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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MISSION OF ESPÍRITU SANTO
DE ZÚÑIGA AND THE PRESIDIO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA
DE LORETO, 1718-1751

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THESIS

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Preface

Too little importance has been placed by the students of Texas history upon the early development of the state by those intrepid Spanish explorers and settlers who came to Texas a hundred years before the Americans made their first advance into what is now the Lone Star State. We give too little credit to those earliest pioneers who made it possible for later interest to develop. This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, with the purpose of relating the early history of the first sea-coast mission in Texas and of describing the presidial life of the people who established the first sea-port of Texas. Material for the study was taken from manuscript sources, transcripts of which are found in the University of Texas Library.

Footnote citations generally are to the folio numberings of the original documents where these are recorded in the transcripts used; otherwise footnote citations are to the copyist's paginations of the transcripts.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Charles W. Hackett for his helpful suggestions and directions, and for his patience and encouragement throughout the work; to Mr. Carlos E. Castañeda for his kindness in helping through difficult translations of old Spanish documents; to Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher and Miss Winnie Allen of the library staff, of the University of Texas Library for the assistance which they gave in helping locate the documents used in the preparation of this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Espíritu Santo Bay, situated at the mouth of the San Antonio and Guadalupe rivers, played a vital part in the early development of Texas. Because of its strategic position, and because of the lack of knowledge of the possibilities of the bay as a port of entry into the Texas country, its importance in the eyes of early Spaniards assumed a relatively high place.

The first knowledge of a bay called Espíritu Santo that came to the Spaniards was in 1518 when Francisco Garáy, Governor of Jamaica, ordered Alonso Álvarez de Pineda to make explorations in the Gulf of Mexico.¹ Pineda sailed

¹
Bethel Coopwood, "Notes on the History of

La Bahía Del Espíritu Santo," in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, July, 1898, II, 162.

along the whole Gulf Coast from the southern cape of Florida to the mouth of the Pánuco River, and made a chart of his discoveries. He showed on this chart a bay which he called "La Bahía del Espíritu Santo", and noted some of the most prominent points in the surrounding topography.² "It is probable

²

Ibid., 162.

that Pánfilo Narváez had a copy of this chart when he sailed from Florida in 1527," says Bethel Coopwood, "for Alvar Núñez de Vaca says of the bay where he and Lope de Oviedo first heard of their countrymen being with another tribe: 'By what appeared to us from it and what we saw, it is the one called Espíritu Santo, showing that he already knew that there was a bay on that coast by such a name.'³ In 1561, Ángel de Villafañe and Jorge

³

Ibid., 162.

Serón sailed along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico

and made a descriptive chart of it. On this chart⁴ was located the Bay of Espíritu Santo.

⁴

Ibid., 162.

Thus it was that at a very early date the Spaniards knew of a bay which they called the Bay of Espíritu Santo. Whether or not the bay located by Cabeza de Vaca was the same one that La Salle later mistook for, and names, Espíritu Santo, is unimportant. But it is important that the Spanish Government knew at this early period of a bay on the coast of Texas. Both De Vaca and Coronado reported that the Texas region contained no gold or silver. Hence the Spaniards were not concerned with the development of this territory for nearly two centuries.

It was the fear of the foreign aggressor that caused Spain finally to turn her attention to Texas. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century neither France nor England had opportunity to attempt to colonize the New World. Each country had domestic difficulties to engage its attention, and when there were no domestic difficulties, European wars held them in their grip. By the beginning of the seventeenth century

however, both countries came upon the scene as potential menaces to the overlordship of Spain in the New World. England confined its attention to the east coast of North America, and gradually drove down into Florida the Spanish forces that were scattered along the Carolina coast. The development of the English colonies was of slower growth than those of France; and, although the colonial development of the English colonies caused Spain a great deal of uneasiness, France early presented the greatest menace to New Spain of all the potential rivals which the mother country possessed. In 1605 the French made their first settlement in the St. Lawrence region. From that place as a base, their activities were extended southward and eastward. Because of the opposition of the English along the east coast, however, and the lack of effective Spanish barriers to its activities in the center of the continent, France became, by 1690, a power to be greatly feared by the Spaniards in the Gulf Coast region.

The French made their first aggressive step toward wresting from the Spaniards their bonanza

of New Spain in 1685, when La Salle landed on the coast of Texas at a place which he thought was the Espíritu Bay which previously had been located by Pineda.⁵ There he built a fort called Fort Saint Louis.

5

Ibid., 162.

As far as the French colonization project was concerned this settlement was a failure, but it certainly did open the eyes of the Spanish government to the danger of the prospective French occupation of Texas. In fact, the danger of the French occupying Espíritu Bay and making it the base of future operations against the Spanish possessions in the west had been felt in Spanish official circles long before La Salle actually settled there. Before 1685 the King of Spain had recommended the establishment of a Spanish outpost there. And at the Court of France, representing to the French Government that a short passage way could be opened up from the Bay of Espíritu Santo to the rich mining country of Sonora and New Mexico, was Peñalosa, the renegade Spanish office seeker, at

the very time that La Salle appeared praying for permission to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River.⁶ Some historians think that it

6

William Edward Dunn, Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Coast Region of the United States, 1678-1702, in University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705, p. 13.

was due to this representation of Peñalosa's that La Salle settled in Texas instead of at his announced destination. At any rate when the Spanish Government heard of his venture it immediately took action.

In 1689, when De León made his trip to Texas in search of La Salle, he went to the Bay of Espíritu Santo.⁷ There he found the remains of the French

7

Coopwood, "La Bahía Del Espíritu Santo," 163.

fort, established by La Salle, in very good condition, and also found the remains of some artillery which the French had buried. The next year, when De León returned to East Texas to establish a bulwark against prospective French encroachment in the Mississippi Valley,--the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas,--he again went to the deserted French

fort. There, in an endeavor to erase from memory the French incursion upon Spanish soil he and his associates burned the old fort to ashes. In 1691 Domingo Terán made arrangements for a supply ship to bring him equipment to Espíritu Santo Bay. He detached a party under the command of Captain Don Francisco D. Martínez and sent them down to the coast to meet the ship.⁸ This was the first time

⁸
Robert Carlton Clark, The Beginnings of Texas, in Bulletin of the University of Texas No. 98, p. 31. (Published Dec. 1, 1907.)

in the history of Texas that a Texas port received a cargo of goods for inland transportation and consumption.

Francisco Llanos sounded the bay in 1690 and demonstrated that it was practicable to use it as an entry for the East Texas establishments.⁹ But

⁹
Ibid., 28

the first Tejas mission proved a failure and Spanish interest in Texas became dormant for another quarter of a century. It was necessary for the

French menace again to become acute before the viceroy of New Spain became permanently interested in Espíritu Santo.

CHAPTER II

DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH MISSION AND PRESIDIO AT ESPÍRITU SANTO

Although the Church regarded Texas as a virgin field for the propagation of the faith and urged the Government to take action so that missionaries might be sent to Texas, nothing definite was done to establish Spanish control in Texas, after the advent of La Salle and the subsequent Spanish gesture in the East Texas mission experiment, until the foreign menace again became¹ active.

¹
In 1709 Fathers Espinosa and Olivares made an expedition from San Juan Bautista, a Spanish outpost on the Rio Grande, opposite the present town of Eagle Pass, into Central Texas. Herbert E. Bolton: "Notes on Clark's 'The Beginnings of Texas'", in Texas Historical Association Quarterly, XII, 156, and, Elizabeth Howard West: "Bonilla's Brief Compendium of the History of Texas, 1772", in Texas Historical Association Quarterly, VIII, 21. The same year the Querétaran missionaries petitioned the Council of the Indies to allow them permission to found a mission on the San Marcos or the Guadalupe river for the purpose of converting the Indians. They stated that the Tejas Indians were inclined to the Catholic faith that the fertility of the soil was good; and that many cities

could be discovered inhabited by a people called Quiviras, who, they thought, were of the Grand Quivira. Querétaran missionaries to the government, November 29, 1703, in A. G. I., Mexico, 62-2-4, f. 1.

The French trader, Captain Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, made a bold move in the early part of 1715 when he left the western outpost of the French in Louisiana and travelled across Texas to San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande, with the purpose of opening up trade with the Spaniards in that territory. That expedition determined the viceroy to establish an outpost in East Texas to serve as a buffer to the French. He appointed Martín de Alarcón as the governor of the new territory and Domingo Ramón as the leader of an expedition to be sent into this territory for the purpose of establishing permanent settlements in it. In a dispatch to the king dated February 25, 1717, Viceroy Valero explained his actions. He stated that the soil of Texas was fertile, the climate good, and the natives docile; that the natives had wooden houses and that they gathered and harvested their fruits.² He stated

² Viceroy Valero to the King, February 25, 1717, in A. G. I., Indiferente General, 136-6-23, ff. 8-9.

that the French had been trading with the Indians, and for this reason, and also, in order that the French would not get a foot-hold in Texas through the Bay of Espíritu Santo, he had sent Martín de Alarcón with about twenty-five men ("mulatos and mestizos of little intelligence") to take charge of the country.

Spanish activity in Texas began in earnest with the founding of the East Texas missions. The priests exerted themselves in convincing the government of the necessity of establishing many settlements and churches in this new land. However, fear of French aggression and a determination that the French should not trade with the Spanish subjects dominated the actions of the Spanish officials throughout this period of history, at least as far as concerned Texas. In 1718, the King, in a royal *cedula* to the Viceroy of New Spain gave the following instructions which illustrate the attitude of Spain:

"You will charge the governor or leader of these missions, [in Texas], that if the French, either by sea or by land, try to make some other entrance as they have made, to arrest them, placing the commandant in the prison at Acapulco and the other people

in the dungeons of Mexico, as has been done with the English in the times of peace when they had intended to introduce themselves into the domains of the Indies."³

³

The King to Viceroy Valero, June 11, 1718, in A. G. M., Historia, CCCXI, f. 59.

The first definite order to build a presidio at Espíritu Santo was issued by royal cedula on June 11, 1718.⁴ The King ordered that the missions

⁴

Ibid., ff. 58-60.

of Texas should be maintained and fostered; that a strong garrison of cavalry should be maintained in them; and that the largest possible number of priests should be kept at the mission on the banks of the San Antonio river since "that is the one which is nearest to the Bay of Espíritu Santo."⁵

⁵

Ibid., f. 58.

He referred to a report, dated July 28, 1717, that he had received from the oidor, Don Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, and to one which he had received from

Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, governor of the presidio of Santa María de Galves, written in January, 1717, in which it had been represented to him the harm that could result from the entrance of the French into his domains not only because of the illicit commerce in which they would indulge but because they would thereby become acquainted with the country. The King then ordered that at the Bay of Espíritu Santo a fort should be established "on the same site where M. La Salle⁶ had his".

⁶

Ibid., f. 58.

He stated that this order was to be carried out in the quickest manner possible so that the fort should serve as a wall against the designs of the French. In order to reduce the expenses as much as possible he ordered that all necessary materials for the construction of the fort were to be sent in two ships from Vera Cruz to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, "since it will take only four or five⁷ days to take them by water." He said that great

7

Ibid.

care was to be taken in the selection of the corporal who was to be the head of the garrison at the Bay of San Bernardo.⁸ Quoting again: "He must

8

The names "Bahía de San Bernardo," and "Bahía del Espíritu Santo" are both used in most of the old Spanish documents referring to this harbor.

be very careful and watchful and see that no Frenchmen are allowed in that country and that they are not allowed to take any horses or mares out of the province."⁹ The king further stated that with the

9

Ibid., f. 59.

establishment of a presidio at Espíritu Santo Bay not only would the French be kept from entering the province but the royal treasury would be greatly benefited because all the necessary supplies (for the Texas missions), such as iron, etc., could be then easily shipped from Vera Cruz and the expense of carrying them five hundred leagues would be dis-

¹⁰
pensed with.

¹⁰

Ibid., f. 59.

It was a comparatively easy matter for the King to issue an order and then consider the matter settled but it was not always the case that his order was promptly carried out. Especially was this true with respect to Texas which held no promises of gold or silver. Only Indians, and those of the less civilized nature, beckoned to the missionaries. To the soldiers nothing but a few pesos of added salary was offered as an inducement for their services. There were dangers from the unknown; dangers from the wiles of the red savages; and, lastly, danger from the possible conflicts with the French, which made pioneering in Texas an undertaking not popular.

These may have been the reasons that the Governor of Texas, Martín de Alarcón, did not exert himself in making a settlement at Espíritu Santo Bay. Nevertheless, the king seemed to think that his frontier governor had carried out his command for

on October 31, 1719, he expressed his thanks to Viceroy Valero for having had Don Martín de Alarcón enter into Espíritu Santo with settlers, troops, supplies, etc., and make a settlement¹¹ there.

¹¹
The King to Viceroy Valero, October 31, 1719, in A. G. M. Reales Cédulos, XL, 1719, ff. 243-244.

During the time that he was governor of Texas Alarcón did make a trip to Bahía as appears from a dispatch which he sent to the king, dated November 3, 1721. In this letter he states that he was named governor of Texas by the viceroy of New Spain, the Marquis of Valero, and that he was ordered to conquer the region of Espíritu Santo; that "from the port and Bay of Espíritu Santo",¹² he asked for aid

¹²
Alarcón to the King, November 3, 1721, in A. G. M. Historia, CCCXXI, f. 75.

from the government to be dispatched to the port of Espíritu Santo, but that this request had been denied on the grounds that it would be an unneces-

sary expense to the royal treasury. He stated that he had then presented a second request, and had asked that there be given him one hundred and seventy-five cavalrymen which he judged necessary. Father Margil, President of the Querétaran missions in Texas, accompanied him, he said, and concurred in his opinion.¹³ Again his request

13

Ibid., f. 76.

