the merchant class

 — *de cría*: herd of brood mares
caballerango: groom, stableman
cabeza: head
cabras: goats
cacao: the chocolate bean
cacique: an Indian leader or chief
camino: a road or the way to go
 — *real*: a government road patrolled by
 the military and serving as the principal
 mail route
cañada: a canyon, generally narrow and dry
cañón: a canyon, a steep-walled arroyo
caramanchel: a hut or booth
carrizo: cane
casa: house
cerrito: a hill
cerro: a high hill or mountain
charco: pool or pond of water
chapa: flat board or shingle
chaparras: thorny brush
chiltipique: the chili piquin pepper
cíbolo: bison
cochina: sow
cochineal: a scale insect which infects the
 prickly pear cactus and which is used to
 produce a bright red dye
Comanchería: land of the Comanche
comandante: commander
congregación: the grouping together of Indians
 into permanent villages; an Indian
 settlement, as in a mission
Corpus Christi: the body of Christ
corral: corral, pen
 — *de barda*: covered with thatch? made
 of brushwood? an enclosed pen?
 — *de enlatado*: of lathes? of lattice?
 covered?
 — *de estantería*: of boards? for standing
 cattle?
coup de grace: the blow of death; something
 which ends an affair
coureurs de bois: French itinerant traders
criollo: creole
Cristóbal Colón: Christopher Columbus
cría: young livestock, animal offspring
 de — : brood animals; see *caballada de*
 cría
cruces: crosses

cuadro: a square; town measurement of four square leagues

cuervo: crow

cuesta: divide (geographic)

cueva: cave or rock shelter

derrotero: course or route of an expedition or journey

diario: diary or journal

dolores: sorrows

ejército: the army

ejido: community-owned lands; public grazing pasture

empresario: one who has a concession from the government to introduce colonists to an area

encinal: oak grove

encino: a live oak

encomienda: giving of a group of Indians to a colonist by royal grant

en masse: in a large group, all together

entrada: the entrance or first exploration of a particular territory

Entraaverlo: the name of a creek meaning "while seeing it"

escondido: hidden

espada: sword

espantosa: frightening

esperanza: hope or expectation

Espíritu Santo: holy spirit

estero: marsh or inlet

fanega: 1.6 bushels

fierro: brand; now generally rendered as *hierro*

flores: flowers

frío: cold

galería: a narrow bank of trees and dense vegetation along streams

gallinas: fowl

galván (galbán): untended

ganado: livestock

— *mayor*: large livestock such as horses, cattle, oxen, etc.

— *menor*: small stock such as sheep and goats

garrapatas: ticks

garza: goose

gatos: cats

girasol: sunflower

guajolote: the Hispanicized Nahuatl word for turkey

guía: guide

guijolote: misspelling of guajolote

habilitación: equipment; equipping, fitting out, supplying; financing; (*mil.*) paymastering

hedionda: stinking, fetid, irritating

heredades: farms, (pasture lands?)

hidalgo: literally "hijo de algo," the petty aristocracy

hondo: deep; as a river with high banks

horroroso: horrible, frightening

Incarnación del Verbo: the word made flesh

indigenes: people native, or indigenous, to an area

Indios, Yndios: Indians

inundar: to inundate or flood

itinerario: itinerary, or list of localities on a route

izquierda: to the left

jacal: hut with a straw roof; improvised structure covered with branches

junta: a gathering or committee

justicia mayor: chief justice

labor: a cultivable field

laguna: lake

lagunillas: small lakes or large ponds

lampazos: water lilies

latifundia: the Roman land exploitation system in which a large estate is owned by an absentee and run by a hired overseer

león: lion, mountain lion, or puma

legua: a distance measure of about 2.6 miles, or an area of about 4,428 acres

linares: structures for the processing of flax

llanos de los mesteños:

lobera (lovera): place where wolves abound

loma: hill

lomería: range of hills

lomita: small hill, knoll

mala agua: bad water

las lagunillas de __: ponds of bad water

maleza: small thicket, *brasada*

manada: herd, drove

manadero: herdsman, shepherd; lead animal

Marqués: Marquis, a member of the aristocracy

- mayordomo*: an overseer
mediación: measurement or halfway point
medio: in the middle
menuda, menudo: a small, trifling, unimportant detail
merinos: merino sheep
mesteñada: a herd of wild large stock (cattle, horses)
mesteños: wild equine stock; in Texas, feminine form (*mesteñas*, also *mesteñada*) generally used and applied also to bovine stock; see *bienes mostrencos*
minitas: small mines or extractive working
misión: mission, an institution to convert the Indians and to acculturate them
mojonera: a boundary marker usually a cairn or stone monument
molino: a mill of any sort
montaña: mountain
monte: wilderness; woods, brushland, thick-et, an uninhabited place
Moors: Islamic peoples mostly from Morocco who occupied parts of Spain from the 12th century until the end of the 15th
mott: an isolated grove of trees
mozo: manservant
muertos: the dead

nieves: snows
nogal: walnut
No Lo Digas (Yo Lo Diga): the name for a creek meaning "you don't say it" or "I don't say it"
nopal: prickly pear cactus or the genus *Opuntia*
Nuestra Señora: Our Lady
nuevo: new
nuez: a nut, usually a pecan

obligación: obligation, duty, contract
ojo de agua: a spring of water
otate: from the Nahuatl word *otatl* meaning cane or reed

padre: father; a priest
Padre Presidente: Father President, the title of the regional administrator of missions
palma: palmetto palm
palo: stick or stake or any of several kinds of tree
 — *blanco*: hackberry
pantanosa: swampy

paraje: a stopping or camping place used on a regular basis; place, residence; see *punto*
parrita: grapevine
paso: a crossing, but more properly a ford of a river or creek
patrocinio: sponsor or patron
pedernales: flint stones
peninsular: native of the Iberian peninsula
pescado: a fish
peso: a Mexican coin of one ounce of silver, equal to eight *reales*
piedras de fuego, or pedernales: flint rocks
pita: the yucca plant
plan: a revolutionary manifesto; plat or map
plato: plates or dishes
poblador: one who inhabits a place; a colonist
 — *primitivo*: original colonist
potranca: filly, young mare
potrero: a pasture; see *agostadero*
presidio: a military garrison
protocolo: registry, record
protohistoric: in archaeology and history, the time immediately prior to historic contact
Provincias Internas: the Interior Provinces, a jurisdiction set up apart from the viceregal regime to handle problems on the northern borderlands of New Spain
pueblo: town, village; people, nation, population
puesto: a military post, usually of small size
pullón: a kind of fish
punto: point (as a geographical place); see *paraje*
Purísima Concepción: the virgin conception

que Dios guarde: whom God protect; usually abbreviated, *Q.D.G.*

ramos: branches of trees or palm fronds
rana: frog
ranchar: to camp
ranchería: small Indian settlement or camp-site; a temporary habitation
ranchero: one who ranches or raises stock
ranchito: a non-Indian ranch
real: royal; a mining site, particularly the habitations associated with a mine; an entire camp including the inhabitants; pertaining to the government; monetary unit equal to an eighth of a *peso*

repartimiento: the sharing out or dividing of Indian populations among the conquerors
res: head of cattle (beef)
resaca: oxbow lake or old river channel
Reyes Católicos: the Catholic monarchs, Fernando of Aragón and Isabel of Castilla
reyno: kingdom
río: river
róbalo: bass fish
roble: a deciduous oak tree
Romana: Roman
rosario: rosary
rosas: roses

sabinas: cypress trees
sala: room, living room
salado: salty or brackish
Salsipuedes: the name of a creek meaning "jump, if you can"
santísima: most holy
sauz: willow
según consta de obligación: as recorded by contract
semillas: all sorts of seed and grain, wheat and barley excepted
señor: mister, sir
señoría: lands associated with an aristocratic title usually given for military service
síndico procurador: municipal attorney
sirvientes: servants; menservants
sitio: a league square, 4,338 acres
solar: urban lot for house and garden
soldado: soldier
 — *de cuera*: a presidial soldier wearing leather chest armor
Sprachbund: a "speech area" composed of a geographic zone containing languages that share lexical and structural items; its constituent tongues need not be related genetically
Su Magestad: Your Majesty; usually abbreviated, *S.M.*
suertes: farmlands

tapado: covered or stopped up
tejano: native born Hispanic Texan
teniente de justicia: assistant justice or magistrate
testimonio: certificate, testimony, affidavit
tinaja: a canteen; depression in a rock outcrop containing water
tío: uncle

