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Franciscan Missionary Theory and Practice in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: The
Propaganda Fide Friars in the Texas Missions, 1690-1821

A DISSERTATION

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The Franciscan missions in Texas were an important element in the larger colonial story of the region before 1820. But while all narrative histories of colonial Texas since the 1820s addressed the missions, recent scholarship downplayed the importance of the Spanish presence in favor of a greater emphasis on the indigenous polities that controlled the region, and those polities' role in restricting Spanish settlement. Even traditional narrative accounts, moreover, subjected the missionary himself to stereotypes and little further examination. This study fills these lacunae by looking at the formation, expectations, and lived experiences of these missionaries on New Spain's frontier, and how their preparation influenced the missions' outcomes.

The curriculum and the socialization offered by Propaganda Fide colleges at Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas were critical to the formation and expectations of the friars sent to Texas. Archival evidence indicates that the collegiate Franciscans intended for both frontier and domestic missions prepared to be missionaries to a Catholic faithful perceived to need another period of evangelization. They were to be skilled preachers trained in moral theology who measured the success of their work by the sacramental actions their efforts produced in the target population. This orientation combined with a strong connection in their minds to the legacy of Observant Franciscan methods in central Mexico in earlier centuries while they experimented with an evolving missiology in Texas. Finally, their preparation reflected the idea that evangelization and

colonization were connected and that they functioned as part of the advance of Spanish civilization. As self-perceived elites within their order, the missionaries pursued new conversions in Texas with the expected cooperation of the state.

Texas presented diverse indigenous cultures which the friars struggled to address in effective ways. Their greatest successes occurred with hunter-gatherers near the San Antonio River and on the coast. But the friars' sacramental, parish-oriented approach coupled with the diversity of the target peoples led to the failure of most Texas missions. Despite this, the Texas missionaries maintained a consistent rhetoric of purpose that defined failures in uniquely Franciscan terms as trials to be suffered while persevering to desired ends.

This dissertation by Jay T. Harrison fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in History approved by James D. Riley, Ph.D., as Director, and by Thomas M. Cohen, Ph.D., and Jason Sharples, Ph.D. as Readers.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
List of Maps	v
Abbreviations	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction and Context	1
Chapter 2: Social Origins, Formation, and Intellectual Influences	45
Chapter 3: Friars' Expectations, Pastoral Conceptions, and Rhetoric of Purpose.....	108
Chapter 4: Franciscan Perceptions of Indians and Indigenous Culture.....	157
Chapter 5: Interactions with Frontier Institutions, Settlers, and Quotidian Concerns.....	196
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	245
Appendix: Missionary Friars in Texas, 1690-1834	272
Bibliography	281

LIST OF TABLES

Classification and Number of Volumes from 1735 Guadalupe college inventory.....	75
Appendix: Missionary Friars in Texas, 1690-1834.....	272

LIST OF MAPS

Missions and Presidios of Spanish Texas.....	32
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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations appear in citations throughout the dissertation.

ACQ	Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Archivo de la Provincia Franciscana de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, Celaya, Guanajuato, Mexico
ACZ	Archivo del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, microfilm series, Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Collection, Center for Mexican American Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
BA	Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin (manuscript and microfilm collections)
Bancroft-Civezza	Civezza Collection, Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum, Archivo General OFM. Microfilm of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, AAFH Microfilm, BANC MSS 2005/262.
BNAF	Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado, Colección Archivo Franciscano
BNFF	Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Franciscano
CAT	Catholic Archives of Texas, Diocese of Austin
OSMHRL	Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library, Center for Mexican American Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas
UTCAH	Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Context

The history of Franciscan missionary friars in Texas remained largely unexamined until now. During the friars' lifetimes several of their colleagues, the *cronistas* (chroniclers) assigned to document the missions and personal histories of exceptional friars, wrote selective narratives that provided details on the Texas missions along with endeavors the friars pursued in other locations. Many historians since that time crafted narratives of the Spanish period in Texas which included the missions from their beginnings in 1690 to their demise by the early 1830s. But even with the significant modern historiography concerning Spanish Texas, no focused study exists of the missionaries themselves. Nor has there been any sustained attempt to show how these men fit into the larger Franciscan world of their time. Though many borderlands histories of colonial New Mexico and Alta California consider the friars to have been key historical actors in determining later developments in their respective regions, scholars have not studied Texas missionaries to the same extent. The reason for these historiographical lacunae is simple. Early twentieth-century historians determined that the Franciscans' failure to assemble a thriving colonial missionary enterprise in the region meant they were not worthy of the same focus given the more populated missions found elsewhere in northern New Spain.

This study examines the men who served in Texas missions to assess their place in the greater history of missions in New Spain. That larger history accounts for over three hundred years of Franciscan evangelization in central Mexico and its hinterlands to the north, south, and west which began shortly after the Spanish conquest of México-

Tenochtitlán in 1521. Texas missionaries offer a unique subject to the cultural historian of colonial Mexico, and not only because scholars until now viewed the Texas missions to have failed completely. Franciscans in Texas were members of a distinct branch of the mendicant family in the Spanish American world: they were Propaganda Fide friars serving not in provincial hierarchies normative to Franciscans, but rather in separate apostolic seminary-colleges reporting directly to the highest Franciscan prelates in New Spain and Madrid. These men were among the best-trained missionary priests of the era aside from the Jesuits. They knew of their elite status in the colonial Church, as their persistent elitist rhetoric indicates. These attributes make their contributions and their viewpoints on those efforts crucial to understanding Franciscan evangelization in Texas and the uses to which the friars turned their experiences in the province.

Those lessons are important to understanding missionary concepts in eighteenth-century Mexico. More to the point, I consider in the following chapters how the Propaganda Fide friars in Texas helped to refine an evolving missiology that drew from earlier sources, and yet by the second half of the mission period had adapted to eighteenth-century conditions while it preserved key Observant Franciscan attributes. At the core of this assessment is the question as to why these friars failed in terms of their numbers of converts and active missions. Also, I consider whether friars indeed perceived such failures, and if so how that perception impacted rhetorical elements of their ideation about frontier missions. In short, what was the missionaries' overall viewpoint, and how did they deal with continuing setbacks over the long mission period in Texas? How may historians understand the missionaries' conceptions on their terms? What influences did the Texas missions have on contemporaneous attempts elsewhere in

New Spain? I address these questions and the evolving missiology of the collegiate Propaganda Fide friars in Texas considered against their education, social context, spiritual formation, and lived experiences in the missions.

Historiography and Context

The study of Franciscans in Texas must consider historiographical precedents. Two dominant historiographies concerning Texas missions provide context and source material for this study. The first of these began during the mission period by fiat of the collegiate leadership that commanded missionaries to write of their works. Two college-seminaries sent their men to Texas: the Colegio Apostólico de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro (Santa Cruz college) and the Colegio Apostólico de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas (Guadalupe college). The second corpus belongs to the great Spanish borderlands tradition shaped by Herbert Eugene Bolton and continued through much of the twentieth century by his students. In recent years a third body of literature emerged to join these two schools of historical writing. That third, emergent historiography considers the ethnohistories of the Indians in Texas and the surrounding regions. These three historiographical threads developed sequentially with minimal overlap in their production over the past three hundred and twenty years. I review each of these for the purpose of grounding statements that appear in the following chapters within the arguments and interpretations of the respective corpuses of literature that address Texas, its missions, and the greater indigenous world of which the region was a part.

The published and manuscript chronicles from the colonial era comprise the first historiography on the late colonial missions in Texas. The apostolic college-seminaries which sent their men as missionaries to Texas functioned under the strictures of apostolic

(papal) briefs which provided their canonical establishment in the ecclesiastical structure of the Spanish American empire. That imperial Church was subject to the *patronato real*, the delegated authority the Spanish crown exercised since the late fifteenth century over the Church in its American colonies. One of the requirements to which these colleges were held by the Franciscan hierarchy and their written canons was that each institution maintained a chronicler with sufficient training and wisdom to document the notable achievements of the colleges' missionaries.¹ This the colleges did with few lapses in coverage, though some chroniclers were more prolific than others. The chroniclers themselves were usually elite friars who knew the missions about which they wrote, had experience as consultors and guardians of the colleges, and usually exhibited some reason for remaining close to the college (health, age, or fatigue). The first chronicle dates to 1700 when fray José Díez, a founder of Santa Cruz college, provided the first account of the early years of the college.

Fray Díez's chronicle, *Apostólicos empleos de los hijos...del Collegio de la Santísima Cruz...de Querétaro*, was the forerunner of all others that followed in the historiography established in support of the college-seminaries' official duties in the colonial and early national periods.² Díez drew on chronicles he read as a young Franciscan in his native Castile.³ The resulting manuscript never was published but

¹ Lino Gómez Canedo, introduction, Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, 2nd ed., Lino Gómez Canedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), xxx; Michael Mathes, introduction, Juan Domingo Arricivita, *The Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias*, trans. and ed. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 2 vol. (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996), xiv.

² Fray José Díez, *Apostólicos empleos de los hijos del Seraphin Ilagado, obreros evangelicos, del Collegio de la Santísima Cruz de la Ciudad de Santiago de Querétaro*. Mss 153, AOFM, Rome. I used an imaged version on CD-ROM provided by the archivist of the provincial Franciscan archive in Celaya, Gto.

³ Canedo, introduction to Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*, xxx.

appeared as a source for all who followed him as chroniclers at Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges. His format and contents appear regularly with some adjustments through the end of the eighteenth century in the work of later chroniclers in both colleges. The *Apostólicos empleos* provided a structure for later works, where each would contain a lengthy section linking the history of the college to that of the Franciscan order, the city in which the particular college was located, and the founding fathers of the college in question. After this first part of the chronicle, the *cronista* spent his time with two types of historical narrative. The first was a biographical form of writing that produced hagiographies of major figures in the college's institutional history. The second type considered the narratives of distant missions on the frontiers (Guatemala, Texas, and the Seno Mexicano, the northeastern coastal region, in the case of Querétaro) and of missions to the faithful among more local populations. The result, even in Díez's incomplete tome, was a historiography with links to the medieval and early Iberian Franciscan centuries, the reformed Observantine viewpoints of the Spanish Franciscans, and the colonial Church's history in Spanish America. All of those elements could be found within the narratives of friars' (saintly) lives and missions.

Other noteworthy chroniclers emerged over the course of the eighteenth century and contribute to our understanding of friars' perceptions over the period. The best-known chronicles were those written in the first half of the century by fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa and late in the second half by fray Juan Domingo de Arricivita. Espinosa's *Crónica de los Colegios de Nueva España* was the fullest expression of the patterns established by Díez, and provides again a lengthy recap of the early history of Santa Cruz college and numerous hagiographies of notable friars. Arricivita followed suit, though he

added much to the later work of the college in Sonora and proceeded to buttress the cause of the venerable fray Antonio Margil de Jesús. Margil's beatification was in process before the Napoleonic wars stopped it during the period following Arricivita's death in the mid 1790s.⁴ The best known of the Guadalupe chroniclers was fray José Antonio Alcocer, author of the *Bosquejo de la Historia del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y sus misiones*, whose history covered the period to 1788.⁵ Additional chroniclers continued to produce valuable narratives and hagiographical materials through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at both colleges.⁶

While the colleges declined and approached their suppression in the 1850s, another historiographical trend began just a few decades later that would develop the baseline narratives for modern mission histories.⁷ This new school initiated the borderlands narratives that emphasized the institutional histories of Spanish presidios and missions, and which in turn promoted the typologies of historical Spanish actors within predictable institutional frameworks. Historians such as Hubert Howe Bancroft inaugurated the borderlands history north of the Mexico-U.S. border that would be

⁴ Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*; Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*.

⁵ Fray José Antonio Alcocer, *Bosquejo de la historia del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y sus misiones, año de 1788*, ed. Rafael Cervantes (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1958).

⁶ Among these one finds Hermenegildo de Vilaplana, *Vida portentosa del Americano septentrional apostol el V.P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, fundador, y ex-Guardian de los Colegios de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro, de Christo Crucificado de Guatemala, y de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. Relacion historica de sus nuevas, y antiguas maravillas* (Mexico City: Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1763). The AAFH rare book collection at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, preserves a pristine copy of Vilaplana's *Vida portentosa*. On fray Simon de Hierro's contributions see Canedo, Introduction to Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*. Fray Gaspar de Solís' *diario* may be found in various copies in the archives. I used the version in OSMHRL at Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, microfilm ACZ roll 2, frames 1456-1523. See *Libros de Decretos*, College at Guadalupe de Zacatecas, III: 70r, where on January 14, 1820, the college councilors appointed the experienced theology professor (lector), missionary, and consultor fray José María Huerta chronicler for the college (Benedict Leutenegger, ed., *Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*, 101).

⁷ The actions of liberal governments in the 1850s suppressed convents and other Church institutions across Mexico, including the numerous apostolic colleges still functioning in the middle of the nineteenth century.

defined and dominated by Herbert Eugene Bolton in the first five decades of the twentieth century.⁸ This historiography, referred to generally as the Bolton or Boltonian school, followed closely the romanticizing tendencies of Bancroft's studies. Bolton promoted his narratives to combat the stranglehold on traditional United States colonial historiography by historians of the thirteen original English colonies of the eastern seaboard. The Bolton method was a political and economic historiography which examined the establishment of Spanish claims to the southeastern and southwestern regions of North America which later became part of the growing United States. Bolton trained with Frederick Jackson Turner at the University of Wisconsin, though he rejected much of the famed Turner thesis regarding the westward movement of the American frontier. Bolton sought an alternate history to explain more fully the presence of Spanish-speaking cultures within the resulting bounds of the southern-most states of the union.⁹ The historiography he began and continued to inspire after his death included numerous biographical studies of leading figures (all of whom were men) in the colonial Spanish American frontier regions, as well as significant institutional narratives of Spanish presidios and missions.

When compared to other sections of northern New Spain such as the Californias, Nueva Vizcaya, the Pimería, and New Mexico, the Bolton school directed less coverage to Texas. In those other regions the Boltonian historiography was well developed and gave numerous examples of its application. With a few exceptions Texas entered the narratives mostly as a part of larger histories concerned with the Spanish settlement of

⁸ One of Bancroft's early studies was his *History of the North Mexican States and Texas: Volume 1* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884).

⁹ John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 3-5.

vast sections of northern New Spain beyond the established areas of Spanish control. Only a handful of Boltonian histories appeared on Texas itself, beginning with two of Bolton's own books which he published after his brief residence at the University of Texas.¹⁰ Until Carlos E. Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* there were few studies of the region which significantly impacted the historiography.¹¹ Castañeda worked within two camps, essentially. As a University of Texas history professor and librarian, his work fell easily within the dominant framework of Bolton's approach. As a scholar supported by the Texas Knights of Columbus he was influenced also by a deep sympathy for the Knights' wish to justify the presence of Catholics and Catholicism against the growing dominance of Protestant institutions in Texas. The seven volumes of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* appeared between 1938 and 1950, and they represent the most nuanced accounting of the long Catholic presence in Texas. In terms of Franciscan history, Castañeda examined Texas missionaries in more detail than did Bolton.

While the efforts of historians who studied under Bolton often resulted in histories of the black-robed Jesuits with whom Bolton was so enamored, as well as general

¹⁰ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915); *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vol. (Cleveland: Clark, 1914). See also Herbert Eugene Bolton and Eugene Campbell Barker, *With the Makers of Texas: A Source Reader in Texas History* (New York: American Book Co., 1904); and the following articles by Bolton: "The Spanish Abandonment and Re-occupation of East Texas, 1773-1779," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, IX (Oct. 1905), 67-137; "The Founding of Mission Rosario: A Chapter in the History of the Gulf Coast," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, X (Oct. 1906), 113-39; "Spanish Mission Records at San Antonio," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, X (April 1907), 297-307; "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, XI (April 1908), 249-76; "Records of the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, XIV (Oct. 1910), 164-66; "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, XV (July 1912), 1-26; "The Founding of the Missions on the San Gabriel River, 1745-1749," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII (April 1914), 323-78; "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II (Sept. 1915), 165-82; "The Beginnings of Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XIX (April 1916), 400-404.

¹¹ Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, 7 vol., (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936-1950).

borderlands accounts of the Spanish presence across the region, there was one noteworthy expansion of the Bolton method that deserves mention here for contributing to new interpretive frameworks for the history of northern New Spain.¹² In the spirit of the new social historical methodologies emerging in the late 1960s and into the 1980s, Oakah L. Jones attempted to add another institution to the narrative of the Boltonians, that of the civilian town about which he wrote in *Los Paisanos*.¹³ The addition Jones made to the storyline of the borderlands overall was an opening for later cultural historians to reassess and expand the narrative by introducing new historical actors.

Just a few years before Jones, Elizabeth A.H. John released her own massive study of the same regions of the Southwest. With that book she began the historiographical turn of the narrative towards the view that real political, economic, and cultural hegemony in the borderlands of New Mexico and Texas belonged to the indigenous nations, especially the Apaches, Navajos, Utes, Caddos, Wichitas, Osages, and Comanches.¹⁴ At the time an abrupt change overtook the historiography of the former “Boltonlands”: social history became an accepted method with which to analyze all players on this historical stage, and more importantly, the heroes among Spanish explorers (*adelantados*) and missionaries gave way to social and cultural studies of the world outside Spanish presidios and missions.

¹² Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, 10; see Bannon, *The Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620-1687* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1955); Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), and *Early Jesuits Missions in Tarahumara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), among other titles.

¹³ Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979; Reprint, 1996).

¹⁴ Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in other Men's Worlds: The Confrontations of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975).

The result of this marked shift was apparent mainly in work done outside of Texas until the past decade. In the 1980s and 1990s, and still in recent years, historians of New Mexico, Alta and Baja California, and the near Mexican north launched numerous inquiries into the cultures of peoples contesting among themselves for control of northern homelands. The most significant studies that led the way to the present historiographical state were those that challenged the traditional perspective of borderlands historians who viewed the scene from Spanish eyes. Instead, scholars wrote new cultural histories by discerning the indigenous voices in between the words of the Spaniards, reading deeper into the meanings given in texts, and using methods from ethnohistory, anthropology, and archaeology to tease out new information from the old texts and physical evidence. These new histories included indigenous studies of northern regions of present-day Mexico by students who carried forward Edward H. Spicer's pioneering anthropological work in that region.¹⁵ In terms of the borderlands themselves, the greatest pioneer of newer approaches was David J. Weber, whose career spanned the tremendous shift that occurred from the 1970s to the present and whose work reflected that change over time. From his studies of the territory that reflected Bolton's own range from Spanish Florida

¹⁵ The post-Spicer scholars named here expanded upon the ethnographic and anthropological constructs meticulously assembled by Spicer, notably the classifications of *rancheria* cultures and semi-nomadism versus fixed habitations, and the distinctions to be had between the *monte* or wilderness and the settled domain of humans in communities. See Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962); and *The Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980). See also Evelyn Hu-Dehart, *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians: History of Spanish Contact with the Yaqui Indians of Northwestern New Spain, 1533-1830* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981) and *Yaqui Resistance and Survival: Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821-1910* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers (Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), and *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Susan M. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

to the Californias, Weber's research produced a transitional book, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992), that for its time best ingested the emerging critique of traditional Spanish-dominated historiography while preserving a coherent narrative in the Boltonian tradition. By the end of his career Weber embraced the new cultural histories that had appeared and in his *Bárbaros* provided context for Spanish pretensions to power in the Spanish American border regions in both North and South America, and how those pretensions were met with the reality of indigenous hegemony in each situation.¹⁶

The recent historiographical expansion concerning Spanish Texas has created a new climate in which to research the cultural history of the region, even that of the most religious of Spaniards there. New approaches over the past fifteen years carried forward studies of Indian hegemony and the greater indigenous world of the later colonial period.¹⁷ More recently, anthropologists and historians studied missions to the indigenous peoples of Florida, Texas, New Mexico and the Californias, and prepared

¹⁶ Weber's numerous publications demonstrate the impact of changes to colonial Spanish American borderlands history that occurred over his active career. Beginning with *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), Weber's integrative histories of the Southwest to 1850 began to take on less Boltonian tones as he worked more social and cultural histories into the secondary sources he used and his own approach to the evidence changed over time. The other key titles in Weber's transition include *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), and *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), in addition to other edited and authored volumes.

¹⁷ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995); *The Caddos, the Wichitas, and the United States, 1846-1901* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996); *The Wichita Indians: Traders of Texas and the Southern Plains, 1540-1845* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786-1859* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005). In addition to Smith, other historians of Native America contributed to the new perspectives on real politics and cultural change among indigenous peoples up to the nineteenth century in the near west and southwest of the present United States. R. Douglas Hurt, *The Indian Frontier, 1763-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), draws out the larger narrative of native peoples west of the Mississippi River beyond that treated by Smith in Texas. Gary Clayton Anderson stressed the reinvention of culture via ethnogenesis among the rapidly changing indigenous bands and nations of western North America from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. See Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

comparisons of missionary methods between regions. Such studies complemented newer gendered histories which examined indigenous-Spanish interactions in Texas in a new light.¹⁸ Such efforts align with those of mission historians working in recent years to revise interpretations of mission culture and its impacts in the Californias, especially in the north.¹⁹ Scholars of early California addressed the conditions, methods of conversion, and the cultural and environmental barriers and enablers for the histories of the peoples in Alta California's Franciscan missions. Historians of California's colonial era have entered a revisionary period in seeing missions, Indians, and missionaries' cultures within enmeshing relational networks. Scholars must also revise the colonial history of Texas to include research into the region's contesting cultures, in order to enable more accurate, holistic understandings of human relations over the period of the missions there.

Moving beyond the Spanish colonial milieu provides additional context for Texas missions. Franciscan and Jesuit methods in New France, for example, provide useful comparisons to the repeated attempts at residential, agriculturally oriented missions in Texas. The grey-robed Recollects in French Canada attempted missions to developed indigenous societies in the Saint Lawrence valley and the Great Lakes regions by similar, and failed, methods of resettlement. In the east, French Jesuits initially adopted these

¹⁸ Maria F. Wade, *The Native Americans of the Texas Edwards Plateau, 1582-1799* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), and *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans : Long-term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

¹⁹ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), and Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

methods when replacing their Franciscan brothers. Over time, the Jesuits developed a more directly ethnographical approach by moving beyond the resettlement of indigenes to live with Indians in their settlements as tolerated interlopers learning native manners. Among the Hurons, for example, Jesuits bided their time and slowly integrated their novel culture and its religion into Huron life. While the Jesuit Relations of New France share many parallels with the frustrations experienced among Spanish missions in northern New Spain, Jesuits' efforts in New France shared more attributes with sixteenth-century Franciscans ethnographies of New Spain's highland populations than they did with the actual approach of the later friars in Texas.²⁰

Other examples from the English-speaking world provide examples of civilizing missions encouraged by Europeans for the acculturation of indigenous persons. The praying towns of New England and related attempts at Indian schools (i.e. at Deerfield and the initial foundation of Dartmouth) are the closest comparisons with Spanish methods in North America. In comparing French methods with those of the English missionaries, James Axtell has demonstrated the relative weakness of the latter's attempts versus the adaptations of the Jesuits and other French orders to win the hearts and allegiances of native peoples. Eleazar Wheelock and John Eliott's attempts in forming schools and praying towns of Christian Indians were prime examples of the ubiquitous belief among Europeans in their cultural superiority, something the Spaniards shared with no hesitation. Historians have documented numerous cases of such beliefs and their

²⁰ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 23-127; Peter Goddard, "Two Kinds of Conversion ("Medieval" and "Modern") among the Hurons of New France," in James Muldoon, ed., *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas* (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004), 57-77; Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

impacts on missions. In New England, the more successful praying towns existed for native groups for whom the culture of the British became dominant over their own. Similarly, the Spanish friars' provisioning of hunter-gatherers in Texas succeeded because of the failure of those Indians to thrive by their own traditional lifestyle when challenged by more successful, and hostile, bands.²¹

Historical Background

Missions in Texas came about as the works of Franciscans trained in specialized religious programs, the early modern, post-Tridentine Propaganda Fide college-seminaries founded in New Spain from 1683 down to the nineteenth century. The colleges formed at the same time that new pressures on Spanish imperial hegemony in the New World appeared, making the colleges useful sources of new missionaries for frontier expansion and protection. The missionary college as an institution in the New World had its precedent in similar institutions in Portugal and Spain also founded in the seventeenth century. The idea of a missionary college has deeper roots than just this immediate history, however. The previous century gave rise to both the Collegio Romano and the Collegio Germanico in Rome, early Jesuit institutions whose tasks were to train Jesuits for missions, including the specific charter of the German College to train priests to challenge Protestants in the German states.²² Both were founded before the end of the Council of Trent in 1563 and preceded the so-called Tridentine seminary.

²¹ Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 131-217; Axtell, "The White Indians," in *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 189-91; Annie Parker, "Conversion in Theory and Practice: John Eliot's Mission to the Indians," in Muldoon, *Spiritual Conversion of the Americas*, 78-98; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 69-150.

²² John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 130, 205, 234-6.

Richard Kagan's explanation of the development of *colegios mayores* in early modern Spain points the way to a missionary college movement in the late seventeenth century in that the *colegios* of the major universities performed duties overlapping the earlier university models. The *colegios* were at once hostels, tutoring centers, and religious houses, often supported for a specific end result. While the *colegios mayores* developed into more formal teaching centers, they never directly challenged the university lectureships due to their limited scope of studies or tutoring.²³ The only case where a college might assume the functions of the university were those institutions not associated with a university that began to grant ecclesiastical degrees themselves. Religious orders (often Dominicans) developed these colleges and were restricted to granting degrees to members of the same order.²⁴ The early college-seminary in Iberia thus was a model for later Propaganda Fide colleges whose purpose was the training of Franciscan missionaries.

Franciscans of the seventeenth century looked back to the golden era of the sixteenth century in colonial Mexico and took note of differences between the two periods. A thriving historiography exists to describe and analyze the evangelization of the New World, and especially New Spain in the sixteenth century. Beginning with the conquest era itself in which a small group of Spaniards under Hernán Cortes rallied indigenous enemies and subordinates to their banner against the ruling Mexica culture of the Aztec empire, historians have debated the history of early New Spain and its

²³ Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), chapter 7.

²⁴ Kagan, *Students and Society*, 68-9.

companion “spiritual conquest” for centuries.²⁵ The primary result of this early period for the purpose of this study was that it saw the rise of a dominant mendicant presence in New Spain’s center and hinterlands characterized by Franciscan missionaries working from convents located among the sedentary peoples of the colonial kingdom. Franciscans working between the arrival of the twelve friar-apostles under fray Martín de Valencia in 1524 and the downgrading of the Order’s role in favor of diocesan priests by the 1580s built a missionary complex rivaled by no other religious order in the viceroyalty. That system’s legendary results established an Indian Church in Mexico which, along with the smaller numbers of Augustinian, Dominican, and Mercedarian areas of evangelization, was based in large part on the early model of cultural transformation to Hispanic ways forced upon indigenous peoples in the first century of conquest, the *encomienda-doctrina* system. The *encomienda* was a form of lordship awarded for collection of tribute from conquered peoples (Indians in central Mexico, in this case), and it was supported by the establishment of the *doctrinas* as proto-parishes for indigenous populations subjected to the *encomiendas*.²⁶

The *doctrina* system differed in many ways from what came later after a period of reform following 1560 in which the crown engaged critics of the *encomiendas* and re-

²⁵ The student eager to encounter a thorough colonial Latin American historiographical corpus may find it regarding the sixteenth century in New Spain. On the Franciscans in early Mexico, see Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523-1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520-1569*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1995); and Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 45-126. Also useful to understanding some of the myths at play in historians’ interpretations of the conquest of Mexico in the centuries since that early period, see Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

²⁶ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 58-97.

wrote the colonial legal apparatus to protect the indigenous populations from effective enslavement and peonage by *encomenderos*, the holders of tribute populations. Under the doctrina system friars worked from a convent built in the midst of their Indians; as missionaries they worked with the established villages or larger gathered populations of a certain focused region, and they did so in tandem with other friars of the same convent or friary. In contrast to this rather successful arrangement, later missionaries among the Franciscans and other orders were required under the recompiled legal restrictions following the 1560s to establish missions in areas free of tribute populations. These regions also featured less support from established Spanish governments and lacked military personnel. As the Franciscan historian Antonine Tibesar pointed out several decades ago, this distinction between the heyday of sixteenth-century Franciscan organization in Mexico and later missions in Peru and elsewhere was the result of a paradigmatic change in terms of the effectiveness of friars' ministries to frontier indigenous groups.²⁷

Those early decades in Mexico established the legend of Franciscan successes in converting large populations to the friars' unique form of Hispanic Catholicism. From the literal boatload of twelve friars in 1524, the order grew its numbers in the sixteenth century to a large Franciscan presence that persisted through most of the colonial era. When changes under the Bourbon reforms began in 1749, at least 1,724 friars tended the spiritual needs of nearly 245 indigenous towns in New Spain; in Texas, at least 181 friars served in missions over the eighteenth century with as many as twenty men serving there

²⁷ Antonine Tibesar, "The Franciscan Doctrinero versus the Franciscan Misionero in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *The Americas*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Oct. 1957), 115-124.

at any given time.²⁸ The influence of the Franciscan's unique charisma on these Indian populations was enormous, and yet evangelization took on tones of both local indigenous cultures in addition to the selective emphases of the friars' preaching over time.

Franciscans baptized overwhelming numbers of Indian converts in the decades up to the 1590s as a result of sustained preaching, catechism, and demonstrative Catholic practice in the midst of, and with the cooperation of, the indigenous communities. The pioneering ethnographic efforts of some Franciscans in central Mexico led by fray Bernardino de Sahagún were partly responsible for the friars' understandings of indigenous Mexican culture. The number of baptisms, and thus calculated conversions, was enormous – such sacramental activities (baptisms) were the result of the Franciscans' missionary praxis.²⁹

While the landscape of sixteenth century New Spain appeared largely Franciscan in the outward Catholic expressions of the Indians, these groups' conversions were tempered by a negotiation between their own cultural values, their language, and the language and emphases of the friars' missiology and praxis. A similar effect also was apparent among the missions of Dominicans and Augustinians. Through much debate over more than five decades, scholars have come to the conclusion that friars in the period understood the compromises they made to indoctrinate and convert the indigenous of the Valley of Mexico, Oaxaca, and other locations in the central highlands.³⁰ Friars' acknowledged

²⁸ Francisco Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order in a Period of Transition, 1749-1859," *The Americas*, vol. 54, no. 3 (Jan. 1998), 327. For Texas, see table of missionary friars in the appendix.

²⁹ Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 39-60; Edwin Edward Sylvest, Jr., *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain Province of the Holy Gospel* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975), 87-119.

³⁰ Language played a key role in the conscious, and unconscious, adaptations of Catholicism to the cultural perspectives of Nahuas and other peoples of central New Spain. See Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), and *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature* (Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2001). *Before Guadalupe* and

that some indigenous peoples had a tenuous grasp of Catholic doctrine and would require additional tutelage over time. This was but an aspect of Franciscan charisma in sixteenth-century New Spain, which is to say that the friars' were confident that a gradual and full conversion would occur if properly nurtured. For the Franciscans, the spiritual life involved hearing, sensing, and believing – conversion was a process of sensory exposure and praxis over time.³¹

Following the dynamic sixteenth-century growth of doctrinas in central Mexico, Franciscans experienced a decline in missionary activities nearer the end of that century and into the early seventeenth century due to changes in the religious and political currents in New Spain. Many scholars have analyzed the change in political conditions during this period and the impact the emergence of a strong diocesan structure in the kingdom had on the mendicant friars and their Indian missions. The result of these changes was that the Franciscans and the other religious orders which led the indigenous Church in the sixteenth century began to step aside to allow the entry of diocesan priests into Indian parishes. As this process occurred, the order began a slow decline in terms of new missions and missionary activities, becoming instead disposed to remain within their convents or assuming their traditional mendicant role of traveling missionary religious as

architectural studies of the liturgical theaters Franciscans and other religious orders illustrate the missionaries' conscious focus on indigenes' sensory experience with Catholicism in central New Spain. See Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), and Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indians Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

³¹ See, for example, the discussion of Franciscan conversion methods in Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

friars had done in previous centuries in Europe.³² In addition, presiding dual authorities in the form of bishops and viceroys made for hard times for Franciscans in Mexico by accusing the order of laxity and moral decay. While vocations would retreat further in the following century, the Franciscans suffered a real loss of control over actual populations of Indian neophytes in the early seventeenth century. They also suffered from a retrenchment of friars to their friaries with the resulting loss of missionary fervor for new, untapped groups of indigenous non-believers.³³

The initial steps leading to the establishment of missionary colleges for activities such as occurred later in Texas began with the creation of a new organization at the Roman curia to promote worldwide missionary efforts for the Church. The Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, or Propaganda Fide in common parlance, was formed to direct efforts both to strengthen Catholic beliefs among adherents and to extend the faith to other, non-Catholic peoples. Founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, Propaganda Fide intended to oversee the efforts of Catholic diocesan personnel and religious orders in their efforts worldwide; in real terms, the congregation guided some efforts and took a more active role in directly supervising others where such action was deemed advisable.³⁴ Franciscans in mid seventeenth-century Spain cooperated with Propaganda Fide to develop new, specialized centers for the training of missionaries that became an

³² On the re-evangelization of Europe and the role of mendicant internal missions, see Louis Chatellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c.1500-c.1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³³ Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order," 323-37.

³⁴ Lino Gómez Canedo, "Los colegios apostólicos de Propaganda Fide: su papel en la evangelización de América," in *Evangelización, Cultura, y Promoción Social: Ensayos y Estudios Críticos sobre la Contribución Franciscana a los Orígenes Cristianos de México (Siglos XVI-SVIII)* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1993), 553-55. Gómez Canedo links the Colegio Urbano set up in 1630 to the later colleges in Spain and the Americas.

urgent need in the minds of certain Observant friars. Those men approached the Propaganda Fide in Rome through the Franciscan curia for the purpose of training missionaries for local re-Christianization efforts in line with Spanish (Castilian) leadership in applying the dictates of the Council of Trent in Iberian parishes. As a result, missionary colleges appeared in Iberia at Varatoja, La Hoz, and elsewhere. These foundations would serve as models for the colleges to be founded in the 1680s and later in the Americas.³⁵

Franciscans led by fray Antonio Llinas proposed the extension of apostolic college-seminaries for missionaries on the American side of the Atlantic. In the first years of the 1680s, the effort to found a college at Querétaro in the Bajío of New Spain succeeded in gaining not only papal and Crown approval, but the sponsorship also of the Castilian Franciscan father commissary as well. The Iberian prelate directed fray Llinas to assemble a group of friars from the Spanish provincial friaries and colleges, and to transport this group to New Spain as the founding cohort of Propaganda Fide missionary friars in New Spain. In 1683 the friars arrived in Querétaro and took possession of a friary situated on a high part of the city. This former provincial friary and hospice was the home of a famed stone cross for which the friars named their new college, the Colegio apostólico de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, or Santa Cruz college as it will be referred to in this study. After a period of experimental undertakings for missions to the faithful of New Spain around the region, the friars extended their missions to unconverted peoples far to the south in the province of Guatemala. Those missionaries founded the

³⁵ McCloskey, *The Formative Years*, 18. See the more expansive treatment of the roots of the colleges in Spain in David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010).

second Propaganda Fide college in the Americas, the Colegio de Christo Crucificado de Guatemala, in 1701. Just six years later, a third college received the backing of Rome and Madrid, and was incorporated at Guadalupe de Zacatecas. This college, founded in 1707, was the Colegio apostólico de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas and operated as one of the two colleges, with Santa Cruz, which sent all but a handful of the missionaries who served in the Texas missions. The collegiate friars founded a fourth college in Mexico City in 1734. That college, the Colegio de San Fernando de México, sent its missionaries first to the Sierra Gorda and then on to Alta California after 1769.³⁶

Several studies of the Franciscan cooperation with Spanish imperial aims addressed the first six decades of the missionaries' experiences in Texas. This literature examined the multiple failures and humbling lessons learned by the friars in Texas.³⁷ According to Elizabeth John, the indigenous polities of the plains and woods of Texas demonstrated dominance over rather than induced servility towards the Spanish; Europeans intruded, but did not ever dominate the region during the colonial era. Likewise, others enumerated the reasons Franciscan missionaries failed to convert the Hasinai and related Caddo peoples, the Lipan Apaches who constituted the first of several raiders of missions in the early decades, and the many coastal Indians who ranked lowest on the friars' scale of relative barbarity. By contrast, the most successful missions were those set up for small hunting and gathering bands, among which appear many Coahuiltecan bands. With these groups the missionaries filled the San Antonio missions

³⁶ McCloskey, *The Formative Years*; Galindo, "Propaganda Fide"; Gómez Canedo, "Los colegios apostólicos"; Kieran McCarty, "Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith – Old and New World Background," *The Americas*, vol. 19, no. 1 (July 1962), 50-58.

³⁷ The typical sampling of such studies includes John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*; Felix D. Almaraz, *The San Antonio Missions and Their System of Land Tenure* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); and Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*.

which grew to become the most stable of those institutions in Texas. In addition, friars realized some successes, fleeting in certain decades, in coercing a few of the coastal bands into missions near La Bahia and not far from the Gulf of Mexico.

Against this backdrop of Franciscan collegiate beginnings under Propaganda Fide other events in New Spain determined the historical context in which the friars from Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges evangelized the indigenous peoples of Texas. The foundational period of Santa Cruz college was coincident with the twilight of Habsburg Spain, a period which was rife with tensions derived from decaying royal power in the ruling dynasty as it approached extinction. Growing social and economic issues (though there was a modest recovery in the latter decades of the seventeenth century) also threatened the Spanish kingdoms and the colonial empire.³⁸ While the state experienced decline and operated more by inaction than action, the Franciscans were relatively free to pursue their schemes for revival on their own and with the nominal backing of the Crown. That period ended in the trauma of the War of the Spanish Succession which began very soon after the death of the last Habsburg in Spain, Charles II, and which ended only after the peace of Utrecht in 1713. The two colleges in Guatemala and Guadalupe de Zacatecas were approved and founded during this imperial crisis, and their leadership seemingly ignored the larger political turmoil while each institution recruited new missionaries, retrained other friars for missions, and expanded Franciscan efforts in the greater region of New Spain.

The expansion of the friars' efforts to Texas occurred in conjunction with imperial designs in New Spain and fears of invasion from without, rather than keeping a direct

³⁸ J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 361-82.

link with immediate concerns in Iberia. Initial efforts in Texas were the result of French attempts to infiltrate nominally Spanish areas: the Spanish rightly feared that French coureurs de bois and Jesuit missionaries would slowly take over the Mississippi Valley and expand towards and into territory in Texas, New Mexico, and points to the south if the Frenchmen were allowed to move freely into those lands. In the 1680s that French threat appeared with reports of René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's voyage to found a new French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River on the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle's mission was poorly executed and led to the death of most of his party due to both internal discord and the wishes of local indigenes to be rid of the encroaching French. Near the later-settled Bahia de Espiritu Santo (Matagorda Bay), Spaniards found most of the Frenchmen's remains along with a few stragglers living with different Indian bands in the region of Bahia. Multiple reconnaissance parties left New Spain by sea and land to intercept La Salle's party, but the 1689 expedition that also sought to scout locations for new missions found the remains of the ill-fated La Salle expedition. Given this demonstrated threat to Spanish regional hegemony, the vice regal government supported the planting of missions in east Texas in 1690. The expedition of Santa Cruz friars and military personnel under fray Damian Mazanet and Alonso de Leon established the first missions among the Hasinai Confederacy, a collected polity of Caddoan-speaking bands in the Piney Woods and meadowlands of present-day western Louisiana and east Texas.³⁹

³⁹ Donald Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 63-104; Lino Gómez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 13-26.

The east Texas missions experienced significant resistance from the Hasinai very soon after their founding. The culture of these Caddos was particularly ill-matched to the religious and cultural transformation offered by the Spanish friars. Not only were the friars not considered to be whole men without their families or any wives, but they consistently provoked the Hasinai peoples by trampling on social mores and refusing to seek accommodation. Thus, when the friars' supplies failed and the Hasinai threatened their lives, and Hasinai leaders made it clear by 1693 that the friars were not welcome to remain in the region, the missionaries abandoned the province and returned to Santa Cruz college. They viewed their flight out of east Texas as a temporary setback and vowed to return; this event was but the first in a line of such temporarily abandoned missions that Texas would provide its missionaries.⁴⁰ The return to east Texas would wait until reconnaissance expeditions nearer the end of the first decade of the next century.

As Europeans sorted out their claims to the Spanish throne between 1701 and 1713 with violent battles and wars of words, Franciscans from the apostolic Propaganda Fide colleges in New Spain went about their recurring missions to the faithful and made sporadic attempts at missions to the *infieles*, the non-believing or heathen Indians that surrounded New Spain in the north, west, and south. By 1709, Santa Cruz friars began new scouting efforts which aimed to regain the lost Texas missions, and by 1714 the friars convinced the viceroy and *audiencia* officials of the need to reclaim Texas for Spain.⁴¹ In 1716 another expedition of friars (from Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges)

⁴⁰ Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 86-99; Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*, 485-89, 677-82.

⁴¹ Spanish governance in the Americas was split between executive and judicial-legislative authorities. The vice regal office held executive power on behalf of the crown, while the *audiencias* for regions of New Spain and other Spanish colonies in Central and South America acted as judicial bodies and counterweights to the authority of the viceroy.

and soldiers set out for Texas and reopened the missions abandoned in east Texas since 1693. In addition, the first of what would become five missions close by the new villa of San Fernando de Béxar, now San Antonio, was established in 1718 as San Antonio de Valero mission. The mission era began in 1690, but only after the foundations in 1716-1718 would Texas consistently host a Franciscan presence.⁴² The extent of Franciscan's efforts fluctuated during the tumultuous years of the eighteenth century and ended in the years following Mexican independence in 1821.

The Texas missions existed within an era of change in New Spain beyond the initial years of Bourbon ascendancy to the throne. At mid century the order came from the Spanish court to secularize first the religious orders' missionary Indian parishes, the doctrinas, in the archdioceses of Mexico and Lima; in 1753, this order was extended to all dioceses in Spanish America. The reform was one that looked back to the late sixteenth-century attempts of the Church to transition religious orders' stable doctrinas to diocesan control; this had been stymied by the religious orders through various efforts to hold their Indian communities into the late colonial era. As Francisco Morales and David Brading have demonstrated, the losses by Franciscans and other religious orders were severe, with the Franciscans losing more than half their friaries and the Indian parishes those houses served in New Spain to diocesan clergy by the 1770s. The shock to the Franciscan order resulted in a reduction of allowable vocations for the rest of the eighteenth century and an even sharper decline in the nineteenth. The main impact of the losses was felt by the Franciscan provinces in New Spain, of which there were six. In

⁴² Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 100-126; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, vol. II; Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968).

this same period the apostolic colleges were called on to continue their missions to the frontiers, and though initially restricted in their growth as well in the 1750s, the colleges became the one part of the order in New Spain to grow over the later decades of the eighteenth century. Many provincial friars transferred to the colleges during the decades in which the provincial doctrinas declined.⁴³

In 1767, the Bourbon government's decision to expel the Society of Jesus from all Spanish dominions resulted in a massive reordering in the distribution of missionary labor in New Spain. In the vacuum left in the wake Jesuits' departures from missions, missionaries from other religious orders stepped in to take the Jesuits' places. Franciscans led this effort in terms of numbers in New Spain, and among the press for missionaries the apostolic colleges were involved especially in the near north of the Tarahumara, the Pimería, and in Baja California.⁴⁴ These changes, while adding back to the missionary vocations for the Franciscans generally, disrupted normal operations for the Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges by the sudden onset of demands for additional missionaries. Santa Cruz opted, like many provinces, to fill the need with appeals for more Iberian friars; the college at Guadalupe de Zacatecas chose to fill its quota from within New Spain through new vocations and adding provincials to its rosters. As I will explain elsewhere in this study, the canonical limits placed on the colleges early in their

⁴³ Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order", 327-28; D.A. Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 62-81.

⁴⁴ Brading, *Church and State in Michoacán*, 3-16; Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*, II: 88-94; Kieran McCarty, *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981). The Franciscans would turn over the Baja California missions once the Alta California missions began just two years after the Jesuit expulsion, giving the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans, custody of the Baja missions. See Harry Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 387-93.

development (at or well below approximately fifty men in total) gave way by the end of the eighteenth century to just over one hundred friars in each of the colleges serving the northern missions. This change was a result of the imperial government's decrees concerning the secularization of doctrinas and the expulsion of the Jesuits; it also resulted from the shift in vocational directions among the provincial friars as a result of the changes at mid century, and the need for continued missionary efforts both at the frontiers and within the settled areas of New Spain.

The last major political and social change that confronted the Franciscans in New Spain and colonial Texas was the maelstrom of events kicked off in 1810 by Mexican insurgents led by the diocesan priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. The rumblings of revolt in this era began a few years before in Spain with the Napoleonic takeover of the Bourbon throne, the long peninsular war that followed, and the Castilian Cortes' attempt to recast the Spanish social order in liberal terms. The period between 1810 and 1821 was not uniformly disruptive across New Spain, but it was in areas served by missionaries of the apostolic colleges, and especially so in the case of Texas. In 1811 and 1813 two separate civil conflicts flared in Texas; both were put down, but cast a shadow over the Tejanos, their borderlands allies, and the province's stability.⁴⁵ Missionaries found themselves in dire straits during these years as money stopped moving in the latter part of the decade and supplies dwindled in the missions. Friars' identities as either *criollos* or *peninsulares* were factors in their disposition to stay or leave their posts in

⁴⁵ On the two early insurgencies in late colonial Texas, see Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 27-49. For a succinct overview of the Mexican independence wars, see Timothy J. Henderson, *The Mexican Wars for Independence* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009).

New Spain in the immediate period following independence.⁴⁶ Many friars in Texas were criollos from Guadalupe college, but elsewhere the period instigated yet more personnel and vocational changes among the greater Franciscan world in early national Mexico.

Governmental policies, dynastic changes, and Franciscan evolution within the colonial milieu of New Spain provide the contexts for the Texas missionaries in terms of the colonial perspective, but there was yet another major aspect to the situation presented to Franciscans in the province. The indigenous world of Texas was something altogether different than Franciscans had seen or prepared to address in the long period of the order's efforts in New Spain going back to the early sixteenth century. In Texas an entire range of cultures existed before the arrival of permanent Spanish settlements or missions, and within the period of this study even more indigenous groups arrived as native immigration continued from the north and east. As the preceding historiographical review illustrates, historians in recent decades came to accept that the best way to view colonial Texas from the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth is to examine the indigenous polities that controlled the region. In other words, Spaniards were visitors in Texas for the entire period they claimed it as a province of New Spain and were not, in fact, a dominant force in the region.

Texas was home to nomadic, semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary, and sedentary societies; these groups, in each category, ranged from hunter-gatherers to horticulturists,

⁴⁶ Criollos, or creoles in English, were persons of Iberian parentage born in the colonial kingdoms in the Americas. Peninsulares were immigrants from the Spanish kingdoms.

and raiders and traders.⁴⁷ While the names are familiar to most historians of the Spanish North American frontier, these indigenous groups, bands, or nations as we might refer to them were numerous and require some explanation.

Beginning in the reverse order to that given above, the sedentary Indians of Texas were, without question, the most attractive indigenous culture to the Spaniards at first glance.⁴⁸ These groups, the Caddoan-speaking peoples, inhabited the woods and meadowlands of present-day eastern Texas and western Louisiana, with some related peoples living up to and beyond the Red River region in the current states of Arkansas and Oklahoma. Among these peoples the Spaniards approached the Hasinai Confederation in their first sustained encounters in Texas; this greater political entity was but one of three Caddo confederacies of the late seventeenth century, with the other two being the Kadohadacho and the Natchitoches confederacies. The peoples of the Confederation bands were settled groups living in well-developed native towns and *rancherias*, with ceremonial centers and distinctive political, economic, and kinship structures. Other peoples near the settled areas of the Hasinai in east and southeast Texas closer to the coast shared some of the horticultural traits of their neighbors, but combined these with hunting and some peregrinations for gathering. Among these peoples were the Ais, Bidais, Deodoses, and to the west, the Tonkawan bands. To the north of Texas was another semi-sedentary people related linguistically to the Caddos. The Wichita peoples

⁴⁷ Mardith K. Schuetz, "The Indians of the San Antonio Missions, 1718-1821" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1980), 40-102. Still useful for the grand view of indigenous cultures in Texas is William W. Newcomb, Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961).

⁴⁸ The most concise, recent summary of the tribes present in late seventeenth-century Texas is in Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance*, 1-32. I base this brief presentation on Smith and the other sources cited below.

who dwelled nearer the Red River due north of Spanish Texas had settled towns, flocks, some horticulture, and extensive trade relations among neighboring peoples; these groups included the Taovayas, Tawakonis, Kichais, Iscanis, and Guichitas. These groups represented the limit to any sort of settled cultures, with the confederated Hasinai taking the prize in Spanish eyes for being the most civilized of all the indigenous cultures in the region.⁴⁹

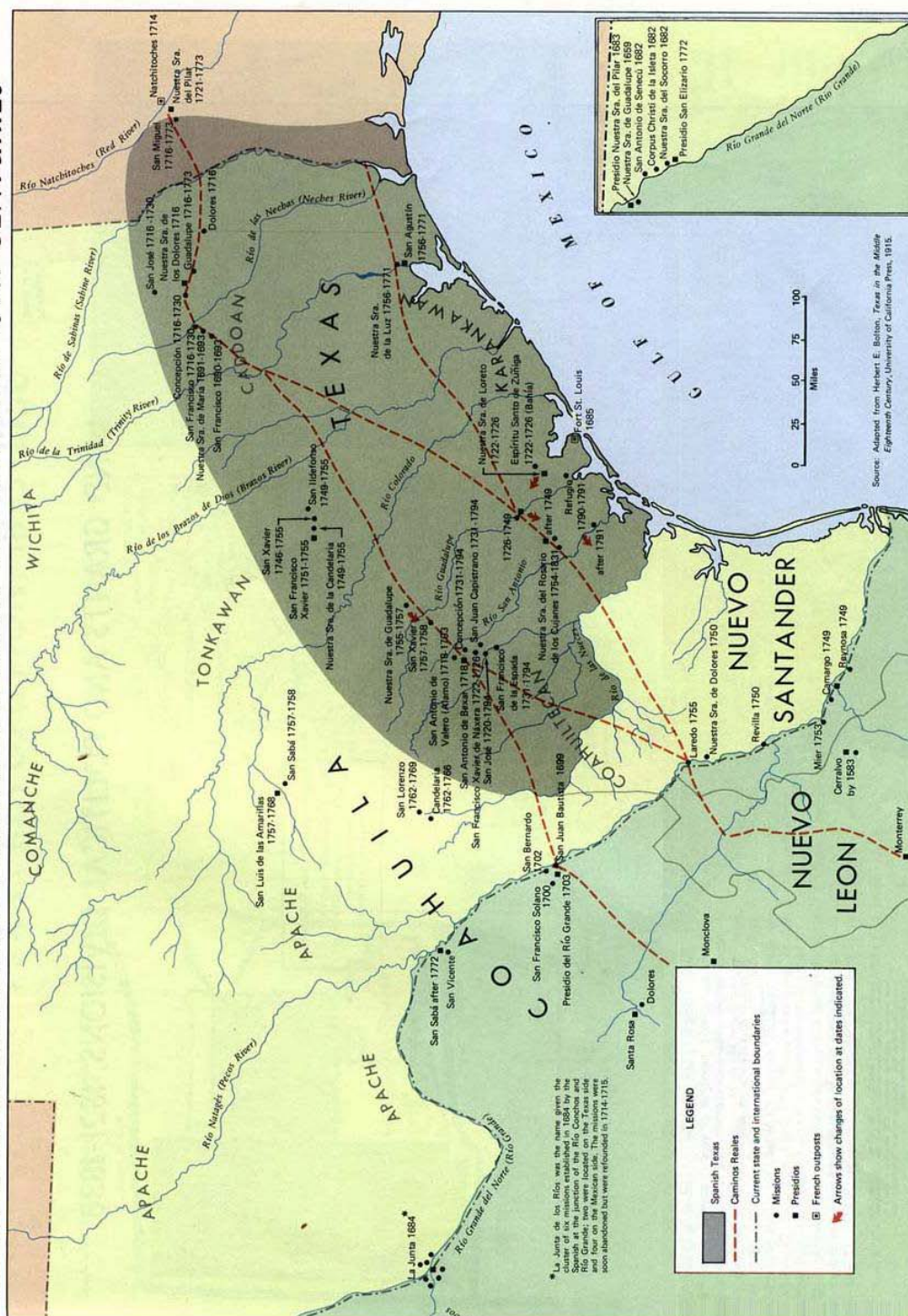
Towards the south-central and coastal regions of Texas lived an assortment of hunting and gathering peoples, of which some spoke variants of the Coahuiltecan dialects as well as other languages. These bands lived in impermanent settlements that moved with the cycles of limited fishing and gathering sources, with some interim small game hunting interspersed. Of the Indians the Spaniards encountered in Texas, these small bands, many of whom lived literally at the margins of survival as a people, were the source of most mission Indians during the long eighteenth century. They were also the cause of the missionaries' disgust at regular intervals and were the bands thought to be the most fickle, timid, and cowardly of all indigenes in the region. The friars also dreaded the smell of such persons especially those living on the coast such as the Karankawas, and feared their unpredictable manners.⁵⁰

At the opposite end of the cultural spectrum were nomadic bands and nations, whether entirely nomadic such as those groups whose use of the horse made their societies exceedingly mobile, or whether, like the Lipan Apaches, they gradually became

⁴⁹ Newcomb, *Indians of Texas*, 133-53; 225-329; T.N. Campbell, "Coahuiltecan and Their Neighbors," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 343-58.