Father Margil states that he and the chaplain and another missionary went with Alarcón to Espiritu Santo. Isidro Felis De Espinosa, Crónica Apostólica y Seráfica de Todos Los Colegios de Propaganda Fide De Esta Nueva España De Misioneros Franciscanos Observantes, Parte Primera, 450.

was refused on account of the excessive cost involved. Remembering what had been given his successor in office, he indulged in a little sarcasm, remarking: "I do not consider them so, [too excessive], Sire, for when the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, successor of mine in government, and to whom six hundred mounted soldiers were given, [was made governor], the salary assigned to him was not excessive, it being twenty-five thousand pesos annually, and to his soldiers four hundred and fifty pesos each, annually; while the salary promised

me was two thousand five hundred pesos annually, and to each of my soldiers four hundred pesos." He also stated that during his governorship he took special care to see that illicit commerce with the French was not tolerated. Alarcón stated that he believed that the purpose of the French was to trade in goods and not to populate the country.

Rumors to the effect that the French had designs on the Texas country, and especially that they were interested in obtaining port facilities in Texas, continued to filter into the Spanish official circles. In a communication to the king, written on April 25, 1718, Viceroy Valero advises him of reports that he had received from Don Gregorio de Salinas, governor of the presidio of Santa María de Galves, to the effect that it had been learned that the French had received orders from the Duke Regent to occupy a port on the Mexican Gulf even if it had to be taken by force. ¹⁴ According

¹⁴

The King to Viceroy Valero, April 22, 1719, in A. G. I. Historia, CCCXXI, f. 63.

Ibid., ff. 64-65.

to him Salinas had reported that upon reception of this news a council of war had been held by the Spaniards and it had been decided to send Salinas to Espíritu Santo Bay with two ships, armed and equipped, where it was suspected the French would attempt to locate. Though this plan did not materialize, the danger of leaving unprotected the only Texas port of which they had any knowledge continued to give apprehension to the Spanish officials.

This apprehension was augmented in 1720 when the French sent Beranger with a party to explore the Bay of Espiritu Santo. Beranger left at the Bay, five men, four of whom perished, and one, named Belisle, made his way back to the French settlements.¹⁵ In 1721 another Frenchman,

¹⁵ Hubert Howe Bancroft, North Mexican States, I, 616.

La Harpe, attempted to occupy Espíritu Santo Bay but was unsuccessful because he failed to find the bay and because of unfriendly Indians.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESIDIO AND MISSION

The Marquis of Aguayo, a rich land-owner of Coahuila, was named governor of Texas and took office on December 19, 1719; and at once a new spirit was breathed into the Texas situation. It was now determined to send a large expedition into Texas under Aguayo who was to make further settlements. Great preparations were made for the trip, but some delay in the organization stayed the departure several months, so that it was not until March 23, 1720, that the expedition finally crossed the Rio Grande.¹ Previously, Aguayo had sent

¹ Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition Into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722," in The Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association, XV, 31.

Lieutenant-governor Almazán to San Antonio to aid that place against a threatened attack by the French under St. Denis who was reported to be planning its capture.² With him probably went Captain Don José

 2

B. Juan Antonio de la Peña, Diario del Viage del Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo, in Documentos Para La Historia Ecclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Tejas, Libro Segundo, XXVIII, f. 6.

Charles W. Hackett, (ed.), Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 53; note at end of paragraph 260.

Peña, Diario, f. 13.

Ramón, who commanded a force of forty men, and whose purpose was to go on to the Bay of Espíritu Santo and there make a settlement.

Little is known of the trip to Bahia made by Ramón. On April 4, 1721, Aguayo arrived at San Antonio. "Being greatly concerned because of the fact that he had received no news of the company which he had sent from the Rio Grande with a detachment in charge of Captain José Ramón," says Peña in his diary of the Aguayo trip, "he sent on Holy Friday, four trustworthy Indians (to find out about Ramon). On the 18th of April there arrived in San Antonio the lieutenant and four soldiers which Captain José Ramón had sent with the glad news of having taken possession of the bay in the name of Our Lord, putting up the holy cross and the royal flag, the day of Our Lady of Dolores." ^{3a} This was

 3a

Ibid., f. 13.

April 4, 1721, two weeks before Easter Sunday. We do not know just what day Ramón arrived at Espíritu Santo, but he sent a petition to the War Department in Mexico concerning the pay of his men, and dated the letter at Espíritu Santo, on March 4, 1721. Therefore, he must have arrived several days before he wrote this letter.³

3b

Affidavit of Diego Ramón to War Department, March 4, 1721, in Autos de fecha, etc., in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, f. 13.

The lieutenant who came back to San Antonio with the news of Ramón stated that the bay was very beautiful, and was capable of sustaining many ships, but that it had not yet been sounded because there was not enough wood to make a canoe.⁴

4

Peña, Diario, f. 13.

The news of the discovery and occupation of Espíritu Santo by Ramón filled the Spaniards with joy, the celebration of which was observed with appropriate ceremony.⁵ And well might the little

⁵

Ibid., f. 13.

expedition rejoice for that port was needed as a depot for supplies which it was proposed should come from Mexico for them. The Marquis dispatched a letter on the 26th of April to the viceroy giving him the news of the discovery. He asked permission from him to have his supplies sent by sea from Vera Cruz instead of by land.⁶ This was a very

⁶

Ibid., f. 14.

wise decision on Aguayo's part, the terrible winter he had just experienced having taught him the danger of depending upon overland transportation of supplies. Permission was asked to allow him to buy a ship, he agreeing to pay the cost, and to have sent to him provisions of flour, corn and other supplies.⁷ He was granted his request.

⁷

Ibid., ff. 13-14.

At the Bay of Espíritu Santo the work of building a fort went forward rapidly. Temporary build-

ings were erected, and the soldiers settled themselves, secure in their stockade, until Governor Aguayo made a visit the following year and ordered the construction of a permanent fort. In charge of the spiritual life of the new settlement was Fray Agustín Patrón y Guzmán, apostolic minister of the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas.⁸ He had orders from his college to

⁸
 Fray Agustín Patrón y Guzmán, Testim.^o de la miss.^{on} de na. s.^{ra} de Loreto, in A. G. I. Guadalupe, 67 - 3 - 11, f. 1.

erect a mission for the presidio in the most convenient place, so that he could induce the Indians of that part of the country to enter it, adopt the ways of civil life and learning, and accept the tenets of the Christian faith.

Father Agustín reported that within a month after the arrival of the Spaniards there came to him some of the Indians of the Cocos nation, whom he addressed through an interpreter, Francisco, the Saxame, who had been raised in a mission in Mexico. He explained to them that it was the will of the King that they should congregate with-

in the mission and village in order to be instructed in the Divine Law, and to receive the benefits accruing from a civilized state. He promised to supply them with corn necessary for their sustenance, farm tools and other things necessary for the planting of their fields. The benefit which they were to receive was for the good of their souls, he told them. Father Agustín also represented to them that a stationary residence was much better for them than their present custom of wandering up and down the coast in search of food. After hearing what the priest had to say, the Indians responded that they would consult the rest of the tribe, and that they would probably come and live⁹ at the mission.

9

Ibid.

During the second month after the arrival of the Spaniards these Indians returned, bringing with them their chief men, and those of the nation Cuxame, together with their wives and families. However, since the good priest did not have enough supplies to keep such a large number of Indians he told them to return to their lands, and that he

would advise them when he should receive the necessary supplies so that they could cultivate their crops. He then made a requisition on the home government for cotton goods, petticoats, thick flannels, coarse woolen stuffs, blankets, forks, knives, mirrors, small wares and tobacco.

Since the mission was but three quarters of a league from the presidio, on the banks of the river where water could be run into the ditches for irrigation purposes, Father Agustín, on April 10, 1722, asked the supreme government to grant title to the land thus occupied. He asked that the title be given to the mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga which was the name assigned by the Zacatecan College to the Espíritu Santo religious organization.¹⁰

¹⁰

Ibid., f. 4.

An order came to the captain of the presidio on the 18th of May, 1722, commanding that, with the erection of the mission, he should give to the Church the land it had requested. The erection of the mission had been delayed because up to then the three hundred fanagas of maize and other supplies

which had been requested had not arrived. When the supplies arrived Captain José Ramón then sent word to the Cocos Indians, who were those who lived nearest the mission, that they might come and live at the town. The Indians again returned, and this time, in addition to the Cocos and the Cuxames, the nation of the Curacamos came with them. The mission building was now erected three quarters of a league up the river on which the fort was located.¹¹ That part of the country south of the mission,

11

Bolton, in his Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, p. 5, seems to be of the opinion that the river in question was the present Garcitas Creek.

and bordering upon the river, was given to the Indians for their fields and as pasture land for their cattle.

The ceremony connected with the granting of this land to the neophytes by the Church must have been quite interesting. In view of the fact that only a short time before the Indians considered the land as their own, and in view of later events, it is doubtful if they thoroughly understood the import of the proceedings.

On the appointed day the chiefs of the tribes were required to congregate in the yard of the church. In token of giving possession of the land to them, Father Agustín marched into the church and then he marched out again. When he came out, he caught the hands of the chiefs of the three nations and led them along the walk which was in front of the mission, making signs by which to demonstrate to them that they were receiving the land as a gift from the Church. The chiefs then took up some plants, and taking some dirt and rocks, set the plants out in different places in sign of acknowledgement of their possession of the property. After that ceremony they named as their captain, the chief of the Cocos Indians.¹²

¹²

Guzmán, Testimonio, f. 3.

In the meantime Aguayo had been pursuing his mission in East Texas. He was in sore need of the supplies which should reach him by the way of Vera Cruz and the Bay of Espíritu Santo. In the middle of October, 1721, he received notice of the arri-

val, at the Bay of Espíritu Santo, of his supply ship. This news was received with rejoicing, and in a short time a mule-train which had been left at San Antonio pending the arrival of the ship at Bahía was dispatched with the much needed supplies to him.¹³ This convoy reached the governor

¹³
Peña, Diario, f. 50.

on December 9, following.

Late in November, 1721, Aguayo received letters from the viceroy, the Marquis of Valero, in which was inclosed an order from the King, dated May 6, 1721. This order commanded that the province of Texas be fortified with presidios and that especially the Bay of Espíritu Santo should be fortified. The viceroy thereupon ordered that Aguayo should increase the fortification of the Bay with an additional fifty men. Aguayo promptly dispatched Gabriel Costales from San Antonio with fifty of the best soldiers of the expedition to report to the command at Espíritu Santo.¹⁴ This Costales afterwards became the commander of the fort.

¹⁴

Ibid., f. 52.

Shortly before March 16, 1722, this picked body of men arrived at the Bay and there awaited the coming of the Marquis. ¹⁵ The latter had not accom-

¹⁵

Lorenzo de G rcecochea, January 20, 1724, an official in the War Department in Mexico City, in discussing the pay of the soldiers of Espiritu Santo Bay, stated that the delivery of the fifty men took place March 14, 1722. "Autos de fecha", in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, f. 20.

panied the Costales company on account of the lack of horses. He followed, however, with a detachment of forty men, together with D. D. Joaquín Codallos y ¹⁶abal, Captains D. Thomás de Ziburia, D. Miguel Zilón y Gavilán, Don Manuel Herrera, and Don Pedro de Oribe. On March 24, 1722, he arrived at the temporary fort which had been constructed a year before by José Ramón. ¹⁶

¹⁶

Peña, Diario, f. 57.

The first eight days after his arrival Aguayo was confined to his bed on account of fever contrac-

ed during the rigors of the trip to San Antonio. Meanwhile Father Agustín thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity afforded him for conducting services in the church. That being Holy Week, services were held in the church daily, the first time that appropriate church ceremonies had been conducted there since the coming of the Spaniards.¹⁷

¹⁷

Ibid., f. 57.

On April 6, 1722, a year and two days after the flag of Spain had first been hoisted over the temporary quarters of the Presidio of Our Lady of Loreto, work was started on a permanent fort. The spot selected was the same as La Salle had selected in 1684. While digging the trench for the fort many nails and pieces of old guns which the French had used were found. The foundations of the fort¹⁸ were opened within fifteen days. It was octagon

¹⁸

Ibid., f. 57.

shaped, with a moat built around it, and four stockades; within, a tower had been built, protected by

two bastions, each of which was forty-five varas
¹⁹
 in length.

¹⁹

Ibid., f. 57.

The lines of the fort having been laid out, the Marquis went to the Mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga and officially gave possession of it in the name of the king to the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. At this time there were many Indian families already mentioned living at the mission. The Indians told the governor that others would also come. When Aguayo gave them presents, they were very pleased. "Of their own free will", says Peña, "they offered the governor three children in order that he should baptize them."²⁰ Aguayo had the children baptized by

²⁰

Ibid., f. 58.

Father Agustín and then returned them to their parents.

After this was done, Aguayo returned to San Antonio, and shortly afterwards went to Mexico City. He left Captain Don José Ramón in charge of

the fort at Espíritu Santo, which was now garri-
 21
 soned by ninety men.

21

El Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo to Vice-
 roy Valero, May 3, 1722, in A. G. M. Provincias
Internas, XXXII, f. 10.

This settlement at Bahía had finally been ac-
 complished through the efforts of Aguayo, and the
 governor had made it appear to his superiors that
 the occupation of this port was highly desirable as
 an offset to the designs of the french. Others,
 also, had reported very favorably upon this loca-
 tion as being a very desirable one for the building
 of port facilities. However, a few years later
 when Rivera made his famous inspection tour of the
 frontier settlements, he disputed much that the
 Marquis of Aguayo had reported. He said that
 Aguayo had "colored" his report about the French in-
 22
 vading Texas.