Todos Santos: All Saints
toril: bull pen
tortuga: turtle
Tres Garantías: three guarantees; a part of one of the manifestos of the Mexican Revolution
tricentenary: same as tercentenary (Webster 1969)
tricentennial: a 300-year period, or the celebration of such a period
Trinidad: the trinity in the Christian belief
troja, troje: granary, barn
tullido: crippled or maimed

usted: you; usually abbreviated, *Ud.* or *Vd.*

vaca: cow
 — *de vientre*: brood or breeding cow
vaquero: cowboy; cattle herder, one who cares for cattle on the range
verde: green
vientre: belly; womb
 de —: breeding (of a female animal destined for breeding)
villa: village
vino: wine
visitación: an apparition
vuesamerced or *vuestra merced*: you, sir, your worship, your honor; usually abbreviated, *Vm.* or *Vmd.*
vueseñoría or *vuestra señoría*: your lordship; your grace; usually abbreviated, *V.S.*

yegua: mare
 — *de cría*: brood mare
yeoman: a small independent farmer

zacatón (sacatón): tall grass for fodder
zarco (sarco): light blue

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INDEX

- Acacia smallii*, 279
 Acapulco, 37
 Acosta, Juan de, 194
 Adams-Onís treaty, 31
 Agreda, María de Jesus de, 70
 Agua Dulce Creek, 133, 262
 Agua Negra Creek, 133, 262
 Agua Verde, arroyo. *See* Arroyo Agua Verde
 Aguaje San Lorenzo, 248
 Aguaje Encinal, 167
 Agualohes Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Agualohes
 Aguayo
 expedition of 1721, 89, 196, 202, 208-210.
 See also Peña, Juan Antonio de la
 Marqués de. *See* Marqués de Aguayo
 Aguirre, Pedro de, 89
 Alamo, 225, 228. *See also* Misión San Antonio de Valero
 Alamo Area Council of Governments, 25, 311
 Alamo—La Bahia Corridor, 25, 311
 Alamos Creek, 146
 Alarcón
 expedition of 1718, 89, 195, 200, 205. *See also* Céliz, Fray Francisco, itinerary of 1718
 Martín de, 89, 104
 Alazán Creek (Bayou), 31, 211, 212, 216
 Alligator
 American. *See Alligator mississippiensis* Creek, 188
Alligator mississippiensis, 65, 79, 80, 92, 98, 99, 100, 272, 274, 356, 365
 Almonte, Juan Nepomuceno, 240
 Alto, 188, 221
 Alum Creek, 188
 Amazona
 ochrocephala, 275
 viridigenalis, 275
 American Society of Civil Engineers, 234
 Amiable, 49, 45, 52
 Amphibians, 273
 Anacacho Mountain, 55
 Angel de la Guarda, marsh, 110
 Angelina River, 89, 191, 210-214, 216-219, 221, 228
 Apache Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Apache
 Arispe, Sonora, 48
 Arkansas River, 56, 57, 58
 Armadillo
 five-toed. *See Cabassos centralis*
 nine-banded. *See Dasypus novemcinctus*
 Arrambide, Juan Ignacio, 374
 Arredondo, Joaquín, 31
 Arroyo
 Agua Verde, 55-56, 241
 Barrosito, 248
 Bisnais, 259
 Blanco, 259
 Caramanchel, *also* Caramanchel Creek
 in 1690, 66, 246
 in 1691, 72, 76, 124, 246-247
 in 1693, 83, 247
 in 1709, 247
 in 1716, 89, 90, 96, 247
 in 1718, 247
 in 1721, 104, 105, 247, 354, 357, 258
 Chicharrón, 204
 Chiltipiquie, 252
 Colorado, 73, 87, 259. *See also* Colorado River; Rio Colorado
 Corpus Christi. *See* Corpus Christi River (de) Chapa, *also* Chapa River, 66, 84, 251, 252, 355, 357
 de en medio, 255
 de Francisco Perez, 253
 de la Leona, 265
 de las (Benditas) Animas. *See* Brushy Creek
 (de las) Garrapatas, 14, 73, 99, 104, 107, 187, 259, 356, 357. *See also* Onion Creek
 de las Tinajas, 264
 de León, 85, 98, 254, 255. *See also* León Creek
 de los Ailes, 262
 de los Cuervos, 14, 246. *See also* Charco de Cuervo
 de los Frailes, 88
 de los Olmos, 251
 de los Platos, 264
 de los Robalos, 66, 251, 252, 355, 357

- de los Tejas, 69, 88, 266
de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 265
(de) Ramos, 63, 66, 72, 246
de Terán, 81, 87
del León
 in Berlandier, 154
 in 1689, 64
 in 1690, 67
 in 1693, 85
 in 1721, 106, 154, 355
(del) Paiyazos. *See* Arroyo Payayas
(del) Pullón, *also* Puyón, 76, 124, 247.
 See also Charco Puyón
del Vino, 64, 251
Dispallier, 370, 372
Esquivel, 370, 372
Hondo. *See* Hondo Creek
Lagunillas, 25
Las Puenteccitas, 371, 373
Leona, 172, 174, 251
Lobanito, 261
Los Alamos. *See* Elm Creek
Medina. *See* Medina River
Naats, 80, 265
Nabatsoto, 80, 264
Nacasit, 79, 263
Nequebatse, 80, 265
No Los Digas, 251
Nuxnadte, 80, 264
Payayas, *also* Los Payayas Creek, 146, 253
Salado. *See* Salado Creek
Saladito, 131, 248
San Agustín, 73, 113, 255. *See also* San Agustín Creek
San Antonio de Pádua. *See* San Antonio River
San Apolinario, 79, 259
San Basilio, 77, 253
San Bernabé, 77
San Bernardino, 73, 107, 112, 263
San Buenaventura, *also* San Buenaventura Creek, 79, 101, 111, 257, 361
San Carlos, 68
San Cypriano, 73, 264
San Diego, 72, 250
de Alcalá, 68, 250, 261
San Emeterio y San Caledón, 73, 259
San Esteván, 80
San Félix, 84, 252, 253
San Fernando, 101, 265
San Francisco
 de Asis, 68
 de los Tejas, 69
 Xavier, 100
San Ignacio de Loyola, 72, 253
San José de los Apaches, 264
San Juan
 de Ortega, 81, 87
 y San Pablo, 78, 257
San Marcos, 14, 73, 86. *See also* San Marcos River
 y Colorado, 73
San Matías, 247
San Pascual Baylón, 107, 257
San Pedro, 14, 174
de Alcantará, 73, 99, 253
San Rafael, 99, 107, 258, 259, 356
San Salvador, 74, 265
San Sancho, 264
San Simón, 72, 252, 253
San Xavier, 30, 100, 262. *See also* San Xavier River
San Ygnacio, 264
Santa Coleta, 196
Santa Crecencia, 77, 253
Santa Efigenia (Ephigenia), 102, 111, 204, 205, 266
Santa Margarita, 80, 261
Santa Praxedis, 79, 257
Santa Rosa de Viterbo, 101
Santa Rosa Peruana, 73, 253
Santiago, 73, 253
Santo Domingo, 73, 253
Santo Tomás, 73, 257
Seco, 251
Soadds, 80, 264
Tahuacano, 174, 251
Valle de Santa Elvira, 68
Artesia Wells, 18
Asanquan, 122
Asconscatvas, 80, 264
Ascunción de Nuestra Señora Creek, 112
Asinai Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Asinai
Atascosa
 County, 12, 13, 147, 148, 159, 161, 229, 242, 251
 River, *also* Arroyo el Atascoso, 21, 133, 147, 148, 159, 168, 173, 175, 176, 177,
Atascosa River, *continued*, 227, 241, 251
Atravesano, aguaje, 170
Attoyac River, 191, 267, 268
Augier, paraje, 20

- Augusta, 188, 221
 Austin, Moses, 31
 Austin, Stephen F., 12, 14, 31, 131, 133, 155f, 157, 159, 206, 235, 236, 237
 Austin, Texas, 187, 207, 214
 Axatscan, *also* Sierra del Sacatsol, 55-56
 Ayamontes, Juan de, 396

 Baconatdesta, 80, 260
 Balcones Escarpment, 4, 38, 39, 187, 242, 243
 Bañita Creek, 217
 Baron de Bastrop, Philip Hendrick Nering Bögel, 31
 Baron de Ripperdá, 44
 Barr and Davenport Grant, 192, 193f, 194, 211, 212, 213f, 214, 216
 Barranca, on Medina River, 153, 193
 Barroto, Juan Enrique, 52
 Bastrop
 County, 12, 221, 243, 261
 Texas, 12, 17, 33, 221, 227
 Bataconiquiyogui, 127
 Bayou Loco, 216
 Beans Creek, 212, 221
 Bear
 black. *See* *Ursus americanus*
 grizzly. *See* *Ursus arctos*
 Beato Salvador de Horita, 68
 Beatsi, 79, 259
 Beaver. *See* *Castor canadensis*
 Becerra, aguaje, 170
 Belle, 49, 50, 52
 Bennet Creek, 188
 Bergara, Ancelmo, 175, 181
 Berlandier, Jean Louis, 12, 14, 106, 116, 246, 248, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 262, 264, 265, 269-271
 itinerary east of Béxar, 354-365
 itinerary south of Béxar, 154, 157, 161, 366-368
 Béxar, *also* Béjar, 29, 30, 32, 45, 366-368.
 See also San Antonio
 County, 12, 13, 14, 131, 138, 147, 149, 153, 154, 158, 161, 162, 173, 242, 253-255
 Siege of, 225
 Bidai Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Bidai
 Birds, 274-275
 Bison, American. *See* *Bison bison*
Bison bison, 64, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80, 92, 93, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109, 277, 356, 359, 361
 Black
 Lake, 201
 Ranch, 18
 Blanco River, 187
 Bobcat. *See* *Lynx rufus*
 Boca de Leones, 46
 Bollaert, William, 229
 Borrego, José Vasquez, 159
 Botija
 Creek, 217
 Ranch, 217
 Bowie, James, 227
 Box Creek, 210
 Boy Scouts. *See* Capitol Area Boy Scout Council
 Bozal Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Bozal
 Brasada, 240-241
 Brazos
 County, 221
 (de Dios) River, 31, 38, 104, 108, 118, 187, 207, 241, 243, 273, 276
 Brownsville, 275, 276
 Brushy Creek, *also* Arroyo de las Animas, 12, 14, 89, 92, 99, 100, 104, 108, 187
 Bucareli, Pilar de, 14, 70, 192, 205-208, 284
 Buckshot Crossing, 219
 Buda, 187
 Buenavista
 Jesus María y Joseph, 67
 Mount, 249
 Buffalo. *See also* *Bison bison*
 Creek, 188
 Texas, 188
 Bullfrog. *See* *Rana catesbeiana*