⁵⁰ Newcomb, *Indians of Texas*, 29-81, and "Karankawas," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, 359-67; Campbell, "Coahuiltecan and Their Neighbors".

SPANISH MISSIONS, PRESIDIOS, AND ROADS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES



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so over the century of Spanish encroachment in the region. The Lipan, or eastern, Apaches were related to other Apaches Spaniards encountered in the north of New Spain, but they were uniquely attached to Texas as their recent homeland and thus were the special province of the Texas friars until later in the eighteenth century. When additional nomadic peoples appeared in the north and west of Texas, it was the Comanche who drove before them the hapless Lipans who had to choose proximity to their tentative allies, the Spaniards in Texas, or face moving deeper to the south into New Spain. The Comanche were not rigidly united but rather were a ranging, confederated people that had made themselves into an emerging imperial force since their forays south out of the Shoshonean heartlands in the Great Basin, through the southern Rockies, and onto the Great Plains in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Comanches and their allies, who included the Wichitas, Kiowas, and other “nations of the north”, as Great Plains bands appeared to the Spanish, quickly replaced the Lipan Apaches as the feared nomads in the Spaniards’ minds closer to the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵¹ As I will demonstrate in a later chapter, these nomadic peoples, especially the Kotsoteka Comanches of the Texas plains, were both the scourge of Spanish Texas and the Franciscans’ ultimate hope for successful, acculturating missions in that province. In an historic year, Texas and New Mexico’s provincial governors came to separate treaty terms with the Kotsoteka (eastern) and Yamparica (western) Comanches and their allies in 1785, ending the greatest period of instability in both regions’ Spanish periods.⁵²

⁵¹ Newcomb, *Indians of Texas*, 85-131, 155-221; Morris E. Opler, “The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10, 368-92; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 71-5.

⁵² Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance*, 32; John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men’s Worlds*, 655-96.

At the most basic level friars took a similar view of the native cultures as had friars and other missionaries in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries elsewhere in Spanish America. Franciscans ranked indigenous cultures on a sliding scale of relative barbarity when compared to the Spanish culture they knew. Like Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the Franciscans in Texas saw *bárbaros* everywhere: barbaric traits appeared among sedentary farmers in the east of the province, among the wandering gatherers of the Texas coastal regions, and among those organized “nations of the north” who herded and harassed the Lipan Apaches. Following the Jesuit José de Acosta’s ranking of barbarians by their forms of governance, these various groups fitted themselves within a range of barbarous versus civilized traits, a true scale of degrees, in which the friars could then process their perceptions of these very diverse, non-European peoples.⁵³

Robert Jackson observed that missionaries on the frontier of New Spain occupied a very different place than those who worked in the central regions of the viceroyalty in the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ Within the frontier missions of Texas, as elsewhere in the eighteenth century, Franciscans were responsible for the religious and civil education of

⁵³ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 17-21; José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), book 6, chapter 11, 345-47; see reference to Acosta by Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*, book V, chapter XI, 701. Sabine MacCormack assessed Acosta’s ordering of civilizations and the Indians of the Americas in both the *Natural and Moral History* (1590) as well as *De procuranda Indorum salute* (1577), agreeing with Pagden’s representation of Acosta’s thinking but taking the analysis into both texts to show that each was rather nuanced in the details Acosta provided to demonstrate just where indigenous Andean cultures fit within his ranking of world civilizations. See MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 261-80.

⁵⁴ Robert H. Jackson, “Introduction”, in *The New Latin American Mission History*, Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, eds. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. viii-iv.

Indians who were legally minors in the eyes of the crown.⁵⁵ Business affairs carried as much or more weight in each mission, with one or more of the friars committed to managing mission herds, supervising agriculture, purchasing supplies, and overseeing other work of mission Indians. Other duties enmeshed the friars in local politics, such as defending mission claims to territory and water, or performing parish duties among settlers and soldiers normally assumed by a secular priest in more developed areas.⁵⁶ Missionary priests also served as emissaries with exploration parties, operated local ecclesiastical courts, and represented the Church and the crown as another type of royal agent. In their missions, priests were teachers, disciplinarians, fiscal agents, doctors, and any number of other roles as circumstance required including that of *hacendado*, or estate manager, as shown above.⁵⁷

The focus of much historiography addressing early Texas was on the initial establishment of missions and presidios, and the Franciscans' failures among the Caddos and Apaches versus the relative stability of San Antonio's five missions. In Robert Weddle's view, the crushing events at San Saba in 1758 marked the decline of Spanish intentions for the missions in the province. Weddle argued convincingly that the missionaries and civil authorities alike shifted their focus from expansion of Spanish

⁵⁵ On the more traditional view of Franciscan education in New Spain, see Pious Joseph Barth, *Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945), and Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 207-235.

⁵⁶ For many examples of the involvement of the missionaries with local settlers, see Jesus F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

⁵⁷ My use of *hacendado* connotes the active role of friars in managing the estates that many of the missions grew to be, each with ranches and farms attached as communal property ruled over by the friars and their syndics when these were in residence.

civilization in the region to the defense what already existed.⁵⁸ For the missionaries this would have meant an end to the search for new missions among unconverted indigenous bands. Other historians, by their acceptance of the secularization attempts made for San Antonio missions in the 1770s, demonstrated their belief that missions declined in the latter half of the century and even more so after the departure of the Santa Cruz friars.⁵⁹

The problem with such a trend is that the remaining friars took note of lessons learned by the two colleges in the preceding decades and continued to promote the Texas missions until the closing of the Spanish colonial era in the early 1820s. The remaining missionaries were from the nearer college outside Zacatecas, which as an institution exhibited an abiding interest in the Texas missions into the 1790s and the early decades of the next century. The college kept records of the rigor with which it examined and approved candidates for the missions there and elsewhere among those it inherited from the Jesuits' departure in 1767-1768; that the college leadership remained engaged is without question.⁶⁰ Even the few cynics among the missionaries never disputed the intent and value of the missions, but rather they commented on the indigenous groups that were the program's focus. While the rhetoric among the missionaries remained

⁵⁸ Robert Weddle, *The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

⁵⁹ Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 194. Chipman does note the renewed emphasis on coastal missions, but regards the San Antonio missions as being in "their final throes" (201). Castañeda's earlier commentary contains the most extensive version of the argument (*Our Catholic Heritage*, vol. IV, *The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782*). Among the first to challenge this notion that secularization and the absence of the Santa Cruz friars meant the decline of the Texas missions in terms of the colleges' priorities was Benedict Leutenegger. See his endnote to the introduction of *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. José Rafael Oliva's Views concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788*, Documentary Series no. 2, trans. Benedict Leutenegger, ed. Marion A. Habig (San Antonio: Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1977), 10, n3, in which he distinguishes between the impact of full secularization of missions and the actual "partial" secularization he claims for four of the San Antonio missions.

⁶⁰ See Leutenegger and Habig, eds., *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas, 1716-1834: Excerpts from the Libros de los Decretos of the Missionary College at Zacatecas, 1707-182*, Office of the State Archeologist Reports, No. 23 (Austin: Texas Historical Survey Committee, 1973).

strongly purpose-oriented and focused, those few friars who broke with that rhetoric still echoed confidence in friars' missionary capabilities, noting that despite the lack of peoples receptive to Spanish Catholic belief and culture in Texas, there were missions that continued to do good work among the smaller bands which remained open to conversion.⁶¹

Thus the tenet of much Texas mission historiography that some kind of downscaling of effort occurred between 1758 and the early 1770s should be reconsidered. That the Santa Cruz friars justified their removal from the province in negative terms did not distract the overall rhetoric concerning Texas, for they required some basis on which to choose the northern, formerly-Jesuit missions in the Pimería over those they maintained in Texas. Such negative portrayals of the Texas missions and the regions' Indians were short-lived and appeared only after it became clear that the Santa Cruz friars were needed elsewhere. Also, the occasional reference to futility by a particular friar was instead a result of immediate personal circumstances, for overall the tone of both formal and informal communications for the period remained consistent and positive in terms of expecting results from the work to be had in Texas. Certainly the tone carried by the rank and file, the fathers president and their fellow missionaries, among the Guadalupe friars was at times optimistic considering the feeble results of their recent activities. This viewpoint appears in the later records of Guadalupe college post-1770, and illustrates the actual accommodations and moods prevalent in the later period.

⁶¹ Fray Juan Bautista Larrondo to the dean and chapter of the metropolitan cathedral of Mexico, *sede vacante*, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, August 22, 1800, BNFF, vol. 67, f. 155.

The adjustments made by the Texas missionaries illustrate the extent of their grasp of the realities in the province. Once the Caddos rebuffed the Spaniards, the Lipan Apaches made clear their refusal to settle in missions, and the northern nations increasingly made their hostile presence known in the 1750s, the friars instead turned their focus to their existing missions among the smaller bands in the San Antonio missions.⁶² They also pursued the stabilization, and later, the growth of existing coastal missions for Karankawas, Cocos, and other groups. Interim success rewarded attempts to reach the Orcoquizas (or Arkokisas) and Bidais, and a new mission, Nuestra Señora del Refugio, opened in 1793.⁶³ Even beyond the foundation at Refugio and the clear failure at El Orcoquisac/La Luz, new missions were on the minds of certain friars into the early nineteenth century. Also at work was the realization that new migration of Anglo Americans into east Texas began to strain the role of the missionary who was intended for the Indians and some care of the Hispanic settlement when required. The intrusion of Anglos (and some Irish) into the region demanded additional accommodations by friars stationed in the 1810s in the San Antonio missions and at Nacogdoches.⁶⁴

The friars' tone conveyed their consistent approach to renewing their calling and attending to the unconverted in areas where they felt they could make new conversions. Often this consistency of tone appeared in the regular practice of missionary labor. The

⁶² Following Schuetz, "Indians of San Antonio Missions", 48-57, the larger groups (though still small) of Indians in the San Antonio missions included Pamaque, Payaya, Pajalat, Sana, Xarame, Moruame, Pamaya, Mesquite, Mayeye, Hierbipiamo, Coco, Karankawa, Tacame, Aguastaya, Borrado, Pastías, and Sayopine peoples. Note that some of these derived from recent coastal homelands, such as the Cocos and Karakawas of the near Gulf coast.

⁶³ Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 153, 165, 180; William E. Dunn, "The Founding of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the Last Spanish Mission in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 25:3 (Jan. 1922), 174-84; William H. Oberste, *History of Refugio Mission* (Refugio, Texas: Refugio Timely Remarks, 1942).

⁶⁴ Fray Francisco Frejes to the Holy Office, San Fernando de Bexar (San Antonio), 1818, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Inquisición, vol. 1421, exp. 30, ff. 212-213; fray José María de Huerta and fray Mariano Sosa's reports on foreigners at Nacogdoches, May 3-4, 1810, BA 2S99.

Zacatecas friars' governing council commented routinely in its decrees of the college's commitment to the missions and expressed regret whenever missions were shuttered. Likewise, the governing friars expressed joy at the inauguration of new missionaries whenever that occurred, and noted it accordingly, as in the case of the "very competent" missionaries Fr. Mariano Rojo and Fr. José María García in September 1782.⁶⁵ That the San Antonio missions continued to be a focal point for the college was made apparent by the continual base of the father president in San José mission or alternating between San Juan Capistrano and Concepción missions. While the mission populations depended largely on the political and economic issues of the period, there was a continual presence of both neophytes and missionaries in the region to the end of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.⁶⁶

Structure of the Dissertation

The first issue addressed in this study is that of the social origins, training, and spiritual formation of friars in the elite Franciscan Propaganda Fide colleges. Beginning with the second chapter, I examine the limited sources that illuminate social backgrounds of specific friars using the colleges' personnel investigations, the *informaciones de limpieza de sangre, linaje, vida y costumbres*, as well as rosters, decrees, travel records, and death records to assess the social contexts from which friars came to collegiate missionary vocations. In addition, the chapter looks at the intellectual and spiritual formation of friars by considering the training they received as priests either prior to

⁶⁵ Entry for October 31, 1768 concerning the suggested closing of four missions in east Texas, *Libros de los Decretos*, vol I, 116r, in Leutenegger, ed., *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*, 12; Entry for September 5, 1782, Ibid, vol. II, 69v, 39-40.

⁶⁶ Yet one example is the rather placid portrayal of typical relations between the San Antonio-based friars and their mission Indians in fray Francisco Frejes' report of January 1, 1818, BA, 2S123.

joining a missionary college or within the college itself as novices and choristers. This training was supplemented, as David Rex Galindo recently described, by a set schedule of *conferencias* in which all members of the apostolic colleges met to debate theological topics and to learn indigenous languages in a forum defined by their founding documents.⁶⁷ I also consider the influence of the texts the colleges maintained for friars' uses in their libraries, as well as the personal books friars took with them and held in small mission libraries. Sufficient evidence exists to consider such influences in the writings of numerous friars over the period. I compared the citations contained within these documents to extant inventories which list books that were available to the missionaries over the period of this study.

The next chapter takes up the issue of friars' expectations of ministries once they completed their training and left for missions beyond the apostolic college. The chapter asks some basic questions as to what friars expected of themselves, the state, and the mission field once they went forward to the frontier. How did they perceive their role, their privileges, and their daily lifestyle once in a mission in Texas, and how did they express such ideas? The result of this exercise in expectation setting, whether unwitting or intentional, was a lasting rhetoric of purpose from the 1690s to the end of the missions in the early 1830s. Friars both sustained this rhetoric and were sustained by it in regards to their work in the Texas missions. Such a level of consistent rhetorical description of intentionality was, I argue, unique to Texas; the friars neither left off their rhetoric in

⁶⁷ Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 207-221. I use the term institute in the manner of the friars themselves, who, like other early modern missionaries, considered their canonical tasking to be a unique institute among the Franciscan family and within the greater Church in the Atlantic world for that matter. The term recurs within friars' writings in the late seventeenth century and throughout the rest of the mission era in Texas.

times of missions' hardships or decline, nor did they allow their phrasing to reach higher pitches in terms of its tone.⁶⁸ Rather, with the exception of some aberrations that may be explained, the friars in Texas and those supporting them in the college-seminaries maintained equilibrium and consistency in their descriptions of purpose and method in that mission field. One potential reason for this consistency was a basic understanding that the work in Texas was something akin to a mission laboratory given the uncertainty of the native populations' reception of Spanish Catholicism and culture. Such ideas will be taken up in the conclusion of the study and at other points within the chapters that follow.

In the succeeding chapters the direction changes to an examination of the lived experiences of Texas missionaries. The next chapters move beyond the ideation of the friars prior to their departure for missions and bring the reader into their daily individual and group experiences as missionaries on a volatile frontier filled with peoples as diverse as any mission field known to Spanish friars in the colonial era. In the fourth chapter I address Franciscan conceptions of Indians and indigenous cultures within the context of the friars' interactions with different groups of natives.⁶⁹ Early missionaries and intellectuals in Spanish America in prior centuries recognized a basic ranking of barbarism versus civilized traits among persons different from Europeans. The Texas missionaries improved upon these simple definitions to develop something like a sliding

⁶⁸ I have been guided in this effort by the pioneering work of an accomplished cultural historian, John W. O'Malley, S.J., whose work involved the definition of the early Jesuits' "way of proceeding" from the writing of the founding generation of the Society of Jesus. See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*.

⁶⁹ My approach to the interpretation of friars' perceptions of Indians (as Europeans observing indigenous Americans) has been influenced in this study by the work of several notable scholars of the early Americas. Among these I include James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, and *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*; Greer, *Mohawk Saint*; and Weber, *Bárbaros*.

scale of barbarism. Unlike the sedentary peoples of central New Spain where the Mexica, Otomí, Tarascan, Tlaxcalan, Cholullan, and other peoples reflected organized civilizing patterns that Spaniards could recognize, the majority of the Indians of Texas aside from the Caddoan Hasinai Confederacy appeared to friars as barbaric and lacking the essential organizing principles necessary for human society. On this central theme the friars' built their views of Indians in the province that led to a perpetual conception of the indigenes as neophytes. That conception took further the then-traditional stance in New Spain of continual Franciscan supervision of indigenous proto-parishes (*conversiones*).⁷⁰ Friar missionaries in Texas developed a ranking of peoples and bands in that province that bolstered their tendency to categorize peoples beyond levels seen before in other parts of New Spain.

The fifth chapter takes up the missionaries' lived experience in Texas as it related to other Spaniards (governors, military rank and file, and settlers) and the physical environment presented in the missions over an area of significant geographical diversity. As chapter three explains, friars expected cooperation from representatives of the colonial state in the execution of mission strategies in Texas, and from the beginning all parties recognized the goals expressed in that cooperative agreement. The reality experienced year over year by friars in Texas missions was somewhat different in the application of that cooperative enterprise, and at many points the basic understandings of symbiosis and

⁷⁰ In the Texas documents and those of other Propaganda Fide missionary endeavors in the eighteenth century, friars used the term *conversiones*, not *doctrinas*, to describe their missions. The change in term by this point in the colonial era points to the mission as a place of conversion efforts that might lead to a town of Christian Indians at the site, but that might also perpetually function in that role, or simply function longer than a doctrina of the model of those in the sixteenth century. Doctrinas were the subject of efforts to secularize Franciscan and other mendicant Indian missions in the second half of the sixteenth century and ever afterwards as the diocesan authorities found opportunities to do so.

partnership broke down completely. I consider the Franciscan side of that relationship anew in this chapter by holding interactions to the light of friars' expectations and preparation for the missionary labors that were theirs. Military leaders, governors, and common folk brought forth reactions from friars that serve as clear indicators as to when the missionaries perceived their own expectations to be met in the cooperative mission enterprise, and when they were not. Settlers were another matter entirely especially when one reviews the tensions between the Canary Islanders brought in by the crown in 1731 to augment the development of civilian communities, or *villas*, of Spaniards in Texas. The friars had much to say about their relations with settlers, and these relationships influenced the ways friars viewed missions in the region.

The second part of the fifth chapter provides a discussion of the reactions friars had to the physical environment they found in their missionary homes in Texas. Friars exhibited both positive and negative responses to the physical conditions of their missions and the lands inhabited by differing indigenous bands. From viewing Texas as a virtual paradise to an insect-infested territory filled with hostile natives, friars expressed a range of reactions to their physical environment. Their reactions were anything but uniform. That such expressions were varied challenges any notion of universal responses among a religious order known for its members' eclectic interactions with its institute. In addition, the human responses to their work in Texas showed that these Franciscans were of similar mettle to that of other friar-missionaries elsewhere in the New World during the Spanish colonial era.

The overall trajectory of this study is comprised of an arc. First, I seek to reconstruct the ideals of missionary friars to Texas in light of their backgrounds,

intellectual training, spiritual formation, and expectations of the missions in which they were to work. Second, I address friars' views of actual indigenes in Texas, as well as how friars related to non-Indians around them and the physical environment they inhabited. The latter part adheres to the notion of lived religion, or better put, the lived experience of the friars' lives while on mission to the native peoples in the province. To reflect on these findings I compare the Texas experience to other Spanish American missionary endeavors both before and after the missions that are the subject of the study. My findings explain early Texas as a missionary laboratory that, given its extremely diverse indigenous populations, was a place where late colonial friars could learn and apply hard lessons from Franciscan evangelization methods based on a missiology that reflected the charisma and spirituality of its foundations.⁷¹

⁷¹ I thank Jack Clark Robinson, OFM, for his astute comments on my paper and those of my fellow session panelists at the meeting of the American Historical Association in January 2012. Fr. Robinson rightly noted that the core missiology of Observant Franciscans is, and always has been, their fundamental spirituality as expressed in the Order's earliest writings by Francis of Assisi and his close contemporaries.

Chapter 2

Social Origins, Formation, and Intellectual Influences

The Franciscans of the historic Texas missions often appear typecast within one of two loosely organized caricatures, neither of which adequately accounts for the formation of the missionaries as Propaganda Fide friars nor their particular missiology in Texas. In many presentations the men appear as hollow caricatures of early modern Catholic priests, bigoted in terms of other cultures and able to see nothing but the world defined by their national culture, race, gender, and religion.¹ As with most stereotypes there were instances in which that caricature fit, but in general such a portrayal misses the distinct personalities of the friars. In the more thorough histories of early Texas, individual friars stand in for the acclaimed missionary-holy man of early modern Catholicism in the New World, informed by two centuries of conquest, political and spiritual, in New Spain and its hinterlands.² That second caricature is still more static than it should be in a historiography that aims to discover the indigenous voices in the

¹ To a certain extent this was true of Bolton and his group of students, though they most likely would have claimed some affinity to the friars. Bolton and those he influenced viewed missionary Spanish priests as intellectually astute and yet other, or foreign, men from another age. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915); John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier 1513-1821* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1970). Bannon, a Jesuit, was sympathetic to fellow priests of another era and nationality but retained a guarded view of Spanish Catholicism versus the modern expression of Roman Catholic culture. More stereotypical versions of friars may be found in popular histories written during the twentieth century. See James Wakefield Burke, *Missions of Old Texas* (Cranbury, NJ, 1971); Walter F. McCaleb, *Spanish Missions of Texas* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1961).

² The primary contributor to the friar as holy man caricature was Marion A. Habig, a Franciscan and well-known academic author. See *The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Missions* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968). The image of the friar as holy man captured by Robert Ricard lives on in subsequent studies; see Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Lesley Bird Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); and Edwin Sylvest, *Motifs of Franciscan Missionary Theory in New Spain* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975). In general, sympathetic studies of Franciscans in the borderlands have offered some degree of this conception of the friar as holy man. Also, both the National Park Service's Web site for the San Antonio Missions National Historic Park (<http://www.nps.gov/saan/index.htm>) and the interpretive materials at the mission sites in San Antonio fall in line with this portrayal of the friars.

Spanish missions and Indian settlements in the province, let alone to describe accurately the supposedly dominant European priests. Thus the caricatures passed on since the detailed narrative of Carlos E. Castañeda merely expanded the use of his typical friar or reacted strongly to that interpretation with a negative image of the missionaries.³ The goal of this chapter is to set aside both tropes by revealing more depth in the persons and formation of the men who staffed Texas missions from the 1690s to 1830. It does so by examining elements of their formation and backgrounds, and how these contributed to their missiology.

To provide a measured view of eighteenth-century Propaganda Fide friars this chapter will look at various attributes of the development of these particular missionaries. First, it examines a sampling of the diverse backgrounds of the friars in the Zacatecas and Querétaro colleges to answer that baseline question asked of all historical actors: from where did they come and what was their family background? Next, the discussion shifts to the training and formation of friars both before their acceptance into the apostolic college-seminaries and after that event, keeping in mind that both novices and mature friars sought admission to these institutions. Under the rubric of training this discussion will consider the academic and linguistic preparation required of all members of the colleges; the analysis of formation will consider the spiritual preparation of friars destined for missions (both in nearby parishes and at the frontier) as both Catholic priests

³ While Castañeda interpreted his history within the framework of the Bolton school of presidio-and-mission institutional narratives, his seven-volume study of Catholic history in Texas contains the most detailed accounting of the missionaries' personalities and actions of any historian down to the present. See *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, 7 vol., (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936-1950), especially the first five volumes. On Castañeda's approach, see Félix D. Almaráz, Jr., "The Making of a Boltonian: Carlos E. Castañeda of Texas—The Early Years," *Red River Valley Historical Review* 1:4 (Winter 1974), 329-50.

and as members of a particular branch of the Franciscan family in the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries.⁴ It is also important to understand contemporary Franciscan intellectual trends and those that might have influenced friars in formation. For this I discuss the college libraries' collections, examine their usage, and analyze briefly some of the texts utilized by missionaries. Finally, in preparation for the chapter that follows, the discussion ends by considering friars' conceptions of their own spirituality and Franciscan vocations as members of elite missionary colleges.

Some useful grounding for the legacy of Franciscan formation in New Spain and Iberia may be found in studies of the sixteenth century missionary acts of the order in central Mexico. Scholarship in recent decades determined that the sixteenth century was a period in which complex understandings of missionary theory developed among the friars which acknowledged the linguistic and other cultural barriers to the Christianization of native peoples in the central Mexican highlands, Yucatan, and Oaxaca. In terms of language, Louise Burkhart and James Lockhart have argued that among the Nahuatl speakers of central Mexico, translations of concepts such as sin and deity failed to overcome the paradigmatic gulf separating the worldviews of Spaniards and indigenous Mexican peoples.⁵ Although they were accomplished within the bounds of accepted practices, such conversions as were seen on massive scales by Mexicas, Tarascans, Mixtecs, Tlaxcalans, and other peoples nearer Mexico City-Tenochtitlán were

⁴ From their earliest days the purpose of the apostolic colleges was two-fold: first, the friars were to perform missions to the faithful in the settled regions of New Spain, and second, they were to advance the frontier of the colonies by converting the so-called *bárbaros* beyond areas of Spanish control. See Félix Saiz Diez, *Los colegios de Propaganda Fide en Hispanoamérica*, Second edition (Lima, 1992).

⁵ Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

potentially flawed when considered against the bases on which the indigenous Catholics' beliefs rested. Likewise, the linguistic barrier was not overcome entirely either by pictorial or dramaturgical representations of the tenets of Christian faith and practice. Jaime Lara has pointed to the uses of architecture and dramatic representations of Catholic teaching as more effective initially than spoken transmissions (preaching and catechism by voice) though still limited by cultural paradigms.⁶ Extant recorded sermons in early Nahua translations reveal similar barriers and ways in which friars sought to cross the chasm, as it were, to the Nahua concepts that would communicate adequately the friars' beliefs.⁷

Understandings held by late sixteenth century Franciscan writers such as Jerónimo Mendieta passed down to later Franciscans.⁸ The presence of these texts and many of the early sermons in libraries and in-text citations by Propaganda Fide friars connects the sixteenth century Franciscan missiology with that which developed during the renewal of missionary fervor in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The rich history of the Franciscans persisted on at least two levels for later friars, and especially so for the collegiate missionaries who avidly read of their legacy in New Spain. On the surface, evidence of the success of the order was all around in the form of

⁶ As noted in Chapter 1, Lara's research documents the many missed concepts between the friars and their Indian parishioners, as well as places where such understandings were communicated back to and appropriated by the friars (atrial crosses, for example). Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

⁷ See fine examples of these early Nahua sermons in Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature* (Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2001).

⁸ John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970); Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520-1569*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1995).

friaries and active Indian parishes (*doctrinas*) at least until those were curtailed, as explained in Chapter 1, following decrees ordering the resumption of doctrina secularizations in the late 1740s. At a deeper level, and certainly one felt in the formative efforts in the apostolic colleges, was an acknowledgement of failure in sixteenth century doctrinas where Spaniards' religious concepts simply did not pass over to the Indians. Such knowledge informed the efforts of the Propaganda Fide missionaries to develop and implement more effective methods, and to enable a missiology rooted in the past spirituality of Franciscans in New Spain but cognizant of the shortcomings of the order in that period. Even with this type of foresight, the friars ultimately were trained instead as missionaries to the faithful (the descendants of the partially converted sixteenth century indigenous host) and failed to adequately craft the necessary missiology to meet the demands of the northern frontier in regions such as Texas.

Friars' Backgrounds: Social and Geographical Origins

The first consideration in reviewing the social and geographical origins of the Texas missionaries is that all of the men were subject at some point in time to the initial rite of passage for all who desired to be Franciscans, the *información de limpieza de sangre* (background investigation into one's lineage), or simply the *información*.⁹ This process was a result of the long history of the mixing of lineages in Iberian kingdoms over the period of the *Reconquista*, or reconquest, from the Christian perspective, of Iberian domains from the Islamic holders of those lands dating back to the Moorish conquest of 711 CE. As the descendants of Visigothic converts to Roman Catholicism,

⁹ See Albert A. Sicoff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, translated by Mauro Armijo (Madrid: Taurus, 1985).

Iberian Christians during the seven centuries of the Reconquista developed ideas of their own nobility and thus their right to rule all institutions, including the Church, at the expense of persons converted to Catholicism in recent generations. These latter persons, the so-called New Christians, were descendants of *conversos*, persons converted either forcefully or voluntarily at specific moments in late medieval Castilian history. The Old Christians sought to retain the upper hand in any select group within society; as the reconquest of Iberian lands from their Muslim holders progressed in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, religious orders adopted the notion of *limpieza de sangre* to exclude persons with any Jewish, Muslim, or Romany blood, however far removed from the actual date of examination.¹⁰ Franciscans adopted this practice and used it during the period of Franciscan missions to the New World.¹¹

The exclusionary practice the informaciones facilitated continued unabated through the first two centuries of New Spain's history, and it expanded to close off religious vocations also for *castas*, persons of mixed ancestry within the colony, and the large number of indigenous peoples as well. Elite Franciscan colleges *de Propaganda Fide* honored the purity customs of the Church in New Spain, and they did so with the backing of the Mexican provincial church councils of the sixteenth century and Franciscan practices as those took form in the seventeenth century. While occasional dispensations could be obtained through influence or proper donations to the order, in

¹⁰ J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 220-24; Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spanish Society 1400-1600* (London: Longman, 2001), 68-70.

¹¹ Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth Century Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), 9-19.

general no persons lacking a clean información could join the colleges, let alone the novitiates of the order's provinces in New Spain.¹²

While the informaciones were part of the long history of the Hispanic branch of the order, Franciscans of the Propaganda Fide colleges paid special attention to these ecclesiastical-juridical proceedings that formed a foundational level of honor attached to any man admitted to the college and the habit of St. Francis therein. Several documents instructed the friars on the right methods for the *proceso* (or *auto*) that began with the request for information about the applicant. Of these sources, the *Directorio para informaciones de los pretendientes* by fray José de Castro in 1737 best represents the guides available to the college on the right conduct of informaciones. That manual's prologue captures the essence of the operation, noting that the primary importance was to recognize "three grades of blood: royal blood, bloodlines descended from princes, and blood that while it is not associated with any title, is clean and without stain." Religious houses and the Church, he stated, were to be "content ... with pure blood, even though it may be of the third grade." And while the Church was ultimately protected by Christ, the limpieza of an aspirant's bloodline "is the foundation on which Religion assures the most glorious actions of her sons."¹³

Fray Castro's text proceeds to list the primary attributes required for that "perfect información". The aspiring Franciscan novices must be good men in good health with no

¹² Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 129-130; Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background*, 19, 34-7; J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 171.

¹³ Fray José de Castro, *Directorio para informaciones de los pretendientes de el santo habito de N. seraphico P.S. Francisco, en que hallaran los padres comissarios de ellas todo lo necessario para una perfecta información: y los padres discretos todo lo que conduce, para calificarlas con acierto. Dispuesto de orden, y mandato de N.M.R.P. Fr. Pedro Navarrete* (Mexico: Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno, y del Nuevo Rezado, M. de Ribera, 1737), prologue.

noticeable deformities. The physical requirement concurs with standards of the day which required men to be as the sacramental sheep of the Mosaic law, that is, with no scars or blemishes, and thus ready to offer the sacrifice of the mass for the faithful. Also, such men should be wise and trained already in grammar, rhetoric, and logic prior to applying for entry as choristers, the college's trainees for the priesthood.¹⁴ One may assume that lay brothers were not held to such high educational standards, though their piety and relative health was subject to the normal requirements for all friars. The central theme of the book appears, however, after this recitation of requirements spelled out clearly in other documents and known to all. No less than eight pages provide clearly enunciated rubrics for conducting the *informaciones*; this includes formats for the documentation down to such details as who was to sign in what place in the document, and when it was appropriate for that signature to be entered into the record by the participant.¹⁵ Both forms of the *informaciones* were addressed, both the public testimony and the private; the latter were secret inquiries that preceded the public questioning of witnesses.

Such clear instructions for completing the *informaciones* certainly had some effect on the manner in which the *autos* were pursued, if considered against the extant records for the background investigations of multiple friars from the Santa Cruz college. My own research has borne out the conclusions of David Rex Galindo's recent study that analyzed, among other records, the bulk of the *autos de información de limpieza de*

¹⁴ Castro, *Directorio*, prologue.

¹⁵ Castro, *Directorio*, 35-43.

sangre in the college's surviving archive.¹⁶ While Galindo's intent was to analyze the backgrounds of the members of the college overall, my review was limited to just the identifiable missionaries in Texas. Only sixteen of the extant informaciones match known Texas missionaries and these exhibit some of the larger trends of the Santa Cruz college that Galindo observed to apply to the informaciones overall. These trends include the blend of local vocations from within New Spain by *criollos*, or men of Spanish lineage born in the Americas, tempered by immigration from various points in the greater Spains, including Andalusia, Castile (especially Burgos), Catalonia, and Mallorca by men known in the colonial milieu as *peninsulares* or pejoratively as *gachupines*.

On the matter of format and execution of the informaciones, two records illustrate the care for detail and proper protocol observed by the apostolic colleges. As Galindo observed, the actual number of questions might change somewhat over the years, but generally the autos followed the patterns laid out in guides such as that above.¹⁷ For the Texas missionaries from Santa Cruz, the first of the two complete examples of the *auto* was that performed for the admission of fray Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza, a *criollo natural* from Querétaro and son of criollo parents, in 1722 for entry as a chorister. The notary, fray Francisco Calderón, listed eleven questions that fit the normal pattern established by Castro's document fifteen years later.¹⁸ The second record that

¹⁶ David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010), 101-111. Galindo introduces concepts from Castro's *Directorio* that complement my presentation here.

¹⁷ Galindo, "Propaganda Fide"; see p. 107 for a sample of questions from 1756.

¹⁸ *Auto de información de Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 42.

The questions asked of the witnesses in the public testimonies, in the order documented, were

1. Whether the witness knew the aspirant and his family, including parents and grandparents?
2. Whether the aspirant was the legitimate son of his parents?

demonstrates the thorough, repeated processes utilized for informaciones is the *auto* performed for a lay brother, fray Bartolomé García de Quevedo, admitted in April 1759 to the Santa Cruz college.¹⁹ Fray Bartolomé was an immigrant from the region of Santander in the archdiocese of Burgos, and was one of many such immigrants from that region to come to the apostolic colleges in the Americas. In addition to an appended document, the friar's 1728 baptismal certificate signed by the Premonstratensian priest in his native parish, the *auto* includes twelve questions directed to witnesses in Mexico City by Fernandino friars assigned the task of reviewing fray Bartolomé's past.²⁰ The extension of the format broke apart different questions during the interviews of witnesses, such as questions concerning potential marital entanglements and debts, or questions concerning the aspirant's conduct apart from pending legal actions against him.

The significance for both documents is the similarity and relative uniformity observed in each. Both adhere to the rest of the documentary patterns for Texas friars'

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3. Whether the said aspirant and his parentage are of good lineage, faithful Catholics, and not descended from Indians, converted Moors or heretics (although remote), or descended from any *Gentiles modernos* [penitenced Christians]?
 4. Whether the parents, grandparents, or the aspirant were involved in any public infamy?
 5. Whether the ancestors of the aspirant were Spanish, or instead descended from mulattos, mestizos, coyotes, lobos, or some other racial mixture?
 6. Whether the aspirant or his family had been punished by the Holy Office?
 7. Whether the aspirant or his family had worked in degraded or base vocations?
 8. Whether the aspirant's parents or siblings were able to pass their lives honestly [by their own means] and without the assistance of the aspirant?
 9. Whether the aspirant's conduct was appropriate, and whether he had been suspected or convicted of any crime, such as homicide, etc., or condemned by juridical process?
 10. Whether the aspirant was free of marital vows and from debts, and if any such existed, what were the amounts and why? [Whether the aspirant was free from such molestations to pursue to religious life?]
 11. Whether the witness(es) were cognizant of the law, and if they were family, friends, debtors, or enemies of the aspirant?

¹⁹ *Auto de información de Bartolomé García de Quevedo*, ACQ, P, Legajo 8, no. 111.

²⁰ When witnesses were to be found in locations where there was another apostolic college, officials often requested that the local friars pursue those witnesses and conduct the secret and public inquiries there on behalf of the initiating college. In this case the Fernandinos were members of the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando de México, originally a hospice just outside the city that became a full college in the 1730s and sent its members on missions to the Californias, among other places, later in the century.

informaciones found in the Santa Cruz archive to the end of the eighteenth century.

These documents included identical requests for detailed information and commentary on the conduct and history of the aspirant and his family.²¹ Other aberrations in the relatively small number of Texas missionaries' *informaciones* include the same variation in the number of witnesses Galindo also noted in his sample of documents, where the minimum of three witnesses was sometimes exceeded to include sometimes four or five persons for a particular family. Also, the commissioner of the *información* was free to dispense with the requirement in part; Galindo's finding that "most of the peninsular candidates benefited from this exception" agrees with my own review of the documents.²²

Friars from Santa Cruz college for whom background information exists tended to hail from the higher levels of New Spain's society if the men were criollos, while friars of Iberian origin were of differing social orders. Several of the criollo friars were sons or grandsons of *alcaldes ordinarios*, the local magistrates of small towns and cities such as San Luis Potosí. One was the son of a former *alferez*, a commissioned military officer, from Castile. Another criollo was the son of ranking servants of the Marquesa de Salvatierra, which indicated high social placement given that the aspirant's other relatives

²¹ Some variation in the numbering of questions exists in the archived documents, but no cases where the *autos* were performed yields a lack of such questioning or the canonical number of witnesses (three for each side of the aspirant's family). See as examples the *autos* for Pedro Martín de Isasi Isasmendi in 1722-1723, ACQ, P, Legajo 4, no. 52, and Diego Martín García in 1733, ACQ, P, Legajo 6, no. 74.

²² Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 108. One *información* contained only two witnesses, but apparently was only part of the record reviewed by the college's governing council for admitting the candidate, the aforementioned Diego Martín García. In the case of several of the immigrant friars, the records mention other documents not included in what remains in the archives. That, and the absence of many documents noted in late eighteenth-century archive inventories and others simply not included leads to the conclusion that any complete sampling of the *autos de información* is impossible. Canedo found the same in his research in the mid twentieth century; see his introduction, p. xxxii, to Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, 2nd ed., Lino G. Canedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964).

were the vicar of Salvatierra and an uncle who was a cathedral canon at Valladolid. As was the case with provincial aspirants' informaciones, those men with a high incidence of brothers, cousins, and uncles in religious orders or diocesan curates appear to have been welcomed quickly into the apostolic colleges. Don Francisco Martínez de Viana, who became the well-documented fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana in the Texas missions, counted multiple regular priests and one diocesan pastor on his mother's side of the family. Among those criollo friars whose provenance was rural, the men mainly were sons of well-to-do stock raisers and farmers.²³

Peninsular Spaniards who joined the Santa Cruz college and later went to Texas were typically either the sons of comfortable peasant land owners or middling noble or higher class families. Most listed their parents as either *labradores* (see below) or *vecinos* (citizens of a municipality). Either designation meant some tie to landed status either in the Spanish countryside or towns and cities, but the documents rarely provide more detail. Based on other studies of mid colonial Franciscan origins, one may conclude that such vecino families which produced the Texas friars were better off than the meaner sorts of peasants and small holders.²⁴ A number of recurring references to nobility exist in both the informaciones for Santa Cruz and the record books, discussed below, of Guadalupe college. This data reveals that in the later colonial era friaries continued to be a place to deposit younger, noble sons. Also, it appears that the colleges'

²³ *Auto de información de José González de Alcozer y Baena*, ACQ, P, Legajo 2, no. 25; *Auto de información de Nicolás Joseph de Sandí*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 33; *Auto de información de Juan Aparicio Armas*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 34; *Auto de información de Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 42; *Auto de información de Juan Diego de Hernández y Teran*, ACQ, P, Legajo 4, no. 45; *Auto de información de Francisco Martínez de Viana*, ACQ, P, Legajo 5, no. 63.

²⁴ Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and Social Backgrounds of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth Century Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973).

elite status within the Franciscan order meant that such places were attractive to noble offspring immigrating to New Spain.²⁵

One modern trope concerning the Texas missionaries considers the two main contributing colleges to be split evenly between one dominated entirely by peninsulars (Santa Cruz de Querétaro) and one locally staffed as a *criollo* college (Guadalupe de Zacatecas).²⁶ To the extent this may have been true in the respective politics of the colleges over the long eighteenth century, it was not so for the sons of each college sent to the missions in Texas.²⁷ Even the small sampling of *informaciones* for Texas friars from Santa Cruz shows a relatively even mix of *criollos* and *peninsulares*. Of the sixteen clearly identified as eventual missionaries in the extant *informaciones*, seven friars' origins were in Spain and eight were natives of New Spain. Also, there is no clear distinction in class or status for some of the men in the sample. For example, both groups provide sons of *labradores*, a term that was as an ambiguous a classification in the

²⁵ *Auto de información de Pedro Muñoz Manzano*, ACQ, P, Legajo 1, no. 1; *Auto de información de Esteban Saez Monje*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 36; *Auto de información de Pedro Martín de Isasi Isasmendi*, ACQ, P, Legajo 4, no. 52; *Auto de información de Manuel de Ortuño y Velasco*, ACQ, P, Legajo 4, no. 53; *Auto de información de Diego Martín García*, ACQ, P, Legajo 6, no. 74; *Auto de información de Andrés de Santiesteban*, ACQ, P, Legajo 8, no. 106; *Auto de información de Bartolomé García de Quevedo*, ACQ, P, Legajo 8, no. 111. The latter and some of the earlier listed *informaciones* represent a Burgos invasion of friars to Santa Cruz. Zacatecan friars exhibited similar bursts of immigration from the Crown of Aragon over the course of the eighteenth century, n. 29 below.

²⁶ D.A. Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 36-37; Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 113-24; Marion A. Habig, introduction to Benedict Leutenegger, ed., *The Texas Missions of the College of Zacatecas in 1749-1750: Report of Fr. Ignacio Antonio Ciprián, 1749, and Memorial of the College to the King, 1750* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1979), 10.

²⁷ The strongest evidence for the *criollo* dominance asserted for college at Guadalupe de Zacatecas is the collection of rosters for the college from the late 1780s to the early nineteenth century. In these, clearly the college was dominated for decades by *criollos*, for many reasons including the decision or lack thereof to send for missions to Spain to replenish the colleges' personnel. But for some of these years the peninsular priests worked mainly in the missions, not in the college: in both 1799 and 1804 two thirds of the European-born priests associated with the college in those years worked in the missions, mainly in Texas but also in the Tarahumara. List of members of the College, 1789, OSMHRL, ACZ 13: 1673-1678; List of members of the College, 1799, OSMHRL, ACZ 13: 1683-1688; List of members of the College with age and years of service and current assignments, 1804, ACZ 13: 1601-1603.

eighteenth century as it had been during the late medieval and early modern centuries in Spain.²⁸ Thus, it cannot be known with certainty of what status were the parents of Esteban Saez Monje, a *natural* of Cueva Cardel in Burgos and the son of a *labrador*; nor can the same be determined for the parents of Juan Diego Hernández y Teran, born on the Hacienda de la Peregrina in Santa María del Rio in New Spain, though the documents include references to his maternal grandparents' ranching operations and a grandfather's military and local political roles.²⁹ While the sample size is not constituent of a statistically satisfying number, nor is there a clear indication as to the entire number of absent *informaciones*, the attributes of this small group of aspirants to the Santa Cruz college over the century or more after 1683 indicate that the assumptions of a prior cohort of historians seeking to categorize one or more college as peninsular-dominated is potentially mistaken when it come to classifying the Texas friars' origins.³⁰

The discussion above concerns only those existing records for persons applying for entry into the college at the level of novice or probationer. Additional evidence exists with which to explore the range of personal histories of the other men who entered the colleges in both Zacatecas and Querétaro bound ultimately for Texas (see the Appendix for a listing of known missionaries to the province). Like many religious houses, the men

²⁸ On peasants and *labrador* classifications in the kingdoms of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Iberia, see Ruiz, *Spanish Society*, 3-7, 41. Ruiz notes that *labradores* was "a general term for all those who cultivated the land" and could not be associated with fixed levels of landholding, status, or income during the period he studied (41).

²⁹ *Auto de información de Esteban Saez Monje*, ACQ, P, Legajo 3, no. 36; *Auto de información de Juan Diego Hernández y Teran*, ACQ, P, Legajo 4, no. 45.

³⁰ Additional information from the early records of entrants to the novitiate, both choristers and lay brothers, in the register for Guadalupe college show that while local professions of *criollo* friars outnumbered those of peninsular friars, there was still a sizable number of novices from Spain and its European island territories entering the college in its early years, including men from Cadiz, old Castile, Galicia, the Crown of Aragon, and Tenerife into the 1730s (*Libro de Recepción i Profesion de los Novicios de este Colegio de Nra. Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas*, OSMHRL, ACZ 4:5905-5947).

of the apostolic college-seminaries in Zacatecas and Querétaro exhibited a predilection for their lists of friars which served as inventories of men in the field and those ready to be deployed for local missions and other services. The chronicles also preserve details on individuals who were either deemed worthy of inclusion in the order's hagiography or became part of the story of a friar who was; in these presentations added details provide additional clues to the social origins of certain missionaries.

The lists that bring more depth to the backgrounds of the missionaries to Texas are those which historians have mined for their social historical content. These appear at irregular intervals in the records. For example, once the friars began conducting canonical visitations of the missions they also began to produce listings of friars, their status within the college, and their individual provenance; the latter was important if and when the college or province was required to use the *alternativa* system to regulate peninsular versus criollo control over the friary in question.³¹ Several of these provide enough detail to supplement the small number of extant (and available) *informaciones* and *vitas* found in the chronicles.³²

Of the forty-nine friars at Santa Cruz college in 1728, twenty-three were missionary priests (apostolic preachers), nine were choristers, twelve were lay brothers, and five were novices. The cohort described represented a motley group as to their

³¹ The *alternativa* (and the related system of the *ternativa*) was the mechanism introduced in New World convents and monasteries to deal with the political tensions between peninsular-born and locally-born friars, monks, and nuns and each group's pretensions to control the particular religious house or province. For a summary of the issues and its implementation in Franciscan friaries, see Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background*, 54-75.

³² While in Mexico over the course of two years I was able to access only one repository of *informaciones*, which is cited above at ACQ. The other location thought to contain such background files for the Texas missionaries, the provincial archive at Zapopan, Jalisco, was closed during both years following the death of the assigned archivist. Future research will include the *informaciones* believed to remain at Zapopan.

origins. Among the priests, at least nine came from Iberian provinces, with the others professing at Santa Cruz, the provinces of Yucatan, Zacatecas, and Michoacán, and one receiving his training at Guadalupe college before transferring to Santa Cruz. Of the peninsular priests, three came in mission from the Iberian missionary colleges and represent by their presence established connections between the apostolic college-seminaries in Spain and those in New Spain. Most of the choristers training for the priesthood were sons of the Santa Cruz college, though one came from the Province of Saint Helena in Spanish Florida. The provinces of Santiago, San Gabriel (Extremadura), Cantabria, Burgos, Andalusia, and Cartagena were origins of both lay brothers and priests. In addition, lay brothers originated from the college-seminaries in both Spain (Los Arcos) and Guatemala (Christo Crucificado).³³

A similar breakdown of college personnel was obtained from an undated listing of friars at Santa Cruz which appears to have been written in 1748 by the missionary fray Juan Bautista Sales. Three separate lists, one each for friars from Aragon, Burgos, and Valencia, fill two folio pages of this listing. Both folio pages appear to be the voyage manifests, or copies of them, for the friars sent in mission from these provinces and their respective colleges, since the ages of the friars range from around twenty-five years to thirty-nine years of age, the typical age range for men leaving for New World missions.³⁴ Seven friars came in mission to Santa Cruz from the province of Aragon, five from that

³³ List of missionaries in the colegio at Querétaro, 1728, BNAF, 53/1121, f. 1-8.

³⁴ Galindo notes that exceptions to the age range of friars coming from Spain occurred as well though the average age indicated in his research was twenty-nine years ("Propaganda Fide", 144).

of Burgos, and six from the province of Valencia. The following folio pages list yet more friars sent over in an unknown year, destined for Querétaro.³⁵

The list-making of many friars was the result of continued requests for documentation based on the college constitutions and governmental requirements both within and outside of the Franciscan hierarchy in New Spain and Europe. Some of the first such lists read similarly to ones made of the legendary twelve friars sent as apostles to sixteenth-century New Spain on the heels of Cortes' conquest. The founder of the Santa Cruz college, fray Antonio Llinas, brought with him twenty-two friars, all of whom were natives of Iberian kingdoms and included the founders of later colleges in New Spain. According to the initial friar chronicler of the Santa Cruz college, fray Llinas was a Mallorcan, and accordingly due to contacts with his former convent and others on that island, he brought fourteen friars out of Mallorca, of whom thirteen survived the trip to New Spain. Another eleven friars formed the rest of the recruited cohort; the province of Castile sent six men, of whom one died en route, and the provinces of the Canaries, Valencia, and Andalusia each sent a friar with fray Llinas. The Province of Catalonia sent two men, including a lay brother who died en route also.³⁶ Though fray Llinas attempted to bring twenty-five men rather than the apostolic number of twelve, the

³⁵ Names of Religious conducted to Santa Cruz college by fray Juan Bautista Sales, no date, BNAH, vol. 145, ff. 314-316. According to the eighteenth-century chronicler Vicente Ximeno, fray Sales' mission occurred near the end of his time with the Santa Cruz college around 1748 (Vicente Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, Chronologicamente ordenados desde el año MCCXXXVIII de la Christiana conquista de la misma Ciudad, hasta el de MDCCXLVIII*, vol. II [Valencia: Oficina de Joseph Estevan Dolz, 1749], 342-43).