22

In a dispatch dated June 13, 1722, Aguayo,
 in recounting his trip to Texas stated that in the
 mission of Conception he encountered many Indians
 of the Cadadoches, Vidays, Yogdocas, and other
 nations which had been called together at this
 time by the Commandant. St. Denis, as he knew

from information given him by the Tejas Indians with the purpose of getting control of the Bay of Espíritu Santo, and of using it as a base to invade San Antonio. But with the arrival of Spanish arms their plans were "dissolved as smoke". Aguayo to the King, June 13, 1722, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 67-3-11, Expediente 6, 1710-1736, p.2.

Rivera made a very impartial estimate of affairs, so that what he had to say in regard to Aguayo's report concerning St. Denis is worth noting:

"Neither is it true that Don Louis de St. Denis had invited any nations of the Texas country to meet him so that he could make himself master of them as well as of the Indians of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, for in the case Don Louis had tried to do what he said he did, without moving from his place of residence, he would have been master of the whole country lying between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Natchitoches, where his residence is. The Marquis would not have been able to resist the French, even though their numbers were inferior, as is proved by the character of each."²³

23

Rivera to Casafuerte, January 16, 1730, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 67-4-38, f. 13.

Rivera also denied that Aguayo had made any fortification at Bahía "other than one made of sticks to defend themselves against the attacks of the Indians. And although the plans were designed

which he remitted to the viceroy, its construction was never verified. Nor could the Marquis have done so in such a short time that he was there."²⁴

²⁴

Ibid., f. 13.

He further stated that the building of the fortification was made at the expense of the king, and of the salaries of the soldiers. Two priests, according to him, were left at Espíritu Santo for the purpose of administrating to the soldiers of the presidio.²⁵

²⁵

Ibid., f. 16.

Although, as has been stated, the bay at Espíritu Santo was not sounded by Captain Don José Ramón, it previously had been sounded in the month of October, 1690. Into the bay emptied two rivers and three small streams. The entrance was, at low tide, eighteen spans deep, and in high tide, it was twenty-four spans deep. There was a long bar-like island which partially guarded its entrance, this formation extending down the coast to the mouth of

the Rio Grande River. Within the bay, between the aforesaid bar and the mainland the water measured three, four, and seven fathoms at different points. ²⁶

26

"Puntos: del parecer que el Señor Auditor de Guerra, Marquis de Altamira ~~ex~~pusa al Exmo. Sor. Virrey Conde de Fuencalara, July 4, 1744", in Documentos Para La Historia Eclesiastica Y Civil De La Provincia De Texas, Libro Segundo. Historia XXVIII.

According to Rivera, the harbor was of insufficient depth for a good port, but according to the above report, which probably was the one which guided the Spaniards in selecting it, the waters of the bay had sufficient depth to accommodate the small bergatines then in use. And, too, the sand may have filled in so as to have made the port a less desirable one by the time Rivera made his inspection tour.

However, be that as it may, the Spaniards of Texas now considered that they were accommodated with port facilities, and looked forward to the settlement of the region around Espíritu Santo Bay.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND NATIVE LIFE AROUND ESPÍRITU SANTO BAY

It has already been stated that the Spaniards were not vitally interested in Texas, because it did not abound in minerals. After all, however, it may be said that Texas was first occupied by the Spaniards because of the gold mines. The Spaniards feared the foreigner would use Texas as an entrance through which to reach the gold mines of the New Mexico and Sonora section, and that, also, the French in particular, might gain entrance to Spanish territory for the purpose of trading and trafficking with the Spanish settlers and the neophytes under their influence. These things the Government wished to prevent, and it realized that the best way to prevent such contingencies from arising would be to plant a few settlements in Texas.

The settlement at Espíritu Santo was the first one ever to be contemplated by the Spanish Government for Texas. And when the French under

La Salle, beat them to it, they determined that they would not risk another failure by the French at colonizing a part of the country which they claimed as their own. Now, after years of procrastination, and after two settlements had already been made in Texas, a settlement was made at Espiritu Santo on the very spot where the French, under La Salle, had built theirs in 1684.

According to his own report to the King, Aguayo opened some drain ditches at Espiritu Santo. He also fitted out a sloop and reconnoitered the coast one hundred eighty leagues toward Vera Cruz. He then returned to San Antonio, arriving there on the twenty-eighth of April. A few days afterwards he returned to Mexico and made his report to the Viceroy. His actions received the formal approval of the Government.¹

¹
Aguayo to the King, June 13, 1722, in A. G. I., 1710-38 Guadalajara, 67 - 3 - 11, Expediente VI, 1-4.

This land around Espiritu Santo was low and swampy, with many lagoons in it. Casafuerte, the viceroy of New Spain, reported that it was water-

logged the whole year; that seeds would not germinate in it, and for this reason, that it was incapable of raising crops. He said that the cattle went away from that place because of the lack of sufficiently good soil to produce edible grass.² Friar Gonzales, an inspector for the

²
El Marquis de Casafuerte to the King, Aug. 1, 1730, in A. G. I., Mexico, 67 - 3 - 23, ff. 7-8.

Queréteran College, expressed the same opinion of it. According to him, lack of water was a great drawback to it, so much so as to make it "absolutely uninhabitable".³

³
Juan de Oliván, Report to the Auditor, Mexico, July 11, 1725, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, XXXII, ff. 36-37.

It was springtime when José Ramón first went to Espíritu Santo, and at that time of the year the country bore the appearance of being very fruitful. Juan Antonio de la Peña, who went with Aguayo to Espíritu Santo, in 1722, said of the place: "In all the land surrounding the presidio there were beautiful flowers, and the land is very fruitful.

There are extensive grazing land for horses and cattle."⁴ In 1725, in answer to criticisms as to

⁴ Peña, Diario, f. 56.

the location of the presidio, the Marquis de Aguayo stated that it was not by nature unfruitful, but that the captains did not have the men to work the land, and that during the first two years of its establishment, nothing was cultivated, but that food was plentiful, and that there was not a person sick, neither were there any deaths.⁵

⁵ Oliván, Report, f. 37.

The soldiers did not find it necessary to work, for there was plenty of wild game to be found in that vicinity. Quoting from a report of a man who travelled through that country in 1728, (but whose name is not attached to his report) one can form a good idea of the wild life which abounded in that vicinity. It follows:

"Buffalo, deer in abundance, bear from which fat is taken which serves to season the victuals, rabbits which serve

as food for the Indians, [are found here.] Birds are in abundance and in particular, the turkey, which are passed in bands, and some night birds, which are called Texolotes, with a song so funereal as to cause melancholia to those who hear it. The streams abound in fish, which serve as food for the Indians."⁶

⁶
Indiferente General de Nueva España, in
A. G. I., 136 - 7 - 7, Papeleta, 181, f. 90.

Bird life and wild game in abundance and a distance of ten days travel to the nearest outpost of civilization were not the only symbols of Spanish pioneering activities upon which the soldiers of the Presidio of Our Lady of Loreto had to muse. There was a powerful force in the menace of the Indian which constantly reminded them to be on the alert. In the neighborhood surrounding the bay were several tribes which, according to the reports of the earliest travelers in that section of the province, were among the lowest of the Texas Indians, in the scale of life. The presidio was placed in the neighborhood of the Cocos, the Curacames, and the Cujames. Others of the neighborhood who lived in skin-thatched huts, in little settle-

ments called rancherías, were the Caranaguases, Copanes and Coapites. Still others of the coastal tribes, but who were a little farther removed and who offered possible menace to the presidial troops, were the nations of the Tacames, Aranames, Mayeyes, Pampopas, and the Pastias.⁷

⁷
 Proyecto, y vissita de presidios hecha el año 1728 por el Brigadier D. Pedro Rivera, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, XXIX, f. 51.

The Indians lived a nomadic life, living in one locality only so long as the game in that section lasted. Then they would move on. They lived on rabbits, fruits, and small game. Quoting from an eminent authority:

"In customs, inclinations, and the modes of living, they are very similar to the Comanches and the Lipanes, of whom they are sometimes enemies. They are not so warlike as those Indians, but they are not entirely lacking in valor and disposition to carry on offensive warfare, and to defend themselves. However, on the other hand, they are lazier and are greater knaves--from this arises their want and misery. Their commerce is exceedingly meager because of their laziness and their scant traffic with foreigners.....They are idolatrous and superstitious, and have many wives."⁸

Juan Antonio Padilla, Memoria sobre los Indios infieles de la provincia de Texas, p. 11.

These Indians were very willing to take help from the stranger. They were anxious to come and live at the mission with the Church fathers when they were promised seed for their fields, cattle for their pastures, and were assured of a plentiful supply of food. But when it became impractical to furnish these things, the Indians stole away from the mission, and went back to his wanderings. During the first forty years of its existence, this mission of Espíritu Santo de Zuñiga exercised practically no influence over the spiritual lives of the Indians.

The dress of the Indian man was very simple. It consisted of only one garment which was tied around his waist and hung loose. This "skirt" was made of deer hide. The women were a little more modest. They wore two pieces of deer hide, but these were of very poor quality, generally, and like the modern dress of the Texas women, their skirts hardly reached below their knees.

The babies were naked almost the year around. Living in huts covered with hide, they did not need much clothing in the summer time, for the heat was intense inside those huts. However, in the winter, their lack of proper clothing and their lack of decent houses in which they might gain protection from the winter's blasts, must have been among the main reasons for the low morale of those inhabitants of the coastal country, and must also have accounted for the high death rate among them.

We can get a better idea of the living conditions of these Indians if we quote some of the reports of the old missionaries who labored among them, striving to better their mode of living and to give them a religion. These missionaries knew the Indian better than anyone else, for they had to be very close observers to be able to live under the hard frontier conditions which constantly confronted them.

"A very ridiculous thing is that done by the Indians to free themselves from small pox which they consider to be something alive, and which is following them. After one of them is covered with the disease, they put him under a shade and surround him with thorns. They leave him some food and water,

and forsake him in such a way, that if he does not help himself or of God does not help him, he dies. His body remains there as food for the animals and vultures. When those who do not have the smallpox go away they go along scattering thorns, certain of the fact that if a smallpox is following them, that on meeting these sharp thorns it will burst and will not be able to keep on following them." ⁹

⁹
Espinosa, Crónica, p. 480.

At the mission there were only two friars. Since the 17th of October, 1768, there was a standing order from the king that the missionaries should instruct the Indians in the Castilian language, and that the fathers should, at the same time, learn the Indian tongue in order that instructions could be made. ¹⁰ They were allowed only two soldiers to

¹⁰
Royal Cedula, October 17, 1696, in "El Obispo, etc.", in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 67-1-27, f.5.

guard them. This was not enough to make the Indians properly respect the missionaries. The neophytes respected muskets more than they did the Bible. "The most illustrious Montenegro testifies having known a great worker of the Company of Jesus, who

for a period of twenty-five years had busied himself with the conversion of the pagans, who stated that two muskets which escorted him helped more than fifty workers who might accompany him."¹¹

¹¹

Espinosa, Crónica, p. 476.

The general plan for dealing with the Indians was to get them to congregate within the mission and then for the fathers, assisted by the soldiers, to teach them to cultivate their fields, dig drain ditches, and to dig canals for irrigation. The mission fathers furnished them with farming tools, and with grain for planting their fields. But to the Indians accustomed to the freedom of the forests, the ways of civilized life did not hold a very great appeal to them.

CHAPTER V

RECRUITING OF THE PRESIDIAL TROOPS

The recruiting of soldiers to make up this presidial guard at the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto began late in the year 1719. The Marquis of Aguayo had received orders to select with care the man who was to be the presidial captain at Espíritu Santo, so that, having selected Don José Ramón, the latter was sent to enlist a contingent of men to be in his company. José Ramón, then, was the recruiting officer for the embryo presidio.

In Mexico City on December 20, 1719, Captain José Ramón selected as his lieutenant, Don Juan de la Peña, a native of Saltillo, whose age was forty-seven years. On the same day he selected as his secretary, Diego Sánchez, a native of Boca de Leon-
es. This man was thirty-five years of age. Two days later Bernardo de la Serda, a native of Saltillo, was selected as sergeant, thus completing the official family.

The officials having been selected, the rosters of the privates began to receive attention.

On December twenty-second, Bartholomé Garduno, a Queréteran, decided to try his fortune with the presidial expedition. The next day Joseph Flores, a native of Guadalajara, also enlisted. Then for a week, nothing was done. This week of seeming idleness was possibly spent by José Ramón in holiday festivities, since it was Michaelmas week. It was the last Christmas that he ever spent in the capital of New Spain. On December the thirtieth, three native Spaniards enlisted. Of them, Ygnacio de la Garza was born in Reino de León; Joseph Manuel de Rivera, at the same place; and Francisco Estéban Martínez was born in Toledo, Castile. Cristóbal Ramos, a native of Saltillo, joined the force on January 3, 1720. This completed the number of men from Mexico City who were destined to go to Espíritu Santo. As to the ages of the men in this group, three were in their twenties, three in their thirties, and three in their forties.

The recruiting force, together with their new recruits, now went to Querétaro. It took seven days to go from Mexico City to that place,

and get ready for the opening up of their recruiting office (if, indeed, they had one).

On January 11, two men enlisted. They were Martín del Canto, of Saltillo, and Nicolás Therrones, of Puebla de los Ángeles. Gabriel de Aguirre, and Juan Estéban Izquierdo, both natives of Saltillo, enlisted on January 12. The next day two more natives of Saltillo enlisted. These were Manuel de Luna and Diego Salcedo. On the fifteenth, four enlisted. They were: Francisco de Elbar, of Guadalajara, Jacinto Charles, of Boca de Leones, Juan Manuel de Morales, of Querétaro, and Charles Conde of Saltillo. The next day Lazaro Hernández, of Theposotlan [Tepozotlán] completed the list of those who enrolled with the company in the city of Querétaro. Of the ages of these men, four were in their twenties; four in their thirties; and three in their early forties.

Leaving Querétaro the recruits went with José Ramón to San Luis de la Paz. There, on January 20, three men enlisted. Of these Francisco Revillar was a native of the Canary Islands; Juan de Alvarado was a native son of La Paz; and Miguel Rodríguez de las Casas was a native of the Kingdom of

León. Their ages were forty, thirty-five, and twenty-five, respectively.