 Caba Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Caba
 Cabassos *centralis*, 276
 Cabello, Domingo, 44, 48
 Cabeza
 de Vaca. *See* Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar
 del Apache Paso. *See* Paso, Cabezo del Apache
 Cacastle Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Cacastle
 Caddo
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Caddo
 Caddo language, 121, 127
 Cadodacho Indians. *See* Indian tribes 127
 Caiman *sclerops*, 273. *See also* Alligator; *Crocodylus*

- Caiman, true. *See* *Caiman sclerops*
 Caldwell County, 221
 Calleja, viceroy, 31
 Calvert, 188
 Camargo, 46
 Cameron, 187
 County, 274
 Camino
 Abajo, 15, 29
 Abajo del Presidio del Río Grande. *See*
 Lower Presidio Road
 Arriba, 4, 9, 14, 15, 30, 32, 33, 168-169,
 221-223, 227, 243, 252, 284, 397-398
 Arriba (del Presidio) del Río Grande, 15,
 129, 226-227
 de en medio. *See* Lower Presidio Road
 de la Agua Negra, 133, 158-159
 de los Palos Altos, 133, 158-159
 de los Tejas, 4, 15, 30, 32, 120, 149, 187-
 188, 189f, 191-219, 221, 242, 243, 283,
 284
 para el Cañon, *also* Cañon del Uvalde,
 144, 146, 229
 Pita, 4, 9, 15, 37, 144, 146, 147, 157-158,
 242
 Real Abajo del Río Grande. *See* Lower
 Presidio Road
 Real de Río Grande Arriba. *See* Upper
 Presidio Road
 Cañada
 de la Magdalena, 21
 de Loma de San José, 148
 del Caballo, 170
 del Negro, 248
 Verde, 170, 251
 Canary Islanders, 29, 104
 Candolle, Augustin Pyramus de, 270
 Candy Cemetery, Louisiana, 221
 Canobatodeano, 80, 261
 Canocanoyestatetlo, 70, 78, 255
 Cantona Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Cantona
 Capitol Area Boy Scout Council, 286
 Caramanchel. *See* Arroyo Caramanchel
 Carcayantico, 79
 Carreras, las, prairie, 211, 212
 Carrillo, José María, 396
 Carrizo
 Creek, 111, 265
 Ponds, 96, 131, 247, 248, 358
 Post, 90
 Carson Creek, 187
Carya texana, 280
 Cassanova, José Manuel, 370-373
 Castaño Prairie, 205
Castor canadensis, beaver, 276, 278
 Castroville, 144, 154, 157, 230
 Catarina, aguaje, 248
 Catdetda, 79, 257
 Catqueza Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Catqueza
 Cattle drives, 46, 48
 Cavalier, Abbé Jean, 49, 51, 56-57
 Cedar, Creek, 211-212
 Céliz, Fray Francisco, 195-196, 201, 205, 210,
 211, 212, 246, 247-248, 249, 250-251, 253,
 254-255, 256, 258, 267, 268, 358-363
 Cenizo. *See* *Leucophyllum frutescens*
 Center for Historical Resources, 25
 Centerville, 20
 Cerrito de la Cochina. *See* La Cochina
 Chacalep, 122
 Chachalaca. *See* *Ortalis vetula*
 Chacon Creek, *also* Arroyo del Chacón, 77,
 120, 131, 146, 148, 174, 252, 253
 Chagas' disease. *See* *Trypanosoma cruzi*
 Chalomé Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Chalomé
 Chapa River. *See* Arroyo Chapa
 Chaguan Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Chaguan
 Charco
 de Alazán, 211
 de la Pita, 97, 106, 144, 145, 146, 253, 359
 de San Ubaldo, 247
 del Aire, 84, 252
 del Cuervo, *also* de los Cuervos, 63, 65,
 72, 76, 124, 245, 246
 del Puyón, 83, 247
 del Róbalo, 84, 252
 Charcos
 de Barrera, 20, 21, 133, 248
 del Alazán, 211
 Charles I, 28
 Chaulaame Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Chaulaame
 Chavana, José Ramón, 194
 Chaynaya Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Chaynaya
 Cherokee
 County, 14, 212, 214, 266
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Cherokee
 Chickasaw Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Chickasaw

- Chihuahua, 277
 Trail, 32
 Chihuahuan raven. *See* *Corvus cryptoleucus*
 Chinchas. *See* *Triatoma*
 Chisholm Trail, 48
Chlamytherium septentrionale, 276
 Chotilapacquen, 76, 124, 128, 247
 Cíbola Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Cíbola
 Cibolo
 Creek, 78, 106, 126, 127, 149, 187, 256, 359, 260
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Cibolo
 pools, 99
 Clam, freshwater. *See* *Cyrtonaias tampicoensis*
 Clamcoehs Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Clamcoehs
 Coahuila, 30, 47f, 104, 147, 277
 Coahuilteco place names, 121-128
 Cochineal
 dye, 272
 industry, 272
 insects. *See* *Dactylopius*
 Cocoyomes. *See* Indian tribes, Cocoyomes
 Colorado River, 12, 30, 67, 68, 92, 99, 120, 241, 259, 261, 277, 356
 crossings, 17, 32, 81, 89, 187, 221
 Comal, 187, 221, 256
 County, 255-257
 River, 187, 357
 Comanche
 Creek, 124
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Comanche
 Comanchería, 241
 Comandancia General, 45
 Comecrudo, 121, 123, 124, 125, 128
 Conandotdetra, 80, 266
 Conaqueyadista, 78, 254
 Conayentevantetsos, 70, 80, 265
 Concho River, 271
Condalia hookeri, brazilwood, 250
 Conde de Galvé, 62
 Congregación, 28
 Cordero y Bustamante, Antonio (Governor), 131, 174, 175, 206, 375
 Coronado, Francisco Vazquez de, 269
 Corpus Christi
 River, 101, 264
 Road, 162
 San Secundino, 85, 254
 springs, 93, 261, 263
 Corridor concept. *See* Preservation plan, corridor concept
Corvus
brachyrhynchos, American crow, 65n
corax, common raven, 63, 65n
cryptoleucus, Chihuahuan raven, 65n, 245
 Cottonwood. *See* *Populus deltoides*
 Cotulla, 18
 Cougar. *See* *Felis concolor*
 Coyle, Hugo, 369-373
 Crockett
 David, 225
 Texas, 33, 207, 221
 Crocodile
 American. *See* *Crocodylus acutus*
 Morelet's. *See* *Crocodylus moreleti*
Crocodylus
acutus, 273
moreleti, 273
 Croix, Teodoro de, 44, 48
 Crosses carved on trees, 85, 158, 161, 163f, 257
 Crows. *See* *Corvus*
 Crustacean. *See* *Macrobrachium*
 Cueva del León, 90, 96, 246
 Cuervo(s), paraje, 63, 65, 72, 96, 131, 246, 354. *See also* Charco de Cuervo
Cyrtonaias tampicoensis, 271-272

Dactylopius
coccus, 272
opuntiae, 272
Dasypus
bellus, 276
novemcinctus, 275-276, 278
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 3, 12, 231, 232
 Davenport rancho, 194
 Davis Mountains, 278
 De las Islas, Paso. *See* Paso de las Islas
 De León, Alonso, 14, 15, 29, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 70, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251
 expeditions of 1689-1690, 61-62, 129, 131
 itinerary of 1689, 63-65, 120, 241
 itinerary of 1690, 66-69, 158, 200, 208, 251
 De Mézières, Athanase, 196, 197, 204, 205, De Mézières *continued* 206, 209, 211
 De Nogal, Paso. *See* Paso de Nogal
 De San Pedro, Paso. *See* Paso de San Pedro
 De Shazo Site (41NA13), 216