³⁶ Fray José Díez, *Apostólicos empleos de los hijos del Seraphin llagado, obreros evangelicos, del Collegio de la Santissima Cruz de la Ciudad de Santiago de Querétaro*. Mss 153, AOFM, Rome, 29r-30v. The provincial archivist in Celaya, Guanajuato provided a CD-ROM version of this manuscript chronicle for my use.

wording and reverence of the chronicler indicates the apostolic perspective the group chose to maintain concerning its actions and purpose.

This initial population of friars presents an interesting profile in light of the precedent they followed as a core missionary group intent on reviving the missions in New Spain. That the cluster of theologians in this contingent (fray Antonio Llansor, fray Pedro Sitjar, fray Sebastian Bisquerra, and fray Antonio Torres) and other important members of the cohort were Mallorcans should alert the student of late Habsburg-era religious history that these were men steeped in a traditional Observantism that itself might have been a hold-over from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Franciscan reforms.³⁷ As with the sixteenth-century cohort beginning in the 1520s, the founding group of friars included men known for extreme piety and conservative theologies in terms of their adherence to the *regula* of St. Francis and their own role as missionary elites. At least twelve of these men provided subjects for the *vidas* written by the first chroniclers, including the most famous, the beatified fray Antonio Margil de Jesús whose story filled much of the chronicle by his first biographer, fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, who had worked side by side with Margil in Texas. Several additional biographers wrote of Margil in the centuries that followed. So strongly influential in the Santa Cruz college's history were these initial missionaries from the kingdoms of Spain

³⁷ On that earlier reform era and its impact on the first Franciscans in New Spain, see Delno C. West, "Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission and the Early Franciscans in Mexico", *The Americas*, 45:3 (Jan. 1989), 293-313. Regarding the Mallorcan strain within the Observant Franciscan missions in the Americas, especially Alta California, see Maynard Geiger, "The Mallorcan Contribution to Franciscan California", *The Americas*, 4:2 (oct. 1947), 141-150. Geiger attached this influence to the early presence of Mallorcans in fray Llinas's initial cohort. On the earlier medieval Franciscan heritage in Mallorca, see E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975).

that late eighteenth-century *cronistas* continued to work on their *vitas* long after their deaths.³⁸

The core concepts of the *vitas* for this first cohort functioned much as earlier models in New Spain's Franciscan historiography. For most, piety appeared precociously, such as that of fray Margil, the proto-saint of Santa Cruz and the other colleges, who according to the *vitas* spent his childhood in the most saintly pursuits.³⁹ Simply put, the boy Margil liked church, played often at being a priest, and practiced elements of the Roman rite far in advance of his age. He expressed an early and intense disinterest in material trappings, and by the time he was of the appropriate age he was ready for a commitment to the Church. Such early-life experiences were the marks of the born saint, though other friars led lives that took a more circuitous route before earning their *vita*, such as that of fray Antonio de los Angeles recorded by the chronicler fray Juan Domingo Arricivita. The hagiography that makes up large parts of the colleges' chronicles is itself traditional and in line with models provided by the late medieval

³⁸ Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, provides most of the *vitas* and codified the style of hagiography to be used by later writers, though he copied the entirety of Diez's chronicle as his first book. See also Espinosa, *El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante: delineado en la exemplarissima vida del Venerable Padre F. Antonio Margil de Jesús* (Mexico City: José Bernardo de Hoyal, 1937), which is the most detailed *vita* Espinosa authored of the founders of Santa Cruz. Juan Domingo Arricivita, *The Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias*, trans. and ed. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 2 vol. (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996) completed the *vitas* of the founders of the college at Querétaro and added new ones for the missions of the new century.

³⁹ Espinosa, *El Peregrino Septentrional*, and Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*, 27-34. See also Hermenegildo de Vilaplana, *Vida portentosa del Americano septentrional apostol el V.P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, fundador, y ex-Guardian de los Colegios de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro, de Christo Crucificado de Guatemala, y de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. Relacion historica de sus nuevas, y antiguas maravillas* (Mexico City: Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1763), book one.

church at large, though with updated circumstances in terms of Spanish imperial influences and the friars' roles as missionaries within that Atlantic network.⁴⁰

While the spirituality claimed by the authors of the *vidas* is important (see below), the details to be gleaned concerning the backgrounds of friars is the reason for including these sources in this discussion. The data contained in the chronicles indicates that a higher number of those whom the colleges' chroniclers attempted to promote were friars of immediate Iberian extraction (*peninsulares*), and of these most were from developed regions: cities and major towns of Castile, Andalusia, Galicia, and the Crown of Aragon. In comparison to the focused nature of individual *informaciones*, the chronicles' imagery of the ideal friar differs significantly from the lived reality for more Franciscans in these colleges.

Formation and Training of the Texas Friars

Two general conditions obtained when a man requested entrance to the apostolic college-seminary. Either the candidate was to be a novice friar when initially presented for membership in the college, or he was already a Franciscan and wished to leave his province in either Spain or New Spain and join the college with the intent to pursue missions. In either case the formative spiritual influence of the college's institutes were brought to bear, though less training was provided those who already were professed priests. In the latter case, the friar was to present himself by letter to the governing council of the college with explicit permission from his provincial superior to make the request to join the college. Once that request was granted, he would then enter a quasi-

⁴⁰ John V. Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), 1-31.

novitiate, a probationary period of one year which would be served per the college's governing rules. He then lived under the watchful eye of college leadership and supported local missions nearer the college while pursuing whatever practical training was thought to be required.⁴¹ In the former case of a novice's presentation for admission, the college guardians required the candidate to begin a much more complicated process.

That process included typical requirements of any aspirant to the priesthood: several years of spiritual formation in terms of liturgical training, practice of that liturgy within the choir of the college following more experienced choristers, and the pursuit of educational requirements which following the Council of Trent and reforms to the order were quite significant. Galindo's assessment of this process is useful, and since his study examined the practices of what may be considered the mother house of the Franciscan colleges in New Spain, it is a solid baseline for the experiences of aspirants in other colleges in the Americas in Zacatecas, Mexico City, and Guatemala. The education of the novice destined for the priesthood required that the man have prior training as a grammarian, but that background could be supplemented if he required additional tutoring. The one year novitiate familiarized the aspirant with the religious environment and the order, while allowing the master of novices to observe the potential of each aspirant. Once ready, the novice friar began his study of the arts (logic, ancient and medieval philosophy) for three years before moving on to three or more years of

⁴¹ Some of the experienced friars had difficulties accepting the year-long novitiate for professed friars who joined the colleges from Franciscan provinces. Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús was outspoken among his fellows against the practice and claimed the apostolic colleges would benefit from allowing this quasi-novitiate to be served among missions to indigenous peoples at the frontiers, rather than wasting time in the college learning again to be a Franciscan. See letter of fray Margil to the father commissary general, March 8, 1717, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe mission, in Marion A. Habig, ed. *Nothingness Itself: Selected Writings of Ven. Fr. Antonio Margil, 1690-1724*, Benedict Leutenegger, trans. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), 240-42.

theological study (the theologate) which culminated in advanced training in moral theology, a period of study typically requiring two years and achieved either during the friar's general theological studies or after that period by directed coursework. At each stage the candidate was examined by either the governing council or assigned members of the college after presentation for the examination by his professors.⁴² If the novice succeeded with his studies he might be nominated either more or less rapidly for advancement to minor and then major orders, sent for examination by the bishop or his vicar, and possibly in more lean years he might be released from restrictions on age or experience to be thrust into missionary work sooner than he might expect.

While studying for the different thresholds of knowledge required for status as an apostolic preacher and friar minor of the college, each friar pursuing the priesthood was called into conferences required for all resident friars. These conferences involved the members of the colleges currently in residence in the practice of debating aspects of spiritual identity, pastoral methods, theology, casuistry, and other topics that were deemed important for the edification and preparation of friars for missions. The papal bulls instituting the colleges required these conferences which were to focus primarily on moral theology and its application to missionary labor.⁴³ In addition to the conferences held in the college library, additional time was set aside in the colleges' schedules for training in languages. While one might expect such training to be tailored to those

⁴² Félix Saiz Diez, *Los colegios de Propaganda Fide en hispanoamérica*, 2nd ed. (Lima, 1992), 121-25; Galindo, "Propaganda Fide" 198-207; John L. Morkovsky, "Education among the Indians in the Spanish Missions of East and South Central Texas, 1690-1830" (M.A. Thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1942), 14. See also "Algunos puntos de vida regular del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro", July 20, 1777, mss. copy dated July 9, 1796, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México, Convento de San Gabriel, San Pedro Cholula, Caja 214, no. 3. This document is an exposition on the application of the *regula* to daily life and discipline within the college.

⁴³ Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 201-202, 207-212; "Algunos puntos de vida regular", Querétaro, ff. 23-24.

languages dominant within a certain target mission field, the reality of the period dictated that the languages studied were dominant strains of indigenous tongues closer to Querétaro or Guadalupe de Zacatecas: Otomí and Nahuatl primarily, and some Tarascan tongues when possible.⁴⁴ The record indicates that the friars' deficiencies in language training for the spoken tongues of the Texas missions was due to a shortage of qualified trainers rather than an oversight on the part of the college leadership. Those few who mastered languages used in the missions remained at the frontiers given how difficult it was for the friars to maintain even their few successful missions in the eighteenth century. Those friars rarely returned to the colleges even for short periods.

In the Texas missions a small number of friars recorded their interest in both training their brethren in languages and in the conferences on moral theology that had been part of their lives while resident in the colleges. The evidence of such leanings, at least for the proper learning of native tongues, was clear to fray Gabriel de Vergara, who was father president for the Queretaran friars when he wrote his *Cuadernillo de la lengua de los indios pajalates* in 1732.⁴⁵ The *Cuadernillo* was a simple glossary that translated key terms from Castilian to Pajalat, the language of one dominant band at Concepción mission in the 1730s. In addition to the glossary the published version contains a confessional guide of contested authorship, but most likely that of either Father Vergara or his assistant at Concepción. Later friars requested manuals for the better execution of their work, including language translation that became so important to the mixed populations of the Texas missions if only to keep peace among the inhabitants of

⁴⁴ Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 225-29.

⁴⁵ Fray Gabriel de Vergara, *El Cuadernillo de la lengua de los indios pajalates* (1732), ed. Eugenio del Hoyo (Monterrey: Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 1965).

differing bands. In the spring of 1759, the friars at San Francisco de Espada mission pleaded with their guardian in Querétaro for some kind of operating manual which would, among other things, make it easier for them to “instruct [and] minister to souls...if they but knew the languages of the owners of those souls.” As they explained, “they knew well the contrasting scenario to that which they desired: they could not preach, confess, and so forth” without knowing the requisite languages of their Indians at Espada mission.⁴⁶ Such problems plagued the ever-shifting landscape of the Texas missions until their end in the 1830s.

Other evidence shows that there were two explicit understandings about working in missions to the infidels at the frontier when it came to the continual refreshment in moral theology prescribed by the friars’ institutes. First, the missionaries did not doubt that they would benefit from such conversation, and it is apparent that such conferences occasionally happened. However, the second understanding was that few men had time to read while administering the missions in Texas, even though their libraries provided them books to do so. Direct statements addressing the idea that friars should make time for conferences on moral theology, in addition to other discussions, recurred throughout the period in which the missions in the region were active. Though rare, these statements demonstrate both the Franciscans’ cognizance of their lack of adherence to this aspect of their institute, and their desire to see it come to pass if possible. According to fray José Rafael Oliva’s testimony in 1788, he was ordered by the governing council at Guadalupe college to commence moral theology conferences upon his arrival in Texas in 1786. Up

⁴⁶ Fray Acisclos Valverde and fray Bartholome García to the guardian, fray Joseph Antonio Bernad, Espada mission, April 8, 1759, ACQ, K, Legajo 11, no. 16.

to the time he wrote, no conferences “had been held, not even one, nor will there be one in the future because [in Texas] books are not consulted” during the typical daily schedule of the missionaries.⁴⁷

The friars’ perspective on the Franciscan novitiate must be included to understand more fully the roles of missionaries in their own training and that of others. To some degree the novitiate of each college played a role in ensuring that the apostolic college-seminaries remained what they were: training institutes whose primary goal was to send qualified individuals to missions nearby and at the frontiers. The novitiate was a constant in the college’s life in that nearly every decade saw some number of novices in residence and progressing through the curricula as explained above. To accomplish this, the governing councils appointed *lectores*, or professors, to guide students through their studies of the traditional arts, philosophy, and theology.⁴⁸ Documents prove that learned friars routinely were named to these prestigious roles among the college leadership. The presence of so many theologians in the founding cohort for at Santa Cruz illustrates the importance the initial group placed on this function; that some of these men also led the novitiate shows they pursued not just the *lector* role but also a lived model to guide the new members to their full realization of the Franciscan vocation.⁴⁹ Indeed, the council was always careful to note that the positions were active ones, not just titular roles, and

⁴⁷ Benedict Leutenegger, ed. and trans., *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. José Rafael Oliva’s Views Concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1977), 29.

⁴⁸ In this aspect of their operations the Propaganda Fide colleges in both Spain and New Spain look very much like the *colegios* Richard Kagan studied in early modern Spain, especially those of the religious orders that often were located within the municipal area nearer the larger universities but were essentially self-sufficient in educating their students and awarding degrees within the order, essentially an early model of later houses of studies for religious (*Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974], chapter 7).

⁴⁹ The early pages of the *Libro de los muertos* at Santa Cruz lists fray Francisco de Frutos as the first master of novices, and one of the early lectors of theology as fray Pedro Sithar, ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 3, ff. 1v-2r.

that the men who filled them deserved to be recognized in the college's hierarchy when seated in choir or the refectory.⁵⁰

The role of the master of novices one of the commonalities colleges' shared with any other friary which oversaw new vocations. In the colleges the master of novices was a key member of the leadership but set apart by statute from interference by the guardian and governing council except in dire circumstances. There is much in the archives that shows the continued reverence for this post, as well as the wear and strain it placed on its holder. Among the sources cited for the records of professorships and preferences given for them, there are notes as well which indicate the importance of this position. At the Guadalupe college, for example, the master of novices in 1792 urged the council to allow a novice to deviate from normal behavior by leaving for a short time for the consolation of his immediate family members, something the council secretary noted never had been done but was allowed in that instance due to the influence of the friar supervising the novitiate.⁵¹ The master sat with the college leadership and received preference of place in all official functions. Likewise, the strain of the position meant that a number of men would hold the position for short periods and sometimes would wish to leave their post long before they were given permission. One of these, fray José Rafael Oliva, was named master of novices in September of 1781, and requested to be relieved of his duties

⁵⁰ A sampling of such notices were the entries in the *Libro de decretos* (1734-1776) for Santa Cruz college for March 16, 1748, which noted the elections of professors and their place and that of the master of novices with the vicar when in choir, and February 5, 1757, May 30, 1758, January 15, 1771, all of which record elections of professors of arts, theology, and philosophy, and their privileges (ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 4, ff. 105v-106v, 112v-113r, 131v, 135r, 161v-162r). For Guadalupe college, see similar entries in *Libros de Decretos*, volume I (1707-1774), ff. 59r-60r, 86v, 96v; volume II (1771-1807), ff. 87v, 132v, 145v; Volume III (1807-1828), ff. 7r, 19v, 45v, 56r (Leutenegger, ed., *Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*).

⁵¹ Entry for April 21, 1792, *Libros de decretos*, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, II: 125v.

in October 1783. The Guadalupe college council did not accept his resignation until six months later in April 19, 1784, when fray Ignacio del Rio took over.⁵²

The same fray del Rio produced another piece of evidence that showed the importance placed by the colleges on their training of friar missionaries. Del Rio spent a significant amount of his time focused on the novitiate and its proper functioning when he took the position from fray Oliva in 1784. His extensive liturgical manual for the guidance of novices shows how seriously he took his position as the key trainer of new priests.⁵³ In sixty manuscript pages, del Rio compiled the college's schedule in the 1780s of fixed liturgies, moveable feast days, and both local and regional adaptations of the Roman Breviary to the Franciscans' exercises of the canonical hours in Guadalupe college. In this compendium he wrote of the proper preparation and performance of liturgies, down to the order of procession and contents to be addressed prior to the performance of any one part of the liturgy for a specific day. Three points should be made here concerning del Rio's written product. It is apparent that for some time such a manual was needed, and perhaps this was his approach to normalizing the experience of the novitiate for the benefit of both the novices and the man overseeing their progress. Also, there may be no disputing fray Ignacio's own preparation for the role of master of novices, if one of the key functions was to ensure the novices were constant in their attendance to the hours and other canons of Franciscan praxis. His manual alone is evidence for this, given the granular detail, fine penmanship, and knowledge required to assemble such copious information into one densely packed manual. This document fits

⁵² Entries for September 22, 1781, October 6, 1783, and April 19, 1784, *Libros de decretos*, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, II: 59v, 78v, 79v.

⁵³ "Manual escrito por fray Ignacio del Rio", Photostat of mss, CAT, Box 119, fol. 2.

into a larger picture that should emerge within the greater discussion in this chapter, which is the importance of such a fine-grained accounting of Observant liturgy at the end of the eighteenth century as testament of the sustained Franciscan charisma that may be seen at Guadalupe college throughout the period of the Texas missions.

Intellectual Formation: Texts and Libraries

While it would be impossible to provide a clear tracing of source texts to statements preserved in friars' letters, sermons, reports, and chronicles, there is no doubt that the impressive libraries held by each college contained texts that influenced the missionaries' training and view of missions in Texas. If such a study were to be complete, it would be a monograph due to the numerous sources and references to such texts by friars in the period of this study. In this section I explore some of the potential textual sources for the friars and how these might be known. To that end I consulted library inventories and reports, rare books still extant from the libraries themselves, and the more scholarly of the writings preserved by friars, among which the important ones were reports and judgments they delivered in defense of privileges or in promoting their ecclesiastical goals in the missions.

The normative view historians promoted in past decades concerning Franciscan missionaries in New Spain is that of a religious order indebted intellectually to earlier Franciscan luminaries of theological and philosophical scholarship. For the Propaganda Fide college-seminaries this was true as well, but such a statement does not communicate the range of intellectual sources they claimed as their own. In addition to typical Observant Franciscan library holdings such as the works of Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and other late medieval Franciscan scholars, the missionaries from Guadalupe and Santa

Cruz colleges received exposure to the great books of Spanish and continental scholarship in theology, philosophy, mysticism, liturgy, the *ars praedicandi*, and scriptural scholarship. That the range of texts they maintained and used widened in the Propaganda Fide colleges lends some credence to the friars' claims to elite status as missionaries and as the learned representatives of the order in New Spain. Also, it shows the rapid influence over the later centuries of the early modern period of post-Tridentine emphases on a vast, new religious and intellectual literature. Certain groups within the religious orders responded to this intellectual expansion in Spanish America in different ways.

The most obvious sources available are the extant libraries, or parts of them, for the apostolic colleges. Where the libraries no longer exist, I used library inventories that remain in the archives. This allowed me to gauge their depth and breadth in the period studied. Sadly, the institution that would claim primacy in the foundation of the college-seminaries in New Spain, the Santa Cruz college in Querétaro, no longer maintains its library nor do its archives still reside at the college. While its archives survive in the old Franciscan university at Celaya (in the Templo de San Francisco), the books belonging to the college dispersed through periods of religious suppression, war, and reassignment of texts to other friaries. This is not the case for Guadalupe college, whose superb library remains on the second floor of the original convent (though not in its original rooms) and its inventories are preserved on both paper and microfilm in Zapópan and elsewhere.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The consultors of Guadalupe college noted several changes to the college's library over the years, such as their difficulty complying with orders from the father visitor to rearrange the library to match its 1744 inventory which indicates that the library was disorderly and difficult to use in the later period. After reviewing a list of books prepared by fray Francisco María de la Garza, lector of theology, in 1794, the governing council approved the addition to the library if the costs could be contained to reasonable

At Zacatecas the friars inventoried their holdings regularly, as we may suppose the Queretearans did as well at the direction of official visitors to the regular chapter meetings, with the result that one may note how the library changed over time and that the initial holdings were themselves quite impressive. My inspection of the current library at Guadalupe college revealed an estimated 6,480 volumes in the present library which were complemented by another four thousand volumes archived in the modern library on the ground floor of the building. Of the volumes in the upstairs, or traditional, library, most belonged to the college at the time of its suppression in the 1850s, and the books appear well-used rather than just aged. Also, those volumes that are clearly from the eighteenth century are stored together on the shelves and constitute nearly two thousand volumes, if not more. This count coincides with the developmental history of the library in terms of the number of volumes found in the inventories performed at Guadalupe college decade over decade during the eighteenth century.⁵⁵

The libraries were organized in typical late medieval fashion and followed that of any other major convent of the period in Europe and the American colonies. Inventories list books under headings as would be expected in a theological library: expositive works on scripture, sermons and preaching aides, philosophical works, moral theologies, mystical writers, histories and grammars, and books on legal studies. In addition, the inventories kept careful counts of duplicate materials, though not under the classifications

expenses. Twenty-five years later the council authorized the expansion of the library to account for the growing collection. See *Libros de Decretos*, Volume II ff. 128v, 148v; Volume III f. 60r (Leutenegger, ed., *Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*).

⁵⁵ In Guadalupe college's inventory of 1735 just twenty-eight years after its official foundation, 1,367 volumes appear in the official count, though the actual number of titles was less due to the significant number of multi-volume books on hand. The number of volumes, especially duplicate copies of popular titles, grew over the decades as recorded in the inventories. See OSMHRL, ACZ 7: 2501-2776 for the extant inventories of the Guadalupe library.

listed. Table 1 displays the categories and corresponding volumes found in the 1735 inventory at Zacatecas; this listing of categories and volumes per category illustrates the various emphases on the intellectual development and spiritual formation of friars, and the resources applied to assist that endeavor.

Table 1 Classifications and volumes from the 1735 library inventory, Guadalupe college

<i>Category</i>	<i>Expositivos</i>	<i>Predicables</i>	<i>Escolásticos</i>	<i>Morales</i>	<i>Místicos</i>	<i>Historiales, Gramaticos</i>	<i>Juristas</i>	<i>Duplicados</i>
<i>Volumes</i>	168	290	179	135	167	114	37	277

Source: OSMHRL, ACZ 7:2501-2568

At several points in the college records there was mention of the acquisition of books and discussions of friars' personal books coming to the college or being sent on to the missions. The 1732 *parecer*, or brief, prepared by fray Paredes to settle the jurisdictional dispute between the missionaries and the diocesan priest in San Fernando de Bexar was just one of the documents that referred to two kinds of books used by friars: ones they owned personally, and those in the library at the colleges and missions. Fray Paredes indicates that the store of books at his Rio Grande mission was paltry by comparison to the college library in Querétaro.⁵⁶ In random site inventories at various places in the Zacatecas college archives, the friars mention stores of books ranging from fifty to eighty or more books remaining in the missions themselves, which indicates that at some point during their stays in each location friars had access to books despite fray Oliva's statement concerning books late in the century. Another mention of books arriving from Spain echoes other, similar travel documents; the one in question records the mission to Spain by fray Juan Domingo Arricivita in 1770-1771 to bring new

⁵⁶ Parecer del P. Fr. Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, San Bernardo del Rio Grande mission, February 12, 1732, ACQ, F, Legajo 1, no. 6, ff. 1-35.

missionaries to the Santa Cruz college. The travel record mentions the friars' accompanying baggage destined to be ported to Querétaro via the muleteers hired for the purpose, and explains that much of this baggage consisted of the friars' books.⁵⁷

Some titles may be traced to either the missionaries themselves or the college's novitiate by considering extant *ex libris* information retained in books in the Guadalupe college library. As one example, one of the more popular books at Guadalupe was the *Prontuario de la theología moral* by fray Francisco Lanaga, printed several times between 1760 and 1805 and owned by several members of the college including fray Mariano Sosa, the missionary to Nacogdoches in the early 1810s. Fray Francisco Frejes, another Texas missionary, owned a copy of Bernardo Lamy's introduction to sacred scripture printed in Madrid by a popular press and intended to enable the preacher's use of scripture in vernacular teaching. These and other popular titles appear in each inventory for the century. Other titles like the anonymously authored *De nominum et verborum casibus commentarium recens in ordinem redactum, scholasticorum gratia* (1670) were held in community by the Guadalupe novitiate, as explicitly written in its *ex libris* entry on the beginning pages of extant copies.⁵⁸

Equally popular titles adorn the citations of friars writing a range of documents, and these titles are the most significant findings of this particular part of my study because of their direct usage for matters important to the missionaries. A selected number of the citations unearthed by my investigation of friars' writings may serve as

⁵⁷ "Diligencias practicadas en la havilitación de la mission de Religiosos para el Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro venida de Cadíz en el Navio Matamoros", AGN, Misiones, vol. 9, exp. 3, ff. 1-33v.

⁵⁸ Additional *ex libris* data exists for the Texas friars in the database cited here. See claves 89, 9437, and multiple entries for the books held by novitiates in *Fondos Bibliográficos Conventuales Del Instituto Nacional De Antropología e Historia*. (Colima, México: Cenedic, Centro Nacional Editor de Discos Compactos, 1994).

representatives of the range of texts and their uses during the long century of the missions in Texas. Often the citations appear in longer expository writing that addressed local problems, and thus merited scholarship and justification of recommended remedies. These include jurisdictional disputes such as the one argued by fray Paredes, letters patent that contained marching orders for the friars of a particular mission presidency such as Texas, or the recurring political contests with governors and military leaders.

Fray Paredes cited a number of authorities in his *parecer* first mentioned above, most of which are reflected in extant inventories and present today at both Celaya and Zacatecas. Paredes took great pains to document jurisdictional and dogmatic positions in his response to the parties involved in the dispute of 1732. His citations include the compendium of the *Cursus Salmanticense*, that compilation of Thomist philosophy and moral theology famously produced over several centuries by Carmelites and other scholars at the University of Salamanca; Pedro Barbosa (the Montenegrin, as he was known); Suarez; and Pirhing's *Compendio Sacrorum Canonum* (Venice, 1711) regarding parish definitions and rights therein of regulars and diocesan priests. Also important to his argument are sections of the canons of the Council of Trent (twenty-first session, chapter 4), Jaime Corella's *Tractatus decimus*, Sanchez's *De matrimonio* (liber 9), and the apostolic briefs of no less than fifteen pontiffs. Even American church councils factored into his reasoning when he leaned on commentaries from the diocese of Quito and rules of ecclesiastical governance of Indian parishes there under the guidelines of *Omnimoda*.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Parecer del P. Fr. Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, 1732, ff. 3v-29v.

Other friars reached deeper into the Franciscan past in their responses to doctrinal or jurisdictional questions, as seen in fray Antonio de Andrade's consultation on issues concerning Indian marriages. Andrade's commentary was set against the counsel of Matthew 5. 19, which informs the reader of the injunction to practice greatest care with the least of persons, thus setting the tone of the consult. Father Andrade built his response on known texts of Bonaventure and Duns Scotus, though he does not reference the exact versions; also, he made use of Alexander of Hales' *Summa theologiae*, the third part, which demonstrates the learning of the Propaganda Fide friars and the range of their knowledge of Franciscan scholarship and its applicability to their present needs.⁶⁰ While addressing the privileges of friars in their missions, the governing council at Santa Cruz college utilized the Franciscans' vast documentation of their order's rights granted by pontiffs over the centuries. In one short section of a 1750s document on the friars' privileges in Texas missions, the council used briefs of Adrian VI, Innocent XI, and more recent to the period, that of Benedict XIV in 1746 regarding faculties of orders and confirmation.⁶¹

To return briefly to the library inventories, one cannot help but notice that multiple titles which appear scattered through marginal references in Franciscan documents from the Texas missions also show prominently in the college libraries. At Guadalupe college, the inventories included multiple volumes of Sr. María de Agreda's famous mystical book, *La Mística Ciudad de Dios*, side by side with copies of the works of Juan de la Cruz and Luis de Granada. Also in abundance were versions of Thomas á

⁶⁰ Consulta, fray Antonio de Andrade, Querétaro, no date, ACQ, F, Legajo 7, no. 3.

⁶¹ Cuaderno sobre los privilegios de los Misioneros de Texas, Querétaro, 1750s, ACQ, K, Legajo 4, no. 29.

Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*, the *Flos sanctorum*, the works of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Francis de Sales, and Ignatius of Loyola, and the Jesuit José de Acosta's *De procuranda indorum salute*. Elsewhere in the Guadalupe inventories the infirmary's book holdings appear. In this small collection, the inventory lists fifty-seven volumes of medical tomes including later medieval authors and those of ancient physicians.⁶²

Expressions of Spirituality: Missionary Elites in New Spain

The preceding pages provide background information necessary to understand friars' conceptions of their elite Franciscan identity expressed in terms of spiritual exceptionalism, which itself was immersed in the histories of Franciscan and other Catholic missionary activity in colonial New Spain and the Spanish Atlantic world. These expressions, like the rhetoric of purpose discussed in the next chapter, appear throughout the mission period of Spanish Texas, but unlike that rhetoric were more intense at the earlier stages of the Franciscan endeavors in and through the apostolic college-seminaries. Here we consider certain texts that contain distinctive expressions of the elite humility that marks late colonial revivals of Franciscan missionary activity. Among these texts I include the early chronicles of the colleges beginning with the first produced by fray José Díez, one of the founders of the Santa Cruz college, as well as statements from the *libros de muertos* (records of the dead) and the *libros de difuntos* (records of the deceased), and certain manuscript writings that should be categorized as hagiographical commentaries extolling the exceptional nature of the missionaries of the two colleges. Other sources for the friars' expressions of spirituality include manuscripts

⁶² Inventories 1735 to 1744, Guadalupe college, OSMHRL, ACZ 7: 2501-2776. The pharmacopeias and other *materia medica* appear in frames 2633 to 2635.

and printed works which treat the missionary endeavors of the Franciscans in the colleges and their missions.

In the words of fray Francisco Xavier de Santa Gertrudis, the author of one of the incomplete manuscripts on the early endeavors of the missionary friars of Querétaro, Zacatecas, and the Colegio del Cristo Crucificado in Guatemala, the friars were humble apostles whose aggregated efforts produced fruits that were “as a fragrant, divine flower for the Nazarene,” Jesus Christ. Such fruits issued from the thorns of his crown, the celestial and bloody battle waged at the cross of Golgotha, and the torments suffered there by Christ, the man of sorrows. The humble friars of the colleges accomplished “sacred flights for the glory of God,” so that the entire Spanish nation might participate in “the adoration of the most holy Cross.”⁶³ Found in the dedication to what appears to have been the second chronicle attempted by the Propaganda Fide friars in New Spain, such words evoke imagery not typical of the letters and other common writings of the missionaries. They instead illustrate the grander view championed by this part of the Franciscan order for its labors, written by an assigned *cronista* (chronicler) to convey the deeper origins and lofty expectations of the ideal envisioned for the college-seminaries’ actions in the present and future.

Such perspectives are important for understanding the group dynamics among the members of the colleges since it was those relations that forged consensus around the identity the friars shared. Fray Francisco’s elaborate word picture is instructive

⁶³ Fray Francisco Xavier de Sta. Gertrudis, *Flores y frutos de los tres collegios de misioneros apostólicos de la SSa. Cruz de Querétaro, de Christo crucificado de Guathemala, y de N. Sa. De Guadalupe de Zacatecas del Reino de la Nueva España*, 1722, photocopy of mss., ACQ, H, Legajo 1, no. 24. Original is in the Archivum Ordo Fratrum Minorum (hereafter AOFM), Rome, M61, Mexici, Missiones I., ff. 225r-235r.

concerning the metaphors which persisted into the eighteenth century and gained usage within the local worlds of the apostolic colleges, which as active schools sent missionaries on to missions in regions like Texas. Drawing on the locals' knowledge of the miraculous stone cross at the Colegio in Querétaro that was an inherited object from the prior Franciscan friary there, fray Francisco describes how the mother house of Querétaro and its two offspring, the colleges of Cristo Crucificado and Guadalupe de Zacatecas, form an elegant tree issuing luscious fruits signifying the divine efficacy of penance, "fecund fruits of the tree of Christ." This tree, rooted in the miraculous Querétaran cross, issues tears of Christ himself in an effort to convert and sustain his people through the friars. The efforts of friars in missions to both the faithful and the infidels beyond the Spanish frontier were a "sovereign employment" and a divine calling that while common to the entire Franciscan order were particular characteristics of the Propaganda Fide colleges beginning with the college in Querétaro.⁶⁴

Similar reflections occur in other contemporary reflections on the order's colleges in New Spain. In a surprisingly dense presentation, fray Joaquín de Echevelar (d. 1778), a lay brother of Guadalupe de Zacatecas, compiled a manuscript of excerpts from the teachings of fray Francisco Navarro (fl. 1703-1715). This particular effort seems to have been in line with the task assigned fray Joaquín at the end of his life to collect and record ephemera and recollections concerning fray Antonio Margil in support of the latter's

⁶⁴ Ibid, 229r, 230r, 233v. The tree of life as a symbol or image for the apostolic college-seminary is no doubt derived from two rather influential sources, Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, and Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae* (Venice, 1485). Ubertino's spirituality, *sans* his fifth chapter's total embrace of Joachimism that placed him firmly with the Spiritual camp of his day, would have fit well with that of early chroniclers of the colleges in their attempts to link the Propaganda Fide colleges' works with those of the storied Franciscan past (Fleming, *Introduction to Franciscan Literature*, 230-33; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* [University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001], 96-99).

beatification proceedings; fray Joaquín appeared to have been skilled in scholarly production and archival efforts, and was called on more than once to apply his skills in support of spiritual formation and claims to sanctity. For this volume the focus of his compilations are the ideals that must guide his brothers as Franciscans in the Observant mold. In its basic format it adheres to a scholastic formula of categories and classifications, yet it reads as a spiritual primer for being a friar.⁶⁵

Three parts of Echevelar's compendium stand out as indicative of the Zacatecas college's spirituality. First, his editing of Navarro begins with a normative classification of the binary nature of piety for those under religious orders: there is one piety reserved for prelates, and another for the religious themselves. This latter piety is the one Franciscans were to follow, in particular the vows of obedience and poverty, interpreted here in the Observant manner.⁶⁶ Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas' influences figured respectively in the categories assigned, but not in the application sought by the friars except as Bonaventure's interpretations matched those of the reforms of Spanish Franciscan practices that followed two and three centuries after his time. Echevelar includes Navarro's spiritual guidance for the perfection of obedience and poverty. He advised his brethren that personal "reformation is the way to perfection", yet they lacked examples due to the poor education of novices and the resulting shortage of personnel capable of training new friars. Navarro saw the habit itself as a symbol, and thus a path,

⁶⁵ Fray Joaquín de Echevelar, *Questiones sobre la Regla de N.S.P.S. Francisco, sacadas de la Exposición, que de ella hizo el P. Navarro*, BANC MSS M-M 94, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Br. Echevelar worked briefly in the Texas missions as *cursor en el proceso* for the beatification cause of fray Margil, and died the year after arriving in Texas 1777 at San Antonio de Valero mission (Marion A. Habig, ed., "Biographical Dictionary", in Leutenegger, ed. *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*, 117).

⁶⁶ Echevelar, *Questiones*, 2v-3.

for perfection. He gave those lists for which early modern religious are famous in imitation of the author of Ecclesiastes; eleven items lead friars to goodness, while six help the missionaries evade evil in their lives.⁶⁷

The second part of Echevelar's manuscript is not part of Navarro's work, but rather a listing of the 115 questions addressed by Navarro with classifications. Few finer examples exist of eighteenth-century Franciscan casuistry. Fray Echevelar converted the writings of his source into a handbook for friars to use against their own human frailties and those of the persons who received their missionary labors. The third aspect of this commentary on Franciscan spirituality among the elites in the apostolic colleges is the inclusion, near the end of the compendium, of the "Alphabetum religiosorum S. Bonventurae", for the general use and benefit of the missionaries who formed the audience for fray Echevelar's little book.⁶⁸ In short, the end of the book was the most useful part for the Propaganda Fide friars and their mission flocks.

That friars published such books makes sense in light of the numerous comments on the formation and piety of Franciscans that adorn the pages of the colleges' chroniclers. While fray Santa Gertrudis died before he could finish his chronicle, one friar before him, fray José Diez, and several who followed in the eighteenth century achieved what he could not. The Franciscan order was noteworthy among the religious in New Spain, and colonial Spanish America, for copious writings on its friars' exploits and interpretations of such lives and events for the embellishment of the Order's

⁶⁷ Echevelar, *Questiones*, 5-8.

⁶⁸ Echevelar, *Questiones*, 171-179, 181.

reputation as a missionary organization.⁶⁹ The names of early Franciscan chroniclers and historian-ethnographers are the best known among early writers of New Spain generally. Alongside the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas and the layman Juan Fernando de Oviedo, Franciscans contributed the histories of Toribio de Motolinía, Bernardino de Sahagun, Jeronimo de Mendieta, as well as later friars who after the initial rush of evangelization in sixteenth-century Mexico documented the order's successes in the New World. Once the Propaganda Fide colleges found their footing in each instance, their governing councils proceeded to name chroniclers to record their valued histories.

These chroniclers in turn provide insights into the spirituality expected in the colleges and their missions. The earliest of these authors, fray José Díez cited above, was a founder of Santa Cruz and his position as chronicler began a trend among the colleges of promoting the more accomplished missionaries among the brethren of each to capture their histories. Fray Díez wrote his history in the fashion befitting a baroque, late seventeenth-century effort by placing the beginning of the chronicle in the late medieval Franciscan world and the development of Franciscan evangelization. Within this diorama of later Christian history, threads of piety emerge as models, or patterns, to guide the formation and practice of piety among the newly formed apostolic colleges. In his prologue Díez called the reader's attention to the papacy's requirement that the college's

⁶⁹ Lino Gomez Canedo, "La Evangelización y sus Interpretes: Historia y Dialéctica", in *Evangelización, Cultura, y Promocion Social: Ensayos y Estudios Críticos sobre la Contribución Franciscana a los Orígenes Cristianos de México (Siglos XVI-SVIII)* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1993), 43-54.

members document their works and the exemplary lives of the men who accomplished the mission of the college in diverse manners.⁷⁰

In the sixteenth chapter of his chronicle, Díez began to relate the manner of mission to be followed by the apostolic religious in New Spain, and provided interpretations of actions taken in missions to the faithful that would be used by later chroniclers. These pages recount the recurring events and reactions of personages involved: the friars preach “to the great consolation of [the friars’] souls” and a “great effect was seen in local inhabitants” in those places where the friars traveled.⁷¹ Such statements appears often as Díez relates the history of the first college members’ travel from Veracruz overland to Querétaro, their occupation of the house that was converted to the apostolic college-seminary of the Holy Cross, and their subsequent journeys up to 1700. Díez included at various points discussions of the liturgy including the friars’ participation in choir for the required observance of the canonical hours, personal devotions, discipline, and great “divine mercies” attendant on the friars while performing these acts. This first chronicler captured the initial significant events of the Santa Cruz college’s ministries, beginning with the immediate missions in and around the incorporated city of Querétaro, the first missions south into Guatemala, and the initial forays into sections of Texas and the gulf coast region.⁷²

⁷⁰ Díez, *Apostólicos empleos*. See the prologue for Díez’s citation and quoted text from the bull *Ecclesie catholicae* issued October 16, 1686, by Innocent XI. As the first of several chronicles of the Santa Cruz college, this history covered the period from the beginning of the college in 1683 to 1700.

The practice of appointing accomplished friars as *cronistas* for the colleges continued until the early 1820s. See *Libros de Decretos*, College at Guadalupe de Zacatecas, III: 70r, where on January 14, 1820, the college councilors appointed the experienced theology professor (lector), missionary, and consultor fray José María Huerta chronicler for the college (Leutenegger, ed., *Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*, 101).

⁷¹ Díez, *Apostólicos empleos*, 33r.

⁷² See Fray José Díez, *Apostólicos empleos*, sections beyond page 34r, including book III.

The best known descriptions of quotidian life in the college may be those from Espinosa's *Crónica* in which the daily schedule comes down to the reader as if straight from a medieval monastic *vita*.⁷³ The daily schedule was rigorously arranged, claimed Espinosa, because the Santa Cruz college's founder, fray Llinas, was "an ecstatic man." The chronicler explains that the ordered life of the college's residents was arranged in such a way as to ensure "no idle time" and that the friars were always to be found by the Enemy occupied in their labors. Time spent in study was interspersed with the recital of the Hours in choir, intense prayer both in private and as a college, and confession of individuals from the communities both inside and outside of the college. Espinosa cites the papal bulls for the founding of the college to note that languages were to be studied and conferences held on theological subjects also. In the absence of confessions to be heard these activities were to consume the friars' days.

Espinosa's account is entirely credible to this point, even in his recollection of so intensive a schedule. Such was the norm for enthusiastic foundations throughout Christendom from the rise of monasticism in the West and at least from the time of Benedict of Nursia.⁷⁴ In later descriptions of the cloistered life of the friars, however, a highly idealized view emerges and it is at this point that the reader may question the validity of the friars' way of life as described in the text. Espinosa portrays the periods between the scheduled daily activities and those times when the friars were to be resting. In this latter period, the friars are said to be in perpetual motion, each one mortifying himself by performing the discipline in every conceivable manner, individually and in

⁷³ Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, 173-176.

⁷⁴ Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of Saint Benedict in English* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981), preface.

procession, to such an extent that the monastery would have been the noisiest place in the city of Querétaro (a curious thought given the college's site on one of the city's hilltops). Scourging themselves, carrying crosses, wailing and lamenting, enjoining their brothers to yank on ropes tied round their necks and beating them on the chest, these men emerged in this text as players in a dramatic depiction of penitential acts. Indeed, Espinosa encouraged this view, claiming these acts were "fruitful gains which are of manifest profit to those who perform the acts" and also to those who observed them. The college superior did not condemn these extreme actions; rather, he encouraged his fellows to more penance by exhortation and by his own example.⁷⁵ While such behavior might be an exhibit of an earlier spirituality in the colleges in their first decades, it is possible that this became a normal experience and thus was assumed in later decades. In the missions, however, such ecstatic experiences seem not to have been a daily occurrence; perhaps the absence of more than one fellow Franciscan, if one had a companion at all, was to blame for missionaries' toned-down personal expressions of religiosity while in Texas.

Writing about this type of religious expression was not only important to the earlier friar-chroniclers, but it was copied and used as to explain the core spirituality of the college at Querétaro late in the colonial era. In a report that never reached the king or his court, fray Diego Bringas took Espinosa's depiction of life within the Santa Cruz college and used it to illustrate what he claimed to be the normative lifestyle for friars at the college in the 1790s.⁷⁶ While Bringas no doubt stretched the truth at the moment he wrote (and for polemical purposes that he developed later during the struggle for

⁷⁵ Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, 173-176.

⁷⁶ Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, trans., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 27-29.

Mexican independence), his usage of Espinosa's text indicates that he apparently remained untroubled by claiming such ecstatic religion in a time of great emphasis by regal authorities on rationalism and enlightened thinking.⁷⁷ Bringas' comfort with the Baroque, even medieval, expressions of religious fervor in an age of enlightened government in New Spain dovetails with evidence found elsewhere that emphasizes the abiding intensity of Franciscan spirituality within the Propaganda Fide college-seminaries.

While much of the information that the *libros de difuntos* and *libros de muertos* contained was simply the redacted, or simplified, version of friars' death records and the way they would be remembered, there are exceptional statements within these books that provide yet another perspective on the spirituality expected of the ideal friar. One of the surprising aspects of the *libros* is the amount of space devoted to particular friars. Where an apostolic preacher, a confessor of note for local missions, or a revered missionary to the heathen nations might inspire the chroniclers to write chapters and books extolling their virtues, the college's death registers reserved more space on their pages for notable lay brothers than they did for well-known missionary priests. A striking example of this phenomenon may be found in the early pages of the Queretearans' book in which the deaths of celebrated friars such as fray Antonio Margil and fray Francisco Hidalgo each received a few short paragraphs, and yet the written eulogy inscribed for the lay brother fray Antonio de los Angeles took more than a page.⁷⁸ Yet another entry, one for the lay

⁷⁷ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001).

⁷⁸ Libro de los muertos de los Colegios y Provincia, March 11, 1689 to 1776, ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 3, ff. 5r-5v (Angeles), 10r-10v (Margil and Hidalgo).

brother fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, received a section of a page in 1747 though during the 1730s all preceding entries were shortened to just a few sentences.⁷⁹

The comments preserved in this book are worth mining for statements of the friars' piety and works that reflect those ideal behaviors the friars sought to attain in their lives. In the typical adulations assigned an outstanding friar such as Father Hidalgo, the entry might commend his great zealousness for the souls of mission Indians, his dedication to our Lady and the saints, his learning, or his ability to preach. The entry for fray Jorge de la Torre, one of the community's earliest theologians and missionaries, noted his inerrancy in choir, his acts in the community, and both his silence and dedication to Saint Poverty. Father Preacher Joseph de Castro died a good death, one the author of his entry noted was an inspiration to his brothers given his excellent preparation to leave this world.⁸⁰ And yet the greater emphases were reserved for lay brothers such as fray Antonio and fray Francisco.

The entries for such men as these lay brothers deserve additional attention for what the recorders of their deaths noted to be so striking about each man. Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios was an old man when he died in 1747 at the age of seventy-six; he had amassed thirty years' service in the college when he passed. The writer took nine lines to comment on the sweetness of fray Francisco's spirit and the simple heart he possessed. An even more important part of this entry was the duplication of a marker introduced at the beginning of the book by one of its earlier maintainers, fray Margil himself, who began the practice of marking notable friar's entries in the *Libro de muertos*

⁷⁹ Ibid, f. 18.

⁸⁰ Ibid, ff. 3v, 5, 10v. The entry for fray Castro reflects a formulaic view of the good death, an important final expectation of the successful Catholic life experience in the late Baroque period.

with the eye of Providence, something the same friar would do in his own manuscript writings and books throughout his lifetime.⁸¹ Among the larger entries in the latter part of the *Libro*, this entry stands out for the example the simple friar provided his brothers.

Perhaps the most surprising entry in the entire *Libro* for the Santa Cruz college was that written at the death of fray Antonio de los Angeles, described so floridly in the multi-chapter *vita* written by Arricivita in his chronicle several years later.⁸² And like the *vita* in the *Apostolic Chronicle*, the entry in the college's death records contains detailed information which includes, in a shorter format, the same attributes that Arricivita would later expand into a most satisfying hagiography. First, the friar was a man of noted worth and honor long before entering the college at Querétaro, and his eulogist stated that "in that century he was held in the highest esteem, considered noble and rich by all" and that his entry into the Santa Cruz cloister was an event "of great edification to all the realm." Indeed, "from the day he took the habit until his death, he committed no moral sin, and kept the Rule of Saint Francis to the letter, without breaking it." The rest is a compendium of saintly character among Franciscans: he remained within the cloister more than twenty years without requesting leave, spent six hours each day joined in mental reflection and meditation, and had no equal in his lifetime in terms of piety, charity, and modesty. Of his physical condition the writer claims he ate no meat, eggs, or fruit, and he retained just one habit with no tunic for additional comfort or warmth. For this man who his eulogist claimed voluntarily kissed the feet of each member of the

⁸¹ Ibid, f. 18. The eye of Providence may be found in many other of Margil's writings, and was noted by Benedict Leutenegger and Marion Habig at numerous times during their research and editorial efforts with Margil's texts. See Leutenegger, ed., *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas*, 46, for a photographed example.

⁸² Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*, I: 315-393. The *vita* included in Arricivita is one of the longer ones documented by the author.

community, the then bishop-elect of Puerto Rico performed a funeral mass and delivered a sermon on the lay brother's sanctity and example.⁸³

In keeping with the friars' acts that recorded the piety of those who had lived among the brethren and then passed into a sanctified memory, the records of both colleges mention practices that support the concepts of piety observed while living and honors given in the form of masses said for deceased Franciscans in order to assist the latter's journey to heavenly bliss. The traditionally medieval, and then Baroque, Catholic practice of performing numerous masses for the dead was a core theme of Franciscan spirituality, especially of the idealized "good death" to which the faithful aspired.⁸⁴ Evidence for the friars' concerns with their own mortality and subsequent journey of the soul to God's side may be found for both the colleges and the missions, indicating that the concern for dying well and being prayed to heaven was as much an issue for religious as for the religiously attuned laity of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

This evidence appears early in the missions period for Texas, and it may be linked with the stark realization that any friar to die in Texas would be without the consolation of the funeral mass, novena, and other suffrages granted a friar at death. Without intervention by the local missionaries, the said suffrages would have to wait until, at a minimum, the time when the college received notification of the friar's death, which could be weeks after and thus harmful to the friar's soul. The solution created by the friars in 1717 appears to have lasted throughout the period, for no recorded conflicts over

⁸³ *Libro de los muertos*, ff. 5r-5v.

⁸⁴ On the good death and Franciscan influences on local mores on dying and the afterlife in northern New Spain, see Martina Will de Chaparro, *Death and Dying in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007). The Zacatecas library inventories contain standard treatises on the good death and how that might be obtained (Inventories of 1735 and 1744, OSMHRL, ACZ 7:2501-2776).

the issue exist anywhere in the record. The Santa Cruz and Guadalupe friars of the first eighteenth-century cohort which reestablished the Franciscan missions in 1716 signed an agreement at La Purisima Concepción mission on March 6, 1717 that provided for suffrages to begin in the missions at the time a friar died. They were to continue until the missionaries could be sure that both the proper masses and novenas were observed, or that the colleges had taken on the burden for the good of the friar's soul. As fray Margil and the other friars noted, this ensured that "spiritual help will also be augmented for those who die" in the missions, thus removing any concern for the friars' spiritual safety so far away from their home friaries.⁸⁵

Within the colleges the documents point to a growing concern with the expressions of spirituality in terms of an excessive number of masses performed for souls of the living and the dead, but particularly of the latter type. Typical visitation records indicate that silence was not routinely followed in the college, but the comments of leadership above the level of the father visitor shows that persons above the local chain of command did not approve of the rapid multiplication of masses being said for either chaplaincy fees or as obligations for lay members honored by the college.⁸⁶ In 1737 the

⁸⁵ Agreement of the Texas and Coahuila Missionaries at Mission La Purisima Concepción, Texas, March 6, 1717. Mss copy, Mission San Antonio de Valero, June 23, 1765, in Habig, *Nothingness Itself*, 228-229. Two days later the superiors of each contingent from the respective colleges noted that thus far "the two Colleges have worked together like brothers" in the reestablishment of the mission presence in Texas. See letter of fray Antonio Margil to the Father Commissary General, Mission N.S. de Guadalupe, Texas, March 8, 1717, in Habig, *Nothingness Itself*, 239.

⁸⁶ Regarding the visitors' notes on the lack of order and proper silence in the colleges, see Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 180-82, and the records of the 1721 visitation of the Santa Cruz college by fray Juan de Guevara in ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 2, ff. 244v-245. Both colleges' *libros de decretos* and death records indicate that a large number of honorary memberships in the colleges were extended much like third order admissions, to lay agents, attorneys, members of the diocesan clerical hierarchies, and so forth, as a payment in (spiritual) kind for services rendered the colleges throughout the period of their existence. As an example, see the entry for an *hermandad* recognized for don Prudencio Orovio Basterra and his wife

father visitor, fray Felipe Velasco, ordered the Santa Cruz guardian and council to ensure that obligatory and perpetual masses not oppose the observance of the Franciscan rule nor the regulations of the college; that he noted this as an improvement to be made indicates that by that time such masses had infringed on the friars' ability to perform their other duties. While the orders of such a visiting prelate became yet another addition to the *regula* that governed the house, it appears the friars continued the practice of perpetual masses into the middle part of the century. Fourteen years after Father Velasco's order the office of the father general of the Franciscan order sent a direct missive to the colleges in New Spain ordering them to reduce the number of perpetual masses in their convents and encouraging other friaries to do the same. A frantic response ensued, was printed, and is preserved in the archives, telling of the haste with which the colleges responded to this order from the highest Franciscan authority.⁸⁷

Tied to friars' concerns about their own and other persons' souls both in life and after death were concerns about the practice of right theology among their pastoral targets whether in missions to the faithful within the settled regions of New Spain or to the infidels at the frontiers. The antithesis of correct theology and dogmatic implementation in daily living would have been the perception by many friars of diabolism among their potential converts, either as part of greater cultural constructs such as those witnessed by friars among the Hasinai or as manifestations of witchcraft thought to have occurred

doña Ana María de Almandos for their role as syndics for the Santa Cruz friars and for devotion (donations) to the missions among the Indians of the north, ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 4, fol. 108v.