No more recruits were received from this little town, so camp was broken, and the cavalcade now went to La Ciudad de San Luis Potosí. There they stayed only two days, enlisting two men each day. The Potosians joining the regiment, were: Antonio Felix Ramo, of Boca de Leones; Miguel Muñoz, of Carrizal; Francisco Xavier Muñoz, of Carrizal; and Nicblás de los Reyes, also from Boca de Leones. The ages of these men were twenty-five; twenty-four; twenty-five; and twenty-four, respectively.

From La Ciudad de San Luis Potosí, the recruiting camp moved to Saltillo. On the way there, January 30, Diego Conde, aged thirty-six, enlisted in the village of Real de Nuestra Señora de Charcas. Those who enlisted in Saltillo were all young men. One of them was over thirty years of age, and several were under twenty. The names of the recruits and the city of their nativity is listed as follows: Juan de Peña, Saltillo; Pedro de Peña, of Saltillo; Nicolás Muñoz, of Carrizal; Miguel Ramón, of Coahuila; Marcos García, of the Kingdom of León; Juan Andrés Sánchez, of Boca de Leones; Juan Antonio de

la Serda, of Boca de Leones; Alonso Muñoz, of Saltillo; Pedro Ramón of Carrizal; Pedro Soloria, of the village of Zamora; and Miguel de Olivares, of Boca de Leones. Recruiting began in Saltillo on February 6, 1720, and was completed February 10, four days later.

The quota that José Ramón had to fill was completed at Saltillo on the above-mentioned date. Supplies had to be bought, and military equipment had to be secured. The men were furnished with shotguns, swords, spurs, bridles, chairs, horses, powder, ammunition, and things for personal adornment. A great many horses were needed for this trip, and cattle, also, which had to be purchased and **assembled**. It took almost three months to get together all materials needed for the journey to Espíritu Santo Bay. So that it was June 4, 1720, that Joseph Hernández, alcalde mayor of Rio Grande del Norte, reviewed the troop and inspected their equipment. By this time they not only had their horses, arms, and munitions, but also, one hundred eight mules loaded with flour, and maize. After this inspection, these men were used by Aguayo to

repel the attacks of the Nadadores Indians. A year passed before they were finally to set out¹ on their expedition to Texas.

¹
The data on the recruiting of the expedition to Espíritu Santo Bay, given in the foregoing paragraphs is taken from: A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, Carpeta de correspondencia, f. 27.

The foregoing paragraphs have told, as far as can be ascertained from the few records still extant, of the missionaries and presidial officers that composed the Espíritu Santo contingent. It was these men who were sent to Espíritu Santo from the Rio Grande River by Aguayo so that they might be there to receive the cargo of supplies which had been sent from Vera Cruz by water to the Bay of Espíritu Santo.

One of the few intimations that we have that the soldiers followed the old Spanish custom of taking their families with them is found in a dispatch² of Aguayo to the King, dated June 13, 1722. He said

²
Aguayo to the King, June 13, 1722, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 1710-1738, 67 - 3 - 11, Expediente VI, pp. 1-4.

that families were placed in a pueblo near the banks of the Guadalupe River. Another intimation that the soldiers were comforted by families is found in the testimony of one Fernando Pérez, in describing the night attack upon the presidio by the Indians, in 1724. He said that, being uneasy and not being able to sleep, he sent his son to the sentinal to see why the dogs were barking; and that the sentinal told the boy the Indians had attacked the horse herd.³ In another

3

A. G. M. CLXXXI, f. 44, in expediente, described as investigation of trouble between the Indians and the soldiers of Bahía del Espíritu Santo, by Fernando Pérez de Almazán, Governor of Texas.

testimony, mention is made of the soldier's wife preparing corn for bread making.⁴ Therefore, we

4

Ibid.

can judge from this that there was family life in the settlement.

CHAPTER VI

PROPOSED SETTLEMENT OF CANARY ISLANDERS AT ESPÍRITU SANTO

When Aguayo visited the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and the mission of Espíritu Santo and inspected the surrounding country, he made plans for the settlement of the port with civilians. He considered that this place would make an excellent port, and in order to have enough men there to guard it against the enemies that might try to capture it, and also to have enough men to act as escorts to the convoy trains, he left fifty additional men at the fort. As has been mentioned, this group arrived there, under the leadership of Gabriel Costales on March 14, 1722.¹

¹
Peña, Diario, f. 56.

Later, when Aguayo returned to Mexico and made his report to the authorities about his accomplishments in Texas, he also made known his plans to populate the country with settlers. He considered it essential to the development of his project

that a strong settlement be made at Espíritu Santo Bay. On June 26, 1720, Aguayo made his representations to the king concerning the necessity of establishing a presidio and mission there.

June 13, 1722, after the presidio and mission had been established, he made a request to the authorities to be allowed to bring four hundred families to Texas, by the way of Espíritu Santo Bay, for the purpose of colonizing the country, and, in this way, to secure it safe to the Spanish crown from the encroachments of the French, and, possibly, of the English. He stated that it was indispensable that there be shipped to the Texas region two hundred families from Galicia, Canaries, or from Havana, since these people were of the industrious type. He further requested that another two hundred Indian families of the Gran Tlaxcala be sent, for² they would be an example to the native Indians,

² The Tlascaltecas, referred to here as "Gran Tlaxcala", were a tribe of Indians whose land lay between Mexico City and Vera Cruz. At the time of the conquest they had reached a barbaric state of civilization. See H. H. Bancroft, Native Tribes, III, 143.

not only because they were converts to the Catholic faith, and would thus make the Christianization of the native coastal tribes more easily accomplished, but also because their examples of industry would serve as good examples to the natives. He said the soil of Texas was so fertile it lacked only to be worked to be a veritable mine for the Spanish crown.³

³
Marquis de Aguayo to the King, June 13, 1722, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 1719-1721, 67 - 3 - 11, p. 7.

Aguayo's petition was well received by the King, for on May 10, 1723, the King gave an order that the two hundred families from the Canary Islands should be brought to America. He ordered that they be brought of their own free will, on board merchant ships, and that they be provided with ample supplies for their needs. He stated that they were to be well treated, and that they should sail from the port of Campeche, and from there to Vera Cruz, and thence to San Bernardo Bay. He stated that the necessary supplies should be given them for their maintenance, the cost of which was to be taken out of his royal treasury. These supplies

were to last a year, until they harvested their
⁴
 newly-sowed crops.

⁴
 Royal Cedula, May 10, 1723, in A. G. I.,
Guadalajara, 1710-1738, 67 - 1 - 37.

The King's order was acknowledged by Casa-
 fuerte, on October 17, 1723, but for the time being
⁵
 nothing was done toward carrying it out.

⁵
 Viceroy Casafuerte to the King, October 17,
 1723, in A. G. M., Reales Cédulas, XLIV.

Evidently Aguayo sent a second petition to
 the King on the same subject for on June 10, 1724,
 the fiscal acknowledged the receipt of a petition
⁶
 of Aguayo asking for two hundred Canary Islanders.

⁶
 Fiscal's notation on Aguayo's two memorials
 to the King, April 17, 1723, in A. G. I., Guadala-
jara, 1719-1721, 67 - 3 - 11, p. 115.

The Council of the Indies, on July 28, 1724,
 took up the matter of Aguayo's request and approved
 it. Their order was that the Canary Islanders should
 take the same route as authorized by the King on
 May 10, 1723, adding that they were to be transfer-

red from Espíritu Santo Bay to the portion of Texas⁷ where they were most needed.

⁷
D. Joseph Patiño to the viceroy, July 3, 1727, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 1710-1738, 67 - 1 - 37, p. 15.

That the order of the Spanish King and of the Council of the Indies were not always obeyed with alacrity by the officials of the empire is evident in this case, for on February 14, 1729, we find that the King again ordered that his command of May 10, 1723, be carried out. The order was acknowledged by Casafuerte on November 27, of the same⁸ year.

⁸
The King to Casafuerte, January 16, 1734, in A. G. M., Historia, CCCXXI, ff. 85-86.

Don Pedro de Rivera, the Inspector-General of the northern part of New Spain, knew of these orders of the King when he made his famous inspection of the northern presidios and missions in 1727-1728. He went over the ground carefully at Espíritu Santo Bay, and came away with the idea that to try to populate the Bay of Espíritu Santo was an unwise

and unnecessary thing to do. Quoting: "If some of the families from the Canaries should arrive in Havana, it would be well for them to remain on the island for a while as it is not necessary for them at the present to be sent on." ⁹ He stated that it

⁹
 Rivera's Report to the King, January 16, 1730, in A. G. I., Guadalajara, 67 - 4 - 38, ff. 31-32.

would be necessary to construct suitable houses for the immigrants, and that the distance to their destinations from Espíritu Santo was too great. Besides, he stated, the lack of horses and mules was too great to think of having the settlers sent to Texas. He also stated that the site of Espíritu Santo was not capable of supporting any inhabitants because the land was swampy and sterile, and it lacked all the necessary things to support a population; that the land was liable to be overflowed because it was very low; and that if circumstances made it necessary, the population could be secured from the in-
¹⁰
 habitants of the country itself.

10

The King to Casafuerte, January 16, 1734, Historia, CCCXXI, ff. 85-86.

But if Rivera was very much in earnest about securing inhabitants from the surrounding country for the building up of a strong settlement, his judgment of the material for colonization purposes was very poor. He had described the inhabitants of that region as vagabonds and cowards.

11

Rivera to Casafuerte, December 7, 1738, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, XXIX, p. 103.

It was not until June, 1730, that Canary Islanders destined for settlement in Texas, finally arrived. There were only ten such families, and these were sent overland to San Antonio, and were settled at the village of San Fernando. The reason that they were not sent to Bahía instead, was that it was thought to be too dangerous a journey via water.

12

Rivera, Report, f. 41.

The viceroy of New Spain, without the formal approval of the King, had ordered a change in the route that the Canary Islanders were to take. This made him subject to the charge of insubordination when his residencia should be taken, and therefore, he was anxious to explain his actions to the King, and to get his approval for what he had done. Accordingly, on August 1, 1730, Casafuerte wrote to the King that he had taken care of the ten families from the Canary Islands while they were passing enroute to San Antonio, but at the same time he expressed his disapproval of Aguayo's plan of sending four hundred families to Texas. Again, on

13

Viceroy Casafuerte to the King, August 1, 1730, in A. G. I., Mexico, 67 - 3 - 23, ff. 4-6.

March 22, 1732, he sent another letter to the King stating his objections to the settling of Texas with two hundred Canary Islanders, and especially in such places as Anguilla, Buena Vista, and Bahía del Espíritu Santo. He stated that the country

14

The exact extent of Texas was not clearly understood at that time.

was uninhabitable; that the land was infertile, and that it would not even support cattle. He further stated that to try to people those places would be the same thing as sending them to their deaths, for they would be at the mercy of the savages. The expense of such an undertaking was too great, and the returns too small to justify the expenditure of the money of the crown to attempt such a colonization scheme. Therefore, he requested that the order to send the Canary Islanders to Texas be suspended.¹⁵

¹⁵Viceroy Casafuerte to the King, August 1, 1730, in A. G. I., Mexico, 67 - 3 - 23, ff. 7-8.

This last request seemed to have had prompt results for in the same year the King ordered the suspension of the shipment of the Canary Islanders to America, and instructed Casafuerte that if any more did arrive, to employ them in the presidios of Mexico and not to send them to Texas.¹⁶ In

¹⁶The King to Casafuerte, January 16, 1734, in A. G.M., Historia, CCCXXI, p. 154.

another cedula, dated January 16, 1734, the King again ordered the suspension of shipments of Canary Islanders to Texas.

Thus it was that the first official port of entry of Texas was deprived of receiving the first European immigrants ever sent en masse into the province. The soldiers of the locality were deprived of the pleasure of receiving the newcomers and had only the occasional arrival of overland convoy of goods, enroute to Los Adays, or the arrival of a supply boat from Vera Cruz, to break the monotony of their existence.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMISARIAT (EL HABILITACIÓN)

The captain of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto was the only person in the company who had any opportunity of making money other than his salary, or in chance winnings at the gaming table. He had to buy all the supplies for the company, and then run a little community store. Very often he overcharged the soldiers. He was in an excellent position to have things his own way, for very few of the soldiers could read or write, and, as most of them bought on credit, the captain would hold their salary back as security for the credit extended them. If, as it often happened, their indebtedness exceeded their salary, it might be several years before they actually received money. Many times they would desert, leaving their debts unpaid, but, again, others would desert who had a balance in their favor. Thus the captain usually made his position pay, and the Spanish government from time to time would send out inspectors to see if the soldiers were being overcharged and to set

prices on goods.

Below is the official price list for which goods had to be sold in Espíritu Santo, and in San Antonio. This list shows that by it provisions were made for women's wants, and it shows, also, the Spanish love for linens and silks. From this list, we can see that ~~about~~ the nearest thing to furniture that was sold, was materials for making chairs. Chairs, then, must have been considered the most important pieces of furniture in the home. The rest of the furniture was made in camp. ¹

I
 Antonio de Aviles to Viceroy Casafuerte,
 April 20, 1729, in A. G. I., Mexico, 61 - 1 - 41,
 ff. 47-50.