- Deer, white-tailed. *See* *Odocoileus virginianus*
- Del Apache, Paso. *See* Paso del Apache
- Del Rio, 274
- Del Salto, Paso. *See* Paso del Salto
- Delgado, Manuel, 44
- Detmold, 187
- Devine, 131, 146, 148, 158, 234
- Dicotyles tajacu*, javelina, 278
- Diego Ramón Crossing, 90, 96
- Dimmit County, 157, 246-248
- Dolores crossing, 161
- Donahue Shoals, 203
- D'Otolan, Bernardo, 192, 194, 216
- Douay, Father Anastasius, 57
- Duran, Vicente, 176, 183
- Durango, 277
- Durst
- John, 194, 212, 214, 215, 216
- Road, *also* Lower Douglass Road, 194, 214, 216
- Ebony, Texas. *See* *Pithecellobium ebano*
- Edentates, 276
- Edwards
- Aquifer, 243
- County, 144, 229, 278
- Plateau, 241, 243, 273, 278, 360
- El Atascoso, 147, 154, 241
- El Frances, Juan. *See* Géry, Jean
- El Tapado, spring, 21, 241
- Elizondo, Ignacio, 31, 207
- Elkhart Creek, 205
- Elm Creek, 146, 187
- Emet Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Emet
- Empresarios, 31, 36, 38
- Encinos
- charco, 21, 176, 248, 249, 358
- Lake, 90, 250
- Encomienda, 28
- Enoma Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Enoma
- Entraaverlo Creek, 258, 359
- Espada, Mission. *See* Misión Espada
- Espantosa, 131, 172, 248, 285. *See also*
- Laguna Espantosa
- Esperanzas, paraje, 21, 175, 176, 251
- Espinosa, Fray Isidro Félix de, 86, 131
- 1709 itinerary, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 259-260, 354-357
- 1716 itinerary, 96-102, 131, 196, 204, 211, 241, 242-243, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 261-262, 263, 265, 266, 267
- Espinosa—Olivares-Aguirre expedition of 1709. *See* Espinosa, Fray Isidro Félix de
- Espíritu Santo
- Bay, 49, 53, 61
- River, 68, 86
- y San Jordiano, 83
- Fannin, James, 227
- Fauntleroy, J. D., 232
- Felis*
- concolor, 278
- onca, 278
- Ferguson, James E., 231
- Fernando of Aragon, 28
- Ferry, 38, 161
- Feudalism, 28
- Filisola, Vicente, 225
- Flores
- Pedro, 396
- José Urbano, 371, 373
- Visente, 396
- Forman Creek, 211
- Fort Ewell, 18
- Fort Saint Louis, 50, 61, 70, 73
- Fragaria* sp., strawberry, 254
- Francia, Paso de. *See* Paso de Francia
- Francisco Perez Creek, *also* Arroyo de Francisco Perez, 131, 146, 252, 253
- Franklin, 188
- Frio
- County, 131, 242, 249-251
- River, 31, 35, 120, 133, 134f, 136f, 230, 241, 272
- in Berlandier, 251
- in 1689, 63
- in 1690, 66
- in 1691, 77, 125, 128, 250
- in 1693, 83, 250
- in 1716, 90, 96, 250
- in 1718, 250
- in 1721, 104, 105, 136, 167, 169,
- Frio River *continued*
- 172-177, 229, 249, 250-251, 354, 355
- in 1777, 251
- monte of, 21
- Fuch's Grove, 187
- Fur industry, 276
- Gallegos, Pedro, 396

- Gallinas Creek, *also* Rancherías Creek, 21, 133, 148, 154, 161, 175, 176
- Galvan Creek, *also* Magdalena, 21, 133, 154, 159, 161
- Gaona, Antonio, 227
- Garcitas Creek, 29, 50, 61, 65
- General Land Office Archives, 11, 12, 148, 157, 226
- Geneva, Texas, 12, 188, 221
- Gentilz, Theodore, 133, 158-159
- George C. Davis Site (41CE19), 14, 188, 194, 205, 209
- Géry, Jean (Juan), *also* Juan Andrés, 53-55, 58
- Gilchrist, Gibb, 233
- Gills Branch, 221, 284
- Giones, José, 177, 185
- Girl Scouts. *See* Lone Star Girl Scout Council
- Goliad, *also* La Bahía, 31, 32, 33, 45, 46, 227
- Gómez
- Gil, 396
 - Mateo, 396
- Gopherus berlandieri*, Texas tortoise, 274
- Gotari, Alejandro, 173, 178
- Gotier Trace, 227
- Grapeland, 188
- Gruene, 187
- Guadalupe Mountains, 278
- Guadalupe River, 30, 38, 40, 243, 255, 355, 356, 359, 360
- crossings,
 - in Berlandier, 257, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279
 - in 1689, 61, 64
 - in 1690, 67
 - in 1691, 70, 73, 78, 255
 - in 1693, 81, 85, 255
 - in 1709, 256
 - in 1716, 89, 91, 98, 256
 - in 1718, 256
 - in 1721, 107, 257
 - springs, 120
- Guagual, 123
- Guanapacavas (Guanapacuas), 77, 125, 128, 250
- Guanapache, 76, 245
- Guanapaclec, 124. *See also* Guanapache
- Guanapacti, 124
- Guanapajao, 77, 125, 128, 250
- Guanapetuan (*also* Guanapetnan), 123, 128
- Guansan, 122
- "Guerrero" arrow points, 116
- Guerrero (Villa de), Coahuila, 12, 15, 129, 130f, 154, 225, 273
- Guijolote (*also* guajolote), 175, 176
- Gutiérrez, Ylarion, 397
- Gutiérrez de Lara, Bernardo, 30
- Haase Site (41BX338), 150
- Halls Bluff, 188, 203, 206, 207, 208
- Hasinai Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Hasinai
- Hayes, John C., 230
- Hays County, 12, 13, 221, 257-259
- Hidalgo County, 274
- Hidalgo, Fray Francisco, 29
- Hidalgos, 28
- Higgins Waterhole, 150
- Historic context, 27-34, 35-39, 287-295
- Historic resource plans
 - federal- or state-coordinated thematic auto route, 313-314
 - federal, state, and local cooperation, 313
 - federal, state, and private cooperation, 312-313
 - regionally coordinated theme-linked sites, 311
 - state government-coordinated historic route, 312
- Holm-oak. *See* *Quercus virginiana*
- Hondo Creek, *also* Arroyo Hondo, 13, 63, 66, 84, 90, 91, 97, 106, 120, 129, 131, 135f, 247, 248, 251. *See also* Rio Hondo
- Houston
 - County, 29, 207, 265-266
 - Sam, 32, 227
- Hueco (Waco) Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Hueco (Waco)
- Hughes, George W., 230
- Huisache. *See* *Acacia smallii*
- Hurricane
 - Bayou, 188
 - Shoals, 200-208
- Incarnación de Verbo, 74
- Indian
 - cherry. *See* *Rhamnus caroliniana*
 - mounds. *See* George C. Davis Site
 - trails, 35, 43, 88, 120
 - tribes
 - Agdochas, 104, 111, 265
 - Agualohes, 81, 83, 245

- Aguapalam, 77, 250
 Apache, 20, 27, 29, 35, 45, 107, 133, 229, 235, 241, 277
 Apaysi, *also* Apayu, 77, 250
 Asinai, *also* Asinay, 95, 100, 102, 362
 See also Indian tribes, Hasinai
 Bidai, *also* Viday, 104, 111, 264, 265, 362, 364
 Bozal, 96, 247
 Caba, 78, 253
 Cacastle, 81, 86, 258
 Caddo, 191, 264, 364
 Cadodacho, 58, 269, 362
 Caguas, 127
 Cantona, *also* Cantonaes, 73, 78, 79, 100, 118, 127, 253, 254, 255, 257, 262
 Catqueza, 73, 78, 253, 254, 255
 Chaguan, 76, 247
 Chalomé, *also* Chalomá, Chaulaame, 78, 254
 Chaynaya, 78, 254
 Cherokee, 228, 264, 364
 Chickasaw, 264, 364
 Choma, 78, 253, 255
 Cíbola, 73, 78, 253, 255
 Cibolo, 53, 57, 255
 Clamcoehs, 54
 Cocoyomes, 27
 Comanche, 27, 29, 30, 35, 45, 229, 235, 241, 277, 365
 Deadose, 120
 Emet, *also* Emate, 78, 127, 253, 361
 Enoma, 253
 Hasinai, *also* Cenis, Hinai, 51, 52, 57, 70, 111, 127, 191, 216, 235, 267.
 See also Indian tribes, Asinai
 Hueco, *also* Waco, 265
 Jumano, *also* Jumana, 73, 81, 85, 255
 Kappa, 57
 Karankawa, 50, 51, 52, 58, 59
 Kickapoo, 264, 265, 364
 Lipan. *See* Indian tribes, Apache
 Mandone, 73, 255
 Mayeye, (*also* Malleyes) 120, 361
 Mescal, *also* Mixcal, 57, 81, 85, 92, 99, 100, 118, 256, 261, 262
 Mesquite, 97, 100, 118, 250
 Muruam, 78, 255
 Nabedeche, *also* Nabadeche, Nabedeche, Nabedacho, Novadiches, 57, 194, 195, 197, 199, 268, 363
 Nacogdoches, 94, 266
 Nacono, 102, 112, 267
 Nasoni, 94, 102, 266, 267
 Neches, *also* Nechas, 111, 210, 267
 Norteño, 45
 Ocana, 76, 247
 Paac, 76, 247
 Pachule, 76, 247
 Pacpul, 77, 126, 253
 Pacuachec *also* Pacuachiam, 77, 81, 90, 247, 250
 Pacuase, 83, 247, 250, 354
 Pacuaxin, 248, 249, 358
 Pamaya, 100, 118, 262, 363
 Pampoa, 252, 254, 355, 357
 Papanaca, 77, 250
 Paragua, 97, 250
 Parchiqui, 77, 250
 Patabo, 77, 250
 Pataguas, 90, 250
 Patchal, 77, 250
 Patsau, 77, 250
 Patulac, *also* Pastaluc, 76, 247
 Paxti, 252, 357
 Payavan, 77, 250
 Payaya, 77, 99, 100, 118, 242, 253, 254, 262, 355, 363
 Peyaye, 72
 Pitinay, *also* Piutaay, 77, 250
 Quems, 76, 247
 Quía, 98, 256
 Sacuache, 81, 83, 247, 250
 Samanpac, 77, 250
 Sana, 78, 253
 Sanpanal, 77, 250
 Sijame, 100, 118, 254, 262, 357
 Simono, 259, 356
 Sinaoma, 81, 85, 156
 Siupan, 254
 Suana, 81, 85, 257
 Taovayo, 265
 Tawakoni, 29, 265
 Tejas, *also* Texas, 29, 30, 53, 57, 58, 61, 68, 70, 74, 79, 80, 93, 94, 101, 118, 196, 199, 200, 206, 259, 263, 264, 265, 266, 364
 Tepacuache, 81, 83, 247
 Ticmamera, 100, 118, 262
 Toaa, *also* Toas, 78, 81, 85, 253, 256