⁸⁷ Order of fray Felipe Velasco to the guardian and consultors of Santa Cruz college, Querétaro, July 19, 1737, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Franciscano, Mexico City (hereafter BNFF), vol. 121, ff. 43-44; Letter patent of the Father General, Rome, April 7, 1751, BNFF, vol. 118, ff. 106-111, 111v-117.

among the peasantry of New Spain.⁸⁸ Chapter four considers the varied reactions Franciscans demonstrated towards Indians and indigenous folkways, but here the concern is the expectation of friars' spiritual formation in terms of their perceptions of real diabolism present in the world they experienced daily, and the proper reactions they should manifest towards that diabolical presence. Several sources indicate that the Texas friars experienced a shared view that there were instances in which outright witchcraft and diabolical practices would appear. Though many medieval attributes persisted within common Observantine Franciscan perspectives in the early modern period, this shared view to which many a friar attached himself concerning diabolism and sorcery was a rather common one among religious during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The question is what sources influenced and perpetuated the friars' shared concepts of diabolism and witchcraft in the New World.

Sources indicate that at least some study time was given over to understanding the darker side of the spiritual world. As noted above concerning the library holdings of the colleges, the well-known *Malleus maleficarum* figured in the inventories in multiple copies.⁸⁹ Numerous mystical works supplemented the presence of such notorious witch-hunting manuals, but more explicitly Franciscan sources were also present and used by

⁸⁸ On the friars encounter with perceived diabolical practices rooted in centuries of cultural practice, see "Relación sobre los indios de Texas por Fray Francisco Casañas (1691)" in Lino Gomez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas (1686-1694)*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 75-101. On local witchcraft nearby to Querétaro, see Fernando Cervantes, "The Devils of Querétaro: Scepticism and Credulity in Late Seventeenth-Century Mexico", *Past and Present*, 130:1 (1991), 51-69; for a more recent analysis of the Queretaran case and others in New Spain, see Doris Bienko de Peralta, "El cuerpo de la posea: discurso y práctica en torno a la posesión demoníaca en la Nueva España", *Destiempos: Revista de curiosidad cultural*, vol. 3, no. 14 (March-April 2008), 142-149.

⁸⁹ Library inventory of 1735, Archive of the Colegio Apostólico de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas (hereafter ACZ), Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library (OSMHL), Center for Mexican American Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas, microfilm, roll 7, frame 2537.

friars in their work. Some of the studies on witchcraft and its discovery, prosecution, and justification for doing so were uniquely Franciscan and directed towards the Order's missionaries. Other sources for Franciscan use in the colleges included well-known texts for training and reference, and in preparation for both local and frontier missions.

One set of texts that consistently appears in the libraries of Franciscan convents in New Spain, and may be found in the inventories for the college at Zacatecas, is the collected works of the Antwerp native Benito Remigio Noydens (d. 1685), a friar who spent his life in scholarship in seventeenth century Castile. Fray Remigio, as the Spanish friars knew him, wrote commentaries and instructions for ministers to souls, but his *Practica de exorcistas, y ministros de la iglesia*, stands out among his publications in terms of the influences on New World friars in their confrontation with diabolism and possession in American doctrinas and missions.⁹⁰ While it may be tempting to view a book like this as a mere derivative work based on such commonplace witchcraft manuals as the *Malleus*, Remigio illustrates a well-developed sense of the role of the priest as a minister to the soul, rather than a soldier of the cross bent on the destruction of the evil within the subject. The *Practica de exorcistas* was comprised of five parts of which the first gave an initial overview and a documented method for exorcism. The next sections applied different aspects of the methods first to maniacal or possessed persons; then to the exorcism of spirits, demons, and spells from specific locations; and next to the protocol for addressing foul weather and destructive events. In the fifth section,

⁹⁰ Benito Remigio (Noydens), *Practica de exorcistas, y ministros de la iglesia: en que con mucha erudición, y singular claridad, se trata de la instrucción de los Exorcismos, para lancer, auyentar los demonios, y curar espiritualmente todo genero de maleficio, y hechizos*, fifth printing (Madrid: Andres de la Iglesia, 1678). The *Practica de exorcistas* appears for the first time in the Zacatecas library in the inventory of 1744, then again in each inventory that follows (OSMHL ACZ 7: 2668, 2729).

reminiscent of the responses to Philip II's questionnaire to the countryside in the late sixteenth century, Remigio addresses the proper way of proceeding for rogations and processions seeking rain, peace, or relief from pestilence.⁹¹ The manual is evidence of the impact of the witch hunts and prosecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the way it addresses these various common categories of popular belief in that age.⁹² At the same time, the *Practica de exorcistas* portrays the clergy's role (specifically the Franciscan vocation) as a pastoral one, bent on the soul's healing rather than a violent spiritual battle.

Such a sense of the method and tone may be perceived in the recommendations Remigio set forth for dealing with each type of diabolism or witchcraft. Against the maniacal behaviors of persons said to be possessed by maleficent spirits, the friar cautioned that conjures and prayers were most effective. Pro forma exorcisms worked effectively also for homes inhabited by spirits, or for fending off the attacks of witches, warlocks, demons, and other evil beings. Exorcisms in the presence of the community worked against storms and pestilence, as did the processions and rogations noted above. Even more to the point of the Franciscan approach to countering sorcery and diabolism off all kinds was the notice early in this book that the most effective prevention of all was to possess a strong and undoubting faith in God. Next, one must hear prayers daily, attend confession regularly, and practice unrelenting humility before God. In short, one

⁹¹ William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

⁹² Christina Lerner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984). See especially the essay titled "Crimen Exceptum? The Crime of Witchcraft in Europe" for an overview of the constituent parts of diabolism and witchcraft prosecution in early modern Europe.

must follow a typically Franciscan, or mendicant, posture towards religion and religious praxis.⁹³

Remigio believed the causes of one's victimization by demons or sorcerers could be ranked as follows. First, those lacking faith or whose confidence in their salvation in God was absent were the most likely to be attacked or bewitched. Sin of all types, but especially of the mortal type, made a person a target for the devil. Also, a person's negligence in spiritual matters, even if the conditions above did not apply, could leave the soul exposed. To this list of conditions Remigio adds two more that indicate his view of supernatural events and the clerical role of the friar. If one lacks faith in exorcism itself, he would become troubled by spirits, and in the event that one lacked such faith, God would use the cleric who stepped in to work against such doubts to be proven effective by the results of the exorcism rites. In that way God would show his power in triumph over the temporal, and temporary, possession of a soul or body.⁹⁴ By including his ranked list of contributing conditions and the following catalogue he appended to his text to list the names of the devil, his manifestations, and so forth, Remigio's *Practica de exorcistas* became a seventeenth-century Franciscan mirror of classic witchcraft manuals like the *Malleus*.

Published manuals no doubt had a role to play in the formation and daily uses of scholar-missionaries for both colleges, but additional documents indicate that locally-authored manuals also influenced the friars' conceptions of their spiritual role in the missions. In either 1723 or 1728, depending on one's reading of the difficult script which

⁹³ Remigio, *Practica de exorcistas*, 2-3.

⁹⁴ Remigio, *Practica de exorcistas*, 50-54.

fray Antonio de Andrade approved as guardian of the Guatemala college, one manuscript recorded the experiences of earlier missionaries of that college in their dealings with witchcraft and sorcery in their regional missions in Nicaragua. The manuscript copy then came at some time thereafter to Guadalupe college, where, judging by the condition of it, it was read and used as the friars had need. This document is one of the key indicators of the transference of concepts of diabolism among regions within eighteenth-century New Spain. Its concepts mirror those of continental European witchcraft scholars of the previous two centuries, and it appears to inform the thinking of friars of the period concerning their conceptions of the Indians as brutes and devil worshippers. Some key elements that reinforce both comparisons include references to the diabolical pact made by sorcerers as a conscious act; the conflation of indigenous idols with *brujería* (witchcraft); and the further connection of said idols with rites that only could follow the execution of the pact and its explicit conditions.⁹⁵ Specifically this treatise noted that among Indians in various parts of Central America, the friars believed that by “a special pact [Indian] fathers made with Lucifer, their children became witches”, and this in turn led to massive exercises of diabolical rites in which the traditional structure of Catholic practice was inverted. Other arrangements also obtained involving animals, the animation of objects, and other acts offensive to the document’s author.⁹⁶

The treatise’s author advised a steady approach to dealing with such widespread diabolism. As a core part of their mission, friars were counseled to summon the greatest patience possible for their subjects, the potential mission Indians, and then to take the

⁹⁵ Pamphlet on various subjects including witches and witchcraft (*Relacion sencilla...*) bearing the signature of fray Antonio de Andrade, Guatemala, May 1723, OSMHRL, ACZ 3:3714, 3716.

⁹⁶ *Relación sencilla*, ACZ 3:3717-3718.

matter to the headmen of each village at the beginning of the friars' ministry there.

Missionaries would engage eight *diligencias*, or procedures, when entering a town for their initial mission. The acts described involved typical steps to assure the friars' authority by co-opting that of the local leadership and first pressing the issue of local diabolism with the area's elites. Once the elites had been corrected, chastised, and their idols gathered and burned, the friars were to bring the process to the general populace, with the elites' cooperation and power, and do the same among the people. Once the idols, sacred locations, vessels, and other vestiges of sorcery and witchcraft were eradicated, the missionaries attempted to replace indigenous spirituality with their own Spanish Catholic practices and belief. The document addresses in great detail the first part of this overall process, that is the methods to discover, destroy, debunk, or otherwise reject the objects and persons involved in the widespread diabolism the authors perceived to exist in such villages and towns.⁹⁷

In the case of the Franciscans' confrontation with the Hasinai in east Texas in both the early 1690s and 1710s, the processes described above match the inclinations of the missionary fathers when they learned of the Caddos' religious views and practices. It

⁹⁷ *Relación sencilla*, ACZ 3:3716-3719. Later in the treatise its author described the questions the missionary should address to a suspected witch prior to asking the ordinary questions according to the Decalogue (during confession); the priest was counseled to use caution, practice patience, and not scandalize himself during the questions. Among the questions were these:

1. Have you already handed over all your weapons and tools [witchcraft instruments]?
2. How many tools did you give over, and how many weapons did you have?
3. How many children do you have? [One answer given was: "Eight; I ate five, but three live."]
8. You have killed many people with your [spiritual] weapons?
9. Did you give your soul to the Devil?
12. Have you sinned [fornicated] with the Devil? [Answer: "Yes, each day I sinned, and had many children by him."]
13. Have you sustained yourself with human blood?
15. Have you fasted for the Devil?
16. Have you offered candles and drink [to the Devil]?

was based on this personal encounter with Hasinai beliefs that Espinosa accused the native healers of witchcraft; likewise, he stated in his chronicle that “all [Texas Indians’] talents were disfigured by the many idolatries and superstitions by which they were deluded by the Devil, passing from fathers to sons their false and erroneous belief.”⁹⁸ That fray Casañas went so far as to attempt to rid the confederacy of its primary idols by stealing them from the head priest-ruler, the *xinesi*, may be understood only on such terms.⁹⁹ To Casañas, Espinosa, and other members of the first and second cohorts of friars there, the east Texas Indians appeared immersed in diabolical practices that demanded action on the part of the missionaries.

When confronted with the spiritual customs and religious practices of Indians, Franciscans of the apostolic colleges reacted almost viscerally, returning to explanations of diabolism that fit the images they perceived in their travels and later discussions of their experiences. The importance of the manuals and manuscripts like the one just described is that they illustrate the other side of the Franciscan mind in the colleges and missions, in that they show the spiritual other against which the friars believed themselves to be contesting for indigenous souls. Likewise, friars concerned about their own spiritual welfare might be repulsed, frightened, or both when confronted with what looked to them like rampant sorcery, pact-based diabolism, or complete obedience to Satan himself.¹⁰⁰ Defining the methods for dealing with perceived diabolism within the

⁹⁸ Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*, 695, 701.

⁹⁹ “Relación sobre los indios de Texas por Fray Francisco Casañas (1691)” in Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones*, 75-101.

¹⁰⁰ Galindo records the trepidation for the welfare of their own souls exhibited by numerous aspirants to the collegiate membership of Santa Cruz college. His understanding of the missionaries’ motivations for joining the college as stemming more from personal desires for perfection and the safeguarding of their own souls reinforces the potential that a significant fear of sorcery and diabolism might strike in them when

missions was often the attempt to define, control, and recreate the space and persons within the missions in a Spanish manner, consistent with the Franciscan expectations of the ordered soul and Christian community.

Moving in the opposite direction from the spiritual negation of Catholic belief represented by the evidence of concerns about witchcraft and sorcery was the consistent production by Franciscan writers, mostly anonymous friars, of a corpus of locally produced literature that communicated the intense spiritual focus of the Propaganda Fide friars. With the advent of an expanding print industry in the long eighteenth century during which the Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges thrived, friars added to the larger religious publication movement that was a mark of the lasting Baroque influences on New Spain's Catholic population, even in the face of rising secularization of aspects of Mexican society. Whereas an earlier cohort wrote for the edification of its members within the colleges, the publications later in the eighteenth century provide a glimpse of the core strains of spiritual thought in that later period. These writings also support the noticeable attachment of later eighteenth-century friars such as fray Bringas with an overtly ecstatic form of Franciscan religiosity.

Among the numerous examples, six anonymous books show the remarkable outflow of spiritual advice and commentary that the colleges contributed to the society at large. As members of a preaching college for both local and frontier audiences, the Guadalupe friars involved themselves in the promotion of local expressions of the cults of the Virgin Mary in her various manifestations. They also supported the cult of Christ

confronted with such practices in frontier missions (Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", 155-65). In addition, martyrdom appears not to have been a desire for most missionaries, at least not among those entering at Santa Cruz.

crucified, and also demonstrated an allegiance to the image of the *Ecce homo*. As a college dedicated to Marian devotion, the Guadalupe friars produced numerous ephemera for consumption by lay persons and religious alike. Three books, published in 1775, 1790, and 1792 respectively, recounted the miraculous nature of Mary as queen of heaven, as the vaunted Spanish *Virgen de la Cueva santa*, and as her regional apparition as the Guadalupeana, the native Virgin of Mexico.¹⁰¹ While significant vocational energy was spent in the promotion of Marian devotions, the friars at Zacatecas also engaged ministry for the faithful in promotion of Christ crucified, and a fine example of this appears in an anonymously authored novena guide, *Novena de nuestro Maestro y Señor Christo Crucificado ...por un Misionero de el Colegio Apostólico de Na. Sa. De Guadalupe de la ciudad de Zacatecas*.¹⁰² The general format of the publications promoted the Franciscan manner of pursuing each of the particular devotions, and the books appear to have done quite well in the marketplace.

But one indication of that success in the marketplace of Guadalupan publications was the *Pintura afectuosa...de la Virgen María* published initially in Mexico City in 1792, then again in 1796 and 1820. In between the first and second Mexico City printings, the college appears to have ordered a production run on a press in Guadalajara in 1795, no doubt in support of the joint efforts of the friars of the Michoacán province

¹⁰¹ *Corona breve, que en reverencia de las doce estrellas, que coronan a la V. María, dispone un Misionero Ap. Del Colegio de Na. Sa. de Guadalupe de Zacatecas* (Mexico: Lic. D. Joseph Jauregui, 1775); *Compendio histórico y novena de Ma. Sma. Na. Sa., que con el título de la CUEVA SANTA se venera en el seminario apostólico de Sta. Cruz de la Ciudad de Querétaro* (Mexico, 1790, 1794, 1795); *Pintura afectuosa de la agraciada y peregrine hermosura, de la singular é incomparable madre y esposa del cordero, la dulcísima Virgen María: recreación suave de los dichos que le aman: incentive eficaz a los que desean quererla: desahogo apacible para un Corazon aflijido. Bosquejado conforme al Libro de los Cantáres, por un Religioso del Colegio de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas* (Mexico, 1792, 1796; Guadalajara, 1795; reprint, Mexico: oficina de D. Alejandro Valdes, 1820).

¹⁰² *Novena de nuestro Maestro y Señor Christo Crucificado ...por un Misionero de el Colegio Apostólico de Na. Sa. De Guadalupe de la ciudad de Zacatecas* (Mexico, 1777).

and the college's missions to the faithful in the west of New Spain. This book aimed at a comparison of the traits of the blessed Virgin, queen of heaven, with those of the beloved in the Song of Songs. It is a masterpiece of eighteenth-century Marian devotion in the Guadalupana tradition, and a statement of the extent of Marian devotion within the Zacatecas college named in honor of the Virgin's Mexican identity. In the opening passages the *oración*, or versified text, begins with this simple homage and identification of Mary, stating in verse

Toda eres hermosa,	You are in all [completely] beautiful,
Reina de los cielos:	Queen of heaven:
Como que eres Madre	Since you are Mother
Del divino Verbo.	Of the divine Word. ¹⁰³

The remaining text consists of a verse and refrain (*estrivillo*) structure in which the author uses the same adoration of the body of the beloved as in the Song of Songs to express his worship of the Guadalupana. Some of the comparisons are appropriate to the genre, for example the author's identification, when discussing the arms of Mary, of her role as the right arm of Christ, or her ears and sense of hearing as the key to her intercession on behalf of sinners to the God who rightly judges them.¹⁰⁴ Other comparisons such as the great emphasis on the Virgin's teeth as guardians of her secret strength, or discussions of her breasts as producers of sweet wine, milk, and honey, are typical of mystical literature of another age. Just before the standard Marian prayers that close the little book, its author provides a poignant example of the Baroque expressions seen elsewhere when Propaganda Fide friars wrote of spirituality in this century of enlightenment. In short

¹⁰³ *Pintura afectuosa...de la Virgen María*, 3. I used the 1820 edition in the collection of the Biblioteca Franciscana in San Pedro Cholula, Puebla (BF: COCY 2918).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 20, 23.

verses on Mary's soul, he writes "Your soul is a prodigy/ your soul is a portent/ your soul is an abyss/ your soul is a mystery." Such a statement neatly captures the continual adoration and searching of the adherent Marian devotee among the Mexican Franciscans.¹⁰⁵

Other publications were a perfect match for two other aspects of Franciscan spirituality of the friars bound for Texas. The *aljabas apostólicas*, which refer literally to collections (or quivers) of sacred songs and verses (couplets and others), appear to have been quite popular within both target populations for the missionaries' labors. In New Spain these books went through numerous printings, no doubt in conjunction with missions to the faithful during which the *aljabas* were distributed or sold by proxies to the attending crowds. For the frontier missions, such books were valued sources not only of liturgical fodder for the creative missionary, but also commonly contained standard benedictions that might be useful among the infidels and settlers of the north. Two of these stand out as representative of this literature at the end of the eighteenth-century. From a religious of the Zacatecas college the anonymous *Aljaba Apostólico-Guadalupana* came to press; it was printed first in 1799 and several times down to an edition of 1860 to which was added an industrial-age blessing for new railroads. The edition from Santa Cruz college, also anonymously authored, was the *Aljaba apostólica de las principales canciones que cantan en sus Misiones*, also printed initially in 1799.¹⁰⁶ The latter seems influenced in turn by two sources, one of which was the manuscript

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 16, 26-27, quoted text on 34.

¹⁰⁶ *Aljaba Apostólica-Guadalupana, que contiene canciones y saetas reducidas á lo preciso para utilidad de los Misioneros, la preparación para predicar y las bendiciones comunes y el Reglamento de Misiones por un religioso del Apostólico Colegio de Na. Sa. de Guadalupe de Zacatecas* (Mexico, 1799; reprint: Mexico: Imp. de Andrade y Escalante, 1860); *Aljaba apostólica de las principales canciones que cantan en sus Misiones los R.R.P.P. Misioneros...del Colegio de Sta. Cruz de Querétaro* (Guadalajara, 1799).

guide for missions to the faithful written by fray Antonio Margil in the 1720s, and the other the *Flecha evangélica, o Aljaba apostólica para uso de los Misioneros de Indias* written by the Santa Cruz founder and chronicler, fray José Díez, in 1708.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

Late in the mission period of Texas a Spanish friar writing the history of Franciscan apostolic college-seminaries in his native Spain reflected an understanding of the elite nature of the missionary from the colleges there, and linked his comments to fray Espinosa's history of the Santa Cruz friars' missions and those of other colleges in New Spain. In 1818 fray Domingo Parrondo spoke of how the friars of his college, and others like it, were "the [Lord's] legates, his ambassadors, treating with his pardon" for the persons to whom they directed their missions. The word legate (legado) hints of the high regard the author had for his position as an apostolic preacher and prelate of the men like himself. Parrondo expanded on this thought to distinguish the unique calling of the preacher of missions as opposed to the ordinary priest teaching in the parish or convent. He claimed that "all preachers of the divine word [were] Missionaries; but speaking more directly of the especial significance of the Missionary voice, it must be understood that some preachers who are sent out to preach do so with qualities that differentiate them from the rest." By this he meant that the men of the Franciscan colleges *de Propaganda Fide* held claim to a higher level of education and preparation for their task, and thus were elites among those who took missions to both the baptized and the infidel

¹⁰⁷ Fray Margil's guide for missions to the faithful reflects his overall approach to missions to all persons, and is noteworthy for the extreme emphasis on the preacher's own example of piety ("Formulario de Misiones, que hizo, y dictó N.V.P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús", ACQ, I, Legajo 4, no. 46); fray José Díez, *Flecha evangélica, o Aljaba apostólica para uso de los Misioneros de Indias* (Mexico: 1708, reprinted 1731).

nations.¹⁰⁸ This statement captured both the tone and the claims of the missionaries from both Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges who ventured to the missions in Texas.

The Texas missionaries experienced the same training as any other friar in the respective colleges in Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas; all professed Franciscans in the two colleges were steeped in an ethos they shared as self-perceived elite preachers of the gospel to back-sliding Roman Catholic indigenous and *casta* peasants of New Spain's countryside and infidel indigenous bands out on the frontiers, wherever those were in any particular decade. The knowledge that one was a member of the specialized college-seminaries enabled a common language among these men, though one should allot room for typical eclecticism among these Franciscans. Their narrowly-focused purpose defined them as missionary priests in a time when such men were in shorter supply than had previously obtained in New Spain.¹⁰⁹ Between the indoctrination and training of novice friars; the shared experiences of conferences and debates on method, theology, and languages; the shared notions of elite humility as defined in these Franciscans spiritual self-conceptions; and the lessons learned from hundreds of daily contacts with the missions' target populations, the friars of the two colleges, whether priests or lay brothers, who went to Texas did so armed with a fiercely resilient culture of their own that was a product of both education and conditioning within their respective friaries. The expectations that arose from this background and formation are the subject

¹⁰⁸ Fray Domingo Parrondo, *Historia de los colegios-seminarios de misiones de la regular observancia de N.S.P.S. Francisco, existentes en esta Península de España* (Madrid: Oficina de don Francisco Martinez Dávila, 1818), 2.

¹⁰⁹ On the essential eclecticism allowed by the Franciscan "proyecto de vida", see Lino Gomez Canedo, "Evangelización y promoción social: Algunos antecedentes históricos", in *Evangelización, cultura y promoción social*, 309-344.

of the next chapter, and are critical to understanding the methods utilized in the missions and the results obtained therein.

Chapter 3
**“Para esto Santo fin”: Friars’ Expectations, Pastoral Conceptions, and
Rhetoric of Purpose**

From 1690 to the early nineteenth century, Franciscans supporting the Texas missions routinely expressed their understandings of their missionary purpose. Explicit statements of purpose appear in Franciscans’ formal and informal writings throughout the period. These statements and others that reflect their meaning are so common as to constitute a recognizable rhetoric that persisted remarkably unchanged among the missionaries and their colleges regarding the reasons for the missions and the expectations of friars. While the concept of missionary purpose may have been shared and persistent, friars’ individual expectations of missionary life revolved around different issues. The first missionaries to Texas expected a windfall of indigenous souls based on initial encounters, yet as often happened in other mission regions, the friars lowered their expectations as they experienced poorer results over time. This chapter examines the expectations of the Santa Cruz and Guadalupe friars in several aspects: group expectations of the cooperative mission, in which missionary stations were fixed in physical space; early discussions of great success that waited in Texas; and the role and privileges of the missionary as father, leader, exemplar, and cultural broker. The chapter examines these expectations and the resulting rhetoric friars constructed to explain their missionary labors.

The missionaries addressed themselves to a wide array of indigenous cultures present in Texas, as I explained in the introductory chapter. That diversity of peoples included the settled Caddoans of the east and northeast sections of the region; the coastal

hunting and gathering cultures which included Karakawas and some Coahuiltecan; and the hunter-nomads of the central, south central and western regions (see the map on page 32). Missions began in the east among the Caddos but quickly reverted west to the San Antonio River drainage where longer-functioning missions resulted. Additional missions in the 1740s, 1750s, and 1760s attempted to settle tribes of the south central hill country and the near southern plains, including the Apaches and their enemies among the *norteños*, as Spaniards referred to the Wichita and Comanche bands moving into Texas from the north and northwest. The discussions in this chapter address expectations friars held across this defined cultural range including the friars' view of failures as temporary setbacks or postponements to be overcome with renewed efforts.

The title, “para esto Santo fin,” comes from a letter written in 1749 to the governor of Texas by one of the most engaged leaders of the Texas missions, father president fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores of Santa Cruz college.¹ The letter is one of dozens of the type not only by Fray Mariano but also other missionary leaders throughout the period in which mundane details rule the content and context. The significance of the quoted text is that the primary aim of the Franciscans in Texas prefaces the friar's address to the governor, and it does so in a way consistent with statements of missionaries both before and after Fray Mariano. Fray Mariano concisely reminds the secular leadership of the purpose of the missionaries' work: that the Indians be congregated and taught Catholic doctrine with the goal of conversion, so that they may

¹ Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to Governor Barrio Junco y Espriella, August and September 1749, Texas, in Benedict Leutenegger, trans., *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, 1737-1762* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1985), 74-77; quoted text on p. 74.

live as Spanish Christians and vassals and give up their idolatrous ways. For this leader and missionary, this formula provided the entire justification of the Franciscan enterprise.

Cooperation of Church and State in the Missions

Such rhetoric dates from the earliest efforts by the Santa Cruz college to establish a missionary presence in the Texas region. Strong convictions regarding the purpose and rationale of their efforts pervade the letters and diaries of the first contingent of friars traveling with the De Leon-Mazanet expedition in 1690. Fray Damian Mazanet, the Franciscan superior of the expedition, observed in his reports to the viceroy Conde de Galve that he had no greater purpose than "...the conversion of those poor infidels redeemed with the blood of Christ, our life, and for lack of ministers an inestimable number of souls are lost".² Later in the same document Mazanet described floridly the "...poor religious, who labor in the vineyard of the Lord reducing souls to the community of our Holy Roman Catholic [and] Apostolic Mother Church" while calling on the viceroy to provide soldiers for their protection. A memoir of another member of the expedition, Fray Francisco Casañas, explained in more detailed terms the early vision of the friars' mission to Texas. He wrote that the Caddos agricultural focus and other cultural similarities to Spaniards signified an opportunity for acculturation of these peoples towards Hispanic mores. Spaniards could live among them, teach them, and make towns "...that would be the glory of both majesties, for that of heaven and that of the earth" with the result that the Caddos would become vassals of the crown. Casañas

² Fray Damian de Mazanet to Conde de Galve, Mexico, September 1690, in Lino Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 159. Original is in the Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Mexico, Legajo 617.

added that the only way to procure the salvation of these potential vassals is with the assistance of the state.³

More examples from this early foray into Caddoan territory in the 1690s could be used here, but within the texts cited there exists a clear explanation of intent on the part of the Santa Cruz friars. First, they sought the establishment of missions for the salvation of the Indian, the infidels of the province. Coupled tightly to this was the acculturation of these peoples to Spanish ways for the purpose of preserving the Indians in the Roman Church, namely, the post Tridentine Iberian conception of Catholicism, filtered through the lens of Ultramontane, Observant Franciscans from an elite missionary establishment under the aegis of the Propaganda Fide. Both friars point to the state's role as the provider, protector, and juridical foundation for the establishment of new towns of Spanish Christian vassals. Thus the earliest expectation of the friars was a joint venture of Church and state, religion and Hispanic civilization, though this cooperation stalled for a little more than two decades when the Spanish abandoned eastern Texas in 1693.

For both political and ecclesiastical reasons, the Santa Cruz friars abstained from renewed activity in Texas until 1709 and 1714 when renewed reconnaissance of the region by friars commenced.⁴ By this date the third Propaganda Fide college in New Spain, the Guadalupe college a few miles outside the mining city of Zacatecas, was

³ Relación de fray Francisco de Casañas, Nombre Santísima de María mission, August 15, 1691, in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 52, 56.

⁴ Gabriel Tous, trans., "The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition of 1709", in Jesús F. de la Tejas, ed., *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, vol. I. (Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1997).

functioning and ready to send its men into untapped regions.⁵ Under the expedition led by Domingo Ramón in 1716 an enduring presence of Spaniards in Texas began, and this time colleges at both Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas sent missionaries to establish what they hoped would be a formidable push to claim Texas for the crown and establish communities of new Christians from the bands of Indians known in different sections of the region. Missionaries best known for working in Texas either accompanied this expedition or arrived in the years just after it. Effectively these were the years in which friars set expectations for the Texas missions most firmly.

Among the group of friars in 1716 were Antonio Margil de Jesus, Isidro Felix de Espinosa, and Manuel Castellanos. Each of these men wrote of the missionaries' purpose and goals. Fray Margil, the superior of the Zacatecans and the most experienced of the group, set expectations early in his time in Texas based on his work in central New Spain, Nayarit, and Guatemala. Soon after establishing new missions in 1716, Margil wrote to the viceroy in words reminiscent of Mazanet: he reminds the Viceroy that Margil and his brothers are but "humble chaplains of your Excellency, laborers in the vineyard of the Lord" and he displays obeisance to the viceroy for his support and provision. He claims "...that with such patronage we may see the New Philippines conquered for the greater glory of God and the name of our Catholic Monarch"; the friars' services are their duty to

⁵ See Michael B. McCloskey, *Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz, Queretaro: 1683-1733*, (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), for an overview of the founding of colleges at Querétaro, Guatemala, and Guadalupe de Zacatecas. See Félix Saiz Diez, *Los colegios de Propaganda Fide en Hispanoamérica*, Second edition (Lima, 1992), for additional background on the apostolic colleges in the Americas.

his Excellency the viceroy.⁶ In the same month, he and Fray Espinosa related their tasks and accomplishments to the government in Mexico City. They noted the same purpose as above regarding conquering territory. They also claimed that their role was to “...cover [the Indians’] nakedness, to cultivate their lands, and to raise cattle for their sustenance.”⁷ Indigenous persons’ conversion appears in this explanation by way of example, catechism, and direct preaching.

Another of the first contingent, Fray Manuel Castellanos, commented on the friars’ purpose of congregating and converting Indians, though here we may note one of the first mentions of force to persuade Indians to congregate in towns around the mission. Yet Castellanos was hopeful, perhaps overly so considering the challenges he saw in the Indians’ geographical dispersion and idolatry, and the presence of Frenchmen too near the east Texas missions for comfort.⁸ Fray Espinosa was a regular commentator on the Franciscan efforts in Texas both during his time in the missions and after his return to the Santa Cruz college as guardian and chronicler. In 1721 Espinosa delivered the classic statement of Franciscan perspective towards missions in Texas, writing to the viceroy that the intent of the friars was that “...towns be congregated, the holy faith be planted, our King, and Lord be obeyed, and the viceroy given credit for having wrought this

⁶ Fray Antonio Margil to Viceroy Duque de Linares, Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Tejas, July 20, 1716, in Marion A. Habig, ed., *Nothingness Itself: Selected Writings of Ven. Fr. Antonio Margil, 1690-1724*, translated by Benedict Leutenegger (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), 222.

⁷ Fray Antonio Margil and fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, et al, to Viceroy Duque de Linares, Mission La Purísima Concepción, July 22, 1716, in Habig, *Nothingness Itself*, 224-226.

⁸ Fray Manuel Castellanos to superior, October 6, 1716, Mission San Francisco [de los Tejas], AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 181, exp. 4, fol. 484-85.

spiritual Conquest in which so many souls may be saved, and God known.”⁹ In 1733 Espinosa wrote to a later viceroy for assistance, observing more cursorily the friars’ mission and their purpose to “...reduce souls to the community of our Holy Mother Church, and subjection to the gentility of the royal Crown.” He spoke also of how many souls were lost where there were no missionaries, and he requested that the Crown lend more support to the friars.¹⁰

Much of the same theme dominates texts from later decades, including those years in the 1740s and 1750s identified by historian Carlos E. Castañeda as the most productive for the Texas missions.¹¹ By this time Franciscans in Texas regularly communicated their purpose in writing, which demonstrates that the rhetoric of the early missionaries had been absorbed into the common rationale of later friars. One sample of late 1730s rhetoric described the friars’ intent to teach doctrine and tenets of the Christian faith and to encourage the Indians to live in towns like Spaniards.¹² Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, one of the noteworthy fathers president in the 1740s, explained the missionaries’ purpose of reducing the Indians both to the political life of the pueblo and to the holy faith. In this statement Santa Ana labeled the Indians natural savages and explained that they should receive rudimentary instruction in both secular and religious matters. This instruction should occur in partnership with military personnel in the

⁹ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the viceroy, August 18, 1721, Mission Concepción de Agreda, ACQ, K, Leg. 1, no. 10 (J).

¹⁰ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the viceroy, April 13, 1733, Querétaro, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 163, exp. 4, f. 195.

¹¹ Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, 7 volumes (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936-1950), volume III.

¹² Fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes to guardian, no date, Texas, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 32, exp. 4, f. 87. Documents prior to this and referencing the same events date from the late 1730s to 1740.

province.¹³ Again, the work of the friars was one of service to both God and king. In the same year Fray Joseph de Guadalupe, while stationed at Mission San Francisco de la Espada, stated his purpose succinctly as “to attract Gentile Indians to our Christian religion” and to convince the same persons to live under the teaching of doctrine in pueblos.¹⁴ Two paragraphs later Fray Joseph explained his desire to raise a group of new vassals to the king who would defend Texas against foreign powers.

For the friars at mid-century no document better captured their understanding of missionary purpose in Texas than the patent issued by the guardian and council of the Santa Cruz college in 1748 and copied shortly thereafter, in abbreviated form, by the Zacatecas college. Issued to the missionaries on the Rio Grande del Norte, in San Antonio, and on the San Xavier River, this document is an example of the friars’ collective views on the colleges’ missions in the mid eighteenth century. A direct expression of this purpose appeared at the outset, declaring that the friars in these missions had “...the gravest charge of propagating our Holy faith among the barbarous nations, and the attainment for God of the souls of the Infidels that is its primary scope...[and] the purpose of our Missionary Institute.” Towards this end the friars were to catechize frequently (at least once a day) the Indians in the mission and to examine them regularly.¹⁵ Additional instructions reminded the friars of typical priestly functions

¹³ Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to the viceroy, March 4, 1743, Mission Concepción de Acuña, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 236, exp. 1, f. 79, “Naturales barbaros” in original.

¹⁴ Fray Joseph de Guadalupe to the viceroy, received June 21, 1743, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 236, exp. 1, f. 81.

¹⁵ Patent of the discretoary to the presidents and ministers of the missions on the Rio Grande del Norte, San Antonio de Valero and San Xavier, about the governance of the missions, Querétaro, August 19, 1748, ACQ, K, Leg. 3, no. 51, f. 1.

to be performed daily in the missions: pious works, acts of devotion such as praying the rosary of our Lady, hearing or saying mass daily, or performing prayers for the dead.

Summarizing these and more mundane rules for the friars, the College leadership asked above all that the men be good friars in the pattern of Saint Francis. The document reinforced a Baroque understanding of Catholic practice in stressing the example to be given Indians by Franciscans in the Texas missions. One may note how well such a description of Catholic missionary theory matches descriptions of previous centuries; such wording squares with missionary ideals of sixteenth-century friars in New Spain.¹⁶

Statements of missionary purpose from the second half of the century agreed with those from the first. Fray Francisco Ortiz, the father visitor making his rounds through the Texas missions in 1756, credited the missionaries' ministry of salvation and its coupling with service to the king in promoting stable, congregated towns of Indians engaged in adaptation to Hispanic lifestyles.¹⁷ His remarks demonstrated confidence that these ideals were still relevant in that decade. Fr. Romuldo Cartagena wrote to Viceroy Bucareli in August 1772 to explain the transfer of the Santa Cruz college's missions to the care of the Zacatecas college, framing his arguments with a reminder of the friars' efforts at converting the Indians to the faith while attempting to maintain the converts in such a state that they would not return to their libertine ways. He identified the overall

¹⁶ See Edwin Sylvest, *Motifs of Franciscan Missionary Theory in New Spain* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975); Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520-1569*. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano, trans. (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1995).

¹⁷ Fray Francisco Javier Ortiz to the commissary general, fray Joseph Antonio de Oliva, June 14, 1756, Mission de San Antonio de Valero, BNAF, 30/592.1, f. 1-1v.

perspective as “so Christian and holy an end”, and told the viceroy that it was the essence of the Santa Cruz friars’ institute.¹⁸

During the last decade of the century friars continued their activity in coastal south-central Texas, San Antonio, and at the former mission of Nacogdoches, then a post manned by Franciscans from the Zacatecas college but focused instead on the spiritual needs of Spaniards and other settlers in that locale. Fray José Francisco Mariano de la Garza, while working at Espíritu Santo mission near the coast, cited his principal goal with the local indigenes as gaining their salvation, and this through the work of the missionaries by teaching and example.¹⁹ Fray Manuel Julio de Silva worked with Fray Garza in the same region, traveling often to collect neophytes for the most southerly missions in the 1790s; his letters appear regularly in the archives for this period. In one letter, while arguing for the autonomy of the missionary in his mission, Silva termed conversion as the “conquest of the Indians” and asserted that the state was to assist the missionary where it could and when asked to do so.²⁰ Silva also saw the purpose of the Franciscans even at this late stage of the missions in Texas to be one subject to adaptation of methods, but not of purpose.²¹

The Zacatecas friars’ missions to Texas ended in the years following Mexico’s independence, and by 1834 the last friar staying on from the Spanish period was dead. In

¹⁸ Fray Romualdo Cartagena to Viceroy Bucareli, Querétaro, August 14, 1772, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 231, exp. 7, ff. 159-162.

¹⁹ Fray José Francisco Mariano de la Garza to guardian, May 19, 1791, Mission Espíritu Santo, BA 021:375-384.

²⁰ Letter of Fray Manuel Julio de Silva, November 24, 1792, Colegio de San Fernando de Mexico, BA, 22:891-900, manuscript copy.

²¹ Relation of fray Manuel Silva and fray Josef Francisco Mariano de la Garza, February 1791, Bahia. Bancroft-Civezza, Vol. 203.

the first two decades of the nineteenth century there appears to have been steady work towards the ever-present goal of converting and transforming the lifestyles of indigenous persons in the province. Sources from late in the colonial period stressed the poverty, dedication, and praiseworthy nature of the remaining missionaries. Another missionary, Fray José María Guzman, explained in 1820 that the friars served two majesties, God and the king, in the active missions at Bahia and Refugio and those remaining near San Antonio.²²

Expectations of Successful Missions

No friar ventured to the mission fields of the early modern Americas without some conception of the potential results of his work with indigenous peoples. Franciscans from the apostolic colleges in New Spain felt an even stronger impetus towards success in their ideation of the missions in Texas, not the least reason for which was their intensive training as missionary priests compared to other Franciscan, that is provincial, missionaries of the era. As addressed in the previous chapter, friars headed to Texas missions had a wealth of knowledge, skills, and in some cases, hands on experience they could apply to the challenge in the new province.

The statements above of the early friars in Texas were rife with optimism, and an overall tone that indicated that these men thought their mission would yield much fruit. Though the first group of missionaries was small, their thoughts were large in terms of their expectations for the Caddoan-speaking peoples in east Texas. Fray Casañas, whose

²² Fray José María Guzman to Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, June 1820, AGN, Misiones, Vol. 3, exp. 56, ff. 220-222.

thoughts on the cooperative mission of the Church and crown were addressed above, elaborated in detail on the Hasinai and their kinfolk in nearby bands, noting that the lifestyles these Indians displayed to Spanish eyes appeared ready for elevation to a Spanish model of life and worship.²³ The friar wrote of the docility of many of the persons he encountered in the Hasinai villages and fields, and of how such persons could be reduced to missions easily. Trinkets in abundance would enable the friars to build their compounds, educate the natives, and keep their attention on the matters Casañas thought paramount to the successful mission. Casañas's superior in Texas, fray Damian Mazanet, wrote of the Hasinai that they were a "people very inclined to labor" as evinced by their impressive agricultural production and the physical organization of their communities; he agreed with the comments of fray Casañas and the other friars in this early group, Miguel Font-Cuberta and Antonio Bordoy, that the Hasinai were a docile people at first contact.²⁴ He thought that the Hasinai were the ideal missionary target among the infidels of the north and would soon come to live as the missionaries desired them to do.

Initial expectations soured by 1693 when the first contingent of missionaries returned to the Santa Cruz college admitting defeat in their immediate circumstances in the east Texas missions. The friars did not return to the Hasinai permanently until after 1714 when the government and Franciscan leadership in New Spain approved the

²³ Relación de fray Francisco de Casañas in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 50-52, 67.

²⁴ Fray Damian de Mazanet to Conde de Galve in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 161; Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, 2d. ed., ed. Lino Gómez Canedo (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1964), 672.

renewed effort. By the time the Franciscans returned to Texas and to the Caddoan peoples there, friars from both the Santa Cruz college and that of Guadalupe de Zacatecas expressed high hopes for the new missions. Fray Castellanos' intentions for a successful planting of new missions among the Hasinai have been noted above. Over the following several years, despite setbacks, other friars began a consistent rhetoric that foretold achievements they planned for their missions in the province.

The remaining parts of this section consider missionaries' expectations for success among three groups: the Caddoan peoples to whom the missionaries returned in the mid 1710s, the Coahuiltecan-speaking peoples of south central Texas to whom the friars turned next in the areas that later would be called San Antonio and Matagorda Bay, and the most frustrating peoples Spaniards would know in Texas, the Lipan (or eastern) Apache bands. At the outset of each targeted mission for these peoples, the friars invested hope in their efforts to convert each group. And in each instance, those missions met few of the expectations the friars held in regards to their dreams of successful, thriving missions developing into towns of Christian Indians.

In the early years of the renewed missions in Hasinai territory, various friars recorded classic statements of their expectations for the missions and their target populations. Though the initial years in which Franciscans returned to the area were plagued by the same acute problems that occurred in the 1690s, the friars still felt to a man that there was strong hope for the missions there.²⁵ Fray Espinosa especially

²⁵ See the joint statement to the viceroy by the fathers president of the two colleges and their fellow missionaries, La Purísima Concepción mission, July 22, 1716, OSMHRL Microfilm, ACZ 1:141-145.

thought the area to be fertile for Spanish Catholic forms of Christian conversion and lifestyle, and informed the viceroy of this view in 1718.²⁶ While working in “that poor and forsaken land of the Tejas” Espinosa held tightly to his perspective that the labor, exhaustion, and frustration with the ways of the people at his mission were but the preamble to long-term success in the east Texas woods. Fray Francisco Hidalgo, Espinosa’s frequent companion and a veteran of the 1690s missions, concurred regarding the potential of the region and its peoples.²⁷ Just three years later in another letter to the viceroy Espinosa explained his faith in the friars’ success with the Hasinai and other Caddoan peoples. He cited the same cultural features as his brethren had before, and then argued that his reasoning was based on his confidence that the Hasinai would see the rightness of moving closer to the missions to enable greater access to daily teaching, the sacraments, and the resources provided by the missionaries.²⁸

Even during the time of the missionaries’ flight from east Texas to the San Antonio River in 1719 due to tensions with the French, missionaries wrote of their intense desire to regain their place among the Hasinai. By this time it was yet again clear that the Indians would not be an easy conquest either culturally or spiritually, and yet the friars reflected their continued hopefulness in the purpose of missions in that section of Texas. Fray Antonio Margil summarized the feelings of the displaced in 1720 when

²⁶ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the viceroy, La Purissima Concepción de los Asinais mission, February 28, 1718, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, fol. 491v.

²⁷ Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, 684; fray Francisco Hidalgo to the viceroy, San Francisco de los Tejas mission, November 4, 1716, in Mattie Austin Hatcher, trans., “Description of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, 1691-1722”, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 31:1 (July 1927- April 1928), 53-62.

²⁸ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the viceroy, La Concepción de Agreda mission, August 8, 1721, ACQ, K., Legajo 1, no 10 (J).

writing to his former companion in the Guatemala missions the two men had founded in an earlier period. Margil equated the loss of the missions to those lost for some time in Guatemala prior to his time in Texas, and he requested prayers of his fellow friar for what appeared to him an inevitable success provided that the friars were able to return. In Margil's view, the friars should "...cry to the Lord and to Gedeon [sic]; to our Lord, so that through the merits of his most sacred passion his most sacred Blood may not be wasted."²⁹ Here, and in other sources, one observes that for the Franciscans in this period, their immediate failures fit into their worldview as trials of a temporary sort, as mere postponements of the inevitable work of God to convert and civilize the heathen targets of missionary labors.

Other early missionaries held similar hopes for indigenous bands that would prove more receptive to the Franciscans' invitation to the Indians to enter the missions on the San Antonio River near the nascent *villa* of San Fernando de Béxar. Among the early statements of expectations were those directed by friars towards Coahuiltecan bands and other nomadic hunter-gatherers of the south central plains of the province. Often the expected success formed the backdrop of another argument, such as that of Fathers Margil and Espinosa in their joint letter to their superiors in 1724 requesting additional soldiers for the roads leading to and from the San Antonio missions. Here, as elsewhere, the friars enjoined their leaders in the battle for Indians' souls, stating their intentions to

subject and obligate [the local bands] to live in Christian community, teaching all the children the doctrine, catechizing the adults, and in time baptizing them so

²⁹ Fray Antonio Margil to fray Francisco de San Esteban y Andrade, San Antonio de Valero mission, September 1, 1720, in Leutenegger, ed., *Nothingness Itself*, 272-275.

that they may live in Christian towns subject to the laws of God, the Church, and the King through his appointed officials.³⁰

This phrasing duplicates descriptions of missionary intentions among the Hasinai; the authors of this missive wrote such words individually about other groups as noted above. For the friars of the 1710s and 1720s in Texas, this was a standard expression of the expected results for the work ahead of them.

Statements of the early 1730s conveyed a similar tone. Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía, the Santa Cruz guardian in 1731, wrote the viceroy concerning the reports he received from the newly established San Antonio missions in that year.³¹ Fray Pedro excitedly relayed information about new mission buildings: the friars inhabited their recently built cells and the Indians, whom he identified as Pacaos, Alobjas, and Pajalats, occupied new *jacales*, brush-and-mud huts, in the mission compounds. Mezquía shared the “great zeal” of his missionaries and their observations of the Indians’ cheerful participation in both work and doctrinal instruction. Even when faced with mounting dangers that even Mezquía noted in his letter about the Apaches who threatened the growing missions, he and the missionaries whose thoughts he channeled to the viceroy maintained high levels of confidence that the named indigenous bands would yield to the missionary efforts of the friars.

³⁰ Fray Antonio Margil and fray Felix Isidro de Espinosa to fray Mathias Sáens de San Antonio on the need for additional soldiers and presidio, Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas, July 20, 1724, CAT, Photostat transcript, Box 117, Folder 8, f. 1.

³¹ Letter of fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía, Colegio de la Santa Cruz, Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 89-90.

Based on his own experience and that of his brethren in the 1730s and 1740s, fray Ignacio Ciprián crafted a report to the commissary general of New Spain, fray Juan Antonio de Abasolo, in 1749 that reflected both early and mid century expectations of the Guadalupe friars in Texas.³² Fray Ciprián's report was a combined exercise; it was part report to an internal superior in which little was to be gained by hyperbole, and part foundational document to support the later rebuttal of Franciscan authorities in New Spain and Madrid to disparaging remarks made at court about the Guadalupe college friars (and other Franciscans in New Spain) in the preceding two years. Notwithstanding his role as reporter of the Texas mission affairs, Ciprián showed tremendous evenhandedness in his assessments, and within his report he expressed continued confidence in the Franciscans' conversion efforts among the bands around San Fernando and the San Antonio River drainage as well as those on the Texas coast.

After sharing the hopes and dashed expectations of work among the Hasinai, where Zacatecan friars still labored at the time of his report, Ciprián related the friars' history in missions at San Antonio and the coastal region. At San José de Aguayo mission, friars routinely commented, he said, on the "outstanding ... temporal and spiritual gains" realized there in the nearly thirty years since its founding. The Indians of mission San José were Mesquites and Pastias bands, and these groups impressed numerous missionaries over the years by their dedication to missionary directions: they

³² "Report to the Franciscan Commissary General of New Spain, fray Juan Antonio Abasolo, by fray Ignacio Antonio Ciprián of the Apostolic College of Our Lady of Guadalupe de Zacatecas, written at the College of San Fernando, Mexico City, October 27, 1749", in Benedict Leutenegger, trans. and ed., *The Texas Missions of the College of Zacatecas in 1749-1750: Report of Fr. Ignacio Antonio Ciprián, 1749, and Memorial of the College to the King, 1750* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1979), 18-29.

fulfilled the obligations of the Church, were faithful in receiving the sacraments, and engaged in spiritual activities that marked them as maturing Catholics. Among these activities was the Indians' recitation of the Rosary each Saturday and the "tenderness and devotion" of their singing in the mission church. Though suspect of possible overstatement, Ciprián claimed that the Mesquites and Pastias in this mission all converted once they received instruction in Christian doctrine, even to the point of abandoning their traditional polygamy.³³ The reporter writes of these Indians at San José that they were "well trained and become good Christians."

By comparison the Indians at Espíritu Santo mission (Karankawas of various bands) near the Gulf coast of Texas (near modern Goliad) were, according to fray Ciprián, "unbearable" and "most troublesome" in the initial years of the 1720s. For all of that experience and the challenges presented by the environs of this mission, Ciprián relayed the Franciscan missionaries' expectations of extended success that followed the relocation of this mission some distance inland. While not as successful as San José with its model neophytes, Espíritu Santo was a place in which friars invested themselves, hoped for the best, and after the first difficult phases achieved, according to fray Ciprián, impressive results that were just the beginnings of a thriving enterprise among the coastal peoples. He commented on the great expense of this mission that proved its worth by mid century: all youth under fourteen years of age were Christians, as were many of their parents and older relatives. Two groups demonstrated tremendous potential both early and at the time Ciprián wrote his report. All of the Tamiquez and many Xaranames were

³³ "Report of Fr. Ciprián", 21.