The list follows:

Each bushel of corn used for planting was @ 3 pesos
 per bushel
 Each bushel of corn carried away for other
 purposes than sowing@ 7 pesos
 Each head of cattle@ 12 pesos
 A yard of cloth@ 16 pesos
 A pound of sweetened chocolate@ 10 reales
 Mexican beads of all colors@ 3½ pesos
 A yard of Querétaran cloth@ 4 pesos
 A yard of blue woolen cloth@ 2 pesos
 A yard of moss cloth from Cholula@ 3 pesos
 A yard of blue flannel@ 10 reales
 A yard of wide silk veil (for dress up
 wear)@ 6 reales

A yard of the same material, but of a
 little inferior quality@ 5 reales
 A pair of under-petticoats for dress-up
 wear, of blue color, with little fine
 red lines in it.....@ 3 pesos
 Three yards of fine eagle feathers woven
 into cloth for the purpose of making
 mufflers@ 23 reales
 Common mufflers@ 18 reales
 The cloth which the Zultepeque send, of
 three yards each in measure (presumably
 for making mufflers)@ 21 reales
 Small pieces of cloth used as powder
 puffs, used on holiday occasions@ 4 reales
 Same as above, but for ordinary use@ 3 reales
 Large cotton shawls made of cotton and
 silk@ 16 pesos
 Shawls of smaller size@ 12 pesos
 A pair of stockings, from Toluca@ 5 reales
 Woolen foot coverings@ 4½ pesos
 Woolen blankets from Campeche@ 11 pesos
 Common woolen blankets@ 6 pesos
 A yard of blue sack-cloth, from Quantit-
 lán and Tetzoco@ 5 reales
 A pound of toehomite of all colors@ 14 reales
 A twenty-pound sack of flour@ 3 pesos
 Black work hats@ 3½ pesos
 Ordinary hats with medium linings@ 2 pesos
 A handful of dry clean tobacco@ 10 pesos
 Ordinary tobacco@ 8 pesos
 10 cakes of soap for@ 1 peso
 A pair of Córdovan shoes for both men
 and women, of all sizes,@ 11 pesos
 A pair of leather shoes@ 8 reales
 A measuring cup for chocolate@ 1 real
 The dressings for chairs, with the upper
 leather of superior quality, **together**
 with the timber staves, cloth and basting
 stitches ----- @ 25 pesos
 Light chair coverings of wood, with its
 cloth coverings@ 14 pesos
 A pair of cushions for chairs@ 4 pesos
 Adornments for the chair, of Mexican
 make@ 25 pesos
 Iron adornments for the chair@ 4 pesos

Each hide used in making chairs	@ 30 pesos
Shoulder belts of Cordovan make	@ 5 pesos
Fowling pieces	@ 30 pesos
Sheathes for fowling pieces with silk linings	@ 10 pesos
Ordinary sheathes	@ 6 pesos
Light wooden boxes for fowling pieces	@ $3\frac{1}{2}$ pesos
Wide short swords	@ 14 pesos
Light bayonets	@ 6 reales
Field knives	@ 3 pesos
A pair of stirrups	@ 10 pesos
A pair of Caracol spurs, with wide rowels	@ 6 pesos
A pound of round earthen pots, and copper griddle pans	@ 8 reales
A caldron, and a jar of copper, each	@ 4 pesos
A yard of <u>elefante</u> (a kind of cloth)	@ 8 reales
A yard of <u>glazed</u> linen for lining purposes	@ 10 reales
A yard of China silk in all colors	@ 8 reales
A yard of penguin	@ 3 pesos
A yard of ribbon, plain and figured	@ $2\frac{1}{2}$ reales
An onza ² of flexible, emblamatical silk, of all colors	@ 11 reales

2

An onza is the twelfth part of a Roman foot.

A hank of twisted silk for sewing	@ 12 reales
A piece of simple cotton stuff of thin, light quality	@ 6 pesos
A piece of cotton shirting	@ $5\frac{1}{2}$ pesos
Bed-ticking	@ $6\frac{1}{2}$ pesos
A pair of Canton silk hose for men in all colors	@ 6 pesos
A yard of fine light linen made at Rouen	@ 11 reales
A yard of British linen (wide)	@ 11 reales
A yard of British linen (narrow)	@ 10 reales
A yard of Silesian linen	@ 8 reales
A yard of cotton cloth	@ 8 reales
A yard of craes linen, wide, made in Leon	@ 9 reales
A yard of Bramant light linen	@ 10 reales
A yard of English serge	@ 20 reales
A measure of Karmes (for red dying)	@ 3 pesos
A yard of woollen stuff called <u>Calamanea</u> ..	@ 11 reales

A yard of shag (woolen stuff for carpeting)	@ 4 pesos
A yard of Granada taffeta	@ 14 reales
A yard of Valencia satin	@ 5 pesos
A yard of Toledo satin	@ 5 pesos
Trimmings for blankets, in five and seven yard lengths	@ 20 pesos
A pair of hose made in Milan	@ 6 pesos
A pair of silk stockings for women, of Toledo make	@ 5 pesos
A pair of silk stockings for women, of Milan make	@ 4 pesos
A pair of stockings made of fine worsted yarn, for men	@ 14 reales
A pair of stockings made of fine worsted yarn, for women	@ 10 reales
A pair of hose of Dutch make	@ 10 reales
A pair of understockings of Seville workmanship	@ 10 reales
A pair of hose, of Genoa make	@ 10 reales
A pair of understockings of French and Galician make	@ 8 reales
A hank of thread of Munequilla pattern ...	@ 5 reales
A hank of Cleme thread	@ 5 reales
A hank of Salon cotton thread	@ 4 reales
A little parcel of paper stitched together	@ 2½ reales
Blankets for half beds	@ 5 pesos
Blankets for outdoor use	@ 20 pesos

The above price list indicates that food-stuffs, such as beans, peppers, etc., were not sold at the company store. Therefore, we must draw the conclusion that the soldiers and their families raised enough in their truck gardens to suffice their wants. Game being in abundance, it is also reasonable to conclude that they were well supplied with meats.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN TROUBLES

The first two years of the occupancy of Espíritu Santo by the Spaniards was marked by some success with the Indians. Under the supervision of the padres, there were some attempts made by the Indians at cultivating their fields. The three Indian nations who first made a treaty with the mission fathers made a trial of living the civilized life. However, they were discouraged, somewhat, at not receiving very much in the way of supplies from the whites. Again, the examples for industry set by the Spanish soldiers were not conducive to making exemplary neophytes of them. They had ample opportunity of observing the shiftlessness of the Spaniards; of noting the lack of care they took of their dress, their lack of military discipline, their crude attempts at fortifying their presidio with adobe made of delta mud, and of noting their fondness for gambling.

What they observed possibly made them less afraid of the ability of the Spaniards to defend themselves in case of an attack. We infer, from

a letter of Father Margil, that José Ramón and his brother, Domingo Ramón were killed by the savages¹ in defense of Spanish interests. No record, now

¹
Father Margil to the viceroy, July 20, 1724, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, XXXII, f. 25.

available, gives the circumstances connected with the death of José Ramón. However, he met his death sometime between March 14, 1722, and June 9, 1723, for on the first date he received the fifty soldiers sent by Aguayo to Espíritu Santo, and we have records which show that Andrés Ramón was the acting captain of the presidio on June 9,² 1723.

²
Auto á consulta, etc., in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, f. 13.

Domingo Ramon, brother of Diego, was recommended by Father Margil de Jesus, a padre of the Zacatecan College, to be captain of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. He succeeded Andrés Ramón. Investigation by the officials after his death,

show that Domingo Ramón was very lax in his military discipline, for the men, at the time of his death, were insubordinate and lacked proper weapons, ammunition, and horses.³ There was no excuse for

³
Autos fechos en la Bahía, etc., A. G. M.,
Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, ff. 18-19.

this for in May, 1723, there had arrived at the port a ship which contained "an abundant provisions of clothing, thirty guns, and as many swords [as was necessary] to replace the weapons that, in the length of fourteen months, could have been broken, or could have gotten out of fix."⁴ The captain was

⁴
Ibid., f. 21.

kind to his soldiers, for he called them "Mates" -- an inexcusable familiarity for a commanding officer to exercise toward his subordinates.⁵

⁵
Ibid., f. 24.

But if the captain was kind to his soldiers, even to the point of failing to make them clean

their guns, he was very harsh with the Indians. The story of his death shows very clearly that he had no compunction in killing them, and that his disregard for their feelings was the immediate cause of his death.⁶

⁶
Ibid., f. 24.

In September, 1723, a group of Indians encamped near the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. For three months they had lived there in apparent peace. On December 14, one of the group went to the house of a **soldier**, to get some fresh meat, as the **soldier** had killed a cow sometime during the day. After waiting there a few minutes, the soldier handed the Indian some meat, and supposed that he would go on about his business. Instead of leaving, the Indian picked up a stick that the soldier's wife used in grinding her corn, and began to beat the corn. The soldier told him to get out of the house, and the lieutenant of the presidio, who was there, repeated the command. But the Indian paid no at-

tention. Then the lieutenant put him out of the house by main force, and the Indian picked up a rail with which to hit the lieutenant. Whether or not he carried out his intention is not known. However, we do know that after the "fracas" was over, he fled to the ranchería. The lieutenant now sent two soldiers to bring the Indian back to camp in order to have him flogged. The Indian resisted arrest, and one of the soldiers struck him with a knife. This act excited the other Indians in the camp (there were about forty of them), and they came out, giving war whoops, and began shooting arrows at the soldiers. One of the soldiers was wounded, and the horse of the other was also wounded.

The Indians, coming off victorious, but realizing that they would be punished for their act, broke camp, and with their women and children, began to flee. Before crossing the river they stole two cloaks belonging to some soldiers who were in the river bathing. These soldiers notified Captain Domingo Ramón, who was at another

ranchería, two leagues from the presidio, and he, having received the news, mounted a horse, and, taking a few soldiers with him, followed the Indians, overtaking them about a league from there. He tried to appease them, and to convince them that it was necessary for them to return to the presidio. In this he was partially successful, for they turned around and started back.

Night fell upon them on their way back, however, and about half of the Indians hid from the Spaniards. The greater part of the women and children finally arrived at the presidio, and the captain, now thoroughly angered, put them all into a small hut with the purpose of killing every one. In order to carry this purpose into execution, on the following morning, he had a bull killed so that the Indians would be willing to come to the kill and to receive their portion of meat. He also had the soldiers gather all the rope and rawhide strings that they could find. His intention was to capture the Indians when they came to receive their portion of the meat and then hang them all. However, the soldiers made too much noise,

and the Indians got suspicious. They did not fall into the trap that the captain had laid for them but instead, some of them made an opening in the hut and got out, and began to flee.

When the captain saw them escaping, he called a few soldiers who rounded up the escaped Indians, and had them put back into the hut. He now got inside with them, and after making a few signs to them, they quieted down. "When some soldiers came near, the captain shouted to them, 'Here, mates,' with the purpose, as the witness says, that the soldiers should kill the Indians. At the same time that the captain shouted, an Indian got close to him, and with a half of a large pair of scissors, wounded him in the breast, of which he died eight days afterwards."⁷

⁷ Autos fechos en la Bahía, etc., f. 24.

The soldiers killed two of the Indians inside of the hut and the captain, before he died, gave orders that they shoot the cannon which was pointing toward the jacal. But when the soldiers got

away from the hut so that they could fire the cannon, the Indians fled through a little opening which they had made in the hut, and the cannon had no effect. They only captured one Indian woman alive, and the captain had her killed.⁸

⁸
Ibid., f. 24.

This act of brutality on the part of the Spaniards undid all of the good work that the fathers of the mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga might have had on the neophytes. From that time forward the Indians became an active menace to the Spaniards.

No official investigation was made of this affair at the time, and Lieutenant Diego Ramón, the son of Domingo, took charge of the presidial soldiers, as their commanding officer. He was even more lax in military discipline than his father had been. He did not attempt to follow military regulations, for he allowed the soldiers to indulge in gambling to such an extent that they

went so far as to gamble away their arms, horses, and clothing. This laxness on the part of their commandant caused twenty-four of the soldiers to sign a petition, addressed to Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, governor of Texas, asking the removal of Ramón, and the appointment of a man who would keep order inside the presidio.

⁹

Ibid., f. 20.

As a result of the inefficiency and neglect of duty on the part of Diego Ramón, the little presidio again had trouble with the Indians on January 13, of the following year. This caused the death of two soldiers, and of several Indians, and helped to keep the Indians antagonized. It also resulted in the first official investigation of the affairs of Espíritu Santo, and the information brought out in the investigation did not reflect a very great credit to the presidio troops.

When Governor Fernando Pérez de Almazán heard of the trouble which had occurred at Espíritu Santo

he went to that place and ordered Diego Ramón to make a report of the judicial proceedings that he had taken in the case. However, Ramón reported that he had not conducted an official investigation concerning the above mentioned affair, and therefore could not give the governor the judicial proceedings, as requested. Then on April 1, 1724, Governor Almazán ordered that an investigation be made of the uprising of the Indians of the Cojanos, Carancaguases, and Guapites, who were encamped in the neighborhood of the presidio, and who had killed the two soldiers referred to in the above paragraph.

In making this investigation, the governor called in all soldiers who had taken part in the affair, and all those who knew anything about it. Their testimony was taken down, and they were required to sign their names to it. Then this testimony was sent to the Secretary of War at the City of Mexico. Only a few of the witnesses knew how to sign their names to the documents, so that, after having had it read to them in order that they

might indicate any errors in it, they got the governor to sign their names for them -- they making their sign.

Court procedure of the old Spaniards was not very different from our present procedure. The witnesses were called to the stand, and the court secretary had them to take an oath (God being the Judge) and make the sign of the cross, that they would tell the truth in every thing that they knew and were asked about. They were then questioned and the court received their testimony, which the witnesses had signed.