- Tobosos, *also* Tobos, 27, 81
 Tojo, 78, 253
 Tonkawa, 29, 58
 Tosonibi, 259, 356
 Vanca, 77, 250
 Viday. *See* Indian tribes, Bidai
 Wichita, 29
 Xanac, 361
 Xarame, 100, 118, 250, 262, 354, 363
 Yataches, 57
 Yerbipiamé, *also* Euripiamé,
 Yeripiano, 92, 93, 99, 100, 118,
 120, 261
 Yojuan, 120, 259, 260
 Imatatiniguiapacomisen, 126
 Invertebrates, 271-272
 Isabel of Castilla, 28
 Iturbide Revolution, 31

 Jackson, Andrew, 32
 Jaguar. *See* *Felis onca*
 Javelina. *See* *Dicotyles tajacu*
 Jesus María y Joseph de Buenavista, 67
 Jett Crossing, 158-159
 Joly, 49, 50
 Joutel, Henri, 50, 51
 Jumano. *See* Indian tribes, Jumano

 Kadohadacho language, 127
 Kappa. *See* Indian tribes, Kappa
 Karankawa Indians. *See* Indian tribes,
 Karankawa
 Keeran Site, 50
 Kemper, Samuel, 30
 Kickapoo
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Kickapoo
 Shoals, *also* Rapids, 188, 199-208
 Kinney County, 274
 Kyle, 187

 La Bahía. *See* Goliad
 La Cañada de la Magdalena. *See* Galvan
 La Cochina, hill, 20, 133, 248
 La Coste, 154
 La Cruz, 176
 La Fora, Nicolás de, 196, 202-204, 208-210
 La Hedionda, 250, 253
 La Loma
 Alta, 144
 de las Flores, 106, 256
 de San Cristóbal, 161-162, 163f
 del Muerto, 21
 La Nana Bayou, 188, 217
 La Parita, paraje, 21
 La Romano, paraje, 20, 133, 248
 La Salle
 County, 12, 18, 242, 248-249
 René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de, 29, 49-52,
 54
 Laguna
 de las Cargas, 255
 del Castor, 210
 Espantosa, 14, 131, 157
 los Paxaritos, 371, 373
 Negra, 201
 San Luís. *See* San Luís Lake
 Lagunillas
 Creek, 13
 de Mala Agua, 21, 174, 275, 176, 177,
 241, 251
 Landa Park, 187
 Langosta, 272
 Lapontilla, Felipe, 396
 Laredo, 37, 45, 46, 147, 271, 275, 279, 280
 Road, *also* San Antonio-Laredo Road),
 18, 32, 33, 46, 133, 136f, 147, 158, 159,
 161
 Larrison Creek, 211, 212
 Las Animas Creek. *See* Brushy Creek
 Las Cargas. *See* Santa Ana Lake
 Las Cruces, 14, 106, 131, 251, 253, 255, 285
 Las Encinas, charco, 20-21
 Las Esperanzas, paraje, 21, 251
 Latexo, 188
 Lee County, 262
 Legg Creek, 214, 216, 221
 Leon
 County, 207, 22, 264-26
 Creek, *also* León Creek, 106, 138, 153,
 154, 159, 255. *See also* Arroyo de
 León
Lepus californicus, jackrabbit, 248
Leucophyllum frutescens, 279
 Linares Valley, 94, 101, 111
 Linnwood Crossing, 214
 Lipan Apaches. *See* Indian tribes, Apache
 Little (Brazos) River, 38, 104, 118, 187, 207,
 221, 243, 262, 264
 Little Elkhart Creek, 205
 Little Pond Creek, 187
 Live oak. *See* *Quercus virginiana*
 Llano

- County, 276
- Mesteño, 279
- River, 241
- Loma Padron, *also* Padron Hill, 144
- Lomas de Cuervo, 171
- Lomería Grande, 107, 108, 241, 259, 260
- Lone Star Girl Scout Council, 286
- Los Adaes, 15, 29, 43, 44, 104, 191-219, 221
- Los Angeles Creek, 361
- Los Encinos del Río Frío, 105, 249, 251
- Los Gatos, pools, 105, 251
- Los Inocentes River, 107
- Los Mártires de Pamplona, 86
- Los Muertos, 249
- Losoya
 - Saferino, 396
 - Texas, 159
- Louisiana, 26, 33, 46, 268
- Lower Douglass Road, 214
- Lower Presidio Road, 4, 9, 14, 24f, 33, 129, 131, 132f, 133, 136f, 138, 141f, 147, 148, 153-154, 161, 173-186
 - stops along, 167-168, 241-242
- Lutra
 - canadensis*, northern river otter, 276-277
 - longicaudus*, southern river otter, 276-277
- Lynx rufus*, bobcat, 278
- Lytton Springs, 221
- Macdona, 131, 157, 158
- Macrobrachium*
 - acanthurus*, 272
 - carcinus*, 272
 - ohione*, 272
 - olfersii*, 272
- Maddox Creek, 188, 221
- Madison County, 221
- Magdalena. *See* La Cañada de la Magdalena; Santa María Magdalena
- Magee, Augustus, 30
- Mail, *also* postal service, 21, 46, 48
- Maldonado, Juan Manuel, 369-373
- Mammals, 275-278
- Mandone Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Mandone
- Manor, 187
- Mariposa Site (41ZV83, 55, 56
- Market systems, 27, 37
- Marqués de Aguayo, Joseph de Azlor y Virto de Vera, 29, 104, 118, 120
- Marqués de Rubí, 30
- Marquez, Texas, 188
- Martinez
 - Bruno, land grant, 154
 - Creek, 149
 - Pacheco, Rafael, 44
- Martos y Navarrete, Angel de, 44
- Matagorda Bay, 14, 29, 61, 67, 81, 200
- Matamoros, 33, 271, 279, 280
- Maverick County, 245-246
- Mazanet, Fray Damián, 55, 58, 59, 61, 121-128, 158, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253-254, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261, 264, 265, 266
 - 1691 itinerary, 70-71, 75f, 76-80, 120, 200
- McCown, J. P., 275
- McKinney Falls, 104
- McLean, Daniel, *also* Maklin, 194, 197, 207
- McMullen land grant, 146
- Medicago sativa*, alfalfa, 247, 354, 357n
- Medina
 - Battle of, 14-15, 161, 285
 - County, 13, 129, 131, 154, 157, 242, 252-253, 275
 - River, 21, 61, 62, 129, 136f, 138, 144, 147, 148, 275, 278
 - crossings, 133, 145f, 146, 153-162, 230, 253, 254, 353, 355, 358
 - in Berlandier, 255
 - in Walker, 138, 144, 147
 - in 1689, 61, 62, 64, 67
 - in 1690, 67
 - in 1691, 72, 77, 125, 253
 - in 1693, 85, 254
 - in 1709, 254
 - in 1716, 91, 97, 254
 - in 1718, 254
 - in 1721, 104, 106, 255
 - in 1777, 255
- Medio Creek, 154, 157
- Meleagris gallopavo*, wild turkey, 92, 94, 97, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 123, 275
- Melrose, 188, 221
- Mescal Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Mescal
- Mesquite. *See also* *Prosopis glandulosa* Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Mesquite
- Mesteñada, 21
- Mexican Boundary Survey, 246, 270
- Mexico City, 34, 37, 43, 45
- Mier
 - Coahuila, 32
 - y Terán, Manuel de, 207, 237, 270