Christians, and of the latter group the friar thought their neophytes to be “the most faithful”.³⁴

Not all Indians inspired the hopes of the friars in Texas, not even those of fray Ciprián. Other parts of his report that treat the Hasinai region of east Texas contained no expectations of renewed missions or increases in neophytes there. And while Ciprián believed that the Stone Age tribes of the coast and southern plains had potential, their nomadic competitors, the Lipan Apaches, merited none of that potential in Ciprián’s eyes. Such a perspective was not unique. On several occasions others among the missionaries commented on the Coahuiltecan and other small indigenous groups in the same regions. Two of these friars, Fathers Benito Fernández de Santa Ana and Mariano Francisco de los Dolores, held the key position of father president for the Santa Cruz missionaries in Texas during the 1740s and 1750s, and each had reason at differing moments of his term as local superior to hold out hope for the conversion of particular indigenous bands.

Fray Santa Ana’s expectations for the Santa Cruz missions in Texas were high in February 1740. He wrote to his superior of the simple nature of his charges, claiming the Indians of “this province are normally docile and without opposition to the faith”. Not only were these peoples open to the work of the missionaries and their conversion efforts, but the missionaries (at least fray Santa Ana) looked on their care of these bands as an act of mothering the Indians as the friars’ children (take note of the gendered term). This is an expectant tone to say the least, especially when the next sections of the letter shared

³⁴ “Report of Fr. Ciprián”, 22-23.

the difficulties every friar faced with fleeing neophytes seeking freedom away from the mission sites. Yet in comparison to the “tejas and [H]asinais” Santa Ana argued that other bands in the center of the province were far easier for the friars to convert in the missions.³⁵

Fray Mariano de los Dolores, father president of the Santa Cruz missionaries in the tumultuous, ambitious period of the 1740s and 1750s, carried forward those initial expectations of Coahuiltecan and other primitive bands in the central regions of Texas that they would be easy conquests in terms of both spiritual conversion and Hispanization. As I noted at the outset of this chapter, Fray Mariano frequently stated his hopes for the Indians of the province and reminded the readers of his letters and memorials that his goals were the primary ones for the settlements. His expectations were most apparent in two letters written in June and July 1745 in which he exhorted first the father visitor, fray Ortiz, and then the guardian of Santa Cruz concerning the success to be had with recently engaged Indian bands.

In the first letter he remarked on the “Naciones de la rancheria grande” within range of the San Antonio missions, identifying these groups as Cadoses, Yujuanes, and Mayeyes and stating their intent to have missions of their own.³⁶ This letter marked the beginning of the push for the ill-fated San Xavier missions, the three missions of Candelaria, San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas, and San Ildefonso, in which fray

³⁵ Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to fray guardian Pedro del Barco, San Antonio, February 20, 1740, BNAF, 5/99.1, f. 1-5v.

³⁶ Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to father visitor fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, San Antonio de Valero mission, June 12, 1745, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 35-40.

Mariano attempted to gather not only the groups named above but also coastal bands such as the Cocos who were involved in the events preceding the homicides of a priest and layman at Candelaria mission in 1752.³⁷ In the first events of contact one sees a missionary priest in the full flush of excited planning, his expectations dampened only by two issues. First, the location required a presidio to defend the missions as they would be some distance from San Fernando's presidio, and second, the expectation that two missionaries would be enough for all the neophytes was, to fray Mariano, preposterous. Fray Mariano requested several more friars and eventually settled for the three missions already cited. Aside from these matters, the letter reads as one would expect from a missionary in virgin soil who envisioned large-scale conversions on the near horizon.

The second letter, which fray Mariano sent in July of that year to his college's guardian, requested the necessary formal actions required to open several new missions for the indigenous bands with which he had communicated in the prior months. He wrote of the rarity of such a ripe opportunity to convert a mass of indigenes ("around 1,228 persons") and to extend the "happy progress of the apostolic institute". His letter itself is rare also; fray Mariano took great liberties in his forecast of "an abundant harvest in which the [college's] apostolic zeal" was so active. This type of statement did not occur often beyond the early years of the missionary presence in Texas.³⁸ The missionary promised his superior in Querétaro that the information the father visitor would share

³⁷ Ibid, introduction, 36; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, III: 241-338 addresses the short-lived missions on the San Gabriel River in detail.

³⁸ Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to father guardian Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, San Antonio de Valero mission, July 26, 1745, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 41-45.

with the guardian was to bring the latter great happiness. Fray Mariano recurrently used words that translate literally as ‘joy’ and ‘joyous’ as later in the same letter he explained both the reactions of the Indians to news of their soon-to-arrive missions and his own expectation of fostering such works among them.³⁹ And so the cheerful expectations of rapid conversions, the creation of new Christian towns, and the addition of vassals to the Spanish territories in North America carried through not just to the reestablishment of the east Texas missions, but also to the 1740s.

Those friars who commented on their own expectations for the missions or those of their missionary cohorts exhibited a range of intensely felt and often contradictory feelings regarding which groups of Indians provided the better prospects for missions. To illustrate this point several examples follow of hopeful commentaries on the potential for missions to Apaches, primarily the Lipans but also other Apache bands or ‘nations’. These efforts failed, but for the current line of investigation it is the intentions and expectations of these commentaries that are important.

Almost immediately after the return of Franciscan missionaries to the Caddoan lands of the Hasinai in east Texas friars arrived also in the area that became home to the San Antonio missions and their satellites. At this moment, not later than the mid 1720s, friars began to include the Lipan Apaches in their speculative comments concerning missionary prospects among the numerous nomadic peoples of the southern Texas plains. While few examinations of the Apaches as a targeted mission population were free of

³⁹ Ibid, 43-44; the recurring words and phrases are *gusto*, *con gusto*, *gustoso*, and *regocijo*. The friar could not contain his enthusiasm for this new enterprise.

reservations on the part of friars concerned about the Apaches as a threat to Spanish settlements, these early examples are noteworthy for how clearly the authors desired to begin the project of winning Lipan souls. They knew this would be dangerous, but most friars who took up the topic rationalized the effort and risk, and also the benefits to be realized both immediately and eternally. As a topic the Apache missions were discussed from the 1720s to the 1770s, but little in the way of real action occurred prior to the attempt to settle Apaches in their own missions during the 1750s.⁴⁰

Among the first commentators on the potential for Apache missions was fray Francisco Hidalgo, the man credited by many contemporaries and later historians with catalyzing the return to Texas by the Propaganda Fide friars. Hidalgo was a veteran of the attempts made in the early 1690s among the Caddoan speakers in east Texas. Hidalgo wrote more than one letter commenting on the Lipans and similar bands nearer the Rio Grande; his note of March 1724 captured the normal tenor of his thinking. Hidalgo explained to fray Joseph González, another veteran, that the Apache incursions meant essentially two conflicting things to the Texas missions and other settlements: fearful depredations at the hands of the raiding Apaches and a significant opportunity for the conversion of these raiders' *rancherías* nearby.⁴¹ The presidio commander, Captain Flores, was apprehensive of recent Apache arrivals from these *rancherías* seeking

⁴⁰ The best known authority for this story is Robert Weddle, *The San Sabá Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964; reprint, College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1999). See also Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed., and Paul D. Nathan, trans., *The San Sabá Papers: A Documentary Account of the Founding and Destruction of San Sabá Mission* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1959); Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 156-63.

⁴¹ Fray Francisco Hidalgo to fray Joseph Gonzalez, San Antonio de Valero mission, March 25, 1724, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 183, exp. 1, ff. 24-25.

vengeance for lost family members, as were the captain of the La Bahia presidio and the lieutenant there. While the other friars worried of the possible harm the Apaches would unleash, Hidalgo reminded his reader of the omnipotence of the God he served, stating that his god knew of the justice to be delivered to the Apaches and the merciful timing of interventions to be made in the tense situation he described. Hidalgo shared a common statement among northern missionaries with his fellow friar: “Non est concilium contra dominum”; if the friars dared not take advantage of the contacts to be made at that time by the implied will of God in recent events, surely the French would do so. He advised the Spanish governor to buy peace and let the missionaries begin a fruitful ministry to the itinerant Apaches.

Hidalgo’s letter was the second letter in a trio of documents that concern the friars’ views of Apaches and an Apache mission in the 1720s. Fray Ignacio de San José Baeza wrote of negotiations with the Lipan Apaches in the fall of 1723 preceding the events Hidalgo described, in which fray Gonzalez not only brokered a temporary peace with nearby Lipans but also spent time sharing the tenets of Catholic belief with the band or bands gathered near the San Antonio missions. In this event fray Baeza held fast to two perspectives on the events in 1723. First, his view that the peace-making efforts were mysteriously inspired and directed are evident in his awestruck tone at the success of fray Gonzalez’s work; he claimed that the negotiations were “surely a work of God”. Secondly, he expressed an overarching confidence in his fellow friars and the rightness of their activist interventions in the military officers’ dealings with the many indigenous

peoples surrounding the missions at the time. As with Hidalgo six months later, fray Baeza saw a clear path to successful conversion efforts among this people.⁴²

The third of the letters followed that of Hidalgo by one month, and it exuded the same confidence in the friars' abilities to convert Apaches if given the freedom to do so. Also, its author, the noted fray González, stated a recurring view of Texas missionaries in the eighteenth century when faced with a nearly, but not quite, accessible target group of neophytes when he laments the "innumerable souls" lost when the Apache missions were delayed. González admitted more doubt about the likelihood of the mission than his brethren. Like fray Baeza, he encouraged the activism of his brethren and expressed his view that the situation could improve either through negotiation or war; he also, like Hidalgo, subjected his desire for action to the will of God in regards to resolving the current tensions with the Apaches. The folios following his letter contain, in another hand, a review by the *auditor de la guerra* for the viceroyalty which explained the current situation in Texas, particularly that of the San Antonio River missions and presidio, and asked for authorization of action against the Apaches.⁴³

A sampling of later correspondence of Texas missionaries indicates vacillation between a passionately held belief in the promise of successful conversion of the Apaches, and a wary pragmatism that expected such missions to be of great risk and to yield middling results. There are for both views a satisfying collection of commentaries,

⁴² Fray Ignacio de San José Baeza to guardian fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa regarding the peace with the Apaches, San Antonio de Valero mission, November 3, 1723, ACQ, K, Leg. 7, no. 2, second mss letter.

⁴³ Letter of fray Joseph Gonzalez, Texas, April 11, 1724, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 183, exp. 1, f. 26. See folios 27-30 for the request for review by the *auditor de la guerra*.

because both friars and governing officials alike from the 1720s to the early 1760s devoted much attention to the Apaches as a group. Moreover, these documents were held in repositories to support retrospective reviews of actions undertaken for missions and the military presence maintained nearby.

Among those who were hopeful for Apache missions, friars such as Father Joseph de Guadalupe, who was the missionary at San Francisco de la Espada mission in 1743, wrote that the Lipans' regular contacts with the missions indicated their increased openness to life as mission neophytes.⁴⁴ Where modern historians argue the Apaches' visits indicate an inclusion of the missions in their gathering cycles and general life ways, friars such as fray Joseph understood such actions as indications of the bands' intent to settle and convert.⁴⁵ He was not ignorant of the fact that Lipans and other nomads satisfied their material needs with the help of the missions; as with other comments of friars at other times in regards to other bands, fray Joseph recorded the great need the Apache families demonstrated at every visit for horses, sheep and goats, and what he refers to as "comforts of home", most likely food and basic tools. Most letters of fray Joseph's type spent more time gleaning hope from different actions by the Indians in question. His was oriented explicitly in this manner: he wrote that the Apaches near Espada mission were willing to abandon their "libertad", to subject themselves in 1743 to

⁴⁴ Letter of fray Joseph de Guadalupe received by the viceregal office June 21, 1743, San Francisco de la Espada mission, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 81-82.

⁴⁵ On the use of missions as supply depots by nomadic peoples, see Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 142-68; F. Todd Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), chapter 2.

lives “under the obedience of the [Christian] doctrine”, and to work on the mission for their livelihood.⁴⁶ Before shifting his focus to the benefits this shift of the Apaches’ allegiance and dwellings would gain for the Spaniards, fray Joseph discussed the ease with which he and other friars reasoned with the “great captain” of the Apaches to gain his consent to enter into a mission.

By 1746 some friars were less enamored with the idea of Apache missions in Texas, but they still allowed some hopes that such a project could be realized. A more moderate view emerged from other Santa Cruz friars. Fray José Francisco de Ganzábal, an eventual martyr in the San Xavier missions, wrote a typical description of the progress towards the goal of Apache missions. Fray Ganzábal was a dynamic missionary and noted for his intensity in pursuing native conversions, his preaching, and his own studies. In what appeared to be a regular interaction with his college’s guardian in Querétaro, he outlined in February 1746 how it was the missionaries communicated with the Apache bands and what outcomes resulted from that interaction. The focus was on communication via captives: Spanish trade captives, Apaches and other Indians, and the messages carried by these persons between indigenous villages and Spanish settlements.⁴⁷ This letter spoke to the involvement of the leading Franciscans in interactions they no doubt did not condone given their vocational limitations on activism outside the missions, but the hopeful statements contained in fray Joseph’s report did not

⁴⁶ Letter of fray Joseph de Guadalupe, ff. 81v, 82.

⁴⁷ On the enduring exchange networks for captives in Texas and others of the Spanish-indigenous frontier zones, see Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* and James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

appear in this communiqué. And yet there was some indication of high expectations to be inferred from the actions of all Franciscans mentioned by fray Ganzábal. Both he and fray Mariano de los Dolores constantly moved from missions to indigenous rancherías and back to missions, all the time urging Indians, especially the Apaches they found, to move into missions the friars wished to establish for them. Letters such as fray Ganzábal's indicate the great amount of attention given by the missionaries to goals beyond the quotidian demands of the mission stations they led. Were one to read just the letters of fray Ganzábal, one would conclude that he rarely preached, said mass, or catechized his own mission Indians, but rather spent all his time on the trails between settlements and Indian camps.⁴⁸ Other records indicate this was not the case – fray Ganzábal was a dedicated worker wherever placed according to other records – but it is indicative of the mindset of the 1740s missionary cohort that expansion held their focus when communicating among themselves and with secular Spanish authorities.

The closer the researcher comes to the later 1750s, the greater becomes the volume of notices regarding the intentions of all Spanish officials, both Church and state, concerning the Apaches in their midst. The culmination was the experiment at San Sabá, which historian Robert Weddle labeled the “Spanish pivot” in Texas claiming that the period following the events there saw no more establishments on such a grand scale. The events at San Sabá were closely followed only by the subsequent efforts to missionize Apaches, at least some of them, at San Lorenzo, and in the decision concerning the 1760s

⁴⁸ Fray José Francisco de Ganzábal to guardian fray Giraldo de Terreros, Purísima Concepción de Acuña mission, February 4, 1746, ACQ, K, Leg. 7, no. 1, third document.

location of Candelaria mission.⁴⁹ But so much historical research has responded to the intense soul-searching of Spanish survivors of the attack on the mission at San Sabá in 1758 that the less fantastic, rather ordinary statements of friars in respect to expectations of their work with the Lipans have slipped by almost unnoticed. Two are representative. The formal request for the mission to the Apaches was first set in writing from the guardian of the Santa Cruz college, fray Juan Hernandez, to the commissary general, fray Juan Antonio de Abasolo, in 1751. In terms of the depth, tone, and formal apparatus the request looked like any other such document, and yet it was the product of as much cumulative Franciscan thought as the missions to the Caddoan peoples that inaugurated the province of Texas. Another statement, this one just months before the April 1757 approach of Spanish priests and military to the site on the San Sabá River, reveals again the steady, expectant faith of the friars that their mission to the Apache bands would succeed.

Father guardian Hernandez promised the commissary general, the highest Franciscan prelate in New Spain, that as always the friars under his guidance would adhere in every way to the orders given them for the Apache missions in Texas. His requests were like those of every other prior guardian who petitioned the hierarchy for recognition and blessings of new mission attempts in frontier zones. He asked for an explicit license to pursue the mission to the Lipan Apaches, and he requested provisions

⁴⁹ Weddle, *San Sabá Mission*; Elizabeth A.H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), 362-69, 380.

for the effort which even in 1751 was in the planning stage.⁵⁰ In the second instance, early in January 1757 fray Ildefonso José Marmolejo related his findings and opinion regarding the impending start of the first Apache mission at San Sabá.⁵¹ He described the political scene of the tense years preceding this event and commented on the numerous “barbarous Gentile nations”, both Apache and Comanche, then occupying the region. While his comments overall reflect much more closely the typical commentary about the strife of the Indian nations and political scheming which included Spanish governors and presidio commanders, he also retains that placid, confident tone seen elsewhere regarding the missions’ purpose and results. On their purpose he was clear: the missions intended “to reduce to our Christian, and rational, way of life” the Indians who would enter as neophytes. Fray Marmolejo held to the Franciscans’ recurring faith that the peace with the Apaches would hold, that the Apaches would occupy one or more missions away from the San Antonio area, and that the Apaches’ relations with the both Church and the crown would develop as they became faithful Christians and vassals. The missionaries’ constancy, from the guardians in the colleges to the friars on the ground in Texas, points to the fact that each of these missionaries had clearly defined expectations for the Apache missions.

⁵⁰ Fray Juan Hernandez to commissary general fray Juan Antonio de Abasolo, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, September 1751, BNFF, vol. 145, ff. 2-2v.

⁵¹ Written opinion of fray Ildefonso José Marmolejo on the new foundations to be made on the San Sabá River, San José de Aguayo mission, January 6, 1757, BNAF, 9/143.272, ff. 1259-1262. Quoted text on ff. 1259 and 1260.

The Congregated Mission

Aside from the friars' expectations that the missions in the Province of Texas would be cooperative efforts backed by the state and that they, as missionaries, would triumph in their work there, the friars shared a common view that the missions would be congregated, stationary sites where neophytes would form towns and learn to be Christians. The congregated mission thus is another of the most basic understandings to which friars attached themselves prior to their arrival in Texas and it is one they prosecuted tirelessly over the long century of their presence in the region. The notion that Indians be induced to form towns, learn Christianity from the missionaries, and become acculturated as Spanish vassals already has been mentioned above in reference to initial views on the cooperative approach to the Texas enterprise. The present discussion provides evidence of the pervasive and continuing belief on the part of Franciscans from the Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges in congregating indigenous bands in fixed mission complexes.

The statements of Fathers Mazanet and Casañas in the first section of this chapter demonstrate how the first establishments in the 1690s hinged on the notion that the Hasanai and other Caddos would be best served if they would gather their remote rancherias together to live in or close by the missions in eastern Texas. Mazanet, Casañas, and their fellow missionaries thought it right that the missions would become the center of the Caddos' world, rather than the *xinesi*'s complex that was, at the time of

the 1690 entrada, the center of the Hasanai settlements and cosmos.⁵² When the Franciscans returned to Texas in the second decade of the eighteenth century, Fathers Espinosa and Castellanos, also discussed in the opening section, were clear in their estimation that the missions there would again be places to which the scattered peoples of the region would be reduced. A closer examination of fray Espinosa's perceptions on the congregation of indigenes in missions follows.

As chronicler of the Santa Cruz missionaries, in later years Espinosa wrote several histories, biographical sketches bordering on hagiography, and reviews of the works of the respective Franciscan Propaganda Fide colleges active in his life time. One of these was the masterful *Crónica apostólica, y seráfica de todos los colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva España*, a massive volume in which Espinosa documented the work in Texas and other regions of New Spain. In Book V, chapter VIII, Espinosa returned to the sources from the time of his and previous missionaries' work, calling the friars' efforts a "spiritual conquest" and using the concept of the congregation of neophytes as a synonym for the mission itself.⁵³ He acknowledged the failure of the first missionary cohort which returned home in 1693, and then set the stage for his narrative of the period in which he was an active participant.

Other letters of Espinosa held, in their general theoretical assumptions, that the mission was defined as gathered neophytes in a physical compound; these letters appear as sources throughout this study. Espinosa's diary of the Ramón expedition in 1716 for

⁵² In addition to the sources cited previously, see Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 27-68, regarding the worldview of the Caddo peoples encountered by the Spanish in the late seventeenth century.

⁵³ Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*, 680.

which he was the superior of the Santa Cruz friars was more explicit. Within this record which refers to his earlier 1709 journey into Texas, Espinosa revealed numerous times how entrenched was this concept that the mission would be a congregated group of indigenous persons at a single location. Three points include the friar's recollection of sites for a mission and town: one that appears at the end of the entry for May 14; the commentary on the search at the end of June for a first mission site, which was found after the selection of the presidio site; and his observation that the friars delayed the assembly of the Indians at this site on July 2 because of the reticence of the Indians to even frequent the mission continually until they had gathered the current harvest in their rancherias.⁵⁴ These multiple references to locating a fixed site, assembling the people, and waiting until they could dedicate their attention at the site to the missionaries' program are all strong signs of the accepted concept of the mission as a site where persons gathered for instruction and lived communally under the care of the friars.

Sources from the 1720s and 1730s indicate that friars at the time embraced the idea of the fixed location for a mission in which the neophytes were permanent residents. No apparent worry existed before this time that the missions might take too much of the friars' efforts in terms of management, and thus constitute a threat to their conversion effort. As ordered by the college leadership, the Texas missions were inspected in 1727 by a visitor and his assistant. In this process, the friars obsessed over two distinct elements of the mission compounds. First, their records indicate a thorough accounting

⁵⁴ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, "Diary of 1716", trans. Gabriel Tous, in Jesús F. de la Teja, ed., *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society I* (Austin, 1930; reprinted 1997), 74, 86.

of the physical plant of the missions: their buildings, tools, stored and planted grains and other produce, and the livestock attached to each mission. Second, the friars were insistent that they record the inhabitants at the mission (though these portions are mostly lost or illegible) and how many persons participated in the sacraments and other spiritual ministries of the location. Friars observed that these missions, mainly those in the eastern lands of the Caddo peoples, were still not inhabited as they should be, and they were at pains to justify their missionary activities when faced with the absence of neophytes. One friar noted that he endeavored still at San Francisco de los Neches mission “to affect that good desire [of the friars’] for the propagation of our holy faith and the reduction [to missions] of these Gentiles.”⁵⁵

In 1729 fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, one of the better scholars and writers among his fellows, drafted on behalf of the Santa Cruz friars a memorial addressed to the king via the Council of the Indies. This memorial addresses numerous concerns the college had regarding the missions, including those in Texas, and its author would eventually serve in the province with distinction, both at the Rio Grande mission at San Bernardo and in the San Antonio River missions. Paredes’ memorial contains insights into friars’ views of the time that the missions were congregated centers of neophytes. He noted indirectly the goal of collecting in specific locations the different indigenes when writing of the missionaries’ expectations that the military assist with congregating

⁵⁵ Inspection of 1727, BNFF, vol. 132, ff. 10-25. Quoted text on folio 18: “...efectuar el buen deseo de la propagación de nra. S.ta Fee, y reduction de estos Gentiles...”

those groups of Indians.⁵⁶ On the following page Paredes recalled that the soldiers had the additional role of protecting the missionaries while the Indians' assembly at the mission was accomplished. In more explicit fashion and later in the memorial, fray Paredes admitted for the first time that perhaps it was not good that the friars spent so much time supervising the business affairs of the mission, stating that

It would be impossible, my Lord, for the missionary religious alone to attend to the care of the livestock, the buildings, and the rest of the temporal concerns, and at the same time attend to the teaching of doctrine, baptism, marrying neophytes, performing last rites, burying, confessing, and the other spiritual needs of the Indians and at the same time meet such spiritual needs for the residents at the presidio.⁵⁷

In this lament regarding the overstretched management resources for the missions the friar acknowledged quite frankly that Franciscans perceived the missions as sites of intensive human activity.

From this period also appear rather simple statements of the assumptions friars held regarding the fixed location of missions and their inhabitants. Fray Gabriel de Vergara wrote in 1731 that daily life at Concepción de Acuña mission progressed as normal despite the harassment of Lipan Apaches nearby. Here Vergara refers directly to the mission compound as a geographical point, with persons gathered within the walls, as opposed to the Apaches outside the mission living in nomadic bands.⁵⁸ Also in 1731 fray Pedro Perez de Mezquía wrote the viceroy that the new missions on the San Antonio

⁵⁶ Transcript of fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, *Memorial que por parte de este collegio se remitió al Rey en el Consejo Real de Indias*, Querétaro, November 12, 1729, ACQ, K, Leg. 3, no. 3 (UTCAH, 2Q37, vol. 766, no. 8, 2).

⁵⁷ Ibid, 6-7.

⁵⁸ Fray Gabriel de Vergara to guardian, Mission Concepción de Acuña, October 22, 1731, Bancroft-Civezza, 202/8.

River where several of the east Texas missions recently had moved were completed. He noted that the missionaries' quarters, *jacales* or huts for the Indians, and other required buildings existed already for the service of the gathered Indian neophytes at the new locations.⁵⁹

One of the key mission-builders at mid century was fray Mariano de los Dolores, and while others retain credit for acts during his tenure as well, his record is among the richest the historian may use to determine the values held by the friars in Texas. In a typical letter to a government official in 1750 fray Mariano cajoled the lieutenant he addressed not to think of certain peoples – Bidais, Cocos, and other south-central Texas bands – as “irreduzibles”, but to see the merits of congregating these peoples due to their docility, their ability to be directed in work, and their cowardice versus other bands. In a word, all of these groups were, according to the friar, targets for congregated missions on the San Xavier river that would “form greater populations” in the different locations. Two pages later he clarifies his view of the fixed missions and their congregants: the Propaganda Fide friars' institute demanded that they reduce and subject the barbarous peoples of the province so that they might live rightly in both temporal and spiritual matters.⁶⁰

Later the next year fray Mariano sought the advice and counsel of his brother missionaries within the Santa Cruz presidency of Texas. Fray Mariano crafted what

⁵⁹ Letter of fray Pedro Perez de Mezquia, Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 89-90.

⁶⁰ Fray Mariano de los Dolores to Lieutenant Galvan, San Ildefonso mission, April 12, 1750, ACQ, K, Leg. 19, no. 90 (UTCAH, 2Q37, vol. 768, 4-8).

would become a hallmark document of Franciscan unity in the province against the different threats against the missions in 1751: the governor, the military commanders, and the increasingly difficult time in keeping the attention of the viceregal court on missions in the far north. The document was a questionnaire directed to the other missionaries asking how fray Mariano as president of the Santa Cruz missions in Texas could best respond to the accusations, threats, legal challenges, resource shortages, and strategic questions posed at the time. The core issue of this *cuestionario* was the value of continuing the San Xavier missions in the current political climate. For our discussion, the responses fray Mariano received demonstrated the friars' support for the concept of the congregated mission.

In response to a pointed question concerning the proper conduct to be followed in establishing and developing the missions, friars overwhelmingly supported their leader in the pursuit of the San Xavier missions. In doing so they also revealed their beliefs on the nature of their work. For example, fray Francisco Cayetano de Aponte y Lis, who served at La Purísima Concepción de Acuña mission, recorded his support for the new missions and the rightness of entreating (*de solicitar*) the Indians to be “reduced” to the missions.⁶¹ Fray Diego Martín García at San Antonio de Valero mission agreed with fray Cayetano that the Indians should be congregated at missions and that the friars' own institutes dictated such action.⁶² The other missionary working at Concepción mission, fray

⁶¹ Cuestionario formulado por el padre presidente fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores en relación al gobierno de las misiones del Río de San Antonio, y respuestas dadas por los misioneros, Texas, 1751, BNAF, 6/135.2, ff. 3-35; Response of fray Francisco Cayetano de Aponte y Lis, July 14, 1751, 4v.

⁶² Ibid, response of fray Diego Martín García, July 24, 1751, 13v.

Acisclos Valverde, included this tidy formula in his response to the father president: friars must “entreat, search out, congregate, and instruct the Indians” to meet their obligation.⁶³ Within this formula “congregar” is distinctive in that it defines the place of the settled, residential mission as part of the evangelization process. Before these men had even responded fray Joseph Pinilla sent a succinct answer from the San Xavier missions. He shared that at Candelaria mission there were numerous indigenous persons already congregated there, but even more (without number) could be encouraged to do the same.⁶⁴

From the evidence presented to this point it is clear that the friars believed their calling in Texas to be the establishment of missions wherein Indians were to be congregated and remain for instruction. Two additional sources illustrate the continuity of this vision into the second half of the century. First, the visitation diary of fray Gaspar de Solís yields a number of convincing views of his interpretation of what he saw in Texas. In considering just his journal entries while in residence at six missions (Rosario, Espíritu Santo, San José, San Miguel, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe) it is apparent that the father visitor perceived the missions as a the combined product of the neophytes in residence, the leadership of the friars, and the physical site with its accoutrements.⁶⁵ Between March 4th and June 19th 1767 fray

⁶³ Ibid, response of fray Acisclos Valverde, July 14, 1751, 6v; “...solicitar, buscar, congregar, y instruir los Yndios.”

⁶⁴ Ibid., response of fray Joseph Pinilla, July 5, 1751, 23v.

⁶⁵ Fray Gaspar de Solís, “The Solís Diary of 1767”, trans. Peter P. Forrestal, in Jesús F. de la Teja, ed., *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society I* (Austin, 1930; reprinted 1997), 101-148.

Gaspar made his way through the mission territory paying most attention to the missions of the Zacatecas college, though taking note of and making visits to the Santa Cruz missions as well. His findings have been compared with those of another friar who traversed the region late in the second half of the eighteenth century, fray Juan Agustín Morfí, who accompanied the Rubí military review expedition not as a Propaganda Fide missionary but as the chaplain of the group.⁶⁶ Both men provided some of the better historical accounts of the missions' architecture, construction, and functional uses in the later Spanish period.

At the heart of the second source was the question of whether the friars should have continued their role as managers of the temporal aspects, or business affairs, of the missions. Fray José Rafael Oliva, father president for the Zacatecas college of the all the Texas missions at the time, wrote in formal scholastic manner about the query he posed. For the purpose of this discussion several of his points exhibit a still-strong attachment to the idea of the congregated mission, whether or not the friars were in charge of its temporalities. In his argument for friars' control of daily business affairs, fray Oliva explained how the life of the mission itself was a located function: in point 2 of this argument, Oliva noted that every activity occurred there within the congregated site consisting of the compound, its church, workshops, fields, and storage buildings. Also, the accumulated surplus could be gifted back to its producers (the Indians) from the local

⁶⁶ See Fray Juan Agustín Morfí, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, trans. Carlos E. Castañeda, 2 vol. (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1935).

storerooms.⁶⁷ Though ultimately fray Oliva argued in this document against continuing to control the mission's temporal affairs, he did take the concept of the congregated mission to another level by noting, in a primitive Franciscan fashion, that the site of the mission represented that ideal location wherein the neophytes could establish the "common life for these new Christians, just as the Apostles did in the beginning of the Church."⁶⁸ The ideal of the materially poor friar often appeared where Observant Franciscans labored. In 1788 the ideal of the congregated mission was enmeshed in discussions of its management, but still within the confines of Observant Franciscan philosophy with its emphasis on the common life.

An additional exemplar of the later period's viewpoints among friars on the congregated mission occurs in the report of fray José Francisco Lopez, father president of the Zacatecan missions in Texas in 1792. In his report fray José argued that the time was ripe to reconfigure the missions in the province, though he did not recommend complete secularization as some historians suggested he did at the time. Instead, he noted that the San Antonio missions, especially San Antonio de Valero, had run their course, done their work, and were ready for parish status. He claimed that the mission Indians there were no longer Indians, but rather acculturated persons living in the mission. Thus the congregated mission needed to become the congregated town, or part of San Fernando de Béxar (nascent San Antonio) as a Christian village or parish. Yet there still was a need to congregate mission neophytes elsewhere, as fray José cited the efforts to found Refugio

⁶⁷ Benedict Leutenegger, trans., *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. José Rafael Oliva's Views Concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1977), 15-16.

⁶⁸ Leutenegger, *Management of the Missions*, 18.

mission, the tribulations of the other two missions on the coast (Espiritu Santo and Rosario), and the likelihood at the time of more missions to come (see expectations of missionaries during the 1790s, above).⁶⁹ Each of these would be in a specific space, replete with the same temporal aspects as the missions they succeeded. The Indians on the coast were the new hope in Texas in the last decades of Spanish governance as renewed targets for congregated populations of students of Spanish religion and culture.

On the Role of the Missionary and Priest

Franciscans sent to the Texas missions brought defined perspectives of what it meant to be a missionary, and how that interacted with their calling as a Franciscan, and if a preacher, then as a priest as well. Most friars sent north to the frontiers were indeed missionary priests, not *laicos* or lay brothers, though the latter were present to catechize indigenes and tend to the temporal management of the missions. From the expressed visions of the colleges when sending out their best to claim Texas in 1690 and again in 1716, to the enduring stream of missionaries issuing forth over the decades that followed, there were clear indications that the very definition of missionary and priest meant something specific to these men. For many, it was a given that their superior religious knowledge, civilization, and personal maturation as followers of God and king made the friars leaders in the missions. For the Indians this was another matter, but each friar gave

⁶⁹ The letter was written and dated at San Antonio de Valero mission. See Benedict Leutenegger, trans., "Report on the San Antonio Missions in 1792", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 4 (April 1974), 487-98.

testimony to the hegemonic viewpoint of cultural and religious superiority believed to be theirs as Franciscans.⁷⁰

The grandiloquent statements of the Franciscan chronicles and congratulatory letters to viceroys are not helpful here. Rather, the mundane writings of ordinary friars make the case for this aspect of the Franciscan perspective. Ordinary friars remarked on the commonplace understanding of their own privileged status in terms of religious faith and culture. Their assumption that indigenous groups would prosper once they took hold of the friars' beliefs was total and enabled the friars to view indigenes through perceptions of relative civility and responsiveness to the missionaries' teachings (see Chapter 4 for an examination of these rankings of the Indians' responses to missionary tutelage). In daily interactions and reflections in their typical letters, reports, and tactical memorials, friars communicated an implicitly held notion of their own roles as exemplars for the Indians, who were at once fathers, teachers, caretakers, and spiritual conduits for their neophytes.

What began as a distrust of Indian culture as evinced at the beginning of this chapter by the actions of fray Casañas in the early 1690s became an ingrained habit of condescension, explicitly labeled as such by the time fray Oliva wrote his memorial concerning mission affairs in Texas in 1788.⁷¹ But for that distrust and condescension, friars recognized that their role was also to give an example in all things they wished to

⁷⁰ On this point the latter two chapters of Maria F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long Term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008) are helpful in her comparison of Franciscan perspectives across the Spanish mission regions of Florida, Texas, and the Californias.

⁷¹ Leutenegger, trans., *Management of the Missions in Texas*, 40.

teach their mission Indians. For example, fray Santa Ana explained his intentions in March 1743 to “take up the hoe, axe, adze, spade, and hammer” to show his charges how to go about their daily tasks. This, he claimed, would lead to the enlightenment of barbarous persons and would enable the Hispanic lifestyle he and other friars thought to be ideal.⁷² This practical approach in the 1740s echoed in the extensive instructions of the anonymous missionary at the same Concepción mission in 1787. In this extensive representation of the missionary’s daily and weekly routines throughout the calendar year the friar is above all else the caller of the dance, so to speak, in directing nearly every activity that occurs in relation to the physical and conceptual space of the mission.⁷³ Each page addresses different aspects of the liturgy, doctrinal instruction, household tasks, political organization, farm and ranch management, and other aspects of life for neophytes and their missionary. In its closing pages the author included in a comment on treating the sick and caring for the mission animals that the friar should “be pleasant with all, prudent, and protector of [the Indians’] possessions.” He should put off rebellious and arrogant persons, but be kind and gentle, “seeking remedies which he can obtain [for the sick].” In closing, the friar should be “Padre and everything to the Indians, being all to all in order to win them all.”⁷⁴ In a pragmatic directive on caring for persons and

⁷² Letter of fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, Concepcion de Acuña mission, March 4, 1743, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 79-80v.

⁷³ In its entirety the life work of the Texas missionary late in the period may be reconstructed from this document. Howard Benoist and María Eva Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, trans. Benedict Leutenegger, 4th edition (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1994).

⁷⁴ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 33.

animals, the writer leapt to the Pauline directive that was to govern the apostolic missionary's work.

In addition to being their neophytes' exemplar in terms of lifestyle, the friars expected to be the spiritual leaders of the missions. Given their roles as priests and apostolic preachers this should come as no surprise, but it was a firm expectation and not something they expected to be challenged from any quarter. And yet the challenges came: indigenous leaders contested friars' religious authority, as did settlers and the occasional parish priest working in Texas. Embedded with their expectations of spiritual authority friars also had fixed ideas of their religious privileges as proto-parish priests in the mission communities, those towns filled with new Indian vassals they foresaw early in the period.

The rigor with which friars defended their spiritual role is noteworthy throughout the long century in the province. The earliest documented visitation, or inspection, of the Texas missions is that of fray Pedro Muñoz in 1727. To a man each of the missionaries desired that his catechetical zeal, imposition of Catholic teachings on indigenes, and ritual schedule be recorded by the secretary to the father visitor.⁷⁵ That the roles of these men was contested by the Caddos in the east Texas missions is well established, but it is especially important to see these claims in that particular vein, as a counter argument to the indifference or direct contempt directed to the friars in the late 1720s by the different

⁷⁵ Records of the 1727 visitation, BNFF, vol. 132, ff. 10-25.

Caddo nations.⁷⁶ As the missionary at San Francisco de los Neches mission put it, the Indians “attached” to his mission did not attend the ringing of the bell for the mass or catechism, but only when the opportunity for a handout of clothing or other goods presented itself.⁷⁷

While the priestly function of the missionary was a core expectation of the friars in the missions, it is intriguing that the Texas friars appeared to have laid claim to spiritual authority in the entire province in the first six decades of the missions.⁷⁸ Friars watched closely when bishops assigned diocesan priests to San Fernando. When that parish priest challenged the accustomed role of proto-parish priest assumed by the Franciscans in Texas (much as the friars did in New Mexico in the seventeenth century), conflict was bound to occur between the two priests. Such an event happened more than once, but the best documented incident was in the early 1730s during the residency of fray Benito de Santa Ana at San Antonio de Valero mission, across the river from the presidio and villa. At issue were baptisms of non-Indian children of those settlers who preferred the Franciscans, for whatever reason, over the newly appointed diocesan priest. The response of the Franciscans was a *parecer*, or extensive canonical brief, written by

⁷⁶ See the early chapters of Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* regarding the contest over religion between native shamans and friars in east Texas. See also Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Indians*.

⁷⁷ Visitation of 1727, ff. 18-18v.

⁷⁸ The period indicated is a function of the writings of fray Mariano de los Dolores to the early 1760s and the records of the two apostolic colleges' councils. See Leutenegger, trans., *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana*; Benedict Leutenegger, trans., *The Zacatecan Missionaries in Texas, 1716-1834: Excerpts from the Libros de los Decretos of the Missionary College of Zacatecas 1707-1828*, with a biographical dictionary by Marion A. Habig (Austin: Office of the State Archaeologist, 1973); and the Libros de los Decretos for the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 4, especially the pages after folio 132-132v in which the San Sabá missionaries were granted faculties.

fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes in San Bernardo mission on the Rio Grande.⁷⁹ Paredes demonstrated in thirty-five pages the expectations Franciscans held regarding their ecclesiastical authority for sacramental acts in the province. Paredes and other writers on similar topics throughout the century grounded their thinking in the tremendous array of precedents given them by canonical documents issued from Rome, Madrid, and Mexico City, and by the practices to which they were accustomed in newly-founded mission regions in prior centuries.

As the reality of mission work exhibited itself in the decades following, the friars continued to speak in terms of hope and expectation, but their claims to priestly functions throughout the province dropped away. Time proved that the missionaries were in fact the best equipped priests for any population in Texas. The so-called “mission” at Nacogdoches was, by the end of the century, a place where Indians traded but did not live to any extent, much less to a level warranting a missionary, but there were two friars assigned there as late as 1810.⁸⁰ Fray José Francisco Lopez noted this as a folly of the current arrangements between the College at Zacatecas and the government of the Interior Provinces, and he encouraged not only the rationalization of San Antonio’s remaining missions in 1792 but also discontinuing the Nacogdoches post. That Lopez chose to relinquish any of these posts near the only significant Spanish settlements at the

⁷⁹ Paracer del P. fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, San Bernardo del Rio Grande del Norte, February 12, 1732, ACQ, F, Legajo 1, no. 6, ff. 1-35v. Paredes comments at the outset of the brief are most interesting in terms of the knowledge carried to the frontier by friars such as him: he lamented that he could have written more than he did if only he had brought his books with him to the missions. Some books appear to have been at his disposal at San Bernardo but it is to be doubted that many of his numerous scholarly citations originated from the small library there.

⁸⁰ Reports of Fathers José María Huerta de Jesús and Mariano Sosa on residents and foreigners at Nacogdoches, May 3-4, 1810, BA 2S99.

time indicates the change that occurred by that date where the Franciscans thought of themselves only as missionaries serving indigenes, not Spaniards and other settlers.⁸¹

And yet the Franciscans from the apostolic colleges were the most consistent ministers in the entire Spanish period in Texas prior to Mexican independence, despite the efforts of later bishops of Durango and then Nuevo Leon to establish a diocesan presence in the region.

Conclusion

One reason for the enduring dedication of the Propaganda Fide friars to their work in the Texas missions is the endurance of a strong rhetoric concerning their missionary purpose among the infidels they perceived throughout the province. This rhetoric assigned the missions to a higher calling of self-sacrifice, perseverance, and routine indoctrination of a pagan people to the civilization and religious constructs of the Spanish nation. Friars were exemplars, leaders, and fathers to a variety of mission Indians and apostates who lived apart and yet were considered by friars still to be part of the mission populations. The friars' consistency in identifying themselves as apostolic missionaries, preachers of the word of God, and purveyors of Spanish culture enabled Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges to remain focused on Texas until 1767. After the retreat of the Santa Cruz friars to the former Jesuit missions in the Pimería Alta, the missionary rhetoric of

⁸¹ Leutenegger, trans., "Report on the San Antonio Missions in 1792". At the same time Lopez made his report to the college guardian and disretes, fray Manuel Julio de Silva argued to the viceregal office in defense of maintaining the missionaries at Nacogdoches, though not with the authority given fray Lopez as father president. See letter by Silva dated November 24, 1792, Colegio de San Fernando de Mexico, BA 2S62.

the Guadalupe friars maintained their dedication to the missions and their expansion in Texas until the 1820s.

The rhetoric centered on the purpose of the missionary efforts, or, put another way, the rhetoric came to exist by the repetition of the goals and expectations of the missionaries. For the earlier cohort of the 1690s, the texts examined at the outset of this chapter illustrate those expectations, and the next cohort carried the same expectations in the late 1710s. The initial rhetorical elements consisted of the missionaries' conceptions of their dual allegiances to God and King, the civilizing aspect of the missionary labor, and the incorporation of new Christian vassals to both Christendom and the Spanish domains. While statements of purpose were often preceded by typical Franciscan sayings ("Viva Jesús, María, y Joseph," for example) and included differing styles of writing, the application of the formula as expressed above continued through the generations of missionaries who attempted to tame the Texas nations on Franciscan terms.

The end result of such rhetorical elements was that the friars kept their focus on the work at hand from cohort to cohort; they reminded each other in their written contacts of the reasons they pursued their efforts, and the rhetoric provided justifications for missionary labor in the face of recurring setbacks. Their focus was drawn back to the institute that guided their efforts by use of stock phrases in letters, patents, memorials, and reports that fronted these texts and provided justifications. The repetition of the formulas, or justifications, for their missions instilled these elements as shared values that defined the Texas missionary purpose, or theoretical justification, over the entire period.

Such justification was needed at times of crisis in mission fields such as Texas where, to paraphrase fray Juan Bautista Larrondo at the turn of the nineteenth century, the few pliant indigenes in the province were amenable to missions, but the vast majority of the Indian bands and nations were not.⁸² Challenges to the missions' very existence in 1693, the 1720s, the 1730s, 1752, 1758, the 1760s, 1772, 1793, 1798, and the early 1800s all tested the missionaries' resolve and their justifications.

⁸² Fray Juan Bautista Larrondo to the dean and chapter of the metropolitan cathedral of Mexico, *sede vacante*, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, August 22, 1800, BNFF, vol. 67, f. 155.

Chapter 4

Franciscan Perceptions of Indians and Indigenous Culture

In October 1798 fray Antonio de Jesús Garavito wrote to the civil authorities of the Internal Provinces of New Spain to explain an uprising of the Indian population at Nuestra Señora del Refugio mission, located near the southern coast of the Province of Texas. Fray Garavito identified the cause of the uprising as the panicked reaction of the Indians to the injuries inflicted on two of their kinfolk by a ranging group of Comanches, and he claimed he had taken great pains to assuage the fears of the mission Indians and to assure them they were safe staying within the confines of the mission. He noted that they wished to remove their families to the coast and that he had reasoned with them incessantly to stop the group from doing so. His closing comments convey his steadfast perception of such persons as his mission flock when, as if to explain their inevitable decision to leave, he notes, "...but they are Indians", implying that they were beyond rational thinking in such an event and would do as they felt in the moment.¹ In this brief but freighted comment late in the history of Franciscan missions in Texas fray Garavito's words offer a glimpse of abiding perceptions of missionary friars working in the region, perceptions that merit renewed study in light of recent advances in the historiography addressing Spanish Texas. This chapter addresses the Franciscans as a group by looking to their corporate perspectives on Indians as well as individual friars' views of the indigenous groups in the region.

¹ Fray Antonio de Jesús Garavito to Theniente Comandante Don Joseph Miguel del Moral, Refugio mission, October 13, 1798, BA, 28:0503-04.

Franciscans in Texas carried strong perceptions of indigenous Americans with them to the missions. The sources of these perceptions were complex but similar to those of contemporaries elsewhere, and yet in Texas the presence of vastly different indigenous cultures challenged the friars' notions from the beginning and marked the region as exceptional due to its range of cultures as compared with New Mexico, the Seno Mexicano, or the Californias. Testimony from various sources indicates that two essential levels of perception were at play in the minds of the Texas missionaries. The first of these is well documented not just in Texas but throughout Spanish America in the colonial period, which is that Franciscans pursued an explicit policy of cultivating the civilization and religious conversion of peoples they termed *bárbaros*, *indios bravos*, *bozales*, and other like terms indicating otherness from the Spanish conception of self and Spaniards' perception of their own culture's superiority.² In this usage Franciscans in the Texas missions were no different from their brethren elsewhere, nor were they different from other Spanish elites and commoners. This initial layer of perception deals primarily with peoples, that is, with social groups and categorization of unknown numbers of indigenes. As David Weber noted just a few years ago, this perception of the other in the American frontier regions was persistent and shared by Spanish elites throughout the eighteenth century even as Spanish authorities adopted new policies for interacting with such peoples.³

The second level of perception concerns the identification of Indians as targets of the Franciscans' particular program of religious conversion, indoctrination, and social

² See David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of the Enlightenment*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

³ Weber, *Bárbaros*, 2-18; see also the epilogue for the application of new policies in frontier zones.

control. It is here that the Texas experience differs from that seen in other parts of northern New Spain during the eighteenth century. In their lived experience in the province, friars in Texas were pressed to deal with distinct peoples expressing a range of cultures that fell within certain generalized classifications: horticultural, hunting and gathering, sedentary, semi-sedentary, and purely nomadic. These cultures appeared above in the introductory matter in Chapter 1 which addressed the individual bands and nations as described by their specific geography and social arrangements. Within the range of reactions among friars to these cultures we find that other discriminators were at work as well. Friars noted their perceptions of Indians' group and individual intelligence, aptitude for work, suitability for warfare, and in general the relative grade of brutish behavior persons exhibited. Within this relative scale of factors the friars formed their expectations of group and individual behavior for Indians, and they attached these perceptions to strategic and tactical arguments for how and when to attempt missions throughout the period. Furthermore, they used such reasoning to bemoan, and often to abandon, missions in Texas, even though their initial reactions to the first groups the missionaries encountered convinced the Franciscans that they had found a vast, new mission field to harvest. In addition, the conflation of missionary duties to convert indigenous souls and to transform Indians into Hispanic vassals disposed friars to view their results as the successes or failures of the mission as an estate of sorts. Such thoughts existed in a state of tension with the Franciscans' humanitarian concerns with their neophytes' physical needs. Revisiting these perceptions and influencing factors from the Franciscans' eyes offers the chance for the historian to better understand the

dynamics of the Texas missions and by comparison other missions elsewhere in the north.

This cultural ranking applied to Texas Indians by the missionary friars is crucial to an accurate assessment of their perspectives of indigenous cultures, and by extension, their understanding of Hispanic culture and its place within human history. Though rather clear from friars' understandings, it must be emphasized here that the Spaniards' own culture appeared to its members as the apex of western Latin culture, and for the friars their own place in the cultural apparatus was quite high as faithful religious within the hierarchy of the holy mother Church. Per Acosta and other sixteenth-century religious, Propaganda Fide friars understood an order to the civilizations of man that was to be ranked by government, language, and attainments of respective cultures.⁴ In Texas, this ranking became more finely tuned to include narrower gradients of barbarism, or put another way, such a ranking became an exercise of moral casuistry in an extremely fine-grained assessment of the cultural failings of brutes across the cultures explained above and in Chapter 1.

Writings of early missionaries to Texas inform many histories regarding Franciscans and their perceptions of indigenous peoples. The failure of friars to convert large numbers of their first targeted indigenous groups in Texas, the Caddos of the Hasinai Confederation, colored not only the missionaries' perceptions of indigenous peoples, but also that of generations of historians including the first chroniclers of the

⁴ See Chapter 1, note 53. Espinosa cites Acosta in *Crónica de los colegios*, book V, chapter XI, 701. In Texas with its diverse peoples, Franciscans went beyond Acosta's simple tiers of civilization to describe finer degrees of barbarism among the bands they witnessed in the region.

missionary colleges at Querétaro and Zacatecas.⁵ Friars' perceptions of the Caddos established interesting precedents for later interactions with Indians in the region, in that the friars generally admired the highly organized Caddo culture, their manners, and their elevated work ethic which was noted by several observers in their agricultural pursuits. While these traits demanded respect, other cultural characteristics led to significant ridicule by early missionaries, most notably of religious practices and Indians' refusal to accept the Spanish religion in place of their own. In comparison to the Caddos, other indigenous groups were lacking in civilized functions and so were placed in a lower category of human attainment and potential. This aspect of comparison began with the initial missionary foray between 1690 and 1693, and then continued with the more permanent missions established from 1714 forward.

Among the earliest commentaries on Caddoan peoples by Franciscans were those of the missionary fathers Francisco Casañas and Damian Mazanet, the latter of whom was the superior for the group of missionaries from the College of Santa Cruz who traveled with the expedition in 1690. Scholars have quoted Casañas extensively, especially his attempts to upset the religious practices of the *xinesi*, the high priest and leader of the Hasinai. Casañas's writings are valuable sources of anthropological interpretation at this earliest sustained period of contact. In his relation of 1691, the friar noted that among the Caddos "all by nature are timid" and the Indians, both men and women, were loath to detract from the unity and peace of the nation for reason of

⁵ For the most recent instance of this influence on historians, see Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*. The major chroniclers of the College of Santa Cruz documented the initial responses of Indians to Franciscan labors in East Texas. See Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, and Juan Domingo de Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*.

personal ambition or invidious reasons.⁶ Mazanet noted the same trait, and commented that the Caddos he encountered were, in the main, “a people inclined to work”.⁷ Both friars stated unequivocally that the peoples among whom they worked were prime candidates for conversion to Catholicism.