The first witness called, in this case, was a corporal by the name of Nicolás Meave.¹⁰ In

¹⁰

Ibid., ff. 2-3.

substance, the following statements were made by him:

On January 12, Bernabo de Arzo, a private, notified the commandant, Diego Ramón, that he had seen an Indian near the presidio, and that Ignacio

de la Garza, who was acting as sergeant, mounted a horse and went to reconnoiter where the soldier said he had seen the Indian. Garza returned and said that there were no Indians, that the soldiers were afraid, and that all the bushes looked like Indians to them. The witness stated that Xavier Muñoz then told Diego Ramón, in the presence of some other soldiers, that it would be very prudent to notify the soldiers who were with the horse herd to get close to the presidio so that a misfortune might not happen to them; but that the lieutenant did not pay any attention to him. The witness further stated that he was one of the four who were with the horse herd, and that all four of them did not have more weapons than one gun (and that belonged to the witness but was useless, because he could not hunt with it) and a sword, which the witness had loaned to the man who was keeping watch (that the watch was kept on foot, in camp, as the horses were hobbled). He stated that about midnight the Indians fell upon their camp, and killed two soldiers with their arrows, and that this

witness, and Juan Rodríguez fled wounded, and on foot, arriving at the presidio after midnight where they notified the officials of what had happened. The witness further stated that after the affair of this killing, the commandant placed six armed soldiers with the herd. He said that he had recognized one of the Indians as one belonging to the group of Indians who had lately revolted.

The next witness called was Bernave de Arze.¹¹

¹¹
Ibid., ff. 3-4.

This man was the soldier who had first reported having seen an Indian in the vicinity. His testimony differed only in minor details from that of Corporal Meave. He stated that he had seen an Indian near the presidio, and when he notified Lieutenant Diego Ramón of it, that the sergeant, Ygnacio de la Garza, rode over to the place, and, failing to find the Indian, had said that Arze had been deluded. He stated that on the following day they were to give him a mild punishment for being scared.

The witness further stated that he had heard Lieutenant Fernando de León tell Ramón and Garza, that on account of doubts, it would be a good thing to bring the herd closer to the presidio, but that Garza had answered that it was unnecessary, saying that they were not Indians, and that all the bushes and palm trees looked like Indians to the witness. He further stated that no investigations were made. According to him the following morning Ramón mounted his horse, and, with some soldiers went to find the horses and corpses. The witness asked him why they were going since there were no Indians. (Clearly, this was a case of insubordination.) Bernave de Arze stated that he knew that the Indians who made the attack were the same ones who had revolted a short time before. He also stated that after the attack, a large number of well armed soldiers were added to the horse herd guard.

The next witness called was Francisco Xavier
12
Muñoz. The only new thing that he added was that

 11

Ibid., ff. 4-5.

Bernave de Arze had told Lieutenant Diego Ramón and Sergeant Garza that he had seen an Indian trying to set a border of oak trees on fire.

The fourth witness was Juan Rodríguez Vista, one of the two soldiers who had escaped being killed while watching the horse herd.¹² He said

 12

Ibid., ff. 6-7.

that a soldier had come and reported that he had seen an Indian, and had notified Lieutenant Ramón about three o'clock in the afternoon, but that Ramón had given Garza a second command not to bring the herd closer to the camp until the following day. The witness stated that he had been put in the main watch, and that he had kept awake, but that late in the night a comrade relieved him. He said that he had slept awhile, and was still asleep when the Indian attacked him and that he woke up wounded with two arrow shots, and fled for his life to the presidio. He stated that they (the guard) had two fire-arms, but both were useless.

Lieutenant Fernando Pérez de León was the fifth witness called before the Court of Inquiry.¹³ He said that a month after the revolt

¹³

Ibid., ff. 7-8.

of the Indians there came to him a while before sunset a soldier by the name of Bernave de Arze, who, in his presence, told Lieutenant Diego Ramón, that he had seen an Indian wrapped up with a blanket, among the oaks on the other side of the river, and near the presidio; and that the Indian was putting fire on the edge of a bunch of oak trees, and that as soon as the **smoke** began to come up from the grass which the Indian had in his hand, the Indian hid among the trees. The witness stated that he told Ramón to bring the herd closer, and to place the sentinels on horseback, and that Francisco Xavier Muñoz had said the same thing, and had also said that if they did not bring the herd closer, that the Indians would make a night attack upon the soldiers. León stated that Sergeant Garza

went to reconnoiter, but stopped on the side of the river nearest the presidio, on a mound, and returned saying that there was nothing but some palm trees which looked like Indians. The soldiers were then sent away without any preparation being made for eventualities. That night the witness did not wish to undress because of uneasiness caused by the news of the Indians, and because of seeing the little prevention they had made for defense. At midnight he heard the dogs bark and told his son to go and ask the sentinal what kind of a noise that was. The boy returned saying that the Indians had attacked the herd. With this news he went out and saw Juan Rodríguez, one of the men who was taking care of the herd. Rodríguez told him that he did not know whether the other men were dead or alive. A little while afterwards, Corporal Nicolás Miave came to the presidio and then the witness mounted a horse (one of the soldier's) and went to the presidio and notified Diego Ramón. He said that Ramón then mounted a horse to go to the herd, and that Sergeant Garza, with six men on foot, also went, but he did not know whether or not they ar-

rived at the place where the herd was. He stated that the morning of the next day two dead soldiers, Julio García and Pedro Ramón de Burgón, were found in the deserted camp. The Indians had taken the one sword that the four horseherders had.

Four days had now been taken in the hearing the testimony of the soldiers, and Fernando Pérez de Almazán, governor and captain-general of the province of Texas, decided that he had examined enough soldiers, and now determined to examine Don Diego Ramón and Sergeant Ignacio de la Garza. Ramón was the first to be put upon the stand.¹⁴

¹⁴
Ibid., ff. 9-12.

The testimony of Ramón was very similar to that of Lieutenant Fernando Pérez de León. It differed some, however. He said that as soon as Bernave de Arze had notified him that he had seen an Indian attempting to set fire to the woods he had ordered Rodríguez, who was free, to tell the corporal of the guard to bring the horses closer

to the presidio. He said that in spite of the report that his sergeant, Garza, had told him about not seeing any trace of Indians, he had given an order that very early on the following day the herd should be brought closer. Lieutenant Ramón admitted that Muñoz had advised him to bring the herd closer that night, but denied having heard Lieutenant León tell him so. He stated that the reason the guards were on foot was that there were not enough horses to allow the guards to be mounted. He stated, however, that he had not ordered the soldiers to mount guard on foot, and that the tragedy had happened because the soldier watching went to sleep. He stated that, after the raid, he had placed ten men and a corporal with the herd, but they only were armed with five good guns, as the others were useless. When asked what motive he had not to place more men with more weapons, with the herd, since he knew that the guards did not have any arms, and also since Arze had given him the news of having seen an Indian, he said that it was because his

sergeant, Garza, had said that he had not seen any Indians.

After examining Garza, next, the governor looked over the evidence, and deprived Garza of employment as sergeant.¹⁵ He then sent in a re-

¹⁵

Ibid., f. 15.

port to Viceroy Casafuerte of the whole procedure so that he might do whatever he thought ought to be done. Next he proceeded to inspect the presidio, to see exactly in what state it was. He found that only twenty (soldiers) out of the ninety which composed the camp, were equipped with all arms. Seven had no more arms than bows and arrows. There were seven who had only guns, and eight were equipped only with swords. Seven were equipped with both gun and sword while there were eleven who had useless guns. One soldier possessed a broken sword, as his only weapon, offensive or defensive, while there were thirty-four in the camp who had weapons of no kind. But the drummer boy still possessed his drum.

The governor found that the presidio possessed ninety-nine horses, but fifty-three of the soldiers did not own any of them. These were probably bad gamblers. Below, is a list showing the number of soldiers owning different numbers of horses.

16

Ibid., ff. 18-19.

	Soldiers
With one horse	4
With two horses	6
With three horses	11
With four horses	3
With five horses	5
With six horses	3
With seven horses	1
With eight horses	1

The greater part of the soldiers were found to be in need of uniforms and clothes. The lack of arms and of clothing was caused by the disorder into which the presidio was thrown when the Indians had revolted, about a month before.

Both Domingo Ramón and his son, Diego Ramón, were severely criticised by Almazán in his report to the viceroy. He stated that these men had al-

17

Ibid., ff. 21-26.

lowed the soldiers to be disorderly, and to gamble, "staking their arms, horses, and clothes that they needed for their appearnace". The presidio of Bahía was the one that had the least work for the soldiers because of the few escorts that took place from that locality. Therefore, there was no excuse for the officers failing to make the men keep their weapons cleaned. The governor stated that many of the weapons were useless because some of the soldiers had not cleaned them since they had received them.

The stockade which Captain José Ramón had made, by the order of Aguayo, was found almost destroyed, because the soil had rotted so many stakes, and to others had been pulled out to be burned in place of wood. This, the officers had refused to prohibit. Almazán stated that it seemed to him that the only way to make a fortification that would stand, would be to make it out of brick, since there was no stone, and since wood would not last.

However, he stated, the soldiers were divided in their opinions, because some of them felt at ease, even though they lacked arms, horses, or clothing. They were thoroughly enjoying their complete freedom. There were others who wished to make a change, even going so far as to petition the removal of their superior officer, as has been stated. There were not enough mule packs to carry stone to the presidio for its rebuilding.

"I feel like having this presidio changed about two gunshots from where it is today, to a peninsula that the river makes," stated the governor of Texas, "and the river could serve as a wonderful ditch. It is so deep, that it is only possible to cross it by swimming and its banks are so steep where the peninsula is that it would be difficult to climb. The trees will begin to clear as soon as the Indians from the mission will be free from sowing."¹⁸

¹⁸

Autos fecha en la Bahía, etc., f. 25.

On September 4, 1724, the governor received official approval for depriving Garza of his sergeantcy. He was instructed to have the newly appointed captain, whoever he might be, deprive Lieutenant Diego Ramón of his position because of his failure to properly provide for the guard of the herd. The new captain was to be charged to govern with prudence, to follow military discipline, and to prevent the soldiers from making the Indian nations hostile. The Indian nations were to be attracted, with gentleness, to their pueblos, so that they might be taught the doctrine of the Catholic faith.

The new man appointed as captain of the presidio was Juan Antonio Bustillos y Zevallos. He was an energetic man, well versed in military discipline, and was careful to keep his men well equipped with clothes, arms and horses. He maintained peaceful relations with the Indians although they only visited the presidio now, at long intervals.

19

Governor Almazán to Viceroy Casafuerte,
July 4, 1726, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas,
CCXXXVI.

Captain Bustillos had not been at the presidio long before he realized that it was placed in a very undesirable location. In answer to a letter that Viceroy Casafuerte had written him in 1725, concerning the desirability of removing the presidio to a new location, Bustillos had got Governor Almazán in July, 1726, to come to Espíritu Santo to inspect a proposed location. Almazán reported to the viceroy that the proposed site was six leagues up the Guadalupe River, in the neighborhood of the Jarame Indians, and had all the advantages of being on higher land, and was far removed from the little lakes and ponds which surrounded the original site, and that there was plenty of fresh water for not only drinking purposes, but also for irrigation. He said that there was also an abundance of good wood, for both fuel and building purposes, (adding that at the old site there was not enough wood to supply the wants of the presidio for its fires). About two leagues distant from the proposed site there was an abundance of stone, and there was a possibility that

ample stone quarries could be found. The governor reported that there was plenty of fine land nearby, between two small creeks, which would provide fields for the upkeep of the mission. This proposed location was but little further located from the mouth of the bay than the first site. He stated that he had left Juan Bustillos there to make arrangements for the building of the new presidio. He asked that approval be given his action so that the work could be completed before winter.

According to Almazán this mission was composed at that time of forty-five officials and soldiers, and four private citizens, with their families -- in all some two hundred people.

On August 9, 1726, permission was granted
20
for the moving of the fort.

20

Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

RIVERA'S INSPECTION

As soon as Captain Juan Bustillos moved his fort up the Guadalupe River, he opened up a new road to the Rio Grande River. This work, together with the building of a new stockade, new houses, clearing new fields, and digging irrigation ditches kept the entire regiment busy for several months. As far as **the records** show, no further trouble with the Indians occurred for a period of ¹several years.

¹
Juan Antonio Bustillos to Casafuerte, June 18, 1726, in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CCXXXVI.

The visit of Brigadier-General Don Pedro Rivera, Inspector-General of the Northern Provinces of New Spain, in the year 1727, reminded the soldiers of Espíritu Santo that their government was keeping a watchful eye over their conduct. Unlike the inspection they had stood in 1724 when Governor Almazán investigated conditions there on account of the In-

dian troubles, this inspection reflected the highest praise to their credit.

Rivera arrived at the presidio on June 9, 1727, and during the following week made a thorough inspection of the place. He placed a writ on the official billboard of the garrison, notifying what witnesses he would examine. He then notified the captain and the lieutenant to leave the presidio during the examinations so that the soldiers would be able to speak freely concerning the way the commandant had managed the presidial affairs. Before leaving, the captain placed before Rivera the book containing the enlistment record of each soldier belonging to the garrison.

The soldiers were brought before the Inspector separately, and were minutely questioned concerning their treatment. All gave satisfactory replies. Their salary accounts were examined carefully, and, in every case, were found to be correct. In several instances it was found that the soldiers had accumulated enough money whereby they had been enabled to loan some money to their captain.

Having finished with the soldiers, Captain Juan Bustillos was next examined. In the course of this examination it was brought out that there had been some soldiers who had bought their discharge from the service, and the captain gave the Inspector an order on the royal treasury for this money which amounted to the sum of seven thousand² nine hundred seven pesos and seven tomines.

2

Pedro D. Rivera, *Proyecto y Visita, etc.*, in A. G. M. , Provincias Internas, XXIX, f. 28.

All the soldiers were found uniformly dressed, well disciplined, and well supplied with fire-arms, uniforms, powder, and horses. Rivera made some changes in the price list of goods sold at the community store, as he considered that some prices were too high. The prices of the goods were regulated by the distance the presidio was from Mexico City.