- Milam County, 12, 14, 120, 243, 261-262
 Mill Creek (*also* Legg Creek; Terreros Creek), 214, 219
 Mina. *See* Bastrop
 Misión, *also* Mission
 Espada, 13, 21, 143, 144-149, 154, 155f, 255
 Linares, 199, 208
 Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, 89, 95, 102, 112, 191, 192, 217, 267, 362
 Nuestra Señora (de los Dolores) de los Ais, 113, 188, 191, 192, 199, 208, 214, 216, 221, 267, 268, 362
 Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, *also* Santa Barbara, 112, 191, 211
 Purísima Concepción, 30, 89, 95, 102, 112, 191, 212, 213-216, 267, 362
 San Bernardo, 130f
 San Francisco de los Neches, 112, 210, 267
 San Francisco de los Tejas, 14, 52, 59, 61, 62, 70, 80, 81, 88, 89, 102, 191, 194, 195-201, 208, 211, 266, 284, 362
 San José (de los Nasonis), 89, 95, 102, 112, 191, 192, 199, 208, 267, 362
 San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, 131, 144, 147-149, 154, 157, 160f
 San Miguel de los Adaes, 104, 113, 191, 363
 San Antonio de Valero, 31, 106, 143, 149, 187, 242
 San Francisco Xavier y Valle de Cristóbal, 118
 San Juan Bautista, 29, 245
 San Juan Capistrano, 149
 San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, 144, 229
 San Xavier (de Naxera), 14, 120, 187
 Santísima Nombre de María, 191, 195
 Santa Cruz, 30
 Mission ranchos, 143-151. *See also* Rancho
 Mississippi River, 29, 49, 50
 Mixcal Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Mescal
 Mollusks, 271
 Monclova, 14, 29, 61, 118
 Monte Galvan, 284-285
 Monte Grande, 76, 241, 243, 247. *See also* Monte Sin Fin
 Monte Sin Fin, 87, 263
 Montoya, Felipe, 396
 Moore, 234
 Moral Creek, 194, 216, 217
 Morfi, Juan Agustín, 246, 248, 251, 255
 derrotero, 12, 18, 19, 33, 45, 133, 148
 Mount Sterling, 212
 Mountain laurel. *See* *Sophora secundiflora*
 Muñoz, Manuel (Governor), 43, 44, 45
 Muruam, Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Muruam
 Musquiz, Manuel, 197, 202, 207, 209, 217, 219
 Nabadacho village, 268
 Nabedeché Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Nabedeché
 Nacogdoches, 12, 14, 15, 30, 33, 43, 44, 46, 48, 70, 89, 188, 191, 192-195, 202, 205, 206, 208-219, 221, 227
 County, 194, 266-267
 Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Nacogdoches
 Road, 150, 187
 Nacono Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Nacono
 Nashville, Texas, 207
 Nasoni Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Nasoni
 Natchitoches, 46, 57, 104, 113
 Natchitoches/Yatatsi language, 127
 National Forest Service, 15
 National heritage corridor, 313
 National Park Service, 15, 25
 Nattcasba, 79, 259
 Navarro, José Antonio, 133, 148
 Navasota River, 188, 263, 264
 Neches River, 14, 37, 38, 39, 89, 104, 112, 188, 191, 194, 195-199, 201, 208-212, 221, 228
 Neill, James C., 225-226, 227
 Nemesio, Salcedo, 375
 Nenocadadda, 257
 Lagoon, 79
Neotoma spp., wood rat, 272
 Nering Bögel, Philip H., 31
 New Braunfels, 14, 78, 187, 221
 New Orleans, 46
 Nido, aguaje, 170
 Nieves Creek, 194, 211. *See also* Neches River
 Nolan, Philip, 27, 30, 202
 Norman's Crossing, 187
 Norteño Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Norteño
 Norvell, Claudia W. (Mrs. Lipscomb), 231-233
 Nueces

- County, 273
- River, *also* Río de las Nuezas, 14, 18, 20, 35, 49, 54, 132f, 133, 134f, 144, 240, 241, 273, 279, 280
- in Berlandier, 248
- in 1689, 63, 246, 248
- in 1690, 66, 246
- in 1691, 72, 76, 128, 246-247, 249
- in 1693, 83, 247
- in 1709, 247, 249, 354
- in 1716, 89, 90, 96, 171, 174, 175, 176, 177, 247, 248
- in 1721, 105
- in 1777, 20, 248
- Nuestra Señora
- de Guía, creek, 110
- de la Asunción Creek. *See* Creeks, Nuestra Señora de la Asunción
- de la Estrella, creek, 110
- de la Merced, 80
- de la Soledad, spring, paraje, 100
- de las Nieves Creek, 112
- de Loreto, 31
- del Buen Suceso, 104, 111, 265
- del Camino, creek, 110
- del Pilar, presidio, 104, 113, 217
- del Rosario, creek, 111
- Nuevo León, 30, 45, 277
- Nuevo México, 30, 33
- Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana (Nuevo Santander), 30, 33, 46, 74
- Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar, 269
- Ocana Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Ocana
- Odocoileus virginianus*, white-tailed deer, 104, 106, 107, 278
- Ojo de Agua
- de San Diego, 105, 248, 250
- de San Lucas, 32, 154, 227, 255
- de La Peña, 250
- de San Pedro. *See* San Pedro Spring
- Old Bastrop Road, 13, 221
- Old Frio Town, 13, 131, 135f
- Old Manor, Road, 187
- Old Pleasanton Road, 153, 154, 159
- Old San Antonio Road Association, 232-233
- Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission (OSRPC), 3, 10, 26
- Old Somerset Road, 158
- Olivares, Fray Antonio (*continued*)
- (*continued*) de San Buenventura, 89
- Olmsted, Frederick Law, 238
- Onion Creek, 14, 104, 187, 259. *See also* Arroyo Garrapatas
- Opuntia* spp., prickly pear cactus, 272
- Orcoquisa, El, 31
- Ortalis vetula*, chachalaca, 123
- Otter
- northern river. *See* *Lutra canadensis*
- southern river. *See* *Lutra longicaudis*
- Owens, J. M., 233
- Paac Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Paac
- Pachule Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pachule
- Pacpul Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pacpul
- Pacuase Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pacuase
- Pacuaxin Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pacuaxin
- Padron Hill, 144
- Pagès, Pierre Marie Francois, 196
- Palmetto, *See* *Sabal mexicana*
- Palo Alto, 20, 21, 32, 133, 248
- Road, 158-159
- Palo Blanco, 131, 248
- Pamaya Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pamaya
- Pampoa Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Pampoa
- Panapay, *also* Penapay, 77, 126
- Creek, 253
- Panther Springs Creek, 150
- Papulcasa, *also* Papulacsap, 78, 126, 127, 253
- Paquache crossing, 129
- Paragua Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Paragua
- Parajes. *See* individual names
- Parrita Creek, *also* Parita, 21, 133, 171, 173, 175, 176, 251
- Parrot
- red-crowned. *See* *Amazona viridigenalis*
- yellow-headed. *See* *Amazona ochrocephala*
- Paso
- Cabezo del Apache, 255
- de Diego Ramón, *also* Diego Ramón
- Crossing, 90, 96, 129, 246
- de Francia, 12, 18, 55, 58, 129, 130f, 246
- de la Garza, 158
- de las Islas, 129
- de Nogal, 1129
- del Apache, 187
- del Cañon, 157
- del Salto, 207
- Talón, 158
- Tío Alberto, *also* Camino del Río Grande
- de Arriba, 157, 255

- Tomás, 199
 Tranquitas, 153
 Patillo, G. A., 227
 Pato, aguaje, 170
 Patroon Bay, 188
 Patulac Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Patulac
 Paxti Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Paxti
 Payaya Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Payaya
 Pearl industry, 271
 Pecan Island, 187
 Peccary, collared. *See* *Dicotyles tajacu*
 Pedrajo (Pedraso), Padre, 148
 Penapay. *See* Panapay
 Peña
 José Enrique de la, 226
 Juan Antonio de la, derrotero, 196, 202,
 204, 208, 211, 216, 246, 248, 249, 251,
 253, 255, 256-257, 259, 260, 261, 262,
 264, 265, 266, 267, 268
 paraje, 131, 171, 174, 250
 Pendleton Harbor, 221
 Peñuelas Creek, 107, 259
 Pereyra, Francisco José, 384
 Perez, Ignacio, 138, 148, 159
 Petroglyphs, 63, 131, 135f, 248
 Peyaye Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Peyaye
 Piedras Creek, 219
 Piernas, José, 194
 Pike, Zebulon, 27, 30
 Pineda, Alvarez, 49
 Pita. *See* Charco de la Pita
Pithecellobium ebano (*flexicaule*), Texas
 ebony, 280
Populus deltoides, cottonwood, 103, 252,
 357n, 363n
 Portilla, Felipe Roque de la, 385
 Post oak savannah, 4, 38, 280
 Poteet, 13, 133, 154
 Potopatana, 77, 125, 252
 Potranco Creek, *also* La Potranca, 154, 157,
 255
 Preservation Plan
 case studies
 Blue Ridge Parkway, Virginia—North
 Carolina—Tennessee, 318-319
 Oregon Historic and Scenic Highway
 Program, 316-317
 Oregon Trail, Oregon, 314-316
 Route J-40, Van Buren County, Iowa,
 320-321
 Route 5, Richmond to Williamsburg,
 Virginia, 319-320
 Route 75, Sawtooth National
 Recreational Area, Idaho, 319
 corridor concept, 25
 guidelines, 323-324
 phases and objectives, 324-329
 scope, 25-26
 techniques, 318. *See also* Historic
 Resource Plans
 Presidio
 Bahía del Espíritu Santo, 375
 de los Adaes, 192, 199, 208
 de los Tejas, 191
 del Río Grande, (San Juan Bautista), 4,
 12, 13, 14, 15, 29, 31, 37 44, 89, 104,
 105, 129, 154, 157, 158 161
 Dolores de los Ais, 214-216
 Nuestra Señora de los Ais, 214-216
 Prickly pear cactus. *See* *Opuntia* spp.
 Prieto
 Pedro Lopez, 369-373
 y Garcia, José Manuel, 369-373
Prosopis glandulosa, mesquite, 279, 280
 Protohistoric period, 116, 118
 Provincias Internas, 35, 38, 235
 Pueblo
 de San Marcos, 168
 el Síbolo, 168
 Puelles, Fray, 206
 Puesta
 del Colorado, 235
 del San Marcos, 235
 Pulapacxam, 123
 Punta del Encinal, 171, 172