Of equal importance was that the early missionaries saw a multitude of cultural traits among the Caddos similar to sedentary peoples of central New Spain. Mazanet argued that the Hasinai's agricultural production was evidence that this people would take to Spanish agriculture well. Casañas for his part claimed that the friars' influence would facilitate an expansion of agriculture and the settling of Spaniards among this nation. He noted two key aspects of Caddoan culture that would enable this: first, the Caddos' inherent docility would support rapid acquisition of a new order of governance, and second, the Indians' desire for new trade goods would drive them to adopt new technologies as a part of the process of obtaining such items. In explaining the materialism of the Caddos, in particular the Hasinai, Casañas claimed he could build a convent in their homeland if he only had enough bells, trinkets, and blue cloth to present to the workers.⁸ He also thought the Indians would shift their methods of agriculture if given directions on how to improve their efforts. If only the friars could stamp out the diabolical tendencies of the Caddoan rites and redirect their religious enthusiasm towards Catholic worship, the whole region could be thrown open to settlement. In short, the first

⁶ Relación sobre los indios de Texas por Fray Francisco Casañas, Santísimo Nombre de María mission, August 15, 1691, in Lino Gomez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas* (Monterrey: Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 1968), 41-68, quoted text on p. 49.

⁷ Fray Damian Mazanet to the Conde de Galve, September 1690, in Gomez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 159-165.

⁸ Casañas, Relation, 65.

year of contact between the first friar missionaries and the so-called Tejas Indians left the friars confident they had found a new missionary enterprise.

Yet not all of the friars' perceptions were accurate in those first assessments of the Hasinai peoples' potential for mission life, and the friars' view of their neighbors grew dourer as 1690 ended and the next two years passed. Mazanet observed in his first assessment that the people were poor by comparison to other cultures outside of Texas, calling them "pobres infieles" more than once in his letters.⁹ By June 1693 Mazanet and other friars were disillusioned given the initial failure to congregate the Caddos in new missions, and yet they remained hopeful if time was given them to persevere in the task.¹⁰ What happened in the interim is well documented in narrative histories: after initial feelings of mutual potential for cooperation between Caddos and Spaniards, the Caddos realized there was little to gain from the presence of disruptive Spanish priests, and so began to alienate and then threaten to expel the friars from Hasinai and other Caddo communities.¹¹ Mazanet and his fellow missionaries had no desire to quit the work, but they felt compelled to inform the viceroy that initial efforts had not achieved the results expected. Mazanet hoped to continue the missions but did not want to waste the royal estate if it was not the wish of the viceroy; he explained his assessment saying "[t]his is what I feel, following God and my conscience."¹² By 1694 the friars had abandoned east Texas and returned to the Santa Cruz college.

⁹ See page 159 of Mazanet's letter to the Conde de Galve, September 1690.

¹⁰ Carta e informe del Padre Damián Mazanet al Virrey Conde de Galve sobre la crítica situación de las misiones de Texas, San Francisco de los Texas mission, June 14, 1693, in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 309-315.

¹¹ Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 27-108; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, volume 2; Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 86-126.

¹² Mazanet, Carta e informe, p. 315.

As explained in a previous chapter, the Santa Cruz friars re-engaged their interest for east Texas missions towards the end of the first decade of the next century. In 1709 and again in 1714, short forays of Spanish troops and missionary friars scouted the situation in hopes of returning to the missions and settling lay Spaniards in the region. Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía, one of the friars who reestablished the missions in East Texas, commented extensively in 1716 on the Caddos. Mezquia's account is typical for descriptions of the Caddo religion in that he tied their religious rites to their orderly way of living in a clearly delineated hierarchy under religious leadership. While both Caddo men and women expressed interest in the ritual of the mass, Mezquia surmised that their strong attachment to their own idolatrous rites prevented them from moving to the site of his mission. Mezquia admired the highly structured elements of Caddo society, especially those which joined religious and political power, and concluded that this group was well suited for conversion to Catholicism. The missionaries also noted the human capital available for work in the Caddo lands, and Mezquia was not alone in pointing to the tremendous potential of this people to further Spanish diplomatic and religious goals in Texas.¹³

Fray Mezquia's comments drew from his fellow missionaries' observations. Fray Manuel Castellanos, in residence at Mission San Francisco de los Neches, informed his superior of the vast population with which to align Spanish developments. Likewise, Castellanos noted the industrious nature of the people surrounding his mission and cited their extensive plantings and many villages. Like his superior, the friar believed that

¹³ Fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquía to the viceroy, San Francisco de los Tejas Mission, October 6, 1716, ACQ, K, Legajo 1, no. 12a, Mss copy.

success would follow their efforts to convince the Hasinai to convert to Catholic belief and Spanish allegiance. At the time in 1716, Castellanos appeared more nervous of the missions' proximity to the French in Natchitoches than he did of the indigenous peoples surrounding his mission. Yet for that, he still recommended the presence of Spanish troops, at least 100 for the eastern missions, if the Spanish were to be successful in their enforcement of loyalty to Church and crown.¹⁴ Perhaps he intended the troops as a deterrent for the French as well.

Visitation records from 1727 of the Hasinai and other east Texas missions provide exceptionally clear statements of friars' perceptions of these Indians.¹⁵ As fray Pedro Muñoz and his secretary, fray Joseph Regalahorra, toured these missions the friars at each station stated for the record their dedication to educating the Indians in the Catholic faith. They each commented on the reactions of these supposed neophytes among the Hasinai, noting the Indians' inability, or lack of desire, to respond when the friars sounded bells for catechism, prayers, or mass. Fray Andrés de Aragon noted the Ais were not only ambivalent towards the bells, but also were so when the friars searched out Ais men, women, and children to perform their respective roles at Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ays.¹⁶ On November 28 at Mission San Francisco de los Neches, the missionary explained that his Indians only responded to the tolling of the bells when they knew gifts of clothing or food were likely. Echoing a comment by fray Andrés, he explained that most of his neophytes were now apostates, since many who were baptized *in articulo mortis* had in fact recovered and now were living away from the

¹⁴ Fray Manuel Castellanos to superior, October 6, 1716, Mission San Francisco. AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, ff. 484-485.

¹⁵ Visitation report of 1727, BNFF, vol. 132, ff. 10-25.

¹⁶ Ibid, f. 12.

mission. These Indians and others he hoped to woo to the Church followed their gentle ways in the wilderness the friar perceived to surround the mission.¹⁷

Friars' early, repeated statements about Indians' lack of response to the external, and foreign, stimulus of mission bells for the regulation of life in the missions and their attached native communities are important indicators of missionaries' perspectives on indigenous life in Texas. For friars from the apostolic colleges of Propagande Fide, such behavior failed a key test of civilized traits for any band or group to which they ministered. Friars in residence in the colleges reacted to bells, orders, and both explicit and implicit rules that structured their daily lives. Such behavior on the part of religious dated to one's novitiate, if not before if the friar attended religious schools prior to taking the Franciscan habit. As points of comparison, consider one of the many *autos de visita* made of the Santa Cruz College in 1718. The father visitor's instructions include a stern reminder that all living in the college respond to the college's bells whenever and each time they were struck, according to the rule of the institution.¹⁸ The visitation report stresses orderly maintenance of all aspects of the compound, and exhorts the friars to abide in silence, observe the canonical hours and keep the community's schedule unless permitted by the council and guardian to do otherwise. Failure to comply with these rules drew strict discipline from the college's leadership, though with a large measure of Christian charity. In one of the cases recorded, the leaders of the college cited the offender's repeated disturbance of the peace and order of the convent.¹⁹ If such was their

¹⁷ Ibid, ff. 18-19.

¹⁸ Auto de visita by the Father Commissary General, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, 1718, ACQ, E, Leg. 4, no. 2, p. 239.

¹⁹ Libro de los Decretos, 1734-1776, decree of January 3, 1747. ACQ, E, Leg. 4, no. 4, pp. 103-103v. The offender was a full member of the college, the preacher and missionary fray Joseph de Jesus Alvear; among

own discipline, friar missionaries were certain to notice the absence of such order among indigenous peoples in Texas missions.

The 1727 visitation report emphasized that the supposed mission Indians in east Texas did not adhere to friars' expectations that they congregate and obey the missionaries' directions. Towards the end of the report, its author explained that the Hasinai "follow only their instinct towards liberty". Yet, there were *milpitas* planted with corn, squash, and beans at the missions, and the friars to a man were concerned about the Indians' temporal well being. At one mission, only seven Indians even made the annual compulsory confession. Apostates abounded, but clearly there were some converts among the Hasinai and other Caddo missions.²⁰ In their relations and reactions to the friars the Hasinai clearly were, as a group, not inclined to change their lifestyle to that of the mission. Friars such as those providing reports to the father visitor in 1727 knew this, but that was not the entire picture. Missions in east Texas persisted among the Hasinai and other Caddos and managed to net a diminutive sector of the local society for conversion. The seven Indians who confessed (and one may assume also participated in the Eucharist during Holy Week) were certainly an extremely small portion of Caddo society, and yet they were real, live converts if only for a time as compared to those dying infants or persons the friars baptized also.

After the disappointment of initial conversion attempts among the Caddo Indians, Franciscans expanded their mission to other peoples in south-central Texas. By comparison, these peoples were culturally regressive and yet were more open to periodic

the signers was a later father visitor to the Texas missions and the then-commissary of missions, fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz.

²⁰ Visitation report of 1727, ff. 20v-22v.

attempts to congregate them in missions. Friars noted that Coahuiltecans and other south-central Texas groups were inferior in many ways, not the least of which was their difficulty in adapting to Spanish methods of farming and other labors. The Coahuiltecan bands often settled in the missions in and around San Antonio (then called the Villa of San Fernando), as did other confederations of smaller bands. Still further down the scale of cultural acceptance by Spanish priests were Karankawas, Cocos, and a host of other coastal peoples. In these comparisons there was a sliding scale of disgust with coastal cultures occupying the bottom rung; friars were skeptical when some of these Indians settled in missions, and the missionaries continued to doubt such Indians' capabilities to fully adopt Hispanic mores and religion even after decades of mission residency. In repeated cases friars throughout the period of Spanish missions in Texas made casual references to this doubt about their charges in a consistent tone that reflected their pity for the Indians, a disgust at their cultural attainments, and an abiding lack of trust and confidence in their abilities.²¹

Friars often doubted the abilities peoples outside of Caddo lands to become civilized like Spaniards. Writing in the late 1730s, fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes held the Indians of the San Antonio missions incapable of provisioning themselves at the missions and claimed that the friars must constantly direct them so as to meet basic needs. The mission Indians at the time were a constant drain on the Franciscans'

²¹ The capstone of this stream of comments came in August 1800, when fray Juan Bautista Larrondo wrote from the Apostolic College in Guadalupe de Zacatecas to the vacant metropolitan see in Mexico City that after one hundred years in Texas there was no hope for new missions in the region. He cited as evidence the presence in the existing missions of the few docile Indians of the region, and the absence of the more numerous and "excessively barbarous" peoples. BNFF, vol. 67, f. 155.

charity.²² The mid 1740s produced accounts of Coahuiltecan, Pajalats, Payayas, and Apaches, certainly a distinct grouping of cultures, which reflected on these groups' lack of civilization. Father presidents of the missions in San Antonio in this period, fray Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana and fray Mariano de los Dolores both commented on these groups in terms marked with contempt and Christian pity. Fernandez de Santa Ana's comments in 1743 reveal his perception that both the Apaches and local indigenous bands were barbarous, ungovernable peoples. He suspected anthropophagy on the part of the Apaches and other northern groups (rightly so in some cases) and was not above attributing this trait to other Indians. He noted the bloody treatment of all ranks of persons within the Apache bands; this appalled the friar when he compared this to their treatment of horses, and led him to compare Apaches and other *norteños* to the hordes of the Asian steppe. For Fernandez de Santa Ana, such persons required the most basic introduction to civilized living in terms of political life, religion, and personal manners.²³

Fray Mariano's writings from the period repeatedly remark on poor infidels both inside and outside the missions. At times he noted the stark denial of basic needs the natural state of Indians provided them; he looked not only at their spiritual state as infidels, but also noted that the scattered existence they followed lacked any "temporal benefit", by which he meant their continual lack, in his eyes, of properly stored food, adequate housing and clothing, and other accoutrements of civilized life. Indians in central Texas ate the flesh of their dead enemies, engaged in superstitious practices that

²² Fray Miguel de Sevillano de Paredes, commentary, San Antonio missions, no date but internal evidence suggests the late 1730s. AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 32, exp. 4, f. 87v.

²³ Letters of fray Benito Fernandez de Santa, Concepcion de Acuña mission, March 3-4, 1743, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 77-80.

led to diabolism, and in general found repugnant the idea of submitting to any other person or government.²⁴ Commenting on the general nature of south-central bands and coastal Indians, fray Mariano wrote in 1762 that mission Indians asked perpetually for more food due to laziness and self-abandonment. He and his brother missionaries in San Antonio approached their spiritual direction of these Indians “with comparisons and by reasoning adapted to their imponderable crudeness”. In the same report he noted that the various mission populations approached their work lightly, in line with “their crudeness, limited talents, and great laziness”; he spoke of their slowness in working as “characteristic of their innate indolence”. The San Antonio mission Indians were incapable of supporting themselves and their families. For fray Mariano, this was due to their “wildness, rudeness, and disregard of things that do not merit their attention.” In the following text he blamed the rampant venereal diseases on neophytes’ excesses, and he explained that light illnesses turned worse because the Indians in general ignored the health of their bodies.²⁵

Many of the twentieth-century histories of Texas presidios and missions considered the ill-fated arrangements Spaniards made with the Lipan Apaches, of which the most famous was the experiment of the San Sabá mission and presidio.²⁶ Prior to the events of 1757-1758 when the San Sabá mission was attacked, its missionaries killed, and its buildings set ablaze, friars regularly included their views on the Apaches in

²⁴ Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana to Governor Barrio Junco y Espriella, August – September 1749, in *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, 1737-1762*, ed. Benedict Leutenegger (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1985), pp. 74-75; Fray Mariano to Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo, San Ildefonso mission, October 8, 1750, in *Letters and Memorials*, 130.

²⁵ Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana to fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, San Antonio de Valero mission, March 6, 1762, in *Letters and Memorials*, 327-355.

²⁶ Robert Weddle, *The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964); Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 156-63; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, III:386-409.

correspondence with governors and their Franciscan superiors. Fray Fernandez de Santa Ana's thoughts above work in tandem with other friars including fray Joseph de Guadalupe, who wrote of the barbarity of the Apaches in the same text where he claims Apaches demonstrated repeatedly their willingness to come into missions where they would abandon their nomadic lifestyle.²⁷ Fray Joseph insisted that the Apaches more than other bands were open to such a change of political life; he observed their fear in 1743 of northern Indians which he cited as the basis for the Apaches' apparent radical shift towards favoring mission life. For all this, the missionary took stock of their gentle manners and their love for "libertad". While other friars addressed similar changes in the Lipan Apache viewpoint at mid century, such statements as fray Joseph's influenced later approaches to missions that ultimately failed with this specific group of Apache bands.

One of the best known statements on Indians by the friars serving in Texas missions is comprised of two documents. This first is by a Guadalupe college missionary, fray Ignacio Antonio Ciprián, in a mid century report to the Franciscan commissary general of New Spain, which was requested by the prelate in an effort to address derogatory accusations directed against the missionary college by its detractors at the royal court in Spain. Based on fray Ciprián's report the college then filed a formal memorial to the king in 1750 to refute the damaging accusations of mismanagement of the college's missions in Texas. These two documents concur on most points, since the report to the king utilized much of the evidence assembled by fray Ciprián. Within these

²⁷ Fray Joseph de Guadalupe to viceroy, San Francisco de Espada mission, June 21, 1743, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 81-82.

documents emerges a frank assessment, both institutional and personal, of the Indians of the Province of Texas at mid century.

Fray Ciprián's report succinctly contrasts the indigenous peoples of the different missions and argues that there existed then a perception among the missionaries that ranked barbarous traits of the Indians in the various missions and their hinterlands. The report describes the missions in series, noting the particular bands associated with each mission and the traits these persons exhibit in the main. Fray Ciprián began his review with the San Antonio area mission of San José de Aguayo, which as the college's only San Antonio mission also was the head mission of the Guadalupe friars in Texas. The Mesquite and Pastia Indians at the mission were the most cooperative; the friar asserts that in general they "imitate the others [mission Indians] and do not delay their own conversion", requesting baptism and proper Christian marriage as a matter of course.²⁸ While all the natives of the region were, in his opinion, truly savage, Ciprián recognizes the ease of ministering to some while others exposed the missionary to the limits of his patience. The friar noted in a related commentary that given such behavior as seen at Mission San José, perhaps two thousand or more of these two bands could be congregated there under ideal circumstances.

Those others that stood in contrast to the Mequites and Pastias included the coastal bands congregated at La Bahia near the coast. At Mission Espiritu Santo, the Indians were "unbearable", troublesome persons. Those near the older mission at Nacogdoches were morally lax regarding familial patterns, proper marriage, and their

²⁸ "Report of Fr. Ignacio Antonio Ciprián, 1749", in Benedict Leutenegger, trans. and ed., *The Texas Missions of the College of Zacatecas in 1749-1750* (San Antonio: OSMHRL at San José Mission, 1979), 21.

concern for (Spanish) religion. As to the rest of East Texas, here referring to the Caddoans as a whole, Ciprián labeled them a tricky, violence-prone amalgam, idolatrous in the extreme.²⁹ Friars feared baptizing any Ais Indians for the reasons noted in earlier visitation reports concerning the large numbers of apostates. Within the text the gradient of civilized practices emerges as a scale of relative barbarity and the impact of such on missionaries' attempts to congregate and convert the bands in question.

The college's memorial to the king echoed the report to the commissary general while expanding and refining the corporate understanding of the Zacatecas college's leadership of Indians' conditions in Texas. It begins with a Mosaic reference to the general state of the territory: pagans abounded in the territory, and yet Texas was a promised land to conquer for the glory of God and King. The memorial makes a more pointed contrast between the Indians in the San Antonio missions and those of the southern missions; the memorial praises the cultural adaptations made by Indians in San José mission near San Antonio, but laments the low level of civilization found among the Indians to the south at La Bahia. Those around La Bahia, whether in the missions or not, were perceived as lazy, of timid character, and completely barbaric. The Tobozas in particular were singled out as a "ferocious, cruel, and inhuman" people. In Mission San José, by contrast, the Indians became sustained converts, developed refinements in their mode of living, and exhibited spiritual vigor bordering on intense superstition. Yet for the comparisons between all groups with whom the college's missionaries had contact, all Indians in the province were said to lack common sense for their own welfare, and they were condemned for their dispersed dwellings and a range of mortal sins that

²⁹ Ciprián, Report of 1749, 22, 25-27.

included lust, incest, infanticide, sorcery, and large-scale idolatry.³⁰ Overall, the college leadership asserted that their target population was “tied down by the cords of their superstition, ensnared by their lascivious lust ... [and they] remain in voluntary blindness” to their condition.³¹ The memorial’s authors noted not only the range of temperaments and intelligence of their charges, but also their shared fickle nature which was most pronounced by those on the lower end of the civilized scale.

Corporate documents of the Santa Cruz friars and their missions in Texas relate similar implicit understandings mixed with explicit statements on aspects of relative civilization on the part of Indians. The repeated admonitions to monitor Indians, to continue to meet most basic needs, and numerous references to neophytes’ pitiable condition demonstrate that the leadership shared such viewpoints as the missionaries on the ground. The well known instructions to the missionary father at Mission Concepción is but one of these, and in this document references to the low abilities of the mission Indians abound on many of the instructions’ pages.³² These include comments on the relative capabilities of men and women, their lack of civilization, and tendencies towards barbarous practices whether in play, worship, or at work. Even in the relatively uniform description of mission management, the anonymous author’s comments exhibit his, and no doubt his brother friars’, view that mission Indians were not yet as human as they desired them to be. While justifying taking in young boys for intense tutelage in the friar’s cells, the writer of the instructions argued that his purpose was “not only to have

³⁰ “Memorial of the College to the King, 1750”, in Leutenegger, *Texas Missions in 1749-1750*, 35-50.

³¹ Leutenegger, *Texas Mission in 1749-1750*, 51.

³² Howard Benoist and María Eva Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, translated by Benedict Leutenegger, fourth printing (San Antonio: OSMRHL, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1994).

[the boys] work, as has been said, nor employ them personally, but to educate them, civilize them and *make them genuinely human*.”³³ As rare as this direct statement is within the historical record, such feelings undergird much of the implicit understanding of Indians in Texas on the part of friars. With this statement in mind, the rest of the extensive commentary on managing the affairs of Mission Concepción must be read as a corporate statement on the care of neophytes whose humanity friars constantly questioned.

Other texts illustrate later Franciscan perspectives on Indians in the period from 1768 to the close of the mission era in the 1820s. The abiding theme of Indian intransigence is central to a series of reports filed by friar missionaries with the Baron de Ripperda, governor of Texas in 1772.³⁴ Ripperda distilled these accounts into a general summary on the state of the missions, noting that Indians “fled” regularly and attempts to bring them back to their respective missions resulted in failure. In the same year, fray Romuldo Cartagena commented on the “natural propensity to their liberty” that the Texas bands exhibited, without fail, for the period the Queretaran missions existed in the province to 1772.³⁵ Later efforts by the Zacatecan friars documented those friars’ viewpoints on their potential neophytes. Fray Manuel Julio de Silva traveled extensively in the coastal regions around the La Bahia missions in the early 1790s to revive and populate those stations with either “apostates” or bands not yet reduced to the missions. At one meeting he recorded his discourse in their council, where he claims he and his

³³ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 41, emphasis mine.

³⁴ Report of Baron de Ripperda citing letters submitted to him by friars in Texas missions, September 2, 1772, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 152, exp. 2, ff. 100-101.

³⁵ Fray Romuldo Cartagena to Viceroy Bucareli, Colegio de Santa Cruz, August 14, 1772, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 231, exp. 7, ff. 159-162.

fellow missionary “spoke to them...asking them to quit their brutish life in the *monte*, and to be reduced to live like people and as faithful ones of J[esus] C[hrist]”. Among later friars in Texas, Silva’s words are the norm; he regularly cast aspersions on indigenous lifestyles in the same writings in which he expressed sustained hope that new peoples might enter missions. He, as did earlier missionaries in the San Antonio, San Saba, and San Xavier missions, noted that smaller bands might most wish to settle in missions for protection from stronger groups.³⁶

The overall sentiment at the corporate level of Franciscan missionary methods in Texas is indicative of endemic paternal views towards infantilized mission Indians whose cultural worth was measured by their relative level of perceived civilization. Friars respected Indians in positions of leadership outside the missions, but within the compounds friars held lower estimations of the indigenous groups under their tutelage and allowed only the most conforming Indians the praise fray Ciprián directed to the neophytes of San José mission. Friars also respected the power of native groups outside the missionaries’ control, but even in such an instance their words and attitude slandered the indigene’s culture.³⁷ In essence, the gauge was not one merely of civilized or not, but a gradient of relative barbarity that never relieved its subjects of all traces of otherness.

For mission Indians the friars’ patronizing bent meant strict oversight of every aspect of their lives. Such an arrangement was not peculiar to the Texas missions, but

³⁶ Report of fray Manuel Julio de Silva, Espiritu Santo mission, April 26, 1791, BA, 021:0375-84.

³⁷ Letter of fray Pedro Perez de Mezquia to the viceroy, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 89-90; letter of fray Juan José Aguilar, Espiritu Santo mission, circa 1795, BA 024:0987-89; fray José Abad de Jesús María, report on Orcoquisac mission, La Luz mission, November 27, 1759, BA 2S28.

was repeated elsewhere to varying degrees in northern New Spain. Texas missionary pastors continually reminded one another of the need to be cautious of their flocks, and this for a variety of reasons. Mission Indians were thought to be fickle in any situation, reversing their behavior without warning or provocation; even the most acculturated could exhibit the trait and end up fleeing to the *monte*. Neophytes attracted the ire of many a priest or lay brother by resisting work, and while understandable to the outside observer, this violated another tenet of the friars' expectations of Indians that they observe the quid pro quo of friars' spiritual and material succor in exchange for the Indians' labor. Friars wrote of the relative docility of various mission Indians, noting that certain groups displayed either timid or fierce personalities while others showed aptitude for work or war. Even if the Indians in question were timid before the missionaries, friars warned each other to watch for signs that these persons failed to meet behavioral norms dictated for mission Indians.

Missionaries' observations of the Indians in the region were plentiful. In casual reference Indians received labels: *los pobres*, *infieles*, gentiles, savages, natural men. Fray Ciprian's relation of the different peoples living within the missions at mid century reveals this type of pattern in its best representation. Friars could be complimentary to their charges, as they typically were for those at San José mission, or as is amply demonstrated in document after document, friars could vilify Indians in casual references to a particular band or individual. In his descriptions of the San Xavier mission Indians, for example, fray Mariano de los Dolores was vocal in his support for their good efforts to congregate at the new mission sites – he cited their gentleness and open minds more

than once in letters concerning the San Xavier missions.³⁸ For all his praises, the Indians he described are understood at every moment to be uncivilized, potentially dishonest, and as noted above, fickle in all the wrong instances. Such comments and implicit understandings were common at mid century.

It was these understood perceptions of indigenous barbarity that led the colleges to remind missionaries that their neophytes and families were not prisoners of particular mission sites. Despite those warnings from their leaders, missionaries took pains to categorize Indians as belonging to a particular mission and were not afraid to combat other missionaries for control over groups of neophytes or specific individuals.³⁹ That the missionaries may also have restricted their neophytes' movements also is confirmed by two types of evidence. First, the apostolic colleges issued statements directing the friars to allow mission residents to visit relatives and friends, and to enable Indians to make commercial contacts away from the mission.⁴⁰ These statements, usually in the form of pastoral letters patent (*patentes*), guidelines, and instructions for the father presidents, recurred down the late 1770s, and also are the subjects of references in the books of decrees of the colleges' governing councils for the entire period. The second piece of evidence is the ubiquitous mention of fugitive Indians made by friars beginning after 1718 and continuing until the Mexican wars of independence from Spain. These documents mention Indians who fled for unknown reasons, never to return; some note the

³⁸ *Letters and Memorials of Fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana*, 35-44.

³⁹ Maria F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 118-121, contains a case study and explanation of the legal implications of Indians moving from one mission to another.

⁴⁰ Patente del discretorio del Colegio [de la Santa Cruz] a los presidentes y ministros de las misiones en el Rio Grande del Norte, San Antonio de Valero y de San Xavier, sobre el gobierno de dichas misiones, Querétaro, August 19, 1748, ACQ, K, Legajo 3, no. 51, 2.

return of mission residents after short sojourns taken to attend to affairs elsewhere in the greater region.⁴¹

One of the more striking aspects of missionaries' perceptions of Indians was their frank acknowledgement of friars' control over mission neophytes. Such statements lend credence to interpretations of chattel relationships between Franciscans and a particular mission's indigenous population.⁴² Neophytes thus described existed in missions as a counted asset much as the ubiquitous tallies of fanegas of corn harvested in a given year and the numbering of livestock herds. That the population of neophytes was mentioned in the same explication of produce and *ganado mayor* implicates friar missionaries as yet another group of hacendados in the north of New Spain.⁴³

Many sources reveal the apparent perceptions of themselves as estate managers, or hacendados, on the part of Propaganda Fide friars throughout the mission period in Texas. Even when faced with continuing resistance from Caddoan peoples, friars continued to demand that east Texas bands congregate in missions. Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa vigorously defended the missionaries' desire in 1721 to congregate, and thus control the indoctrination of Caddos and others in the reestablished missions in that

⁴¹ Report of Baron de Ripperda, 1772, ff. 100-101; Benedict Leutenegger, trans., "Report on the San Antonio Missions in 1792," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 4 (April 1974), 494-95; fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to fray José Antonio Rodríguez, San Antonio de Valero mission, March 14, 1754, BNAF 5/106.1, f. 1r-1v.

⁴² Fr. José Francisco Lopez, letter relating conditions at Rosario mission, San Antonio de Valero mission, October 8, 1790. BA 020:0719-21. By the manner in which the reports describe the Indians in different missions, the visitation records provide another view of humans as yet another inventoried type of mission property.

⁴³ See Maria F. Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, especially chapter 7 on the Texas missions, for allusions to the similarity of mission compounds to the productive haciendas (agricultural estates). *Ganado mayor* refers to larger livestock (horses, mules, cattle) as opposed to *ganado menor* (goats and sheep).

region.⁴⁴ This attitude failed to win adherents among the Caddos, but it reappeared in other regions where indigenes were more likely to congregate and submit, at least in part, to the mission regime. An undated document likely originating in the late 1740s describes typical views on the rights and prerogatives of missionaries of their control within the mission. It clearly states that friars understood themselves to have complete authority over the lives and persons of mission Indians, and its author cites canonical authorities in defense of the Franciscan position.⁴⁵ Such documents were routinely crafted to enforce the Texas friars' control over their neophytes and the daily administration of temporal matters in the mission.

The 1727 visitation reports cited above illustrate the shared understanding of missionaries that the value of their missions was counted in terms of the resident population, resources and property, and numbers of converted souls. The records of such visitations consistently show dispassionate numbering of each category with little separation between counts of Indians, livestock, and the results of both physical and spiritual harvests. Reading visitation reports as indicators of friars' values leads to a singular conclusion that friars in practice tallied their gains equally concerning temporal and spiritual aspects of the mission. Friars often could view their work as institutional management, with indigenous peoples marking just another aspect of the overall operational outlay of the mission estate.

Particular details of each report illustrate such an understanding by friars. On October 29, 1727, the visitor's secretary reported the presence at the first mission of

⁴⁴ Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to viceroy, Mission Concepción de Agreda, August 8, 1721, ACQ, K, Leg. 1, no. 10 (J).

⁴⁵ *Cuaderno sobre los privilegios de los Misioneros de Texas*, ACQ, K, Leg. 4, no. 29.

“Adays, Pachinais, Catanacha” bands, and then noted the number of *almudas* of maize stored there and the presence of twenty-seven beeves on the hoof. Two days later the visitors were at Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ays, where the missionary accounted for the Ais population (mostly absent), his inventory, and the work he assigned the persons in residence. At subsequent stops the visitors heard observations on the freedom-loving populations at other missions, as well as numbers on their respective corn crops and herds ranging from forty-eight to sixty-four beeves apiece. While complaints of Indians’ lack of responsiveness to the missionaries were interwoven into the texts, the overall focus of this report is its accounting of persons, corn (maize), and livestock.⁴⁶ Later visitors’ reports echo the tone of this early one, and compare well to hacienda bookkeeping documents of the period.

The overwhelming sense of a missionary accountancy of goods, livestock, and persons within the missions appears elsewhere aside from the visitation reports. Often the years surrounding the establishment of new missions yielded an intense focus on the calculus of salvation and the temporal support of bodies intended for conversion. For example, the Orcoquisac mission east and south of San Antonio in the late 1750s appears in the historical record only in light of two issues: accounting of the mission in terms of stocks and expenses, and disciplinary proceedings against friars who served there later in the century. In the former accounts, fray Jesús Maria de Abad commented at length on the fabric of the mission’s physical plant. He also called attention to the reticence of the

⁴⁶ Visitation report of 1727, BNFF, vol. 132, ff. 10-25.

indigenous persons there to work at the mission.⁴⁷ Likewise the guardian at the Zacatecas college explained the expenses of this particular mission in explicit detail: with 242 pesos received from a donor, specific quantities of bulls, cows, and corn were purchased for the mission in April 1759, and references within the statement demonstrate that it is perhaps just one of numerous such receipts for expenses for this one investment during that decade.⁴⁸ Neither document includes more than a cursory mention of the spiritual aspects of this missionary effort, but rather each one comments in much depth on the fabric, stocks, and livelihood of the mission as a settlement.

Following the turnover of missions in 1772 from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz to the college at Guadalupe de Zacatecas, friars of the latter adopted a consistent approach to documenting their missions whenever asked to report on the state of affairs there; the overall goal was to provide a detailed accounting, or inventory, of the persons and property of the mission. One example suffices for the many others: in 1790 fray José Francisco Lopez described with care his mission population, the permissions such persons required to travel away from the mission, and the physical attributes of the location in terms of materials for worship, production, and sustenance that existed at the time at Mission Rosario. When documenting his few neophytes at this mission he describes them by size, age, and quantity; his accounts were similar to those of other missionaries' numbering of their missions' livestock. Fray José commented on the sad shape of the buildings, vestments, and furnishings of the chapel, convent, and sacristy.

⁴⁷ Fray Jesús Maria de Abad, Proceedings on his report on the establishment of the presidio, mission, and town at the site of the Orcoquisac mission, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Luz de Orcoquiza, November 27, 1759, BA, 009:0850-0855.

⁴⁸ Fray Joseph Maria de Guadalupe y Alivia, receipt issued April 24, 1759, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 6250, exp. 102, f. 1.

He fed his small group of potential converts with an equally small herd of cattle, which again he documented in terms similar to those he used for his human flock.⁴⁹

The de facto role of the Texas missionaries as hacendados is particularly well documented. Scholars of the San Antonio missions count the instructions left to the missionary at Concepción mission as one of the more important pieces of evidence of the entrenched view of friars as mission managers; this one document shares more information on friars' quotidian concerns than any other extant colonial record.⁵⁰ The published document includes the primary body of instructions to the priest (and helper, if present) of the mission. This section receives elucidation and expansion by additional pages provided by the anonymous author as an addendum to the initial numbered instructions. In this document the friar missionary appears everywhere, working throughout the affairs of the mission in daily tasks set out on a daunting schedule. By its depth and detail, this description provides perhaps more of an ideal, rather than actual, depiction of the life and times of a Texas friar.

The description of the Concepción mission friar's responsibilities included typical roles: the priest and his assistant were to catechize, lead prayers, teach singing, and say Mass. As one might expect from a parish priest, the friar was to supply the church and friary as his domains of work and dwelling; as required under the Franciscan rule, the friar was to pray, observe the canonical hours, and perform his spiritual exercises.⁵¹ He must also study, and each friar brought with him some number of books and other

⁴⁹ Fray José Francisco Lopez, detailed account of conditions at Rosario mission, San Antonio de Valero mission, October 8, 1790, BA, 020:0719-0721.

⁵⁰ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*. Recent editors dated the documents in this edition to 1787 per the text and evidence in the manuscript.

⁵¹ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 3-9.

materials for that purpose. To this point, the view of the priest-missionary departs not at all from a normal expectation of ordained, professed religious life. The unknown author of the instructions next moves to illustrate the enormity of the task of the missionary, and how such men were to view, treat, care for, and interact with Indians.

Beginning with the section on political organization of Indians within the mission, the author embarks on a long listing of roles fulfilled either by the missionary priest or his helper, also a Franciscan (either a professed priest or lay brother).⁵² The missionary at Concepción mission was to be the political headman for the community, whether a single Indian band or multiple peoples made up the congregated indigenous population. In this role the friar arranged the election of indigenous leaders, installed the native men in office, and oversaw their positions of leadership. The friar supervised all menial and skilled labor in or associated with the mission: farming, husbandry, manufactures of clothes and supplies, slaughtering of livestock, food preparation, storage, construction, equipment repair, bookkeeping, records management, and so forth. As the chief lawgiver of the mission, the missionary ensured harmonious relations between disparate bands and saw to reparations for the aggrieved. He was also the enforcer of morality; his views influenced daily life for neophytes in the mission and sometimes their families outside the mission as well.

The Franciscan in the mission acted as physician or healer to his indigenous flock and to settlers, soldiers, and Indians from outside the mission. Friars engaged in language instruction and learned indigenous dialects as part of their role as facilitators of spiritual and cultural conversion. Friars regularly departed from the mission with soldiers

⁵² This and following remarks derive from Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 10-49.

in the first half of the eighteenth century in pursuit of fugitive mission residents. Some friars were teachers of music, and it may be argued, according to the records at Concepción mission, that all of the friars were encouraged to keep a liturgical schedule comparable to settled parishes in central New Spain. In all of these aspects of the missionary life in the late 1780s, the missionary would learn to do his job well, as the author noted: “Experience teaches [the missionary] to know what is needed to provide for the mission.”⁵³ The complete description of the missionary life explains the strain many friars exhibited in their writings in which they searched for answers to the problems that plagued the missions throughout the mission period in Texas.

Another side of Franciscans in Texas existed even beyond the functional roles and bias towards Indian culture the friars brought to the region. Many friars exhibited a more charitable perspective towards indigenes and their families, and towards the cultural structures of their native societies. In one instance, records documenting the homicide inquest into the deaths of fray Joseph Ganzabal and the layman Juan Ceballos at Mission Candelaria in 1752 contain several fascinating statements on the guilt of an Indian called only Andrés, who authorities accused of perpetrating the crimes. When the court in San Antonio called for testimony, friars were able to name witnesses from the various missions, notably San Juan Capistrano, to testify about Andrés and his background.⁵⁴ The friars’ recognition of such *indios principales* and those native leaders’ subordinates in the different missions shows that the missionaries were, in some instances, willing to

⁵³ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, quoted text p. 27.

⁵⁴ Auto of the 1752 murders at Mission Candelaria, full and partial copies. BA, Box 2S27, various sections of Indians’ testimony.

acknowledge the intelligence and capabilities of the Indians. The testimony is exceptional among legal proceedings in Texas for its attestation to more personalized relations between missionaries and Indians, at least with certain leading denizens of the missions.

Earlier and later missionaries recognized the status of Indians as well, often in language that communicated a deeper understanding of their targeted converts. The Santa Cruz missionary fray Antonio Olivares encouraged the principals of the Jaranames and the Payayas gathered at San Antonio de Valero mission to participate in both the spiritual and political governance of their people and new home during the winter of 1720, and a decade later fray Pedro Mezquia (the Santa Cruz college guardian) noted also that principal Indians were encouraged in similar fashion among the Pacaos, Alobja, and Pajalat nations in San Antonio's missions.⁵⁵ An even earlier minister in Texas present during the re-establishment of the missions in the late 1710s, fray Francisco Hidalgo, demonstrated repeatedly his extensive acquaintance with his neophytes, their leaders, and their kin outside the missions.⁵⁶ Fray Hidalgo frequently commented on the affairs of far-flung kinship networks between the Rio Grande and the lands of the Caddoan-speaking Hasanai in the period spanning the late 1680s to the late 1710s. Such concern on the part of friars in tracking the life events of their Indians was reflected in the

⁵⁵ Oposición del P. Fr. Antonio Olivares a la fundación de San José de Aguayo..., Presidio and town of Bejar, February 23, 1720, ACQ, K, Legajo 4, no. 5; Letter of fray Pedro Perez de Mezquia to the viceroy, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 89-90.

⁵⁶ Fray Francisco Hidalgo to fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, San Juan Bautista mission, November 20, 1710, ACQ, K, Legajo 1, no. 8. Additional letters from Hidalgo may be found in collections of the OSMHRL and the AGN; among the latter see AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 181, exp. 4, ff. 495-498, 505-505v.

observations of the father visitor in 1756; he remarked on the constancy of the fathers towards the Indians and the friars' valor in their pastoral role.⁵⁷

Missionaries held strong humanitarian views for the century under consideration. In the missions, friars sought assistance for their populations, family by family, throughout the period from soldiers, settlers, other missionaries, ladino Indians, and others when and where possible. In reports of the early 1720s, the period during which most of the sustained mission complexes were built on the San Antonio River, missionaries noted repeatedly their intentions to erect shelter, provide foodstuffs, and generally provide as fathers for their neophytes gathered from the wilderness.⁵⁸ Friars routinely protected their mission populations' rights to water under Spanish statutes, giving rise to the first sustained water law precedents in their dealings with the Spanish settlers from the Canary Islands who dominated pueblo life in the civilian town that became San Antonio.⁵⁹ Missionaries also sought to provide for the most obnoxious of the nations in the province – the Lipan Apaches – in the same terms as all others who chose to enter missions in Texas. Of many documents which discuss the terms of the Apaches' reduction to various proposed sites there are some which explicitly document the care to be provided such *bárbaros*: fodder for the Apaches' horse herds, other

⁵⁷ Letter of fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, Texas, 1756, Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo Franciscano, 30/592.1, ff. 1-1v. Hereafter cited as BNAF.

⁵⁸ See examples in fray Espinosa's letter of August 8, 1721, Concepción de Agreda mission, ACQ, K, Legajo 1, no. 10 (J); and fray Gabriel de Vergara, Concepción mission, January 31, 1723, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 2966, exp. 26, fol. 3.

⁵⁹ Letter of fray Gabriel de Vergara on the *isleños* to Captain don Antonio Pérez de Almazán, Concepción de Acuña mission, August 8, 1731, ACQ, K, Legajo 19, no. 29.

livestock for consumption, and sundry “comforts of home” which may be interpreted as food, shelter, and material goods for families.⁶⁰

Franciscans in the Texas missions saw the use of language as yet another form of pastoral charity, if not as solely a tool for the conversion of Indians to Spanish life ways and beliefs. One of the rarest documents dating to this period is the attempt by fray Vergara to document the dialect of the Pajalats, a hunter-gatherer band with which the friar spent some time; the notebook he produced is one of just a few true bilingual translation aides that has come down to the present from Coahuiltecan speakers in eighteenth-century Texas.⁶¹ Other attempts to document languages in the province appear to have been on the minds of friars. In April 1759 the missionaries at San Francisco de la Espada mission, the southernmost of the San Antonio River missions, requested of the governing council and guardian of the Santa Cruz college a manual, in the Indians’ languages, for the better prosecution of their evangelization among their charges there.⁶² The authors indicated that other Texas missionaries had made the request before that time. Santa Cruz college’s governing council made clear that friars should use Indian languages as part of their pastoral method in its 1748 patent to the missionaries of the San Antonio River missions.⁶³

The pastoral aspect itself was the subject of reflection of at least some of the friars at the high point of the missions, and some later missionaries also. In response to the

⁶⁰ Letter of fray Joseph de Guadalupe to the viceroy, San Francisco de la Espada mission, June 21, 1743, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 81-82.

⁶¹ Fray Gabriel de Vergara, *El cuadernillo de la lengua de los indios Pajalates* (1732), Eugenio del Hoyo, ed. (Monterrey, 1965). Contains a biographical sketch of fray Vergara by Lino Gomez Canedo.

⁶² Fathers Acisclos Valverde and Bartholome García, *Razones, y suplica para q.e se saque á luz un manual para administrar á los Indios*, April 8, 1759, ACQ, K, Legajo 11, no. 16.

⁶³ Patente del discretorio, 1748, 2v.

father president's *cuestionario* issued in 1751 to the San Antonio missionaries, friars explained their role in terms of Jesus and the apostles' peregrinations as the Franciscans in their own day traversed the wilds of Texas seeking lost souls to be gathered into the Church.⁶⁴ Fray Cayetano compared the friars to the shepherd of the New Testament parable caring for his sheep in the region, and he also identified himself and his fellow missionaries as providers for the Indians in every way required. In a similar response to the same inquiry, fray Joseph de Guadalupe and fray Juan Domingo de Arricivita struck their own apostolic theme in response to the father president's questions; in their view, friars in the Texas missions enacted the apostolic ideal enshrined in the writings of the Church fathers, and the two friars sought to prove it by quoting some of the ancients extensively.⁶⁵ A later generation agreed that the pastoral ideal was alive in the Texas missions. As the anonymous author of the instructions of 1787 at Concepción mission put it, following Saint Paul, the friar in his mission was to be "...Padre and everything to the Indians, being all to all in order to win them all."⁶⁶ Fray Silva returned to the pilgrim-pastor motif in the 1790s, noting in his *diario* in February 1791 that he and his companion were like the "exploradores de Egipto", traveling by foot through the rugged coastal estuary region and camping with local bands by night.⁶⁷ From this and other writings it is clear that the later friars continued to champion their self-conscious

⁶⁴ Response of fray Francisco Cayetano to *cuestionario*, Concepción mission, July 14, 1751, BNAF, 6/135.2, f. 18v.

⁶⁵ Response of fray Joseph de Guadalupe and fray Juan Domingo Arricivita to *cuestionario*, San Juan Capistrano mission, July 18, 1751, 22v. Indeed, the erudition of these partners at Mission Capistrano filled a full folio page for just the first question dealing with the nature of the friars' work in the province.

⁶⁶ Benoist and Flores, *Guidelines for a Texas Mission*, 33.

⁶⁷ Relation of Fray Manuel Silva and Fray Josef Francisco Mariano de la Garza, February 1791, Bahia. Microfilm of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, AAFH Microfilm, BANC MSS 2005/262, Carton 1, Subcarton 6, Inventory and Photos of the Civezza Collection, Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum, Archivo General OFM. Vol. 203.

portrayals of the missionary as a primitive, apostolic role in constructing the Church in the New World.⁶⁸

For much of the period the persistent themes of official guidance from the missionary colleges were the continuing needs for more missions, for better recruitment of Indians, and for their sustained care. Even after the dour pronouncements of Santa Cruz missionaries in 1768 on the potential for missions in Texas, the tone of missionaries in the province remained firm. Indeed, more missions were erected in the 1780s and 1790s in the south, while others were debated towards Nacogdoches. Though these missions were not successful, the writings about these efforts indicate continued personal interactions with Indians thought in previous decades to be thoroughly uncivilized. As late as 1786 fray José Francisco Lopez argued for the need to greet the Indian in his own language and to continue to use it to be understood.⁶⁹ In time, he continued, Castilian may take hold as the friars teach the young, but he recognized the immediate need to realize conversion on the Indians' linguistic terms. Much continuity with his predecessors' viewpoints on Indians remains, but Lopez's own charismatic stance on the potential of making converts in Texas at such a late date reminds the historian not to discount the positive thinking that existed beyond the so-called decline of the Texas enterprise. Friars such as Lopez recognized as significant a potential in indigenous peoples in the latter half of the eighteenth century as did those at the beginning of the

⁶⁸ This was a theme undertaken by Father William Oberste in his classic institutional narrative of the history of Refugio mission. See William H. Oberste, *History of Refugio Mission* (Refugio, Tex.: Refugio Timely Remarks, 1942).

⁶⁹ Fr. José Francisco Lopez, Razon e Ynforme, May 5, 1786, San Antonio de Valero Mission. Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, 2Q237, vol. 764, pp. 14, 18v, 19-20v.

mission period. This is indicative of institutional confidence expressed by the Guadalupe friars who held sole responsibility for Texas missions after the early 1770s.

Indeed, the sustained fervor in the recorded institutional statements is striking. Until the few years following the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, both missionary colleges serving Texas sustained a continued rhetoric of divine purpose and selfless dedication to the missions in the region. While the brief interlude of 1768-1773 contains dismal accounts on the part of the Santa Cruz friars, the rest of the mission period records express this same high-minded rhetoric with few exceptions.⁷⁰ As I noted in Chapter 3, the five year period during which the Santa Cruz friars changed their tone regarding the Texas missions was the same period in which that college required justification to pull its friars from Texas in order to replace the departed Jesuits in the latter's vacant missions in the Tarahumara and Pimería.

How might one approach this fervor of Franciscans in Texas, and how did it interact with the friars' own pessimism concerning Indians' abilities? This tension between idealism and the friars' lived experience is a constant throughout the historical record of the Texas missions. In many ways this dialogue serves as a core characteristic of the Franciscan mind in the province: high-minded, Pauline pastoral ideals met daily in each mission with a reality that challenged the training of friars steeped in classical Christian thought in the context of Spanish colonial Catholicism. In their rhetorical flourishes, Texas missionaries and their colleagues in the apostolic colleges

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2 for what I term the friars' rhetoric of purpose which was sustained in contrast to typical trajectories of institutional rhetoric in times of distress or failure, and which reflected the continuing charge to the colleges to evangelize and encourage Spanish civilization among the indigenous bands in Texas.

communicated the same pastoral concepts that informed other early modern missionary orders, and in their own institute these matched the Pauline formula of being all to all men for the purpose of salvation, and these ideals also were set within the message of apostolic humility and poverty of St. Francis. Franciscan ideals, imperial concerns, and an impressive investment in classical scholarship coexisted in the minds of the Texas missionaries, who themselves were among the elite of New Spain's Franciscan community since they hailed from the prestigious missionary colleges. Within this context of elite yet humble friars, painstakingly trained in a prescriptive intellectual tradition, serving in primitive missions, one may understand that the binary discourse recorded in the missionaries' writings represents a constant interplay between the ideal role of the compassionate pastor and the strong preconceptions of educated Spaniards.

This softer ideal of the compassionate pastor occurs just as often as complaints about irreducible, lazy, or timid Indians. Nearly every mandate to the missionaries issued by the colleges' guardians contains the expected orders to gently guide, educate, and commend the Indians in the missions. In one such patent, the guardian and council direct their missionary brothers in Texas to honor the humanity of their charges by allowing them freedom to visit relatives, to be shown mercy for innocent mistakes, and to in general set the tone of loving relations between the friars and their neophytes.⁷¹ Fray Francisco Hidalgo's numerous letters breathe contentment with his pastoral role with Indians of different cultures and locations, noting only their violence and occasioned insolence as barriers to this work; the letters of other missionaries convey similar tones

⁷¹ Patente del discretorio del Colegio a los presidentes y ministros de las misiones en el Rio Grande del Norte, San Antonio de Valero y de San Xavier, sobre el gobierno de dichas misiones. Queretaro, August 19, 1748. ACQ, K, Leg. 3, no. 51.

both at the outset of missions in Texas and nearer the close of the period of active Franciscan work there.⁷² Yet with this positive, pastoral tone there often coexisted frank, patronizing language, as with the perspective shared by Father President fray Jose Rafael Oliva in 1788 regarding the entertainments of Indians in Texas. Oliva concurred with other Texas friars that the missionary must "...graciously condescend to the amusement of the Indians as if they were children."⁷³ This is but one of numerous such statements throughout the period that equates indigenes of all groups in Texas with spirited and unkempt young children frolicking without inhibitions.

The importance of recognizing the varied perspectives on the part of friars towards indigenous persons as foreign others, as neophytes, and as humans equipped with all abilities needed for civilized life is that historians must step away from assuming uniformity among the missionary paradigms employed in northern New Spain. That Franciscans in Spanish Texas maintained a unified, functional rhetoric of missionary purpose is not an issue here. Rather, the very human friars who implemented this overarching program did so based on shared group perspectives and their own individual visions of Indians in Texas, and these perspectives were open to influence once friars found themselves engaged in the missions. Recent attempts to revisit the history of the Alta California missions, for example, concede that both group and individual approaches

⁷² For one example see letter from Fr. Hidalgo to Fr. Joseph Gonzalez, 25 March 1724, San Antonio de Valero. AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 183, exp. 1, ff. 24-25. Other missionaries of the later period such as fray Manuel Julio Silva often wrote in hopeful terms about coastal missions in Texas and the potential for conversion of the peoples residing there.

⁷³ Fray José Rafael Oliva, *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. Jose Rafael Oliva's Views concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788*. Trans. Benedict Leutenegger. OSMHRL, San Antonio, 1977, 40.

varied in time and place.⁷⁴ Friars' methods for training mission Indians in that region followed many traditional norms, but there was a certain degree of room for friars' personal touch when addressing, or seeing potential, in Indians there. In both Alta California and New Mexico there were a similar numbers of independent bands and other groupings of indigenous peoples, but neither region fielded such a vast array of cultural types as friars encountered in Texas. While Alta California and New Mexico's missions, albeit begun at opposite ends of the colonial period, show a greater consistency in types of Indians subjected to missionary endeavors, the Texas friars' experiences appear more in the context of an extended experiment to determine how each cultural type would respond to missionaries' overtures. Missionary work in Texas went forward by means of calculated but often misinformed experimentation, with much trial and error, and ultimately without the results seen by Franciscans elsewhere in northern New Spain.