As a result of this inspection, a change was also made in the pay which the soldiers received. When the original forty soldiers of the garrison enlisted they were promised a salary of four hun-

dred pesos a year. In March, 1722, when the fifty additional soldiers which Aguayo had sent, arrived, they demanded as their salary four hundred and fifty pesos, for the reason that such was their salary while serving under Aguayo. But the commandant at Espíritu Santo objected to having to pay some of his soldiers more than he did the others, and laid the case before the officers of the Royal Treasury, at Zacatecas. The case dragged along until 1724, when it was finally decided to pay all the soldiers the same amount, since all were serving at the same post.³ Now,

3

Autos de consulta, etc., in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI, ff. 22-24.

however, considering that supplies were to be purchased at a price lower than they had been accustomed to pay, Rivera reduced the salaries of the soldiers to three hundred eighty pesos per year.

Because he considered that the fort was garrisoned by an unnecessary amount of men, he detached fifty of the soldiers, leaving only forty men,

thereafter, at Espiritu Santo.

After the inspection, Rivera sent to the garrison a set of rules and regulations governing all presidios. Below are listed only those which applied especially to the soldiers of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. These rules seem to throw some light on the conditions under which the soldiers labored.

The captain will enjoy a salary of 600 pesos paid to him each year.

The lieutenant of the company will have 410 pesos including the thirty pesos allowed officers of this rank above the salary of a private, besides six pounds of powder.

The sergeant of the company will have a salary of 395 pesos, and six pounds of powder, each year. The soldiers of the presidio will each have 380 pesos each year, besides six pounds of powder.⁴

4

Reforma, y orden^{as} de Presidios, etc., in A. G. I., Mexico, 62 - 1 - 41, f. 8.

Rule 40. When a soldier, or an official commits an offence which is a capital crime, the governor or commandant of his presidio was ordered to gather all the testimony of the case and refer it to the captain-general who should pronounce the sentence.

Rule 42. It was prohibited the Spaniards from making war on any Indian tribe, except those who inflicted harm upon them. They could not ally themselves with one Indian tribe to make war upon another Indian tribe unless the other tribe was one that was hostile to the Spaniards.⁵

5

Ibid., f. 12.

Rule 44. The citizens of the neighborhood were liable to be called upon by the captains of the presidios to join in retaliatory raids upon the Indians.⁶

6

Ibid., f. 13.

Rule 58. The captains and commanders of the presidio were enjoined to see to it that the soldiers attended mass, and confession, especially just before they went out on an Indian raid, so that they might have a clean conscience [with which to meet death].⁷

7

Ibid., f. 15.

Rule 59. Soldiers were prohibited from gambling.

Rule 60. When a soldier wanted to be mustered out of the service he had to get another soldier to take his place and the other soldier had to satisfy the commandant as to his valor and bravery.

Rule 64. Soldiers had to dress uniformly, both as to cuts of suits, and as to color.⁸

⁸

Ibid., f. 16.

Rule 65. Each soldier was required to have six horses.

Rule 67. One priest, at least, had to accompany a body of soldiers on trip against the enemy, in order to assist in the burial rituals, give spiritual guidance, etc.

Rule 91. The missionary fathers were forbidden to mix in civil and governmental matters of the soldiers.⁹

⁹

Ibid., f. 18.

Rule 92. No soldier could marry without the approval of the commandant.¹⁰

¹⁰

Ibid., f. 20.

Rule 105. Whenever a sergeant or some soldier should find himself standing before a captain or other ranking officer, he was required to remove his hat and leave it removed until ordered to do otherwise; and when the captain or other official should pass where a sergeant or other soldiers were sitting, they all were required to stand to their feet.

Rule 107. Ranks according to the ascending scale were as follows: private, corporal of the guard, sergeant, company secretary, lieutenant, and captain.¹¹

¹¹

Ibid., f. 21.

Rule 113. Soldiers of the mounted guard were not allowed to wear cloaks on their shoulders, only in the time of rain and only then in order to keep their arms and powder-horns dry.

Rule 119. Soldiers were prohibited from selling their horses to the neighborhood people, travelers, Indians, or strangers. Neither could they sell their arms, dress, or any part of their equipment.

Rule 120. Soldiers were prohibited from swearing or blaspheming God, or the Virgin, or the saints.

Rule 124. If any of the soldiers knew that a place on the pay roll was vacant, and that the captain was using the money himself, the soldier was required to notify the captain-general... with the assurance that the informant's name should be kept secret.

Rule 132. When mounted, the soldiers had to always carry his guns, and powder¹² horns, even though it fatigued him.

¹²

Ibid., f. 24.

Rule 142. If a priest found it necessary to go from one presidio to another, at least one soldier had to go along as a body-guard for him.

Rule 152. The captain of the presidio of Bahía del Espíritu Santo was required to furnish an escort sufficient for whatever convoy that should come from the Rio Grande.¹³

¹³

Ibid., f. 25.

Rule 163. Two soldiers were to be placed in each mission of Texas, to assist the missionary fathers to bring the Indians under the influence of Christianity.¹⁴

¹⁴

Ibid., f. 27.

Rule 181. The governor of Texas was commanded to have an expedition, commanded by a man who was trustworthy, and twenty-five soldiers to be taken from the presidios of San Antonio and of Las Adays, to go from the Bay of Espíritu Santo, and follow the coast to the mouth of the Sabine River for the purpose of finding out if there had been any habitations built along the coast by the foreign aggressor.

Rule 182. The captain of the presidio of Bahía was required to attract, in the best manner in which he could the Indians of the Cocos, Cujanes, Carancaguazes and others who inhabit the coast, in order that peace might be attained.¹⁵

¹⁵

Ibid., f. 130.

Rivera had quite a bit to say in regard to the reasons for his reducing the garrison from ninety men to forty. He first took up the location of the presidio. According to his judgement, the bay was so shallow that only ships of very light draught could enter into it. The presidio had been founded as a protection against the foreigners, yet it had been placed at such a position that it could defend, with its field batteries, very little of the coast. The land was so swampy where the fort had first been built that the foreigner would not attempt to land there; however, there was nothing to prevent him from landing at another location, if he so chose. Therefore, there was nothing for the ninety men to do, thought Rivera, except to hold the dominion against the Cocos, Carancaguazes, Coapites, Cujanes, and Copanes Indians, and these were of such known cowardice that forty men could very easily guard the garrison against them.

Rivera stated that because of the lack of martial spirit among the Indians of the coast, and because the shallow bay and swampy shores acted as a natural defence against the foreigners, it might be thought that the presidio was unnecessary -- that the remaining forty soldiers might be moved. However, he stated that when he visited the presidio, he had had the captain to examine the Guadalupe River to its mouth and to locate the San Rafael River, with the purpose of seeing if these two streams could be made navigable. He stated that the Guadalupe River could be drained, with very little expense, so that the port of Espíritu Santo could receive ships of large draught, and that commerce might then be opened up with the province of León. It was his opinion that villages should be, and could be established, at short distance apart, connecting Espíritu Santo with the province of León; that vast territories could be cultivated, and that there was much land that could be irrigated along the Guadalupe River. ¹⁷ Therefore,

¹⁷Ibid.

in view of the foregoing, Rivera thought that it was best not to extinguish the presidio, but to work along the lines he indicated.

Thus in 1728, the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, was reduced to forty men; the salaries of the men were reduced by twenty pesos; the presidial officers received very high compliments from the Inspector for their diligence and for the good discipline in which the presidial soldiers were found; and, finally, tentative plans were laid for the building up of that part of Texas.

CHAPTER X

COSTALES AND BASTERRA

Sometime during the year 1728, the presidio of Espíritu Santo ran short of its salt supply. The nearest known place where salt could be obtained was about fifty leagues to the south of the presidio. (This was probably on Palo Blanco Creek, in Kleberg County.) This vicinity was inhabited by a great number of Indians, so that Captain Juan Antonio de Bustillo y Zavalllos thought it necessary to take a force of forty men as escorts for the workers who gathered the salt. After his return, he wrote his superior officer concerning his action, and sought his approval. In consequence of this Brigadier-General Don Pedro de Rivera was consulted, and he advised the governor of Texas to prohibit the captain of Espíritu Santo from making trips¹ after salt.

¹
Rivera to the Viceroy, July 19, 1731, in "Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc.", in A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CCXXXVI.

In the year 1730, Don Gabriel Costales became captain of the presidio. In accepting the commission, he stated that he would carry out the orders issued to him and would have copies of the General Orders posted, so that his officers and soldiers could examine them. He stated that he would keep peace with the three Indian nations (with whom peace had been arranged in 1722), and that he would not allow foreign goods to be brought into the presidio. He stated that the presidio had been without salt for the past six months, and asked permission to get a supply for one or two years. He added that he had no intention of personal profit in this enterprise.²

²
Costales to the Viceroy, June 10, 1731, in "Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc.", A. G. M. Provincias Internas, CLXXXI.

Upon the receipt of this petition of Costales, concerning the extraction of salt, Brigadier-General Don Pedro Rivera was again consulted. He cited the correspondence which had been carried on with Bustillos y Zevallos concerning this affair.

He added:

"In view of this, Costales should not go out after the salt. His garrison is not sufficient to allow him to carry forty men to escort the workers, as the former captain did. Besides, the Indians will resent the intrusion into their territory, and will become bitter enemies. It is better to let Costales suffer the lack of salt than to let him expose his garrison to the attacks by the Indians, which are so abundant in that region. There are other reasons, but these are enough."³

³

Rivera to Casafuerte, July 19, 1731, in "Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc.", A. G. M., Provincias Internas, CLXXXI.

In view of this opinion an order was issued⁴ restraining Costales from going after salt.

⁴

Ibid.

On December 17, 1730, Costales detached nine men from his presidio to be sent to the missions in the jurisdiction of the presidio of San Antonio. Although these soldiers were needed in the San Antonio district as reinforcements against the Apache Indians, Costales regretted having to part⁵ with them. He complained to Rivera that "soldiers

 5

Don Juan de Oliván to Viceroy Casafuerte, July 18, 1733, 5 - 9, in Order for Protection of San Antonio Against Apaches, July 18, 1733, in Bexar Archives.

detached to the missions will be without discipline, inobedient, without arms, horses and other military equipment, and will be turned into gamblers. Their salaries will be useless, and desertion will be a temptation. It will be hard to recruit any soldiers, horses or arms, because of thirty-five who had been hired, only three, besides the lieutenant and the sergeant remain." He said that he feared the Indians would start trouble.

6

 6

Gabriel Costales to Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, January 7, 1731, note on margin of letter, in Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc., in A. G. M., CCXXXVI.

Of the nine soldiers who had been detached from Bahía in the year before, four were returned in August 1731. The reason for this was that during their stay in San Antonio ten families from the Canary Islands arrived, and thus it was thought

that the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar could
⁷
 well spare the four of them.

⁷
 Rivera to the Viceroy, April 16, 1731, in
Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc., A. G. M., Pro-
vincias Internas, CLXXXI.

The distribution which Costales made of his
 men, according to duties assigned them, were as
 follows: for conducting supplies from the Rio
 Grande (which took place only twice a year),
 seven; as garrison in the presidio, seven; for dis-
 tribution to other missions when called for, eleven;
 for the mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, two;
⁸
 and for any emergency, three.

⁸
 Costales to Rivera, January 7, 1731, in
Carpeta de Correspondencia, etc., A. G. M., Pro-
vincias Internas, CLXXXI.

According to Costales, in 1731, there were
⁹
 over sixty Indian men congregated in the mission.

⁹
Ibid.

Attempts were made to civilize them, but with
 little success. They would stay in the mission

only so long as they could get something to eat, without having to work too hard. That was, perhaps, the strongest reason why such little progress, either from a spiritual or from an economical standpoint, was noted at this establishment.

The following report on the activities of this mission, (which can be verified only by going through the archives in Mexico City), has been made by Bolton:

"At the mission of Espíritu Santo [de Zúñiga] several years had been spent, after the transfer to the Guadalupe River, in an attempt to build a dam across the stream as a preliminary to irrigation. Meanwhile the missionaries had supported his charges on provisions purchased with his annual stipend. But this did not suffice, and during the greater part of the year the Indians sought their own food on the prairies and in the forests. In 1736, however, the attempt to build the dam was abandoned, and agriculture without irrigation was at once successfully established. Thereafter the Indians raised, by their own labor, plentiful maize, and vegetables and cared for large herds of stock."¹⁰

¹⁰ Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 19-20.

Unlike Bustillo Y Zavalllos, Costales did not have as happy a time in his business relations with his fellow man as might have been the case had he

been a little more considerate of the feelings of others. In May, 1735, a man by the name of Yparraguirre sued him for the payment of a debt which he alleged was due him for various services. Costales declared that this debt had been offset by charges for supplies which he had advanced Yparraguirre. Three witnesses were examined, and the evidence going against Costales the governor ordered the captain to pay the debt. A charge of **fraud** was now lodged against him, but that charge was later
 11
 thrown out of court.

 11

Ju(a)n Bappta. de Yparrag(ui)re, Gabriel Costalles, Manuel de Sandoval, etc., May 27- August 6, 1735, in Yparraguirre vs Costales For Debt, Bexar Archive.

Another instance of his unhappy business relations is found in the court proceedings which Costales brought against Urrutia for the latter's failure to carry out a contract for the delivery of supplies at Bahía. The defendant alleged that circumstances over which he had no control had caused the delay, but Costales claimed that Urrutia was attempting to defraud him. In this suit,

the appellant won, for the governor ordered Urrutia¹² to deliver the supplies.

12

Gabriel Costales, Joseph de Urrutia, Manuel de Sandoval, etc., June 10-30, 1735, in Costales vs. Urrutia, Bexar Archives.

Nor was Gabriel Costales as energetic as his predecessor had been. He had an opportunity of helping make a success of three missions which had been placed within the jurisdiction of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, between the years 1731 and 1743, but did not take advantage of it. These missions were not a success and finally¹³ were moved.