 Quail, 104, 105, 106
 Quems Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Quems
Quercus
 fusiformis, scrub live oak, 278
 stellata, post oak, 280
 virginian, live oak, 103, 357n
 Quinigua—Barrado, 121
 Quitseis village, 206

Rabdotus alternatus, South Texas tree snail,
 271
 Rais Creek, 217, 219
 Ramirez
 de Arellano, Fray Pedro, 147
 Juan, 396
 Manuel, 44

- Ramón
 Diego, 29
 Domingo, 89, 90-95, 118, 131, 157, 194, 195, 196, 199, 200, 201, 204, 208, 210, 214, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 265-267
 Paso de Diego. *See* Paso de Diego
 Ramón
- Rana catesbeiana*, bullfrog, 271, 273
- Ranas Lake, *also* Charco de Ranas, 90, 249, 358
- Ranchería Grande, 118, 120, 285
- Rancho
 de la Botija, 217
 de las Norias, 278
 de las Traviesas, 172
 de Monte Galvan, 284
 del Loco, 227
 Dolores, 159, 161
 El Atascoso, 144, 147-149, 154, 284
 La Mora, 143, 149
 Las Cabras, 143, 154, 284
 Loco, 217
 Monte Galván, 149-150, 284
 San Lucas, 131, 144-146, 147, 148, 154, 157, 158
 San Patricio, 214
- Real
 de cuervo, 105. *See also* Arroyo de los Cuervos
 de Rosario, 66
 del Patrocinio (de Nuestra Señora) Creek, 110
- Red River, 29, 36, 37, 242, 276
- Regulation of roads and ferries, 38
- Repartimiento, 28
- Reptiles, 273-274
- Resaca de la Palma, 32
- Resurrección, 249, 358
- Rhamnus*
 caroliniana, Indian-cherry, 103, 247, 262, 365n
 sp., buckthorn, 258
- Río (*also* Río)
 Atascosita, 169
 Atascoso. *See* Atascosa River
 (Bahía) del Espíritu Santo, 79, 86, 99, 108
 Blanco, 187, 257, 258
 Bravo (del Norte). *See* Río Grande
 Brazos (de Dios). *See* Brazos River
 Chapa. *See* Arroyo Chapa
 Colorado, 73, 169. *See also* Colorado River; Arroyo Colorado
 Corona, 275
 Corpus Christi, 93, 361
 de las Nueces. *See* Nueces River
 de Medina. *See* Medina River
 (del) Espíritu Santo, *also* Colorado, 49, 99, 108, 259, 266, 268
 del Norte. *See* Río Grande
 Escondido, 49
 Frio. *See* Frio River
 Grande, 18, 20, 35, 36, 44, 47f, 54, 56, 118, 123, 128, 129, 245-246, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 280
 crossings, 13, 55, 58, 129, 132f, 133, 161. *See also* Paso de Francia
 in 1690, 61, 66
 in 1691 70, 72
 in 1693, 81, 83
 in 1716, 89, 90, 96
 in 1721, 104, 105
 Guayalejo, 273
 Hondo, 14, 15, 29, 35. *See also* Hondo Creek
 in 1689, 63-64, 249
 in 1690, 66, 248, 249
 in 1691, 70, 72, 77, 84, 90, 91, 106, 125, 128, 131, 234, 250, 258
 in 1693, 84, 250
 in 1709, 250
 in 1716, 91, 97, 250
 Incarnación del Verbo, 265
 Leona, 230
 Nueces. *See* Nueces River
 Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. *See* Guadalupe River
 Panuco, 273
 Sabina, 169, 362
 Salado, 30, 85, 254, 271, 277, 279. *See also* Salado Creek
 San Antonio, 38
 San Jacinto, 31, 169
 San Juan, 78
 San Juan Bautista, 263, 265
 San Marcos, 38, 73, 79, 107, 350
 San Marcos y Colorado, 73
 San Xavier. *See* San Xavier River
 Santísima Trinidad. *See* Trinity River
 Sarco, 63, 248, 250. *See also* Frio River
 Soto la Marina, 273

- Turvio. *See* Rio Grande
- Ripperdá, Baron de. *See* Baron de Ripperdá
- Rivas, Francisco, 174, 180
- River shrimp. *See* *Macrobrachium*
- Rivera expedition, 196, 210, 211
- Robertson County, 221, 263-264
- Robbins Ferry, 200, 201, 206, 207
- Robeline, Louisiana, 191
- Robinson, James W., 227
- Rodriguez
 Francisco Xavier, 46
 Juan (El Cuilón), 120, 360
- Rosas de San Juan, *also* La Rosita, 14, 105, 131, 246, 255, 285, 358
- Rosillo Creek, 30
- Roxo, Fray José Mariano, 45
- Ruinas, las, 176
- Ruiz
 Bernardino, land grant, 154
 Francisco, 237
- Rutledge Hollow, 154
- Sabal*
 mexicana, Texas Palmetto, 280
 sp., palmetto, 254
- Sabanna Grande, 174, 175, 176, 240
- Sabeata, Juan, 53, 285
- Sabinas River, Coahuila, 122, 127
- Sabine
 County, 13, 268
 River, *also* San Francisco de las Sabinas River, 4, 18, 31, 38, 81, 113, 188, 191, 221, 227, 228, 243, 268
- Sabinitas Crossing, 159
- Sacuache Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Sacuache
- Saint-Denis, Louis Juchereau de, 29, 52, 89, 94, 96, 104, 112
- Salado Creek, *also* Arroyo Salado, 30, 91, 98, 106, 149, 150, 255, 273. *See also* Rio Salado
- Salcedo
 Acts of Foundation, 13, 14, 30, 284, 369-373
 Governor Manuel, 30, 148, 369
 Trinidad de, 205-208
- Salinas
 José, 396
 Varona, Gregorio de, 55, 56, 81, 82f, 88, 245, 247, 249, 250, 252, 254, 255-256, 257-258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264-265, 266
 1693 itinerary, 13, 83-88
- Salix nigra*, willow, 279
- Salsipuedes Creek, 258, 359
- Saltillo, 27, 32, 24, 27, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46
- Samenpajo, 76, 124, 247
- San Agustín Creek, 113. *See also* Arroyo San Agustín
- San Alexo, 72, 91
 Lake, 91, 250
- San Ambrosio, paraje, 20, 167, 174, 248
- San Antonio, 12, 13-14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 33, 43, 44, 45, 46, 89, 120, 129, 133, 190, 191, 221
 de Béjar, *also* Béxar, 89, 104, 106, 187, 225-226. *See also* Béxar
 de Pádua, 77, 242
 de Pádua Creek, 109, 126, 253, 254
 River, 30, 38, 61, 62, 159, 242, 253, 254, 272, 273
 in 1691, 72, 77, 126
 in 1716, 62, 91, 98, 253, 254, 355
- San Atal, 83, 249
- San Augustine, 188, 221
 County, 267-268
- San Bartolomé, 77
 Lake, 113, 250, 268
- San Bernardino. *See also* Arroyo San Bernardino
 de Sena, 85, 254
 Spring, 68, 112, 99, 107. 258, 259
- San Bierno Creek, 212
- San Bonifacio, 83
- San Cayetano, 72, 246
- San Cristóbal
 Lake, 101, 361
 paraje, 93
- San Deciano, paraje, 87
- San Diego, springs, 72, 100, 246. *See also* Ojo de Agua de San Diego
 de Alcalá Creek, 92
 de Venecia, 86
- San Eubaldo, 84, 252
- San Felipe, 227
 Neri, 85
- San Félix, 78, 86
- San Fernando
 Creek, 86, 107, 108, 111, 262. *See also* San Fernando River
 River, 94. *See also* San Fernando Creek; Arroyo San Fernando