One influence on the Texas missions' outcomes was the wide range of friars' perspectives on the Indians of the region. While the friars' shared ideals concerning evangelism and pastoral care were consistent throughout the period, Franciscans in Texas exhibited such varied perceptions of Indians that there was rarely a cohesive image of what it meant to be Indian in the region, or of the potential for conversion of any given Indian. Where the other regions of extreme northern New Spain (Alta California, New Mexico, Sonora) were more or less homogeneous in their cultural expressions, Texas as an indigenous region represented a range of cultural modes that made it difficult to argue for or against certain methods of evangelization. It is true that areas of Nueva Vizcaya

⁷⁴ See Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

and Nueva Galicia offer much the same dilemma as Texas, but one should note that these areas were not mission fields of the Franciscan *colegios de Propaganda Fide*, but rather of the Jesuits and Franciscan provinces, at least up to the point when the Jesuits left New Spain in 1767-68.⁷⁵ The friar missionaries in Texas, though trained, prepared, and managed by a constant standard, failed to concur in their perceptions of indigenous peoples except where by default they could see them in living flesh through Spanish eyes: indigenes were *bárbaros* of differing types and degrees. To paraphrase fray Garavito, they were still Indians, try as the missionary might to change them into a more civilized, rational people.

⁷⁵ I thank Cynthia Radding for her recommendation that I clarify my geographical comparison of missions regions in northern New Spain.

Chapter 5

Friars' Interactions with Frontier Institutions, Settlers, and Quotidian Concerns

The Franciscan missionaries' reactions to the environment in which they lived and worked in Texas went well beyond those directed at the indigenous peoples with whom they interacted. In quite simple terms, the lived experience of missionaries in the province was defined also by their interactions with the Spanish military and civilian governors, with settlers of differing social castes, and with the physical environment, quotidian labors, and problems that occurred in the missions. When coupled with the friars' interactions with native peoples in Texas, the complex milieu of their missionary vocations on the tangible, daily level was one that could be fleetingly exhilarating and routinely grinding, and the range of experiences influenced the accommodations and adaptations, when they indeed happened, that Franciscans employed in the region. This chapter considers the range of real inputs to friars' missionary lives that confronted the ideals and theories they brought to the missions. Once reviewed, such inputs will be examined against the persistence of the friars' rhetoric regarding their intentions and purpose in Texas.

In terms of their interactions with the array of non-Indian peoples present in Texas, the aim of the following discussion is to consider relational dynamics over the mission period and how those influenced missionaries' conceptions of their work. Several points are in order to properly contextualize the interactions of which I write. First, there were elite to elite interactions, which is to say that the Franciscans as local religious elites communicated in various ways and at differing times with other elites: civilian governors in east Texas at Los Adaes (until the mid 1770s) and their lieutenants

in San Fernando de Bexar (San Antonio); military officers of the presidios that appeared where the Franciscans established new missions; viceroys, and viceregal and royal *audiencia* (colonial high courts) bureaucrats in Mexico City, Guadalajara, and elsewhere; and local municipal leaders of the cabildo of San Fernando. These elite interactions were the fodder of most histories written of Spanish Texas from the mission period to the present, and these records still dominate the extant archival materials available for the period. The next type of interaction was with rank and file military personnel. Soldiers and their families were the first permanent non-indigenous settlers of Spanish Texas, and they were involved in the missions' functioning from the very first establishments in the 1690s, and again from the re-start of missions in Texas in 1716. Friars' efforts depended on reliable help from soldiers while in uniform (at least in theory, for many a uniform was quite ragged) and after they retired if they and their families chose to stay on land grants awarded for service in the province.¹ Soldiers both helped and hindered missions, and the military rank and file had a tumultuous relationship with the missionaries.

Yet another form of interactions experienced by friar missionaries was with civilian settlers, a generic term that included a range of persons from the nominally noble families granted privileges as *hidalgos* when they arrived from the Canary Islands in 1731, to the mestizos, poor *españoles*, *castizos*, slaves, ladino Indians from central New Spain, and the occasional Frenchmen or, later, Anglos who came to live in Spanish Texas. Most recorded interactions were with the higher classes of these persons, most

¹ In the words of fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, father president for the Santa Cruz missions in the 1730s and 1740s, as with "the ancient militias of Russia, the definition of military discipline [in Texas] remains as observed: There are no military uniforms in any of these presidios; seeing a squad of soldiers causes some sadness due to that deformity." Even the horses were not up to the tasks requested of them. Santa Ana to father guardian fray Pedro del Barco, Concepción mission, March 26, 1740, transcript, CAT, Box 116, folder 6, ff. 67-71.

notably the *isleños* from the Canaries who claimed the mantle of leadership and dominated property within San Fernando once they arrived with their royal documents in hand. For most settlers, the Franciscans were the only spiritual nurturers to be found in the region, and the friars were on good terms with the commoners as resident priests were wont to be. And yet one of the dominant historiographical themes has been that of struggles between settlers and friars; this should be framed more as a struggle between the *isleños* and the friars, as historian Jesús F. de la Teja outlined in his study of San Fernando de Bexar, the predecessor to present-day San Antonio.²

The environment played a significant role in determining the success or failures of the missionary endeavors in Texas. Several aspects appear under this rubric. First, the evidence shows that a dialogue with the physical landscape of Texas emerged with the first Franciscan forays into the province, something which continued in the writings of later visitors and commentators on travels through the region. That dialogue was offset by the presence of a negative discourse running through the documents that accused certain places of being foul, unlivable, or extremely sterile for either agriculture or pasturage. At one level, Franciscans attempted to relate the landscape to places they knew before: some compared it to different Iberian locales, while others, notably *criollo* friars, made comparisons to New Spain. In this manner they tried to tame the environment they perceived and make of it a quasi *domus*, or home, that would comfort their greater fears of the exotic they also saw around them. Many a friar commented on the extreme distances encountered in Texas: the lengthy stretch of road between the

² Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). One could also frame the context as a struggle between the *isleños* and every other elite in Texas, without exception.

missions and Mexico City, the colleges, or even closer towns like Saltillo; the distances between the missions, between missions and the closest presidio, or between missions and nearby Indian *rancherías*. Another distance noted frequently was the short path between Spanish Texas at its eastern-most border and French lands commanded by New Orleans, at least until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 passed French Louisiana to Spain. An important aspect of the physical domain in Texas which the friars never failed to notice was the presence of pests, foul airs, poor water, flooding, and other irritants that inevitably challenged the Franciscans' perspective on their daily lives.

Still another environmental aspect was one that conjoined the human one: the difficulty of the temporalities (as the Franciscans termed it), or in more modern phrasing, how to justify the friars' roles in managing the daily business affairs of the missions. In ideal situations, Observant Franciscans would have no direct role in the supervision of workers, the management of farms and ranches, buying and selling goods and services, or construction of buildings and irrigation channels. In Texas, Franciscans not only involved themselves in these actions, but they were leading elites who played significant roles in that frontier society's decision making processes for both strategic and tactical concerns. By mid century both colleges had warned their colleagues in Texas several times to cease their involvement in such local business affairs so as to affirm their institute as Observant friars and to avoid scandal. And yet the tension continued as friars debated the issue of the temporal management of mission affairs with some adamantly opposed to such involvement, and others, including some who ran up large debts,

seeming to ignore their vocational restrictions and the directions of their superiors.³ In contrast with the ideals examined in Chapters 2 and 3, the lived experience of many a friar meant long hours of managerial toil rather than spiritual guidance for neophytes. Some justified this as the means to the end of cultural transformation and spiritual conversion for their Indian charges; others thought their responsibilities in Texas missions to be wrongly apportioned and out of line with their Franciscan vows.

As I explained in the first chapter, the era of Texas missions was one of significant political change in late colonial New Spain. The impact of several shifts in government, policy, and civil allegiances were acutely felt in Texas although the province was far removed from the center of the viceroyalty. Given that the population of Spanish-speaking settlers of all classes hovered at its colonial peak near 2,500 persons, any change in governance and related matters would have been witnessed by all in the province, and at close range.⁴

The first shift occurred during the lull between the initial three-year foray in east Texas ended with the friars' retreat to Santa Cruz college in 1693, and the re-establishment of the missions in east Texas in 1716 and the foundation of the first mission on the San Antonio River in 1718. With the death of the last Habsburg ruler in Spain, Charles II, in 1701, the War of the Spanish Succession began. It ended with the

³ Among the potential sources for such opposing views, see Benedict Leutenegger, ed. and trans., *Management of the Missions in Texas: Fr. José Rafael Oliva's Views Concerning the Problem of the Temporalities in 1788* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1977), which contains fray Oliva's scholastic reasoning against continuing to be involved in business affairs. For evidence of mismanagement, see especially the example made of fray José Mariano Reyes in letters involving that friar and his superior, fray José Francisco López, in 1788-1791, BA 020:0021-0027, 020:0343-54; also, report of fray José Manuel Pedrajo, San José mission, June 14-15, 1794, BA 024:0755-0757.

⁴ Alicia V. Tjarks, "Comparative Demographic Analysis of Texas, 1777-1793," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 3 (Jan. 1974), 291-338.

confirmation of a Bourbon cousin of the reigning Louis XIV of France, Philip of Anjou, as the first of the Bourbon kings of Spain. The colonial impact of the change was initially limited to that of wartime deprivations due to constricted supply lines for normal mercantile activities, but over time the reforming impulse of the Bourbons caught on in the Spanish American colonies as new regulations aimed at improving crown finances were enacted through Mexico City. From the relatively stagnant seventeenth-century approach to governance under the Habsburgs, New Spain and its hinterlands began to feel ever more the reach of Bourbon policies of colonial development, revenue enhancement, and limited colonial autonomy over the decades of the eighteenth century.⁵

These policies have been termed the Bourbon Reforms, though there was no clearly defined body of reform laws nor was the approach comprehensive in any given decade. At mid century the crown under Ferdinand VI acted to reform the Church in the colonies, which for the Franciscans meant an increased effort to finish the secularization of Indian parishes in the central regions of New Spain. As a result, the Franciscans and other mendicant orders suffered severe losses of both vocational outlets and properties, though for the Franciscans the apostolic colleges absorbed many of the provincial friars now without a ministry in the former Indian parishes. The colleges increased their membership from the middle decades of the eighteenth century to its end; by 1801, most colleges had more than doubled their membership above the canonical limits in existence in 1748.⁶

⁵ Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 86-88.

⁶ Francisco Morales, "Mexican Society and the Franciscan Order in a Period of Transition, 1749-1859," *The Americas*, vol. 54, no. 3 (Jan. 1998), 327-28; D.A. Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 62-81.

Additional changes were wrought in the second half of the century under the guise of Bourbon political reform. In 1767 Spain enacted the removal of the Society of Jesus from all of its realms in a move that mimicked earlier actions by Portugal and France. The royal visitor, don José de Galvez, was present in New Spain for this action (he personally conveyed the order to Mexico City) and oversaw the reallocation of former Jesuit missions to the other religious orders. The Franciscan provinces and the apostolic colleges took part in this action, with the result that Santa Cruz removed its Texas missionaries to reassign them elsewhere in the northern provinces. Friars from Guadalupe college also took control of former Jesuit missions while assuming duties at the vacated Santa Cruz posts in Texas.⁷ Yet another change came about as a result of Galvez's influence with the creation of the autonomous unit of the Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas (Internal Provinces) in the north of New Spain and the appointment of a commandant general to bypass Mexico City and report to the Council of the Indies directly. This occurred in 1776 and remained in effect in varying forms until the end of Spanish colonial governance of New Spain in the early 1820s. Thus, towards the end of the mission period in Texas new governmental hierarchies and their resulting policies exerted new influences on the missionaries and their neophyte communities.⁸

The last two decades of Franciscan presence in Spanish Texas experienced civil war. Following Hidalgo's uprising in the Bajío in 1811, Texas became a place of refuge

⁷ Brading, *Church and State in Michoacán*, 3-16; Juan Domingo Arricivita, *The Apostolic Chronicle of Juan Domingo Arricivita: The Franciscan Mission Frontier in the Eighteenth Century in Arizona, Texas, and the Californias*, trans. and ed. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 2 vol. (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1996), II: 88-94; Kieran McCarty, *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981).

⁸ Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 171-94.

for two waves of insurgents, or rebels, in 1811 and 1813.⁹ The remainder of that decade was a time of continuing, subsurface strife between those in favor of the liberal agenda emanating from the Cortes in Spain and those who backed the conservative reactions of the restoration government following 1812-1813 when the Spanish Bourbons took back the throne from Joseph Bonaparte. By any measure Texas was astir with talk of civil war; this was exacerbated by the growing numbers of legal Anglo immigrants from now-American Louisiana and the rising tide of illegal incursions of Anglo American traders, raiders, and squatters in the eastern regions of the province bordering the Sabine River. As a result, the human environment that included the diverse indigenous population, itself augmented by immigration of eastern Woodlands Indians into Texas, was one of increasing tension and complexity.¹⁰ Against this backdrop the later relations of friars with other persons and groups within late colonial Texas society occurred.

Friars' Interactions with Governors and Military Officials

On one level, the historiography of Spanish Texas covers the interactions of Franciscans and other elite Spaniards rather well. For the institutional historians that followed the Bolton school, the mission and presidio were the keys to the historical narrative, and it follows that the written communications left behind that document the relations between military commanders, governors, vice regal administrators, and cabildo members of the San Fernando municipal elite have been mined already to produce that

⁹ Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 27-49.

¹⁰ F. Todd Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786-1859* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 67-119.

narrative.¹¹ The goal of this discussion of elite relations thus is not to recount the story of the missions and the presidios, but rather to explore the viewpoints of friars when dealing with other elites over the mission period.

As I demonstrated in the preceding analysis of Franciscans' expectations of their role in Spanish Texas addressed in Chapter 3, friars expected that the work in the province would be a cooperative effort between the government and the Franciscan colleges' personnel. To this end, the binomial possibility, in simple terms, of either strong or strained relations existed throughout the period, but such a description would be too mellow and lacking of nuance to thoroughly examine the friars' conceptions both as a group and as individuals seeking their own vocations. Instead, the discussion here must include the complex layers of meaning and ways of understanding the situations in which missionaries found themselves over the long run of years they worked in Texas.

At the highest levels of interactions with government officials were those friars had with sitting viceroys. The viceregal government represented the Spanish crown as the political and religious head of the kingdom that was New Spain, and it was through the vice regal office that the *patronato real*, the king's patronage of the Church in New Spain, was exercised. Thus, when founding or moving missions in any region subordinate to the viceroy friars wrote for permission, traveled to gain the same, or generally updated the viceroy and his councilors on the happenings in missions, especially when newly founded. Many early missionaries in Texas found themselves communicating in two ways to the viceroys in the 1690s, 1710s, and 1720s. Friars would

¹¹ See Herbert E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915), and more recently, Chipman, *Spanish Texas*.

repeatedly express gratitude and obeisance to viceroys in these decades, thanking these representatives of the king for their support and clear vision in permitting new missions to proceed. The second type of communication was the appeal for help which seemed to follow each round of thanksgiving by a year or more. The appeals often occurred when the target population, of which the Hasinai in the 1690s were an example, refused to support the friars in the new missions or directly threatened the missionaries with expulsion or death if they failed to leave the Indians' land. Other contributors to the appeals included weather and faulty supply lines disrupted by natural disasters such as flooding of the many rivers separating the Rio Grande missions and those in east Texas. Together, predictable patterns appear in the records for the foundational periods of different clusters of missions where the thanks and praise of the viceroys then in power gave way to appeals for relief from dire circumstances the friars soon found at their posts.

Texas missionaries and the colleges from which they issued typically enjoyed good relations with viceroys for most of the mission period. Conflicts with governors and military commanders were far more common and will be addressed below. Still there were cases in which friars felt viceroys were either not doing their best to assist the missions, or were preferring missions in other regions to those in Texas. Overall the tone of letters by leaders of early cohorts such as fray Damian Mazanet and fray Isidro Espinosa in 1690 and 1721, respectively, exhibit the obedient nature friars thought due the king's representative as sponsor and provider for the missions they began.¹² In addition to Mazanet's famous description of the missions to be had in Texas and the

¹² Carta del padre Mazanet al Conde de Galve, informándole sobre su viaje a Texas y exponiendo sus ideas sobre su población e incremento de las misiones, Mexico, September 1690, in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 159-165; fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to viceroy, Concepción de Agreda mission, August 8, 1721, ACQ, K, Legajo 1, no. 10 (J).

“docility” of the people there, he bows to the viceroy as his patron and recognizes the help given in the new endeavor. Espinosa, for his part, couches his entire narrative around the great piety of the king as represented by his viceroy, and uses laudatory, respectful and colorful religious language to complete his expression of thanks. In the letter of 1721 Espinosa relates his wish that the viceroy receive “the laurels due for having taken on this spiritual conquest” in Texas when the native peoples worship God and bow their knees to the king of Spain.

After their initially grateful expressions in early letters, friars tended to remain respectful and solicitous of the viceroy, though they also began to relate the different issues they experienced in their work so as to gain his assistance. Two letters from 1733 illustrate this process quite well for the Santa Cruz friars. The first, which fray Gabriel de Vergara wrote at the end of January, takes a circumspect approach to informing the viceroy of troubles with the campaign against the Apaches then in process (including questions regarding the treatment of prisoners), and also of the issues with the French and English trade with the Caddodachos in east Texas and Louisiana. All this the friar accomplished in obedient tones while noting that most the information should come from the governor and not the priest Vergara. While Vergara appeared the passive-aggressive meddler in his letter, fray Espinosa wrote more directly in April and referenced his fellow friar’s letter. Espinosa was concerned that the viceroy have direct input from the Santa Cruz friars on the state of affairs in Texas, notably the Indian issues and the difficulties in determining with the townsmen of San Fernando how to divide the water supply with the missions. Espinosa also requested more soldiers for the missions (those present in Texas apparently were consumed in the campaigns at the time), and he appealed directly to the

viceroy's mercy as patron of the missions in Texas.¹³ The latter is a recurring theme in Espinosa's missionary career; beginning with his time in Texas he and his fellows often wrote to the viceroy in times of stress and discomfort for relief.¹⁴

Father presidents of Texas missions often were the ones to write to the viceroy or his officials in Mexico City to enter their appeals for help against local royal officials, either governors or military commanders. As with the letters above that share frank assessments or ramble in circumspect but unmistakable appeals for help, fray Benito de Santa Ana's letter in 1743 to the viceroy was no simple note of thanks but rather a more complex missive to the king's representative in the New World. Fray Benito reminded the viceroy of the commitments made by his predecessors, and described, based on these commitments, an ideal version of mission life that he claimed could exist with the proper help of the soldiers and local commander. The missionaries no doubt were in the right according to fray Benito; would not the viceroy make good on the long-standing promises given the friars that the military would assist in the missions instead of introducing, as the presidio commander had, various "novelties [concerning] local policy, mostly pernicious, by commanding his soldiers not to help at the missions?" The missionary president's arguments were respectful though he minced few words in his lengthy letter.¹⁵

¹³ Fray Gabriel de Vergara to the viceroy, Concepcion de Acuña mission, January 31, 1733, Bancroft-Civezza, 202/7; fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa to the viceroy, Querétaro, April 13, 1733, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 163, exp. 4, f. 195.

¹⁴ The first of these times appears during a letter-writing campaign by all the friars in east Texas in 1718, a particularly difficult starving period when, as before in 1692-93, the friars were cut off from Spanish supplies and received little support from the local Caddoan peoples. See Espinosa's letter to the viceroy, La Purissima Concepción de los Asinais mission, February 28, 1718, AGN, Provincias Internas, Vol. 181, exp. 4, f. 491v; also, see the letters that precede and follow Espinosa's in the same volume.

¹⁵ Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to the viceroy, Concepción de Acuña mission, March 4, 1743, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, ff. 79r-80v.

In certain moments even Franciscans could take a sharp line with the king's man in New Spain, and these were dangerous times when circumstances required the rebuking of royal officials beyond the local scene. In later years of the missions in Texas, some of the local prelates were driven by politics of the Internal Provinces' leadership and by experiences of unrest during the waning years of the Bourbon colonial state to challenge in clear language the treatment of the missionaries by the royal government. Often this rebuke came for reasons of denying payment of the *sínodos*, the allowances that supported the missionaries, from royal coffers in Saltillo or Zacatecas, as in the complaint by the guardian at Guadalupe college in 1820 to the viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca. That complaint went so far as to air the contention between the apostolic colleges for funding and royal attention, noting bitterly that the vice regal government had paid out funds for the California missions while overlooking those in Texas.¹⁶ Twenty-eight years before, fray Manuel de Silva, the commissary of missions for Guadalupe college, defended his missionaries in Nacogdoches and other stations in Texas against the viceroy's disparaging statements. Given the oddity of the mission at Nacogdoches, the defense provided by Silva was remarkable in that he summoned all historical precedents possible to justify the work of the friars there among so many settlers and so few Indians. And yet, since the viceroy had challenged their work and the validity of their calling as missionaries, the father commissary was obliged to call down shame on the royal

¹⁶ Father guardian fray José María Guzman to viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, June 1820, AGN, Misiones, vol. 3, exp. 56, ff. 220-22.

government for interfering in work that aimed at nothing other than the “glory of the Lord” in Nacogdoches.¹⁷

There should be no surprise that the record is much deeper and expansive in terms of dealings with Texas governors and military commanders. Friars throughout the mission period had moments of congenial relations with governors, though as often as not these were delicately balanced and maintained. Other governors and military commanders sparked the greatest ire of the Franciscans and led to acrimony that would outlast some of the governors’ and commanders’ tenures in the region. Some of the governors and commanders were willing participants in the frontier experiment in Texas while others, and especially those who were most troublesome, were neither happy with their assignments in such far-off lands nor were they pleased with the accommodations there. One must remember that until the 1770s the capital of Texas was not in the villa of San Fernando, but rather some distance away to the east at Los Adaes in what is now western Louisiana. Given that this was the required habitation of governors and the commanders who oversaw the presidio at Los Adaes, it becomes clearer how rancorous leaders might become when governing from afar and in the midst of peoples not interested in either Spanish religion or culture. In fact, during the entire period of the Spanish presence in east Texas, including at Los Adaes, the most influential European colonizers were the French, even after the outcome of treaty negotiations in 1763 that made the entire region Spanish in the eyes of Europe.

¹⁷ Fray Manuel Julio de Silva on the ecclesiastical situation in Nacogdoches, Colegio de San Fernando, November 24, 1792, BA, 2S62.

And so one might start with the happier relations, such as those with the model governor, according to the friars, that don Manuel Muñoz appeared to be in the missionaries' relations late in the mission period. Governing Texas from 1790 to 1799, Governor Muñoz rarely appeared to intervene in what was then a time of expected expansion on the part of the remaining Zacatecan friars. Letters to him and speaking of Muñoz to other friars contain laudatory statements with some consistency.¹⁸ Other governors were more interventionist in their government of Texas but still earned the good graces of the missionaries. One of these men, the Baron de Ripperdá (governed 1770-1778), built a solid relationship with the friars and clearly took an interest in the welfare of the missions, reporting sympathetically on the status of the friars' work and the results seen during his tenure.¹⁹ In more than one place in a report Ripperdá filed with the vice regal camera in 1772, the governor noted that the spiritual influence of the missionaries at the San Antonio missions might be of use in negotiations with the nations of the north (Wichita and Comanche peoples, or *norteños* in Spanish parlance). He also noted the role of friars in the incipient "domestication and conversion" of the same peoples once negotiations yielded the coexistence of the Spanish, local mission Indians, and the northern nations.

Local military commanders held the key to a major support for the Franciscan missions in Texas, which was the manpower to assist the missionaries as soldiers became majordomos at the missions while also serving to deter raiders and other attacks. A good

¹⁸ Fray Manuel de Silva to governor, Espiritu Santo mission, March 24, 1791, BA 2S58; fray José Francisco Lopez to governor Muñoz, San Antonio de Bexar, January 4, 1794, BA 2S66. See also implied relations in letter of fray Antonio de Jesús Garavito, Refugio mission, October 13, 1798, BA 2S73.

¹⁹ Juan María, Baron de Ripperdá, report on the province of Texas, September 2, 1772, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 152, exp. 2, ff. 98-132. Reports of the missionaries to Ripperdá provided the details the governor related, especially those prior to folio 110.

local presidio captain was something for which a friar was thankful, and several missionaries captured their thoughts in this regard for the record. In the opinion of the Santa Cruz college leadership at mid century, the extensive royal expenditure on soldiers, their captains, and presidios served to secure the missionaries' lives and aid their work to reduce the Indians to towns (the missions) so as to convert them in both religion and culture. Essentially, the friars claimed the military was there not to expand the empire themselves but to support the missionaries' work in converting Indians into Spanish vassals loyal to God and king.²⁰

And so there were accounts of helpful captains and soldiers in Texas. In the very early stages of planting missions in east Texas, fray Mazanet of the first cohort of missionaries observed the dedicated assistance of soldiers in 1690 towards the missions and his fellow priests, though he thought the addition of more married soldiers would enhance the overall work ethic among the military personnel. Similar comments on the contributions of Captain Juan Cortinas of the presidio protecting the east Texas missions in the early 1720s state that Cortinas governed his soldiers well (something always desired by the friars) and that he and his soldiers assisted in the maintenance of the missions that included building *jacales* (wattle and daub huts) for mission Indians.²¹

Neither statement appears coerced from the friars but rather a freely distributed comment

²⁰ *Cuaderno sobre los privilegios de los Misioneros de Texas*, ACQ, K, Legajo 4, no. 29, ff. 4v-5r. See also "Cuestionario formulado por el padre presidente fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores en relación al gobierno de las misiones del Río de San Antonio, y respuestas dadas por los misioneros", Texas, 1751, BNAF, 6/135.2, ff. 3-35, which contains a number of responses from missionaries expressing the roles they expected from military commanders and the governor.

²¹ Carta del padre Mazanet al Conde de Galve, informándole sobre su viaje a Texas y exponiendo sus ideas sobre su población e incremento de las misiones, September 1690, in Lino Gómez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones y poblamiento de Texas (1686-1694)*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), 174; Letter of fray Gabriel de Vergara on the good assistance of Juan Cortinas, Concepción mission, January 31, 1723, AGN, Indiferente virreinal, Caja 2966, exp. 26, ff. 1-5.

for their superiors. Nor do statements later in the century appear to have been forced but instead were observations embedded within other reports on events in Texas. Fray Mariano de los Dolores, whose pursuit of justice after the 1752 murders at Candelaria mission was a long-running effort, noted his approval and appreciation of Captain Manuel Ramirez de la Piszina at La Bahia presidio in the apologia he penned to the captain regarding the case in 1755. In 1760, following the troubles at San Saba and the resulting warfare against the northern bands up on the Red River, the father guardian at Santa Cruz wrote on behalf of his college to commend the work of Colonel Ortiz Parrilla, a man of good intentions by all accounts but of questionable worth within Texas following the events mentioned. Just four years later, with the province still in turmoil with the ever bolder incursions of the *norteños* bearing down on the San Antonio river settlements, one of the missionaries, fray Valverde, noted in his relations to his superiors how busy were the soldiers and their commanders defending the province, and especially the settlement of San Fernando and the missions on the river.²² Not an acrimonious word appears against the over-worked soldiers at the time; instead, the friars noted then that the mission Indians experienced the same strain as auxiliaries in the effort.

There is more dried ink dedicated to the poor relations friars had with governors and military commanders than to accounts of mutually beneficial interactions. Governors in Texas included some who initiated and sustained high levels of animosity against the missionaries over their terms in office. Friars reciprocated when colonial officials

²² Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to Captain Manuel Ramirez de la Piszina, Texas, January 1755, in *Letters and Memorials of fray Mariano de los Dolores y Viana, 1737-1762*, ed. Benedict Leutenegger (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1985), 204-258; Letter of fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz signed by the governing council (discretorio), Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, May 19, 1760, AGN, Indiferente virreinal, Caja 6444, exp. 35, f. 2; fray Acisclos de Valverde to fray Mariano Antonio de Buena y Alcalde, prefect of missions, San Antonio de Valero mission, December 15, 1764, ACQ, K, Legajo 19, no. 125.

offended their honor as missionaries and priests, and between them both sides of the ensuing battles tensely dug in for the duration with the friars typically outlasting the governors. Of the men who governed Texas under Spanish rule, the names Franquis de Lugo, Barrio, and Rábago may be associated with times of extremely anti-clerical rule in Texas by the first two men as governors and the latter as a presidio commander who twice made his mark on Spanish Texas in negative terms. Others within the governing clique supported actions deemed untenable by the friars in the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s. The contests between the friars and the civilian and military leadership hinged on questions of their honor as elites, their right to rule specific aspects of the colonial settlements, and disagreements over the developmental trajectory of the region.

After the Canary Islanders settled in the nascent villa already associated with the presidio at San Fernando, the friars perceived a steady threat to their control over indigenous peoples within the area, specifically mission Indians' labor and produce.²³ This threat grew after the arrival of a new governor, don Carlos Benites Franquis de Lugo, in September 1736; Franquis de Lugo was a native of Tenerife and made himself a natural ally of the Islanders in their contests with the missionaries of San Antonio. In Donald Chipman's estimation, Franquis de Lugo was "short-tempered, petulant, and impetuous", a description not too far removed from those assigned some of the friars by other historians. The charges against Franquis de Lugo in the short term he served in Texas (which ended a year later in September 1737) included blasphemous language and other humiliating speech against the friars, censorship and other interference in their

²³ See clear enunciation by fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana against the *isleños*' intentions, ACQ, K, Legajo 19, no. 35.

correspondence, and overall malfeasance in terms of policies and stance towards the missions and the Indians within those compounds.²⁴ As a representative of the Spanish imperial government in the province, Franquis de Lugo managed to disrespect the religious in Texas in every possible way.

The accusations surfaced immediately against Franquis de Lugo. The father president at the time, fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, compiled the complaints against the governor using letters gathered from the missionaries in San Antonio over the year, starting with comments in October and December 1736. He claims that immediately the governor “dishonored, discredited, and deprecated” the missionaries against all wisdom including that of Solomon, natural law, and the *Nueva recopilación*, the laws of the Indies that dated to the 1560s and protected the ecclesiastical estates set aside as missions for the Indians, as well as protecting the rights of missionaries to practice their vocation. Paredes repeatedly referenced the dishonor shown his brethren by the poor example of Franquis de Lugo to their Indians. In Chapter 2 I used this same passage to illustrate the tremendous body of scholarly knowledge used to make these and other points, such as when one fray Phelipe was accused, in front of his mission Indians, of being just a powerless boy, a mere youth and not a man. Also, the friars cite their concerns that a major heresy is in progress in the governor’s actions and words; at a minimum they believe the man to be intent on causing the greatest scandal possible.²⁵

²⁴ Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 142-43; Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 14-41.

²⁵ “Autos a Representación de los P.P. Misioneros Apostólicos de la Prov[inci]a de los Tejas s[obre] el malos tratam[ien]tos perjuicios q[ue] les causa el Gov[ernad]or Don Carlos de Franquis”, 1732 to January 1737, missions of Texas, AGN, Misiones, vol. 21, exp. 3, folios 44-121. The friars’ primary arguments concerning privileges occur before folio 85. Chipman attests that statements directed by Franquis de Lugo at the friars were his references to them as “sons of Satan” and as “alcahuetes cornudos cabrones”, or

Though the friars rid themselves and the province of Franquis de Lugo after the viceroy heeded their complaints (substantiated by military personnel as well), their missions were empty by the time he left. The missionaries spent the next years regaining the populations in the San Antonio River missions, and found themselves facing another governor of questionable character in the late 1740s in Pedro del Barrio y Espriella. Governor Barrio's temperament was not that of Franquis de Lugo's, but his intransigence turned into obstinate resistance to the friars' agenda over his tenure, which ended in 1750. Barrio and his handling of military assistance for new missions on the San Xavier River north and east of San Antonio in 1748-49 drew the criticism of the friars for what developed then, and in its aftermath, which was a constantly negative relationship between the missionaries and the military personnel following Barrio's orders. Fray Mariano de los Dolores directly implicated the governor in a scheme to insert a certain officer, Lieutenant Galvan, to destroy the missions the governor thought unnecessary at best. The friar asked for another, sympathetic, officer to be assigned, Lieutenant Diego Ramón (who was the original choice at San Antonio's presidio), but this did not occur. In letter after letter, the case against the governor and his collaborators was built, with the result that acrimony, accusations, and ill will existed all around. Instead of a beneficial outcome, the result led to the appointment of a new captain for the presidio instead.²⁶

That new captain turned out to be worse than the first appointee put in place by Governor Barrio, and to be fair, the appointment of the captain for the permanent presidio

cuckolds, pimps, and he-goats (*Spanish Texas*, 142-43). On such insults see William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1979), 82.

²⁶ Fray Mariano to Governor Barrio Junco y Espriella, Petition no. 3, August-September 1749; fray Mariano to Governor Barrio Junco y Espriella, Petition no. 4, September 1749; fray Mariano to Governor Barrio Junco y Espriella, September-October 1749, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 70-83.

at the site was a regal appointment, not a local one. When Captain Felipe de Rábago y Terán arrived in 1751, the fate of the San Xavier missions was settled on a disastrous path. Rábago in the early 1750s was a promiscuous, vain, and incorrigible man according to most witnesses of his lifestyle in those years. He courted trouble and listened to none, including the local friars and those of the San Antonio missions, the governor, and others who sought to retrain his focus on the health of the missions. The end result of his tenure was a dead layman whose wife he stole and violated in front of the man weeks before he was shot, and a dead friar, the respected apostolic preacher fray José Ganzábal, who was the dead layman's protector at Candelaria mission. Local proceedings and ones in Mexico City took a tortuous path over the eight years that followed, and the friars' leadership kept a close watch on the trials only to see the captain released from the murder charges he blamed on Cocos Indians who had left the mission shortly before the murders.²⁷ Rábago later returned to service in Texas following the San Saba events of 1758 at the Presidio de las Amarillas originally built to protect the mission there.

Additional records at various points over the long century of the Texas missions show more tensions between military leaders and the missionaries. Presenting himself as the representative of the gathered nations at San Antonio de Valero mission, the Jaranames and Payayas and their respective captains, fray Antonio Olivares of the Santa Cruz college chastised the lieutenant governor and presidio captain Juan Valdes for not doing enough to stop the foundation of a competing mission by the Guadalupe friars led

²⁷ José de Arocha, Auto of the 1752 murders at Mission Candelaria, full and partial copies, BA, Box 2S27; Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, 154-56; Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 251-262; Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to Captain Manuel Ramirez de la Piszina, Texas, January 1755, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 204-258.

by fray Antonio Margil. While the contention here was between the representatives of the two missionary colleges, it was the captain who also received criticism from Olivares, for as he claims, the captain failed to heed the applicable laws concerning the spacing of missions for distinct indigenous bands (*naciones*).²⁸ More direct complaints about local governance were lodged by missionaries in 1724 against Captain Nicolas Flores in which the friars maintained that the captain and his forces were completely unable to protect missions either at San Antonio de Valero or farther south at La Bahia. According to fray José Gonzales, Flores and his men were “soldados inútiles” whose ribald behavior also negatively influenced newly converted Indians and set neophytes against the teachings of the friars. Between the captain’s abusive language towards the missionaries and the sterile lands around the new mission at La Bahia, fray Gonzales was stymied. Two letters by fray Francisco Hidalgo confirmed the missionaries’ perceptions of Captain Flores and his soldiers, and noted that because of the issues at the presidio Apaches ranged nearer and raided the Spanish settlements more as the year wore on.²⁹

After the traumatic events of 1752 involving Captain Rábago on the San Xavier River and those at San Saba in 1757 and 1758, the relative quality of friars’ relations with presidio captains appeared briefly to have improved. And yet again in 1768, the long-

²⁸ Oposición del Padre fray Antonio Olivares a la fundación de San José de Aguayo, en el río San Antonio, que estaba fundado por el Padre fray Antonio Margil, Presidio and villa of Béjar, February 23, 1720, ACQ, K, Legajo 4, no. 5. The laws in question were the *Nuevo Recopilación de las Leyes* which were issued in the 1560s to correct abuses of Indians by estate owners (*encomenderos*) and issues concerning missionary establishments, among other problems, in the Spanish American colonies. Little more was done regarding this issue of San José mission, though it should be noted that the real problem occurred when Concepción mission relocated soon thereafter to a spot between San Antonio de Valero and San José missions, making the claims of Olivares in 1720 seem, in retrospect, an exercise in histrionic behavior.

²⁹ Fray José Gonzales’ charges against Captain Nicolas Flores, San Antonio de Valero mission, March 18, 1724, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 32, exp. 7, ff. 158-162; Letters of fray Francisco Hidalgo, San Antonio de Valero mission, January 9 and March 25, 1724, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 183, exp. 1, ff. 22, 24-25.

suffering and long-serving father president for the Queretaran friars, fray Pedro Ramirez, went on record with his complaints about the new captain at San Antonio's presidio that year. The document is one of the most explicit complaints about military commanders made by friars after 1760. Since the captain's arrival, Ramirez claimed that "there had been continual persecution of the missionaries and attacks on their morale".

Furthermore, the captain disturbed the mission Indians and the "bárbaros" outside the missions, making the friars' work more difficult. According to the father president, at one point the unnamed captain called one of the priests a demon in public (while the friar conducted mass at the presidio chapel) and threatened him to the point the missionary felt the need to retreat to safety at San Antonio mission. In addition to that incident, the captain continued to voice violent intentions against the missionaries both publicly and privately. The father president was deeply troubled and requested assistance from his college in dealing with the matter.³⁰

Relations with Spaniards and other Settlers in Texas

The record of interactions between the missionaries and settlers in Texas was as mixed as that described above for relations with government officials, but there is a clearer trend line in the evidence on relations with settlers. In the early years, since soldiers and their families were the initial settlers, there tended to be a strong tie between the friars and the local families. That all changed with the arrival of the Canary Islanders; one could say the problems between the townsmen and missions truly began at

³⁰ Letter of fray Pedro Ramirez, president of the Texas mission, no date, Bancroft Civezza, mss copy, 203/54. Internal evidence places the events and the writing of the letter in 1768 based on comments describing the presence of fray Manuel Marentes at La Luz mission (El Orcoquisac) in that year.

this point.³¹ Apart from the newly arrived *isleños* at the villa of San Fernando, however, it appears that most other settlements (which were admittedly few) maintained an easier communication with the Franciscans, as well as some level of respect for the missionaries' efforts to redirect the culture of local indigenous peoples towards Hispanic culture and religion.³² Also, the friars were, as other elites also, one of the consistent arbiters between the Spanish culture in Texas and other laypersons, such as the French that often could be found in east Texas settlements and occasionally the eastern missions as well, or the Anglos who emigrated (or filibustered) to Spanish Texas settlements more and more in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Comments across this spectrum allow us to witness the perceptions of friars of a wide selection of common folk, which provides a useful contrast to the perceptions friars held of indigenous persons.

Some detailed accounts documented friars' daily interactions with commoners. That the local settlers traded with the missions is clear from comments by the friars, as is the observation that friars often served (against their institute) as informal chaplains to the presidios near the missions and as priests for the settlements (both the villas and unincorporated villages) when there was no diocesan priest available, which is to say quite often over the century or more of the mission period. Diocesan priests did work in San Fernando, but elsewhere and even in the San Antonio area many years went by without a resident priest sent by the presiding bishops.

³¹ De la Teja, *San Fernando de Bexar*, 10-11, 47-8, 139-46.

³² Other settlements included Los Adaes and Bucareli after the former's abandonment in the 1770s, some settlement later in the century in and around La Bahia, a community at Nacogdoches that from its early years was a polyglot settlement, and ranches established in varying patterns over the decades of expansion and contraction of Spanish settlement in response to threats to outlying settlements during times of depredations first by Apaches and later by Wichitas (or Taovayas) and Comanches.

In regard to local trading, the main role of the missions, and thus the missionary as the head of each mission, was as provider of foodstuffs to the villa of San Fernando and other settlements. Mission Indians grew a variety of grains, fruits, vegetables, and fodder, and these were sold to settlers, the presidios, and even back to the Rio Grande region when surpluses allowed. Though a clear injunction existed against the missionary priests involving themselves directly in business affairs, there really was no way around the involvement of friars in these transactions for most of the eighteenth century due to a lack of qualified majordomos, or syndics, to administer the economic transactions at the local level.³³ The battles with the Canary Islanders discussed below show that at issue in the 1730s and 1740s were questions over who would grow the food for the San Antonio settlements: the missions that predated the Islanders, or the newly ascendant settlers who sought to increase their share of the water supply to irrigate their fields? One of the arguments used by the missionaries in defense of the missions' water supplies was the need to maintain the agricultural activity of the missions' Indians, both for their own sustenance and for the civilizing impact that such industry was thought to have on hunter-gatherers settled in the different missions.³⁴ That thought resonated with officials for the most part as it was a recognized aspect of the missionary theory at the time. The economic role of missions in Texas was thus protected and encouraged, though often challenged by its competitors.

³³ On the injunctions of the friars' institute and clear orders to disengage from such business negotiations, see the letter patent of the governing council at Santa Cruz to the missionaries in Texas, August 19, 1748, ACQ, K, Legajo 3, no. 51, f. 2v. Also, see the same document, f. 2r, which directs the missionaries to ensure that the mission Indians share in the benefits of surpluses from the mission's production. The issue of tending the temporalities of the missions was such a drain on missionaries' labors that it was debated anew in the late 1780s by Guadalupe college and its father president in Texas. See Leutenegger, *Management of the Missions in Texas*.

³⁴ Fray Santa Ana to the viceroy, Concepción de Acuña mission, March 4, 1743, 79v.

Friars often served as unofficial chaplains for the presidio population of soldiers and their families. Diaries of the first entries to Texas for permanent occupation in both 1690 and from 1716 forward include this aspect of the first cohorts' roles as priests to all Catholics, at least until the arrival of the first diocesan priest in San Fernando. Even after that when a diocesan was in residence, the records indicate that missionaries often doubled their duties by providing sacramental care to non-Indians and in effect acted as parish priests. One example that shows Franciscans supporting the presidio with spiritual succor was that in which the unnamed priest intimidated by the presidio captain in fray Ramirez's account had that experience while saying mass in the presidio's chapel. Other rather direct evidence comes out of lengthy responses to questions of sacramental jurisdiction in and around the San Antonio missions.³⁵ At one time or another, it seems, the friars filled in the serious shortage of spiritual ministers sent by diocesan authorities for all settlements in Texas, and this spurred the parish priests who did work in San Fernando to occasionally protest the Franciscans' encroachment while it also encouraged the friars to think more expansively of their role in the province overall.³⁶

³⁵ Several examples occur in the archival records, but among the best examples would be the question asked in November 1731 as to who must baptize non-Indians within the missions when there was a diocesan priest down the road in the villa. The diocesan, the bachiller don Joseph de la Garza, argued that though the man in question lived and worked at Concepción mission, his status as a laborer rather than a neophyte meant he belonged to the newly established parish at San Fernando. The friars argued for a more liberal interpretation of their faculties, with the resulting thirty-three page brief written by fray Miguel Sevillano de Paredes containing the answer delivered to the diocesan priest (ACQ, F., Legajo 1, no. 6, ff. 1-35v).

³⁶ Indeed, the *Cuaderno de los privilegios de los Misioneros in Texas* from the Santa Cruz college council that dates to the 1750s includes an explicit confirmation that in the absence of a parish priest in any part of Texas, given its distance from the nearest diocesan see, the faculties granted the friars by both colonial bishops and the Holy See over the past two hundred or more years allowed the friars to administer the sacraments as required. The statement in this document clearly enumerates the distances involved, and notes that the faculties included the right to baptize, preach, confess, and perform marriages for local settlers as well as Indians (ACQ, K, Legajo 4, no. 29, 2v-5v).

Even late in the mission period when the villa de San Fernando and other settlements had achieved a greater semblance of town, and thus parish, life, the friars continued to view themselves quite often as parish priests to the local populations. In his authorization of a proxy in 1799 to collect his allowance from the Crown's treasury office in Saltillo, fray José María Puelles claimed his performance of his sacramental duties at Rosario mission and its environs to have met the community's standards as a parish priest, and this claim was supported by two local *vecinos españoles*, Spanish residents near the mission.³⁷ At Nacogdoches even greater claims were made over the last thirty years of its mission. In an apparent dispute over the nature of the mission at that site, the father prefect of missions, fray Silva, argued strongly for the continued presence of two friars at Nacogdoches to serve the needs of that town and its purported mission, though even Silva's argument let slip his understanding that the mission was a farce in 1792. Nevertheless, the missionaries stayed on in the early nineteenth centuries as both priests and ecclesiastical judges, per the faculties they held, and against the wishes of the bishop of Nuevo Leon. In 1810 the two friars there commented on their role and the flock they served, which included Spaniards, Frenchmen, Anglos, and some ladino Indians. The pastor, fray Huerta de Jesús, commented on his work in the town; he said mass in the local church, conducted parish events, and delivered instruction on moral conduct and Catholic doctrine.³⁸

³⁷ Authorization of fray José María Puelles, Rosario mission, January 1, 1799, AGN, Indiferente virreinal, Caja 3569, exp. 37, f. 1.

³⁸ Fray Manuel Julio de Silva on the ecclesiastical situation at Nacogdoches, Colegio de San Fernando de México, November 24, 1792, BA 2S62; Reports of fray José María Huerta de Jesús and fray Mariano Sosa, Nacogdoches, May 3-4, 1810, BA 2S99.

When missionaries thought of settlers in the ideal sense for Texas, they thought of the upstanding laity they knew in areas of New Spain or elsewhere in the Hispanic world as examples of the persons with whom they wished to share their labors in the province. More than one friar in the early cohorts advised viceroys, governors, and college guardians on the attributes desired in the colonists sent to Texas, and this advice mainly centered on the desire for good examples for the friars' indigenous neophytes as they underwent the lifestyle changes envisioned for them. In addition, friars wanted families to provide a core Spanish community that would support the missions while benefiting from the missions' outputs also. Of the 1690 cohort, fray Casañas made the most strident remarks in his relation of 1691 which stated his belief that if the good example of colonists from New Spain could be maintained, the peoples of east Texas would be "conquered" and settled towns of Spaniards could be raised among them. Following that comment, he entered a lengthy warning against sending the wrong types of persons to the province, noting that soldiers and civilian settlers, each with his wife and children, were the right Spaniards to send to Texas. No convicts, single men of questionable backgrounds, vagabonds, and so forth were to be sent on Casañas' watch. Of the group that replanted the missions in the late 1710s, fray Margil and fray Espinosa best reflected this wish of the earlier Texas missionary. Margil and Espinosa agreed in their memorial to the viceroy, the Duke of Linares, that the persons sent to "this beautiful Province of Asinay, or Texas" must exhibit good conduct and none of the evil mannerisms they had seen elsewhere. Also, the persons authorized by the viceroy were to come of their own accord without being coerced into residence at San Fernando or east Texas settlements. The friars' primary concern with persons not meeting these requirements was that such

persons would pass on to Indians either knowingly or not the worst of the habits they possessed.³⁹

The examples friars had in mind no doubt were influenced by those pious lay men and women who assisted the colleges in their works both in Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas and away at the frontier missions. Both colleges had extensive support networks and documented these in various ways. At Santa Cruz in Querétaro, the leadership of the college rewarded contributions to the missions with brotherhoods in the college which were, in essence, a type of third-order recognition and a spiritual obligation for the friars in residence. Numerous acts of service, for example, were recognized in this manner in the *libros de decretos* maintained by the secretaries of the governing councils, and these entries show that local lay persons made donations for missions, served as legal counsel, syndics, procurators in other markets, and intermediaries of all kinds for the college.⁴⁰ In the national archives as well as those of the colleges, individual receipts have come to light that show the seemingly arbitrary timing of various donations to the frontier missions. In the receipt authorized by the father guardian at Guadalupe college in 1759, don Diego Antonio Giraud was recognized for his 242 peso contribution earmarked for expenses to include the purchases of bulls, cows, and corn for

³⁹ Relación sobre los indios de Texas por Fray Francisco Casañas, Mission of the holy name of Mary, August 15, 1691, in Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 54-56; fray Antonio Margil and fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa to Viceroy Duque de Linares, La Purísima Concepción mission, July 22, 1716, in Marion A. Habig, ed., *Nothingness Itself: Selected Writings of Ven. Fr. Antonio Margil, 1690-1724*, trans. Benedict Leutenegger (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), 224-26.

⁴⁰ *Libro de los Decretos*, vol. II, 1734-1776, ACQ, E, Legajo 4, no. 4. See entries on folios 96r (donation), 98r-98v (donation and services), 100r-100v (syndic), 108v (syndics and donations), 123r-123v (canonical legal service by a noted Jesuit provincial), 154v (services by another Jesuit priest), and the lists on folios 284-288 of the *hermandades* for which religious obligations pertained.

La Luz mission at El Orcoquisac.⁴¹ The wording of this and other such receipts indicate that the laity knew something of the friars' work and were willing to support as they could for reasons not known clearly to historians. At any rate, the examples these many persons provided over the years surely contributed to the perception of the good layman sought as a missionary's helper in settling the frontier missions.

For all the assistance received from the regional laity around the apostolic college-seminaries, missionaries to Texas were often disappointed with the settlers there. If the frequent (and often back-handed) comments are an indicator of their overall feelings, then few of the colonists in Texas commended themselves to the elite humility of the missionaries. That the Franciscans had difficulties with their mendicant ways of proceeding in Texas may be seen in the problems they experienced with the lack of fiscal piety among the settlers. The case lodged by fray Juan de los Angeles against a local, one Martín Flores, was marked a civil case by the archivist for the cabildo of San Fernando and concerned the friar's frustrations with not receiving the money Flores pledged in support of the Holy Places of Jerusalem in 1755.⁴² One wonders what amount a settler at San Fernando might pledge that was worthy of a lawsuit by a Franciscan lay brother, but it appears to have been part and parcel of the relations experienced by both in the town.

Even more endearing was the highly descriptive language engaged by fray Diego Martín García five years before the case above in his attempt to describe to the Holy

⁴¹ Fray Joseph María, receipt for monies received from a *vecino* of Zacatecas, April 24, 1759, AGN, Indiferent virreinal, Caja 6250, exp. 102, f. 1.

⁴² Case of fray Juan de los Angeles against Martín Flores for money due the Holy Places of Jerusalem, Villa de San Fernando, May 20, 1754 to August 2, 1755, BA microfilm reel 9, frames 499-507. The value promised in donation by Flores was 8 pesos, 4 reales and sundry goods.

Office (the Inquisition) in Mexico City the problems found in the Texas settlements.

While some missionaries' faculties included that of father inquisitor in missions over the previous century or more beginning in New Mexico, it is clear that fray Diego's faculties were not so extensive. In fact, his letter seems intent on gaining such faculties to combat the moral laxity that appeared around him. His description is the opposite of that of fray Casañas: the inhabitants engage in illegal activities such as trade with the French, are ignorant of the decrees and edicts of the Holy Office (and the Church in general), and are in constant and immoral contact with the various indigenous peoples throughout the province. To ensure that "the divine Majesty be most exalted" above the distractions of life in Texas, fray Diego offered to take on an appointment from the inquisitors to purge the land of its evils so as to secure the realm for the king. Not only does the good friar wish his environment purified (something that will be discussed below), but he indicated that his apparent homesickness was caused also by the long distances between him and the nearest civilized location in Coahuila over one hundred leagues away.⁴³ In short, this particular missionary felt marooned in a sea of heathens.