13

Fray Benito Fernandez Santa Ana to the Viceroy, March 4, 1743, in A. G. M., Historia, CCXXXVI.

On account of sickness, Captain Costales resigned his commission on the 17th of September, 1741. He was followed by Don Joachin de Basterra y Echasabál.¹⁴ The new captain was energetic, re-

14

Royal cedula, September 17, 1741, in A. G. M., Historia, CCXCVIII.

sourceful, and industrious. During his administration, Governor Escandón of the new province of Nuevo Santander, was granted the territory along the Gulf Coast as far north as the Bay of Espíritu Santo.¹⁵ This placed the presidio of Nuestra Señora

¹⁵
José de Escandón to the Viceroy, February 10, 1749, f. 55. A. G. M., Historia, XXIX.

de Loreto and the mission of Espíritu Santo in the jurisdiction of Escandón.

¹⁶
Twice during the administration of Basterra,

¹⁶
Testimony of Leonardo Flores, November 21, 1749, Visita, 11 - 11 - 1749 - 11 - 30 - 1749, Bexar Archives.

this brave captain undertook exploring expeditions along the coast of Texas. Once he went as far as the Trinity River, with the purpose of seeing whether or not the French had established any settlements in Texas.¹⁷

¹⁷
Affidavit by Joachin de Orobia Basterra, December 20, 1745, p. 6 in Diligencias 10 - 1 - 1745 - 7 - 6 - 1746, Bexar Archives.

In order that he should have enough men with which to make the trip, Basterra called upon the captain of the presidio of Bejar to furnish him fifteen men.¹⁸ The exact number detached from Bejar

¹⁸
Order of Joaquin de Basterra, December 11, 1745, in Diligencias, San Antonio de Bejar Papers # 1.

for that purpose is not known, but it is known that the captain took with him twenty-one men. He left Lieutenant Boneo in charge of the presidio of Loreto.¹⁹ Before leaving, he investigated the ad-

¹⁹
Affadavit of Basterra, December 20, 1745 in Diligencias.

visability of constructing boats in which to make the trip, but later decided against that plan.²⁰

²⁰
Order of Basterra, October 10, 1745, in Diligencias.

Basterra did not find any French settlements, but he added to the geographical knowledge of the Texas coast line, and helped to strengthen the claims of Spain to Texas.

The month of December, 1744, was the first time that the prohibition question in Texas received official attention. During that month a royal cedula was received at the various missions throughout the province which prohibited the manufacture of aguardiente (firewater), and other intoxicating beverages. Soldiers were forbidden to sell, or give away to Indians any intoxicants, and were admonished to do everything in their power to prevent the natives from indulg-²¹ing in drink.

²¹

Royal Cedula, December 12, 1744, in Book III, 153-159, San Fernando Cathedral Records.

During the administration of Basterra the neophytes of the Bahía region continued to stay away from the mission of Espíritu Santo.²² Fray

²²

Fray Benito Fernández Santa Ana to the Viceroy, March 4, 1743, in A. G. M., Historia, CCXXXVI.

Benito Fernández reported, in 1743 that "the presidio of Bahía has only one mission in its charge,

which being the oldest, has not been able until now to get a conversion of a single nation, because the soil is not suitable to feed them." It was this reason, as well as the war that the Apaches were waging on the Spaniards in Texas, that caused the removal of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and its mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga from its location on the San Marcos River, in 1749, to a point about two miles above the newly located village of Balmeccido, established by Escandón's colonists. This removal was the last suffered by the little presidio and mission.²³

²³Ibid.

CHAPTER XI

INSPECTION OF 1749

In the year 1749, sometime after it has been removed to its new location, the presidio of Loreto underwent another official inspection, conducted this time by General Don Pedro de Barrio Junco y Esprilla, captain-general of the province of New Mexico. This was a very thorough inspection, and it reflected credit on Captain Basterra.

As usual, when the Inspector arrived, he had posted the notice of the inspection, in which the soldiers of the garrison were informed that if any of them had grievances against the captain they would be allowed fifteen days in which to present their ~~cases~~ to the Court. He further commanded the captain to have his company in readiness for the morrow so that their arms might be inspected; and to have ready the royal book of accounts, together with a map of the district (if there was one available), showing the location of the presidio, the

fields belonging to it, fruits, and woods.

On November 12, the second day after the arrival of Don Pedro de Barrio Junco y Espriella, the company was inspected. It was found that there were twenty-two privates, three corporals, one sergeant, one lieutenant, and one captain stationed at the presidio, while thirteen men including one corporal, belonging to the garrison had been detached to San Xavier. The following persons answered to muster-roll:

Captain don Joachin de Orobio y Baslerria
 Lieutenant Don Gregorio de Estrada, fully
 equipped with guns and with horses.
 Sergeant Nicolás de los Rios, fully equip-
 ped.
 Corporal Diego Rios, fully equipped.
 Corporal Xavier Venítez, fully equipped.
 Corporal Joseph Cabrero, fully equipped.
 Private Joseph de Córdova, fully equipped.
 Private Joseph Miguel Treviño, fully equip-
 ped.
 Private Gaspar Treviño, fully equipped.
 Private Antonio Treviño, fully equipped.
 Private Andres Flores, fully equipped.
 Private Ambrosio Báñez, fully equipped.
 Private Gayetano Gonzáles, fully equipped.
 Private Juan de la Garza, fully equipped.
 Private Miguel de Vergara, fully equipped.
 Private Nicolás Venítez, fully equipped.
 Private Joseph Benítez, fully equipped.
 Private Guillermo de León, fully equipped.
 Private Cristóbal Martínez, fully equipped.
 Private Juan Joseph Martínez, fully equipped.
 Private Juan Joseph de Guizar, fully equipped.
 Private Joachin Vásquez, fully equipped.

Private Javier de Aldope, fully equipped.
 Private Pedro Sánchez, fully equipped.
 Private Baptista de Luna Soltero, fully equipped.
 Private Cayetano Rios, fully equipped.
 Private Domingo Gómez, fully equipped.
 Private Felix de la Garza, fully equipped.

The following list were those detached to
 San Xavier.

Corporal Agustín de Castro
 Private Cayetano de Castro
 Private Cristóbal Pérez
 Private Eusevio García
 Private Francisco Venítez
 Private Francisco Pérez
 Private Xavier Treviño
 Private Juan de Muro
 Private Juan de Gámez
 Private Joseph Mariá Martínez
 Private Pedro Zevallos
 Private Cristóbal Básquez
 Private Francisco Treviño

The men, having passed a creditable inspection, they were now ordered to their barracks, and things were put into shape for the inspection of the munitions and fortifications of the presidio. This took place on the thirteenth. The plantation was found not prepared, because of the recent removal to that place. Six cannon, in good firing condition (but not mounted on gun-carriages because it had not been possible to have them built),

were found, Three bags of powder, of twenty-five pounds each, and together with three balls of iron and four ram-rods, a worm for drawing wadding, and two cartridge boxes for the cannon were also found. Of the buildings, there were forty grass huts which served as barracks; a large assembly hall; and various offices, together with houses for the officers and their families. All of this was surrounded with a palisade made of poles. The fortifications were not complete however, and Basterra pointed out to the Inspector that it would require some more work before everything would be up to standard.

Following this part of the inspection, the accounts of the soldiers were next examined. This consumed the greater part of five days. All accounts were found satisfactory.

Beginning on the nineteenth of the month, the secret investigation was begun. Nine witnesses were called, and were required to answer six questions. To the first question they were to tell how long they had known the captain. In answer to the sec-

ond, they were required to tell how the captain had fulfilled his office, if he had carried out the orders of his superior, and if he had observed the laws. The third question was asked to find out if the personal conduct of the captain or his family had always been exemplary, and if he had punished violators of the law, or had tolerated gambling -- if so the names of the violators were to be given, and also the punishment assessed. To the fourth question the witnesses were to state whether the captain had tried to induce the neighboring Indians to become Christians, or if he had punished them undeservedly. The next question was asked with the purpose of finding out whether the captain had charged extortionate prices for any commodities; if he had promptly paid the soldiers their wages; and if he had allowed any citizen to come into the presidio, or leave it, and, if so, who they were, and when they came or left. The last question wished to know the reputation that the captain enjoyed.

The first witness called was Don Joseph Martínez, a citizen of the presidio. He took customary oath, after making the sign of the cross and swearing to tell the truth about everything he was asked. He stated that he had known Basterra when the captain was a lieutenant under the government of Don Prudencio Orobio, former governor of the province. When Basterra first came to the presidio of Loreto the witness was serving as a soldier, but now, he said, since he had two sons enlisted in the service, he had received his discharge, and was living in the capacity of a private citizen. He stated that the captain had always fulfilled all superior orders and decrees, and that when he was commissioned to go to the coast, and again, when he moved the presidio to the place where it was now located the captain had labored like a private. To the third question, Martínez stated that Basterra had led such an exemplary life that the soldiers did not have to be punished severely for anything; and that when any soldier won anything worthwhile, in

a game of chance, the captain made him return it to the person with whom he had been gambling. In answer to the fourth question the old soldier stated that he had seen the captain give to the ~~Coccos~~ ^{Orocoriza [Orcoquiza]} Cocos, and the Cujanes Indians such things as tobacco, powder and balls, and bayonets; that these Indians seldom came to the presidio, but when they did come the captain promised to give them whatever they wished of the things that he had. The Indians that were found in the mission all loved him, the witness testified, and they all spoke only good of him. Answering the fifth question, the witness stated that the captain never overcharged either the soldiers or the citizens for the goods which they bought at the company supply store. He said that he knew this to be true because he had had ample dealings with the captain both as a soldier in the company, and as a private citizen under the protection of the presidio. In regard to the public reputation enjoyed by Bastera, the witness said that it was unimpeachable in Coahuila,

New Mexico, and in the province of Texas.

Having received the answers to the questions propounded, the court clerk read them to the witness, and Martínez signed a statement that they were all true; that he had nothing further to add, nor anything to take away.

The second witness called to the stand was the lieutenant of the company, Don Gregorio de Estrada. This man stated that he had only known the captain since joining the company in 1744, but that he had served under him as a private, a corporal, and a lieutenant. All the time in which he had served under him the witness stated that the captain had faithfully fulfilled all orders with the greatest zeal; that his private conduct had been beyond reproach; and that he had punished law violators. He declared, further, that the captain had tried to attract the Indians; that he had kept the accounts of the soldiers in such perfect order that none had ever complained about them; and lastly, that as far as he knew, the captain enjoyed a good reputation.

It is not necessary to give the substance of what the other seven witnesses testified, for their testimony was almost identical with that of the two witnesses cited above. Suffice it to say, that, according to these reports, the captain had exercised his office with extreme care¹ and zeal.

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The foregoing report is based upon the inspection of Pedro de Barrio Junco y Esprilla, November 11-30, 1749, in Visita, 11 - 11 - 1749 - 11-30 - 1749, Bexar Archives.

On November 26, the Inspector made out his report. He stated that he had found everything very satisfactory and that the royal service was fortunate in having such a faithful servant as was found in the personage of the captain of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Therefore, there was no charge to be lodged against Captain Orobio y Basterra. The next day the captain was notified that on the following day he should present himself to the Inspector and hear the sentence read. The sentence was read in the presence of all the garrison, after which all the witnesses signed it. The instrument was then placed

on the public billboard, where it would be accessible to all who wished to read it.

A short time after this inspection, Basterra was transferred, by the order of Escandón, to another assignment. He was ordered to take charge of establishing a settlement on the Nueces River.²

²
Diario que hizo el P.^e Fray Simón, etc., in A. G. M., Historia, XXIX, f. 34.

At Espíritu Santo, he was succeeded by Don Phillipe Rabago who took office on March 2, 1750.³

³
Royal cedula, March 2, 1750, in A.G.I., Guadalajara, 104 - 6 - 8, ff. 1-2.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

It had now been something like sixty-three years since the Spanish government had become interested in the region of Bahía del Espíritu Santo. During those years the old fort established by La Salle had been found and burned, and order after order for the building of a fort to guard the entrance to Texas from the Gulf Coast had been heard and obeyed, but not executed, by the royal official of New Spain. Years of procrastination had ensued, until finally, the menace of the French, in East Texas, had aroused the Spaniards to action, and a fort had been established at Espíritu Santo in 1721.

Other places in Texas had been considered more promising to the Spaniards, and hence, the development of the Espíritu Santo region had been more or less neglected. War with the Indians had engaged the attention of the presidial troop dur-

ing the first few years of the existence of Nuestra Señora de Loreto; sickness and disease due to the low country in which the presidio had first been located had finally decided the officials to move the presidio up the San Marcos River where it was hoped better conditions would prevail.

Twenty-three years had been spent at the second location of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and the mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, but all to no avail, if considered from the standpoint of converting Indians to the Christian faith, and bringing the coastal tribes under the authority of the Spanish government. During this time the presidial troop had opened up a road to the Rio Grande; had been on at least one excursion to the Corpus Christi area in search of salt; had made two exploring expeditions up the coast of Texas; and had acted as escorts to the supply shipments from the Rio Grande. The real contribution that this presidio had made to the Spanish government, in addition to those services just mentioned, was that it had acted as a barrier to

the possible incursion of the foreigner from the south and east by the way of the sea, and also had acted as a reminder to the Indians of the coastal region that Spain was the mistress of the province.

With its removal, in 1749, to the San Antonio River, the importance of the presidio began to wane, for now it was placed under different environments, and was inevitably coupled with the destiny of Escandón's new settlements in Nuevo Santander. Its history, henceforward, entered upon a new phase, the development of which has no place in the story of its early struggles.

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67-1-37

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67-3-11

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104-6-8

Dⁿ Philipe de Babago-Patente-De Capitan de la Bahía del Espíritu S.ⁿ o de vno de los Presidios internos de la Nueva Espana, 2 de Marzo de 1750.

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