- Valley, 94
- San Francisco
 - Buenavista y San Juan, 258, 265
 - Creek, 108, 260
 - de Coahuila, 61
 - de la Espada, 13
 - Solano, 72, 246
 - valley, 88
 - Xavier, valley, 69
 - y San Justo, 86, 258
- San Gabriel River, *also* San Xavier River, 12, 14, 187
- San Gerónimo, 73
 - Creek, 146, 361
- San Gervacio, 78, 254
- San Gregorio
 - Nacianceno y Cristóbal, 83
 - Nazianzeno, 67
- San Ignacio Creek, 108
- San Isidro, 84, 92, 99, 107
 - Labrador, 74, 91, 107, 258, 264
- San Jorge, estero, 109
- San Joachín y Santa Ana Creek, 109
- San José de los Apaches Creek, 109
- San Joseph, 67-68
- San Juan
 - Creek, 111, 204, 205
 - Lake, 100
 - paraje, 68
 - prairie, 205
 - River, 99
- San Juan Bautista, 90
 - Lake, 91, 93, 100, 261, 262
 - Presidio. *See* Presidio del Río Grande
 - River, 101
- San Juan de los Jumanes Creek, 109
- San Lorenzo
 - Creek, 97
 - Lake, 90, 250
 - paraje, 20
- San Lucas Creek, *also* Lucas Creek, 144
- San Luís
 - Beltran, 72, 253
 - Laguna. *See* San Luís Lake
 - Lake, 94, 113
- San Luís Obispo Lake, 101, 263
- San Luís Potosí, 45, 46
- San Marcelino, 78, 253
- San Marcos, 12, 187, 221
 - county, 12
 - de Neve, Acts of Foundation, 13, 14, 30, 284, 375-396
- River, 30, 38, 39, 81, 86, 92, 99, 107, 187, 257, 356, 357, 359, 360
- San Martín, paraje, 86
- San Matías, 76
- San Melacio y San Spidio, 87
- San Miguel
 - Arcángel, 67
 - Creek, 21, 133, 148, 171, 173, 175, 176, 178, 253, 358
 - pools, camp, 97, 147, 250
- San Miguelito, tank, 251
- San Nicolás
 - Creek, 92, 257, 260
 - Lagoon, 79
 - Tolentino Creek, 113, 268
- San Norberto, 88, 264
 - Creek, 109
- San Pablo, 79
- San Patricio
 - County, 13, 14
 - Ranch, 214
- San Pedro, 72, 79
 - Creek, 29, 69, 102, 111, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195-202, 203, 206, 207, 208-219
 - de Alcantará, ponds, 99
 - del Nogal, 92, 258
 - Martir, 67
 - spring, 14, 20, 89, 91, 98, 133, 242, 248, 250, 254
 - village, 206
 - y San Sablo, clearing 110
 - y San Pablo Apóstoles, 73, 110
 - y sus Compañeros, 88
- San Rafael Creek, 92, 107
- San Roque, paraje, 20, 133, 174, 175, 176, 248
- San Saba River, 30
- San Sancho Creek, 87
- San Sebastian, valley, 68
- San Silverio Papa, plain, 109
- San Silvestre, 78
- San Ubaldo, 83, 247
- San Xavier
 - Arroyo. *See* Arroyo San Xavier
 - de Nájera, 120
 - Mission. *See* Misión San Xavier
 - pools, 91
 - River, 12, 14, 30, 92, 108, 262. *See also* Arroyo San Xavier
- San Ybon, *also* Ybón, 91, 256, 257

- River, 107
- San Ygnacio, 80, 108
- Sana Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Sana
- Sanan language, 127
- Sanchez, *also* Sánchez
- Juan José, 194
- Mariano, 217
- y Tapia, José María, 159, 192, 194, 197, 207, 209, 211, 216
- Santa Ana Lake, *also* Las Cargas, 101, 111, 265, 361
- Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 15, 31, 225, 226, 227
- Santa Barbara (Ocampo), 275
- Santa Catarina, paraje, 20, 133, 175, 176, 248
- Santa Clara, 111
- Creek, 94, 265, 361
- spring, 101
- Santa Coleta Creek, 111, 201, 266, 362
- Santa Efigenia Creek, 111
- Santa Isabel, cañon, 91, 252
- Santa María, 80
- de Buenavista, springs, 100
- Lake, 109, 264
- Magdalena, 79, 85
- Santa Prudencia, 85, 254
- Santa Quitería Creek, 85, 108, 260
- Santa Rita Lake, 91, 97, 252
- Santa Rosa
- creek, 201
- de Lima, river, 113, 268
- Santiago, 80
- Santísima Trinidad, 68. *See also* Trinidad de Salcedo
- river. *See* Trinity River
- y San Pascual, 84, 252
- Santo Domingo, 49, 92, 100
- Santos, Nicolás de los, 196
- Santos-Coy, Francisco de los, land grant, 217, 218f
- Sarco River, 66
- Sauz Creek, 154, 157, 255
- Sawmill Lake, 210
- Scaptocheyls berlandieri*. *See* *Gopherus berlandieri*
- Screwworm fly, 275
- Seguín
- Erasmus, 13, 14, 173-186, 226
- Juan, 229, 237
- Transcript, 13, 14, 131, 173-186, 226
- Senate Bill No. 570 (1929), 3, 5-6, 232
- Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 (1989), 3, 6-7, 27
- Señorías, military, 28
- Serrano, Miguel, 397
- Settlement patterns, 36
- Sicoconotdeta, 79, 257
- Sierra del Sacatsol. *See* Axatscan
- Sijame Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Sijame
- Simono Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Simono
- Sinaoma Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Sinaoma
- Siupan Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Siupan
- Slaughter Creek, 187
- Smatiniguipacomisem, 77, 126, 253
- Snail, South Texas tree. *See* *Rabdotus alternatus*
- Solís, Fray Gaspar José de, 147-149, 196, 197, 199, 202-204, 208-212
- Sophora secundiflora*, 124
- Soto, Juan, 396
- Sporobolus* sp., sacaton, 264-265
- State Highway 21, *also* SH OSR, 12, 33, 195, 199, 200, 201, 207, 208, 209, 212, 214, 216, 217, 219, 22, 230-233, 243
- Sterne, Adolphus, 207, 209, 214
- Tahuacano valley, 251
- Talón
- Crossing, 158-159
- family, 51, 52, 54, 59
- Tamaulipas, 270, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280
- Taovayo Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Taovayo
- Tawakoni Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tawakoni
- Taylor (Texas), 187
- Taylor, Zachary, 32
- Tejas Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tejas
- Tepacuache Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tepacuache
- Terán de los Ríos, Domingo, 15, 56, 70-71, 75f, 129, 245, 246, 249-250, 252, 253, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266
- 1691 itinerary, 72-74, 200, 208
- Terreros Creek, 214, 216, 217, 219
- "*Testudo tuberculata*." *See* *Gopherus berlandieri*
- "*Testudo bicolor*." *See* *Gopherus berlandieri*
- Texas Archeological Research Laboratory (TARL), 15
- Texas Department of Commerce, 25
- Texas Historical Commission, 15, 25, 150, 299

- Texas Log Cabin Register, 15
 Texas Natural Resources Information System (TNRIS), 12, 13, 15
 Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 15, 25
 Texas State Archives, 11, 161
 Texas State Historical Association, 286
 Thomas, Denis, 49
 Thompson, Alexander, 227
 Thrall, 187
 Ticmamera Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Ticmamera
 Tierritas Blancas, 251
 Toaa Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Toaa
 Tobosos. *See* Indian tribes, Tobosos
 Todos Santos River, 112, 267, 268, 362
 Tojo Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tojo
 Tonkawa Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tonkawa
 Tonti, Henri de, 51, 56-58
 Topo, aguaje, 172
 Tortuga, pond, 96, 104, 105, 172, 174, 249
 Tosonibi Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Tosonibi
 Trans-Pecos region, 273
 Travis County, 14, 259-260
 Tree snail, South Texas. *See* *Rabdotus alternatus*
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 32
Triatoma sp., chinchas, 272
 Trinidad de Salcedo, 14, 30
 Trinity River, 14, 30, 169, 188, 191-219, 263, 265, 276k 362, 363. *See also* Rio Santísima Trinidad
 in 1691, 70, 74, 80
 in 1693, 81, 88, 89
 in 1716, 93, 94, 101
 in 1721, 104, 111
Trypanosoma cruzi, 272
 Tullillo, 106, 253, 358
 Tumlinson, John J. 227-228
 Turkey. *See* *Meleagris gallopavo*
 Creek, 55
 Turtle. *See* *Gopherus berlandieri*
 americanus, black bear, 278
 arctos, grizzly bear, 278
 Uvalde, 55, 230
 Vallecillo, 46
 Vegetational communities, 279
 Vera Cruz, 32, 37, 279
 Vial, Pedro, 197, 211
 Viano, Fray Mariano, 149
 Victoria, 33
 Visitación de Nuestra Señora, 110
 Walker
 Juan Pedro, 138, 144, 147, 188, 191-197, 203, 206, 209, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217, 219
 Ranch, 285
 Webb County, 273
 Weches Formation, 203
 Weeping Mary Road, 209, 210
 White Rock Shoals, 203
 Wichita Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Wichita
 Willacy County, 273
 Williams
 John, 207, 209
 Ferry, 201, 209
 Williamson
 County, 12, 14, 260-261
 Creek, 187
 Willow. *See* *Salix nigra*
 Wolf Spring, 187
 Woll, Adrian, 32, 229
 Woll's Road, 229, 230
 "Woman in blue". *See* Agreda, María de Jesus de
 Wood rat. *See* *Neotoma* spp.
 Wool, John E., 230
 Xaloton, *also* Xoloton, 78, 127, 253
 Xaramé Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Xaramé
Xerobates berlandieri. *See* *Gopherus berlandieri*
 Yanaguana, 77, 126, 242, 253
 Yataches. *See* Indian tribes, Yataches
 Y'Barbo, Don Antonio Gil, 192, 237
 Yegua Creek, 262, 361
 Yerbipame. *See* Indian tribes, Yerbipame
 Yojuan Indians. *See* Indian tribes, Yojuan
 York Creek, 221
 Ursus

- Zacatecas, 45
- Zavala County, 55, 124
- Zivley, V. N., 3, 11, 13, 17-24, 33, 231-234
 - route from Sabine to south-central Texas,
17, 22f, 138
 - route from San Antonio to Rio Grande,
18-19, 22f, 154, 231
- Zúñiga, Santiago de, 45-46