Until now this discussion of settlers in Texas has largely ignored the greatest conflict of all which was the ongoing strife between the local Franciscan leadership and the *isleño* settlers at San Fernando. To say the friars tended to be disappointed with settlers in the province in general would be a statement made without consideration of the Canary Islanders and their progeny in the San Antonio River region. Adding in the *isleños* raised the temperature of missionary-settler relations permanently, at least in

⁴³ Fray Diego Martín Garcia to the Holy Office in Mexico City, San Antonio de Valero mission, April 25, 1750, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1101, exp. 14, f. 181.

south central Texas. This testy mix of argument, recrimination, and outright strategic baiting of the other side started with the arrival of the new contingent from the Canaries in 1731 when they showed their papers to the governor and proceeded to lay in crops in anticipation of claiming additional land once that had been done. Once the land claims were in process, the missionaries felt intense pressure just to defend basic needs at the missions for enough irrigation water for the mission fields and livestock. Also, the missions' indigenous populations were taken up as pawns by the Islander settlers who noted the distinct lack of a laboring class aside from the neophytes who worked the mission crops. All of these issues served, with reservations on the friars' part regarding the religious piety and commitment to the empire's goals on that part of the new settlers, to exacerbate already raw relations between the friars and the crown's representatives in the governor's house and the presidio at San Fernando. The record soon filled with documents from both sides jockeying for control of their respective domains, villa and missions, and potential gains to each.

The initial verbal shots fired by the friars were recorded in 1732 by fray Vergara and fray Espinosa, and they concerned the issue of water rights for the San Antonio River and the *acequía*, the so-called arroyo de San Pedro which was a simple irrigation ditch that existed already and was the work of prior settlers. By August of 1731 when Vergara wrote to the local presidio captain in San Antonio, the Islanders had, within the year of their arrival, planted crops, arranged a negotiated settlement on water rights, and then proceeded to violate that arrangement, leaving the missions with less water than before their arrival. The missionary played well with the captain by not telling him to reverse this situation, but rather explaining in clear, legal tones what may be considered in such a

case.⁴⁴ By May of the following year, fray Vergara was no longer so considerate of the government's sensibilities, but still maintained his formal manner. He directed the governor to review, as the provincial judge for Texas, the grounds of his complaint and to decide in favor of the missions, demanding that the governor also defend the missions' rights with the equity they deserved. Letters directed up the ecclesiastical and civilian government chains of command followed from Querétaro to Mexico City, all the way to the viceroy's office.⁴⁵ Much time was invested, and still the battle raged.

In the wake of the disastrous events for the Franciscans during the brief governance of Franquis de Lugo, fray Mariano de los Dolores found himself fighting very similar problems with the same families in San Fernando. In 1739, the cabildo dominated by the Islanders filed a complaint and petition for mission Indian labor with the viceroy, the Archbishop Juan Antonio de Vizarron. The petition requested, in essence, encomienda rights for the landowners in the villa, and though such awards were in theory no longer permitted by the crown in New Spain, the viceroy gave in to the settlers' demands. Thus fray Mariano spent much energy that year successfully reversing the decision. In several well-crafted pages fray Mariano reset the terms on which Indians could and should work for local farmers and ranchers, and he explained to the Archbishop why it was that the Indians in question had no business working in the exploitative environment desired by the townsmen. The missionary held nothing back: he calls the cabildo's petition "sinister", its plans "damaging" to the Indians and

⁴⁴ Fray Gabriel de Vergara to Captain don Antonio Pérez de Almazán, Concepción de Acuña mission, August 8, 1731, ACQ, K, Legajo 19, no. 29.

⁴⁵ Fray Gabriel de Vergara to the governor, Concepción de Acuña mission, May 20, 1732, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 163, exp. 4, ff. 173-74. Additional folios (193-195) contain letters written in 1733 by fray Espinosa to the viceroy, one after another, in an attempt to squash the troubles with the isleños.

missions, and harmful in every possible way.⁴⁶ And yet the reversal of the petition's answer by the viceroy did not stop the cabildo from again attempting to limit the missions' uses of Indians for production, and to limit the disposal of that produce within the San Antonio river drainage. Recriminations and accusations from the 1740s attest to the long disturbance of the missionaries' peace by the isleños.⁴⁷

In spite of the ongoing problems between friars and landowning settlers in these years, the friars and their indigenous collaborators in the missions still assisted when and where they could in the maintenance and support of the civilian settlements in Texas. Missionaries and Indian governors and *alcaldes* played a role in lodging and feeding captives taken in battle with various Indians nations and bands, such as Apaches and Wichitas, some Karankawas, Bidais, Jumano, and other ranging allies of Apaches and the northern nations. The level of assistance in some years was quite notable, especially when missions were in the midst of scarcity of supplies or food; on several occasions the missions were the place where long-term internment of captives was couched in language that rendered that internment a pious act of religious indoctrination.⁴⁸ Documentation of these same events explain the assistance given by the friars to the settlements and presidios in negotiations or parleys between the Spanish, their allies, and hostile bands.

⁴⁶ Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores to Viceroy Archbishop Vizarron, San Antonio, 1739, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 20-34.

⁴⁷ See Petition of fray Benito de Santa Ana in note 15. In the petition Santa Ana accused the isleños and their allies on the cabildo of conspiring to control the *baldías* (fallow lands) as well as the worked fields belonging to the missions. In his letter of 1740 (note 1), fray Santa Ana told his superior that the great expense incurred by the crown to relocate the Canary Islanders to Texas was wasted because they contributed so little to the province and caused unending discord.

⁴⁸ Examples include negotiations and captive-taking in 1723 and 1746 among Lipan Apaches. See fray Ignacio de San José Baeza to father guardian fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, San Antonio de Valero, November 3, 1723, ACQ, K, Legajo 7, no. 2; Fray José Francisco de Ganzábal to guardian fray Giraldo de Terrero, Concepción de Acuña mission, February 4, 1746, ACQ, K, Legajo 7, no. 1.

At other times the interventions offered by the mission Indians and friars was in support of direct warfare. In a lengthy argument in which he needed to remind his audience, the acting head of the San Fernando cabildo, of the value of the missions nearby on the river, fray Mariano de los Dolores described two events in which the Indian neophytes of San Antonio de Valero mission rescued the town from attack in 1731 and again in 1745. Both times the presidio and townsmen were not able to deter their attackers, but the Indians routed them when roused by the friars to do so. Both events demonstrated actions, according to fray Mariano, that should convince the cabildo and inhabitants of San Fernando to allow the missions to continue undisturbed under the guidance of the friars so that such neighborly help could be rendered in the future if such attacks would occur (which they did).⁴⁹

Frequent attacks, very often raiding with some potential for bloodshed but not with that as a primary intention, were the stock of daily life in the south central Texas settlements including the missions. Most often the fear of such attacks was directed towards nomadic bands of Apaches and later Comanches and their allies on the Red River and northern plains. In the background to that fear of indigenous raiders throughout most of the long century starting in 1690 was a sense of weakness vis-à-vis the French in Louisiana, who especially after the establishment of New Orleans in 1714 were the source of recurring nightmares among persons in the thinly-populated Spanish settlements. Among the early cohorts' documents there exist numerous references to the nearby French, their Indian allies, and the foreboding that friars felt about the French

⁴⁹ Fray Mariano de los Dolores to Juan Joseph de Montes de Oca, Villa de San Fernando, October 8, 1745, in Leutenegger, ed., *Letters and Memorials*, 46-48.

presence given the small numbers of Spanish soldiers in the province. One friar not named in the source observed the nearby location of French traders (many of them southern versions of the famous *coureurs du bois*) and how these men influenced the Indians in the area. Also, he noted that there were French Jesuits working within three hundred leagues of the east Texas missions; the friar obsessed on the number of Indians who could be put to work for the Spanish or for the French depending on the amount of influence or coercion directed at the native groups.⁵⁰

Other friars added details in support of these statements. Fray Manuel Castellanos devoted his letter in 1716 to a detailed discussion of Hasinai rites and culture that historians and anthropologists continue to utilize today, and then abruptly shifted his discussion at its midpoint to address the fearful menace of Frenchmen he claimed to see everywhere in the region. Given that local Indian leaders already received their batons of office and supplies from the French emissaries from “Nachitoz” (Natchitoches, the French trading fort) and New Orleans, fray Castellanos estimated that another one hundred soldiers would be needed just to hold the area around the east Texas missions.⁵¹ His estimate proved right as the missionaries and Spanish soldiers would be driven out of the area in just three years, if only for a spell, by imperial warfare that incited French aggression in the region. In terms reflecting the same interest in the missionaries’ safety and the pursuit of conquest in ways beneficial to the Spanish, fray José Díez wrote to the viceroy late in 1716 recommending an immediate mobilization to forestall such an event.

⁵⁰ Mss copy, Letter of a religious (fray Diego Salazar) to fray Pedro Pérez de Mezquia, San Francisco de las Texas mission, October 6, 1716, ACQ, K, Legajo 1, no. 12(A).

⁵¹ Letter of fray Manuel Castellanos, San Francisco de Texas mission, October 1716, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, ff. 484-85.

As fray Díez put it, the “zealous religious” from the college at Querétaro were not enough of a defense on their own against the “zealous Frenchmen”.⁵²

The fear of the French in the early decades of the missions gave way to more generalized xenophobia during the later period in the early nineteenth century, when fears of the influence and potentially pernicious acts of foreigners continued unabated among the missionaries. Records indicate that as east Texas remained polyglot with numerous Frenchmen, some Irish, and other persons of mixed ancestry in addition to the local Hispanic population, friars posted to the area were wary of those of differing cultures. The commentary in the reports of fray Huerta de Jesús and fray Sosa above which reviewed the presence of foreigners and their respective loyalties in 1810 reflects suspicions on the part of Franciscans against some of the foreigners in their midst, indeed, in their parish at Nacogdoches.⁵³ Later in the decade fray Francisco Frejes wrote to the Holy Office in Mexico City concerning the growing foreign population in Texas and especially at San Fernando, which up to that point had few foreigners when compared to settlements to the east at Nacogdoches and then Bucareli.⁵⁴ His request in 1818 indicated ignorance on Frejes’ part when faced with the practices and customs of Protestants (*luteros*) in San Fernando which failed to respect the faith and sacraments of Spanish Catholics. The governor was concerned as well, and the missionary proposed that a letter from the Holy Office with explicit instructions for meeting the challenge of Protestants in Texas would put both the governor and fray Frejes at some ease.

⁵² Fray José Díez to viceroy, Querétaro, December 29, 1716, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, fol. 486.

⁵³ Reports of fray José María Huerta de Jesús and fray Mariano Sosa, Nacogdoches, May 3-4, 1810, BA 2S99.

⁵⁴ Fray Francisco Frejes to the Holy Office, Texas, 1818, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1421, exp. 30, ff. 212-13.

In summary, the relations friar-missionaries experienced with other Spaniards, settlers, and foreigners in Texas was complex and subject to complication by the intermixing of cultures, political aims, and recurring problems related to quotidian issues. Immediate needs and desires meant that friars were involved in business negotiations and local trade despite canonical stipulations against such actions, just as they were called on to exercise what was, in essence, parish ministries in addition to their own missionary labors among the indigenous peoples. Xenophobia towards non-Spanish Europeans remained an issue over the period, even when friars accepted the miscegenation in their own Spanish-speaking camp. Friars were involved in imperial dialogues throughout the period, and that meant that they contributed to the sustenance and indoctrination of captives in support of localized warfare, and provided counsel to governors and civilian elites, military members, and ladino Indians who helped protect parts of the colony from other indigenous raiders. Friars' relations with settlers were complicated by the settlers' ambitions that often conflicted with the missionary institute of the Franciscans. And yet throughout the mission period in Texas, the friars retained their faith in some local settlers that fit the profile thought most helpful as examples to the mission Indians.

Reactions to Landscapes, Space, and Pestilence

The ways in which Franciscan missionaries interacted with and reacted to the physical environment in Texas may be approached by the use of three distinct observations. First, the landscape evoked a range of reactions from missionaries and these reactions depended on the context in which they occurred. Secondly, friars exhibited their very human inclinations to domesticate their environment through naming conventions and by identifying particular regions' appearances with those from a

remembered home earlier in life whether in New Spain or Iberia. The last approach offers a view of pestilence and problems with local conditions such as odors and poor lands.

Readers of diaries of the *entradas*, or early expeditions of missionaries into Texas territories accompanied (or led) by military contingents, may be familiar with the intense expressions of joy with the varied landscapes taken in by friars on their expectant journeys towards the mission fields. So similar are these diaries and journals that they form something of an early modern travel literature not unlike those studied for other areas of the New World in the first centuries of Atlantic voyaging. Extant copies of *diarios* and excerpts from these from the entradas of 1689-90, 1709, and 1716 devote space to recurring comments on the landscapes encountered on the respective journeys by their missionary authors, as do later journals of the father visitors who conducted the canonical visitations of the missions with some regularity.

The comments of that earliest party of friars in the expedition to the Hasinai confederacy that resulted in the first mission establishments in 1690 reflected the wonder and optimism of friars seeking their awaited mission. Fray Mazanet, leader of that group of friars, recorded the ever-changing landscape as the friars and their military escorts progressed towards east Texas and the woodlands there. As other friars did in their accounts, fray Mazanet noted trees, rivers, ponds, animal life, humidity, and weather patterns associated with various points along the journey. Likewise, in 1709 fray Espinosa took special care to record the same perspectives, though he leavened his account with comments on the native peoples with whom the party interacted at different times. The 1709 account provides the baseline for Espinosa's later rendering of the same

trip repeated in 1716 when he returned with his brethren to re-establish the missions abandoned by Mazanet's cohort in 1693. The 1709 account addressed the reconnaissance by Espinosa and a small military contingent to assess the likelihood of attempting the effort undertaken in 1716.⁵⁵

The 1709 diary of Espinosa's venture into Texas in search of the Tejas or Hasinai peoples to confirm their readiness for resumed missions was in reality a rapid round trip into and back out of Texas with little time spent in the target area. For this reason the diary is an excellent source of the friars' reaction to the Texas landscape, for this was mainly what Espinosa and his companions saw on their journey. Espinosa writes of the low hills, dry and running arroyos, small groves of walnuts and oaks, and the fauna of the region as soldiers worked to feed the contingent of Spaniards. Fish also were of interest and noted for their variety. When the travelers approached San Pedro Spring near present-day San Antonio, they luxuriated in the trees (high walnuts, poplars, elms, and mulberries) that grew at the site, and notwithstanding the inhabitants of the place and their names for locations, the friars named the river which derived from the spring, calling it the San Antonio "since it had not been named by the Spaniards."⁵⁶ Espinosa and his colleagues thought the site would support not just a town but an actual city, as proved to be the case a century or more later. In following pages Espinosa remarks again on the "very pleasant" rivers (Guadalupe and San Marcos) and forests of mesquite, walnuts, and elms that continued to entertain the party. The overall tone of Espinosa's

⁵⁵ Carta del padre Mazanet al Conde de Galve, in Gómez Canedo, ed., *Primeras exploraciones*, 160-61; Gabriel Tous, trans., "The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition of 1709" and "Ramón Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716", in Jesús F. de la Tejas, ed., *Preparing the Way: Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, vol. I. (Austin: Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1997).

⁵⁶ Tous, "Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition", 55.

1709 commentary was that of the site surveyor keeping his eye trained on mission locations and potential areas for presidios and settlements.

Espinosa's 1716 account of the expedition of the second founding missionary cohort shares many of the same observations as that of his 1709 journey, though its tone is more assured in that the friars were there to make the missions a reality once more. In this aspect the 1716 account shares common features of the *diarios* of father visitors to the missions in the decades following the re-establishment of the missions in 1716. For example, the 1716 diary records far more information about the expectations friars had of the Indians, their use of the land, and what sort of results might obtain from these sites and peoples.⁵⁷ Likewise, nearly every diary or travel report of the various visitations of the Texas missions related similar requirements of the missionaries and their view of the missions' expected outcomes among the target populations. And within all of this, the later reports expressed a sustained interest in the exotic land called Texas by the Europeans.

Such reports and diaries include the 1727 visitation of the Santa Cruz friars' missions in which the father visitor and his secretary noted the contrasts apparent to Spanish eyes between the natural surroundings and the improvements made to the missions. This contrast of course fails to compare the Spaniards' improvements with those of the settlements of the Caddoan peoples among whose villages the missions were spaced. The friars' main focus was instead directed towards the livestock, mission

⁵⁷ Tous, "Espinosa's Diary of 1716", 84-89. In this are recorded the spectacles that were the customary processions, rituals, and proclamations for establishing missions and claiming possession of the sites by the Spanish. In this regard, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Seed's recounting the of the methods and reasons for Spanish ritual in taking possession of such sites resonates with and explains quite well the rituals followed in Texas in the early eighteenth century.

buildings, and plantings in the fields of the mission compounds. All else appears dissonant, as when the secretary, fray Pedro Muñoz, recorded the mission locations and their sustenance, and then spoke of the “sole instinct of liberty” enjoyed in the wilderness by those Indians who rebuffed the friars’ attempts to convert them. Such a statement mistakes the real residence of those in the so-called wilderness, for the Indians in question lived in settled hamlets more permanent than the Spaniards’ missions in east Texas, the *ranchitos* recognized elsewhere in the visitation record.⁵⁸

Settlements in and outside of the missions informed another part of the friars’ records of their environment. In his well-known report of 1749 for Guadalupe college, fray Ignacio Ciprián described and assigned gradations of civility to various settlements and indigenous peoples then in contact with the Spanish in Texas. Ciprián first set the distances in order between the missions, and then within a running commentary provided details on each location and its characteristics. Beginnings with San José mission he wrote of the ornate stone houses for the Indians there and how they formed part of a veritable castle which served to protect the neophytes. He noted the large church, its cemetery, and the livestock present in the ranchos nearby; essentially, this was a walled country village, which later Ciprián would contrast with the wild lands beyond.⁵⁹ By comparison, the other missions the college maintained were remote and not so permanent, and more subject to the surrounding natural landscape.

While Friar Ciprián’s report is most typical in identifying the “severe climate” and the “lonely location” of the missions in his charge, the most famous account of the

⁵⁸ Visitation report of 1727 compiled by fray Pedro Muñoz, BNFF, vol. 231, ff. 10-25.

⁵⁹ Benedict Leutenegger, ed., *The Texas Missions of the College of Zacatecas in 1749-1750: Report of Fr. Ignacio Antonio Ciprián, 1749, and Memorial of the College to the King, 1750* (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1979), 19, 21-22.

Texas environment is to be found in the history of fray Juan Agustín Morfi which dates from the years around 1782 and was based on his notes taken in a diary of the inspection journey he accompanied at least through mid 1778.⁶⁰ Morfi's account mirrored those great historical works of Spanish American missions, not least that of Acosta, in providing a complete geography of the Texas missions, their features, and the human influence on the land. Of the latter, Morfi distinguished between the world inhabited by settlers and militiamen, and that of the friars' making. The settlers' church in San Fernando de Béxar was poorly constructed, and the houses of both stone and wood he describes as "poorly built, without any preconceived plan." He described the Canary Islanders' descendents as "indolent and given to vice, and [a people who] do not deserve the blessings of the land." The other townspeople were "wretched settlers", whose governor lived for a time in the guard house of the presidio. By comparison, just two rifle shots away was the new Franciscan church, simple, roomy, and well-planned. It had a tidy sacristy with a handsome image of St. Anthony. Apparently even the water works of San Antonio de Valero mission were impressive, given the apparent pride Father Morfi took in the "beautiful irrigation ditch".⁶¹

Other grand gestures to the beauty of Texas landscapes and the climate there come from those same congratulatory letters and memorials to viceroys and benefactors

⁶⁰ Juan Agustín Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, trans. Carlos Eduardo Castañeda (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935). Portions of Morfi's diary and notes reside in the holdings of the BNAF, 10/149.2, though I believe them to be dated wrongly in the catalog since the document clearly accounts for events up to 1778 and the expediente bears the date of "circa 1763".

⁶¹ Morfi, *History of Texas*, 79, 92-3. That a friar from outside the missionary colleges would take pride in their accomplishments is no surprise in fray Morfi's case, since he ranked high within the order's hierarchy in New Spain and no doubt was well acquainted with both the missionaries' leaders and the colleges' efforts. He finished his career as guardian of the Franciscan headquarters in New Spain, the convento de San Francisco el Grande in Mexico City.

who supported the missions and who might join idealistic friars in the celebration of new missions in heathen lands. Fray Margil and fray Espinosa's joint memorial on behalf of their respective missionaries in the re-establishment of missions in Texas includes many of these flourishes. According to the authors, they and their brethren were quite taken with the "beautiful province of Asinay or Texas" and hoped it would become "a new Philippines." They saw much potential in the land and described their missions, the arranged split of the lands between the colleges for the purpose of converting natives that dotted the landscape, and also the extreme likelihood of rich mineral deposits in the area.⁶² Certainly nothing grabbed the attention of an eighteenth-century viceroy like words such as these which told of rich land, numerous docile peoples ready for the cultural transformation the friars promised, and material wealth to be dug from the ground in what was hoped to be an extension of the silver belt of northern New Spain. Hope was built on such letters.

Friars' attempts to domesticate the environment evoked their roots elsewhere. Mazanet's descriptions of the lands in east Texas tied the agricultural potential there to what he knew of his own culture's valued agricultural and pastoral traditions.⁶³ Father president fray Santa Ana compared the produce of the missions on the San Antonio river to those of Spain, and did so in a letter that expressed a longing for a less troubled life even as he took heart in recent developments among the missions. While staying several days in native villages with his companion fray Garza, fray Manuel Silva claimed the coastal region of the Karankawa peoples to be much like Spain in its coast and low

⁶² Margil and Espinosa to the viceroy, in Habig, ed., *Nothingness Itself*, 224-26.

⁶³ Mazanet to viceroy, 1690, in Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*, 160-61; see also letter of fray Vergara, 1731, Civezza-Bancroft, 202/8. On the agricultural focus of early modern Spain, see Ruiz, *Spanish Society*, 60.

rolling hills, rivers, and so forth. Even a poor location in terms of the flies, ants, and mosquitoes at La Luz mission to the Orcoquiza Indians yielded a magnificent view which fray Jesús María de Abad compared with the best to be seen in any Spanish lands he had visited.⁶⁴

All aspects of the built and natural environments created the ambience in which the missionaries worked. The fabric of the missions, i.e. its supplies, furnishings, liturgical apparatus, and the decorations of the places within each mission, were all important environmental elements that impacted the quality of life within. Likewise, the people in the missions including the friars, Indians, and non-Indian assistants, majordomos, syndics, and the like, all contributed to the atmosphere of the places missionaries labored.⁶⁵ While chapter four addressed the Franciscan perspectives on Indians, this section considers the fabric and general atmosphere of the mission compounds.

The same fray Abad commented in terms that reflect common sentiments in Texas missions regardless of the decade or location. After noting the “general plague of all these lands”, the unending supply of insects, fray Abad gave much room in his report describing what was right about the liturgical paraphernalia, vestments, and decorations the Orcoquisac mission possessed, and also about what was not in order for the fabric of

⁶⁴ Santa Ana to father guardian fray Pedro del Barco, Concepción mission, March 26, 1740; Letter of fray Manuel Julio de Silva, Santo Espiritu mission, April 26, 1791, BA 2S58; fray José María de Abad, Proceedings on his report on the site of the Orcoquisac mission, Nuestra Señora de la Luz mission, November 27, 1759, BA 2S28.

⁶⁵ The classic statement in long, personalized first-person format concerning the fabric and lifeways in the missions is the anonymous handbook on the administration of Concepcion mission in San Antonio written by a Guadalupe college friar circa 1787. See the updated version in Howard Benoist and María Eva Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, 4th ed. (San Antonio: OSMHRL, 1994).

that mission. Likewise, missionaries in Rosario mission and San José mission, each with intense usage (and damages inflicted by indigenous bands) in their respective locations, were reported in poor condition including walls, décor, and vestments late in the eighteenth century. They also reported at times on spoiled foodstuffs or the inability of the missions to provide for the general sustenance for the mission populations.⁶⁶ These comments reflect long-standing requirements the missionaries laid down in earlier decades for adequate supplies including food and clothing, proper vestments and liturgical equipment, and pious paintings and icons to inspire their neophytes.⁶⁷ Inventories show that the San Antonio missions had plenty in the way of material goods, yet these were not always in abundance at other locations in Texas.⁶⁸

Pests and poor vestments aside, the foul airs and poor waters of some locations marked them as areas of desolation in the Spanish mind. Near the la Bahia missions and at the first locations of several of them including both Espiritu Santo and Refugio missions, water was brackish and the air reeked from nearby lowlands and still backwaters in certain seasons. The friars were able to move the Refugio location to an area of a “sweet water lagoon and a perfect location for the mission.” And still the local

⁶⁶ Fray José de Abad, Proceedings on Orcoquisac mission; fray José Francisco Lopez, account of conditions at Rosario mission, San Antonio de Valero mission, October 8, 1790, BA 2S57; letter of fray José Manuel Pedrajo, San José mission, June 14-15, 1794, BA 2S67; Report of fray José María Huerta de Jesús, Rosario mission, August 26, 1804, BA 2S78; report of fray Espinosa, Purísima Concepción de Asinais mission, February 28, 1718, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, f. 491v.

⁶⁷ As examples of these expectations see letter of fray Antonio de Buenaventura Olivares, Texas, no date, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, exp. 4, ff. 481-83; fray Pedro de Mezquia to the viceroy, Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, May 4, 1731, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, exp. 1, f. 90;

⁶⁸ Numerous inventories are extant for the San Antonio river missions, and some also exist for the La Bahia missions later in the mission period. An example of the inventories for San Antonio de Valero mission (for its transfer in 1772 to Guadalupe college) is in ACQ, K, Legajo 15, no. 3; four pages document the contents of the sacristy alone, a testament to the collection of religious materials and supplies at what was one of the head missions for the province. See also Marion A. Habig, *The Alamo Chain of Missions*, for discussions of the inventories for the Texas missions.

waters beyond were malodorous, as were the coastal tide pools. The coastal missions also added new ingredients to the baptismal waters used for the Indians: the insects that abounded in the sands and marshes. Fray Silva and fray Garza argued that adaptation could be encouraged at posts like Refugio mission where the corruption of blessed waters occurred regularly, citing Suarez in support of the use of oils instead of corrupted water for rites.⁶⁹

Conclusion

One of the core inquiries of this study is how the missionaries perceived their lived experiences within the Texas missions and their environs, and whether such experiences dampened or bolstered the expectations and sense of purpose the friars brought with them into the mission field. At one level, the trying conditions in Texas presented a tightly woven complex of problems not easily overcome, and which in many cases meant the undoing or demise of plans the friars attempted to make a reality. Just a short list of these attempts includes the ongoing effort to convert Caddos, Apaches, and later the *norteño* nations; the failed missions on the San Xavier river; failures of the missions among the coastal bands in the middle and later years of the eighteenth century, and of course the repeated attempts to increase and maintain the populations of the polyglot missions on the San Antonio river. And yet the other side of the question asks how these attempts continued to occur, or put another way, why the friars persisted in their efforts in Texas when even the moderate successes there paled in comparison to other mission regions. I believe that the perseverance illustrated in both colleges' efforts

⁶⁹ Visitation report and letters of fray Manuel Silva and fray José de la Garza, La Bahia, February – November 1791, Civezza-Bancroft, vol. 203.

that continued to the mid 1770s for Santa Cruz college and circa 1830 for Guadalupe college was based on two important reactions, both of them based in an early modern, Observant Franciscan charisma or spiritual outlook, that marked the Texas missions as important to understanding the late colonial ethos of those who would be elite missionaries in New Spain.

The first reaction was the confidence on the part of the men of the Propaganda Fide colleges that their institute was righteous and their calling was truly an apostolic one. With this perspective there would be no great leap to the conclusion that the purpose of the missions to the infidel Indians of the north was holy and should not be stopped unless it was absolutely impossible to pursue it. Such a view on their work explains the sustained, even tones of the missionary rhetoric, the formula identified in Chapter 3, that persisted with few exceptions into the late 1820s. Friars from the apostolic colleges saw their work in Texas as a justified effort even when that effort led to temporary failures, or repeatedly resulted in little fruit. Over time the selection of indigenous bands targeted by friars for missions was subjected to the realities of indigenous political strife in the long eighteenth century in Texas. But even with the imposition of such limits (that drove friars towards the coastal bands later in the century as opposed to working ever northward), missionaries continued to see their efforts not only as justified, but as the pleasurable work of their vocation.

That sustained rhetoric of purpose, justified by the righteousness of their institute, spurred Texas missionaries to an expectation of eventual success in the face of repeated failures. Today's failure, so it seemed, was the feedstock for tomorrow's attempt to convert new Indian neophytes. In other words, the expectation of their eventual success

meant that Texas became a place of consistent experimentation given the highly diverse indigenous cultural landscape and the constant political shifts that accompanied the passage of time in the region. The adaptation that did occur bred what later missionaries in California would call the “Texas method”, though that itself referred more to the manner in which semi-sedentary peoples or those who gathered in localized cycles could be forced, most of the time, to dwell in one location. That it worked at all in Texas was a result of the persistence of the friars’ actual and rhetorical commitments to the missionary efforts there, and the discovery of some people groups that would respond to the settled mission ideal the Franciscans brought to the region.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The words and deeds of the missionaries in Texas we have considered bear a strong resemblance to those of Franciscans of prior centuries particularly those of the sixteenth century “spiritual conquest” of the Valley of Mexico which they held up as a model. At the same time, there are key elements to the Propaganda Fide friars’ conceptions of themselves and their roles that differed from earlier generations of friars. Institutionally not the least of the differences was occasioned by the arrangement by which their colleges were directly associated with the Roman curia via the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. A second major difference derived from the fact that the foundations in Texas built upon methods and understandings of missionary labor developed in diverse locations such as Florida, the central highlands of the Valley of Mexico, or the Yucatan.¹ In such places Franciscans had worked for decades, if not centuries, before the Propaganda Fide friars established the first permanent missions in Texas. And it follows as well that missions established or inherited from other religious orders (Jesuits primarily) after the foundations in Texas might demonstrate the impact of

¹ On Florida, see John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988); Maria F. Wade addresses missions from Florida to the Californias in *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008). For the Valley of Mexico, among others see Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: The First Chronicles of Mexican Civilization, 1520-1569*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 71-120; Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523-1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2d. ed., rev. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 81-117; and more recently, Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004). For Yucatan, see Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 45-126.

lessons learned in those polyglot and volatile lands north and east of the Rio Grande. As a conclusion to this study, this chapter offers an assessment of the place of the Texas friars within their religious order in New Spain and its missions over the centuries of Spanish colonial presence in the Americas. In addition, this chapter examines the ways the Texas missions experiment might enter the larger discourse on how and why missions were attempted to indigenous peoples in the early modern Americas, and why those missions achieved success in terms of European cultures that sponsored them, or failure on those terms or the terms of the native cultures.

The backgrounds and preparation of the friars sent by the apostolic colleges *de Propaganda Fide* to Texas addressed in Chapter 2 demonstrate a clear attempt to revive the Franciscan apostolate in New Spain. As I and others have noted, this revival was pursued in two related ways.² First, the friars sought to leverage previous apostolic efforts among the baptized indigenous and mestizo population of greater New Spain, that is, in the settled areas under the viceroyalty based in Mexico City. That missionary effort looked much like its European contemporary in the centuries preceding it in which mendicants, Jesuits, and other regular and diocesan preachers conducted missions among the faithful in diverse locations throughout the continent.³ Such efforts increased in the era following the Council of Trent as retrenchment of Catholic teaching and praxis

² Canedo, introduction to Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, xxv-xxvi; Michael B. McCloskey, *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro, 1683-1733* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of American Press, 1955), 36-113; D.A. Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 32-3; Alberto María Carreño, "The Missionary Influence of the College of Zacatecas," *The Americas*, 7:3 (Jan. 1951), 297-320.

³ Louis Chatellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c.1500-c.1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a New View of the Counter-Reformation*, trans. Jeremy Moiser (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977), 189-202.

became a focus of the Church, and as diocesan leaders realized that among their faithful there existed significant lacunae in terms of knowledge of Christian doctrine and the practices of the Roman Church. This is consistent with the changes to European Catholicism observed by John O'Malley, Jean Delumeau and other historians for the same period.⁴ Missions among the faithful in New Spain followed the same patterns but were adapted for the audiences in that colonial region.

The second part of the revivalism promoted by the Propaganda Fide colleges in New Spain is the subject of this study: the advancement of the frontiers into new regions on behalf of king and Church, in keeping with efforts to establish the Church in New Spain going back to the arrival of the first official Franciscan contingent of missionaries in 1524. The similarities of purpose between the normative Franciscans of the sixteenth-century "spiritual conquest" and those of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century friars is striking in terms of identification with a core, Observantine missiology and the drive to remake the indigenous peoples into civilized towns of Christian Indians.⁵ Franciscans in both periods identified with the basic Franciscan apostolate to the infidel characterized by none other than the founder's own mission to the Sultan in the near East.⁶ Yet there were differences between the two eras and the men who worked as missionary friars in each period, and these cleavages in background and training help to

⁴ John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*. See also Robert Birely, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999).

⁵ On this point regarding the sixteenth-century friars, see Edwin Sylvest, *Motifs of Franciscan Missionary Theory in New Spain* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975); Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*; and McCloskey, *Formative Years*, 3-18.

⁶ E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975).

explain why the approach and outcomes might differ one century to the next and between provincial and collegiate missionaries.

To begin, the first missionaries to New Spain were, by historical necessity, all peninsular friars from the provinces of the various Spanish kingdoms. The primary group assembled in the Extremaduran friaries of the newly-purged Observant branch in a religious climate free of the Conventual Franciscan houses shuttered by the primate of New Spain in the decades prior to the opening of Mexico to evangelism. In contrast, even the first Propaganda Fide-sponsored cohort included some collegiate friars from existing apostolic seminaries in Spain, and among the men of the group that established the first college in Querétaro in 1683 were many Mallorcans and a very few others from the western regions of Castile or Andalusia. Once established, the friars from Spain were joined in New Spain by the friars, both peninsular and *criollo*, from the provinces in the colony, and they also began to admit novices to be trained from the start of their religious vocations as collegiate friars. Thus the very basic difference between earlier centuries' provincial friars and the later colonial apostolic colleges' manpower derived from their national status, placement with the order and the derivation of their vocational indoctrination.

Once the Franciscan Propaganda Fide colleges were in operation, the distinctions in their educational approach became all the more unique versus the provincial friaries that supplied all previous missionaries within New Spain. The colleges were, as Galindo has argued, sites of rigorous training in moral theology, cases of conscience, and languages as possible; by definition then these institutions combined aspects of the typical primary friaries with novitiates with advanced study typical of universities or

college-seminaries such as those of the Dominicans addressed many years ago by Richard Kagan.⁷ Motivations for joining such institutes were in line also with newer ways of thinking in the later colonial era in that men were interested not in some medieval view of the ideal martyr, but rather an interiorized religious valuation of the good of the friar's own soul and his impact on the society of which he was a part. Thus, the higher level of education and spiritual formation attracted those who wished to live as elite religious whose values reflected the beginnings of individualism in Spanish America. That viewpoint still retained numerous medieval forms in the achievement of the goal of being a part of the elite religious of the period's missionaries.

The second chapter also provided a brief window into the intellectual world as defined by friars' uses of books and other printed matter contained in their libraries and intended to perfect them as missionaries for their various undertakings. The baseline education for all Propaganda Fide friars appears to have been that of the highly-educated urban priest. Friars who prepared in the colleges, and those from surrounding Franciscan provinces who were examined for entry, exhibit formative histories of intense study in the arts and moral theology as noted above, and participation in conferences or debates on finer points of casuistry. Keeping to Galindo's similar findings regarding their preparation, it appears that the formation of friars as ministers to the faithful in their popular missions in New Spain became the dominant training pattern for all friars to be sent on any mission by the colleges.⁸ By this I mean that all friars subject to the programs of the colleges at Zacatecas and Querétaro were immersed in the period's

⁷ David Rex Galindo, "Propaganda Fide: Training Franciscan Missionaries in New Spain" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 2010); Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), chapter 7.

⁸ Canedo, introduction to Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios*, xxiv-xxix; Galindo, "Propaganda Fide", ch. 3.

sacramental homiletics, catechesis that steered its listeners to reinforcing truths already heard, and the infinitely finer details of post-Tridentine casuistry as applied to the Catholic populations of Europe. The meaning of this observation for the frontier missionaries is that they were better trained for preaching to those who knew (or were supposed to have known) the rudiments of Catholic Christianity in its Hispanic manifestation, and that much of their training ensured they would make better parish priests than frontier missionaries seeking to bridge cultural values to achieve spiritual conversion at any cost. This finding veers in a slightly different direction than the normal view of the missionary in past historiography and requires some explanation.

What may be called a sacramental missiology appears to be the root of many of the histories written by modern scholars about Spanish American missionaries and their methods. A sacramental missiology assumes that the standard for conversion was that neophytes learn of, participate in, and make a normal practice of partaking in sacraments, mainly confession, communion, and marriage but where possible and desirable also confirmation and extreme unction. In other words, a successful mission was one where the Indians learned to be Catholic and demonstrated that knowledge by their sacramental participation in the local church or chapel. Entire volumes have been written examining the role of sacraments in the Franciscan and other mendicants' missionary theories, and to a large extent the focus of the missionaries was indeed that targeted populations learn the sacraments and the doctrine necessary to prove themselves worthy of the rites. Thus, the intense focus on sacraments takes center stage in our histories of missions.⁹

⁹ This is a long-standing perspective of mission histories, from Robert Ricard to more recent studies such as that of Osvaldo Pardo which take the sacramental aspect of Catholic missions in New Spain to be the

That focus, however, might not have meant all that modern historians have taken it to mean. What if, for lack of a better model, the Franciscans in the frontier missions in Texas and other regions pursued the sacramental model because that is what was expected of the missionary of the day when performing missions to the faithful in New Spain? Is there a chance that the real intent of the missionaries was to inculcate much more than just the sense of proper catechetical responses to enable baptism and communion? One of the clues to this puzzle may be found in the actions and principles of one of the more famous men among the Texas missionaries, fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, who I included above in parts of this study. Fray Margil was famous for many things, but among the marvels and mysteries attributed to his lifetime one finds a rather simple approach to missionary labor when the man found himself among unbelievers. The friar sang an *alabado*, which historian Kristen Dutcher Mann addresses in her study of music in the northern missions of New Spain, and by this very action set a precedent for later missionary endeavors.¹⁰ The *alabado*, a simple song in praise of God and his ways, was the first point of entry to missionary efforts made by Margil wherever he went, and those Indians who walked with him were said to engage with the song after spending but a short time with him. Rather than letting sacraments take center stage, Margil's approach began with something simple: an unassuming spiritual ditty communicating basic wonder at the ways and means of a creative and benevolent deity.

central tenet of the friars' endeavors. See Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Kristen Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Missions Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590-1810* (Stanford and Berkeley: Stanford University Press and the Academy of American Franciscan History, 2010), 121, 127.

Did the training of missionary friars as sacramental messengers skew the missionaries' approach on the frontier? At times the records tempt the historian to view missionaries' accounting of baptisms, marriages, Eucharistic participation, last rites, and confirmations as the sum of their missionary intents and endeavors. And yet that is the stuff of reforming parishes in need of spiritual renewal rather than the sum of a frontier missionary method that attempted to reform far more than a culture's spiritual viewpoints. Perhaps the seeming conflation of cultural and spiritual renewal, instead of a necessary evil, was simply the outcome of a misplaced drive to reform infidels to the point where the training of missionary priests as proto-parish priests actually reflected the need to fulfill the missionaries' formative goals rather than to accomplish some simpler goal of pacifying natives and convincing them to worship a Christian God in their own manner. Put another way, the intense focus of missionary training in the apostolic colleges on sacramental practice, casuistry, and other aspects of moral theology meant that friars' measures of success were to be seen when and where Indians became model parishioners; anything less spelled failure. Where recent studies attribute changes in the Spanish approach to "their savages" to Bourbon administrators' pragmatism in light of the futility of continued warfare with indigenous peoples unwilling to be subdued, the Franciscans might be guilty in Texas and elsewhere of confusing the training they received in the apostolic colleges with a reachable goal of missionary accommodation with the savages they perceived on the frontiers where they served.¹¹ Men trained to be model preachers and priests in the ideal parish model were less likely to be effective

¹¹ David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

adapters of the essentials of Spanish Catholicism to indigenous requirements unless they were exceptional friars like a fray Margil.

The expectations of friars as they went into missions discussed in Chapter 3 informed the reactions to Indians and Spaniards that appear in Chapters 4 and 5. The idealistic perspectives of the missionary role yielded, in many cases, broken dreams of missions' success when the friars confronted the extremely diverse indigenous world that was early Texas with Caddos, Apaches, Coahuiltecans and other hunter-gatherers, Wichitas, Comanches, and other northern groups pressing in on each other for dominance of the province in part or in whole.¹² Likewise, the ideal roles as expressed in the friars' conceptions of privileges were dashed on the breakers of real life as lived day by day in harsh conditions with long supply lines back to New Spain and variable relations with other Spanish elites among the governors, their entourages, military leaders, and local municipal officials in the villa of San Fernando. The lessons learned from such experiences did have a tremendous impact, however. The experience of missionary expansion and contraction over the long eighteenth century in Texas informed later missions as well as contemporaneous foundations at mid century. Also, the missionary experience, or experiment, in Texas justified the methods used in the later Bourbon epoch of New Spain to contain, pacify, or negotiate peace with Apaches first and later with

¹² According to Juliana Barr's explanation of indigenous politics in Texas, the eighteenth century "offers a story of Indian dominance" where "native peoples could and did gain their ends by dominant force" (*Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007], 7). For a broader picture of native dominance and resistance to missions throughout Spanish America, see Amy Turner Bushnell, "'None of These Wandering Nations Has Ever Been Reduced to the Faith': Missions and Mobility on the Spanish-American Frontier," in James Muldoon, ed., *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 142-68.

Comanches.¹³ Such events would not have been possible, I argue, without the intense missionary endeavors pursued by Propaganda Fide friars on the plains and in the woods of Texas.

While the Franciscans faced crushing rejection not once but twice in the 1690s and in the 1720s among the Caddos of the Hasinai Confederation, their experiences among those peoples in east Texas debunked the old theory among Franciscans in New Spain that the best mission Indians were peoples whose pre-mission lifestyle was primarily sedentary. Unlike the multitude of sedentary cultures of the Valley of Mexico or even the Tarascans, once conquered, in western New Spain, the Franciscans were no match for the resiliency of the Hasinai's cultural apparatus and predominantly matrilineal society.¹⁴ Though it did not help the friars' cause that hotheads among the missionaries such as fray Casañas attempted to abruptly remove the Caddos' idols and cease their worship of traditional deities, it remains that even without such negative events that the friars were outmatched by a people who withstood a steady stream of assaults from without in the form of other European influences (French and later British) and other, growing threats among nations north and west of their location, at least until the middle of the eighteenth century. That no need for the friars, their religion/magic, or their goods existed meant that the friars failed to gain enough attention to make more than a handful of conversions among that nation. Even though the Guadalupe college maintained its missionary presence among the Caddos for decades, the harvest of Indian souls was negligible in the eastern woodlands. Thus in Texas the reigning approach echoed in the

¹³ On such efforts see Weber, *Bárbaros*, and Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 107-140.

¹⁴ Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 28-31.

first reports of the 1690s and 1710s when those missions were first established and then rebuilt yielded to a new view that not all sedentary indigenous cultures were ripe for Catholic religious and cultural conversion. Knowledge that similar sedentary cultures in northern Spanish Florida had yielded a fairly stable period of missions among the Apalachicola did not translate to the same effect among the Hasinai bands.¹⁵ Though few other sedentary cultures remained within New Spain's frontier regions as targets for conversion efforts, the knowledge of the Hasinai experiment changed Franciscan missiology in rather explicit ways from mid century onward.

More important for contemporary missionary efforts were the lessons learned in terms of two additional cultural types in Texas. The first of these lessons concerned the hunting and gathering peoples who came to provide most of the populations of the San Antonio River missions. Among these peoples the friars found their most receptive audiences for conversion, and learned first-hand that the relatively weak position in which these bands increasingly found themselves by the middle of the eighteenth century yielded a reliable source of mission neophytes. That said, the friars also discovered that such people were often to return to the *monte*, the wilderness, if threatened, in need of a mate, desirous of entertainment, or simply tired of herding sheep, goats, cattle, or horses. The more the Texas missions could contain these peoples and give them cause to change their lifestyle in immediate ways, the better. Thus the heart of the "Texas method", as it was later referred to by fray Pedro Font in Alta California, was to engage the mission Indians in labor that was rewarded by food, clothing, decorative trinkets, household trade

¹⁵ See Hann, *Apalachee*.

goods, and responsibilities within the new community of the mission.¹⁶ As more cultural barter could be had, so the thought went, the easier it would be to keep the Indians close to the missions.

The other cultural type about which the missionaries learned in Texas was that defined by the ranging nomads of the plains. This was not a new experience per se given the extensive record of interactions with plains dwellers in trade sites in New Mexico such as Pecos pueblo, but for the Propaganda Fide friars the Lipan Apaches made a new test for missionary relations with wandering peoples in the Texas region.¹⁷ Likewise, the experiences with nomads on the nearer frontiers in the Pima lands of present-day Sonora and western Chihuahua states should also have been a source of information in Jesuit sources, but the same missionary colleges would relearn those lessons among the Opatas and Pimas once the Society of Jesus lost its place in New Spain in 1767-68.¹⁸ The elite, yet humble, friars from the apostolic colleges at Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas experienced anew how maddening could be interactions with peoples used to peregrinations as a part of daily life in search of either trading or raiding opportunities. Also, they saw just how close to the edge of any European definition of civilized living

¹⁶ Dan S. Matson, trans., "Letters of Friar Pedro Font, 1776-1777", *Ethnohistory*, 22:3 (Summer, 1975), 288. It must be noted that fray Font commented not only the methods used in Texas, but also on those in Sonora who adhered to the pueblos the Jesuits allowed them to maintain even after building the missions. Put another way, the Jesuits built their missions around the pre-existing footprint of pueblos in Sonora, whereas Font complains that the Texas missions uprooted the Indians from their homes.

¹⁷ On friars' experiences with Apaches and other nomadic plains bands in New Mexico, see Elizabeth A.H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), and Jim Norris, *After "The Year Eighty": the Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 95, 113.

¹⁸ Kieran McCarty, *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora and Arizona, 1767-1770* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981); Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

these bands of Apaches bent their own culture even as hunters and gatherers like those closer in to the San Antonio river region.

Among the Apache, and later the nations of the north who exhibited similar migrations across a range of territory (such as the Comanche), the Texas missionaries saw a constantly moving target for missions that would convert these Indian bands into villages of indigenous farmers worshipping in a local church. The Apache were, in fact, the most discussed of any indigenous peoples in the region in all the extant Franciscan documentation; if ever these friars had a desire to reduce an Indian group to missions, it was the Lipan Apaches who they thought of most. And several attempts were made over the decades leading up to the Comanche takeover of the southern Plains. The Apaches appear in Franciscan reports in the 1720s in varying perspectives: at times they came as raiders (and thus enemies); other times peace agreements were struck for a short period between one rancheria and the friars or townsmen of San Fernando; and elsewhere they took on a perpetual role of bogeyman raiders feared by night who in the daylight appeared rather harmless when confronted by certain friars. And by the tone that runs through the friars' comments on these bands from the late 1710s down to the 1760s, they haunted the missionaries' dreams of a settled Apache nation which would bow before the Spaniards' God and king. The lessons learned from the Franciscan experience with the Apache was that some may come in to missions, but as a whole this group was not, after the failures at San Sabá and San Lorenzo, the ideal target for Texas missions.

The so-called Texas method named by Fernandino friars in Alta California and addressed to some length by Maria Wade in her recent study included something of a

physical plant that could be duplicated elsewhere and adapted as needed.¹⁹ While an earlier historiography assumed that once housing was erected within the mission walls that all the mission Indians had their homes there, it appears after revisiting the documents that this was more a function of twentieth-century teleological readings of the friars' accounts and was not entirely true.²⁰ Several historians in recent decades noted that in Alta California it was common for Indians from different bands to live at the mission but not always 'in' the mission. Instead of entire families living within San Juan Capistrano or San Carlos missions, for example, many indigenous families set up semi-permanent camps just outside the mission compound, near the fields and enclosures for crops and livestock.²¹ While late mission-era drawings offer support as evidence for this style of dwelling in Alta California, little evidence like this exists for the long-standing missions on the San Antonio River and at La Bahia in Texas. Instead one finds numerous references to *jacales* erected long before the missions had complete walls, and the missions' neophytes still living within these stick-and-mud huts long after stone walls and living quarters had been built for the more permanent of the Indian residents. Because the missions' populations ebbed and flowed over the period with tremendous changes in numbers year over year, it would not be surprising if many of the missions'

¹⁹ Wade, *Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans*, 107-130. Wade points to the Baja California roots of the Alta California missions, which I do not dispute, but the Franciscan methods in the latter were heavily influenced by the methods she and I note in our respective studies of Texas missions. On the Baja California missions, see Harry W. Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

²⁰ David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," in Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, eds., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 1995), 1-48.

²¹ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 21-4; Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 81-4.

neophytes did not actually live within the walls full time or even part of the time. That was the case for herdsmen and some of the Indians tending the missions' fields, for these ranches and fields were often at some distance from the actual mission compound.

So it may be said that the Texas method had more to do with the congregating of specific peoples together, often multiple nations within one mission, and assigning them to a new social order within the mission. Also, the Texas method built on gifting methods by utilizing such goods for recurring allocations to neophytes serving both long and shorter tenures (for whatever reason) within the missions. Late colonial evidence supports this statement, noting as did the anonymous Franciscan author of Concepcion mission's operating manual in the 1780s just how it was that Indians were provided of cloth, food, trinkets, grooming supplies, and most important, gift items such as ribbon, tobacco, and small bells or other metal objects.²² In this manner the populace received preferential treatment for being present; if the phrasing of missionaries working among the Hasinai bands in 1727 may be repurposed, it would appear the Hasinai missions set the stage for later treatment of natives within the San Antonio and La Bahia missions, in that the missionaries stressed the importance of annual and special event gift disbursements as had the missionaries during that early visitation in the eastern missions.²³ The Texas method then was an adaptation to the gifting cycles that were seen in more advanced cultures within the same province, and which when transferred to places like Alta California or the Seno Mexicano (Nuevo Santander) would be successful

²² Howard Benoist and María Eva Flores, eds., *Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio*, translated by Benedict Leutenegger, fourth printing (San Antonio: OSMRHL, Our Lady of the Lake University, 1994), 23, 35-41.

²³ Visitation report of 1727, BNFF, vol 132, ff. 10-25.

given the similar circumstances of the hunter-gatherers in those places to the ones found by Franciscans in south central Texas.

Yet another lesson that came of the experiences I related in Chapters 4 and 5 was that of the tenuous nature of frontier life and the toll it took on missionaries and their effectiveness in the missions. This bit of learning manifested itself in several ways. One of the more subtle but pervasive impacts was that the friars appeared to have grasped that the more difficult or volatile the indigenous and imperial contests on a particular frontier, the better would be the results of missions there if the local leadership among the Franciscans was kept intact for extended periods. Tracking back through the Santa Cruz mission presidents' tenures one notices that the middle decades of the century from around 1732 to the late 1760s saw three men hold the leadership mantle for most of that period, and it was within this timeframe that the missions of that college were most successful in terms of stability and neophyte populations. Likewise, the later father presidents among the Zacatecas friars observed as little change as possible, most likely for the same reason. Two factors, or at least two, contributed to this lesson in mission administration at the frontier. First, it was relatively easy to witness after the first decade in the province that the governors and military commanders might be prone to shorter tenures, and if so the missionaries were the ones who would provide stability of leadership to the Spanish and mission Indian communities given that the governors were seldom knowledgeable of the history of the missions and the local Spanish settlements. The other perspective that might have obtained early on among the missionary colleges' own leaders was that the Indians tended to respond better to those friars with whom their brothers, fathers, and allies had known years before, once a particular band decided to

parley with the missionaries for entry into or services from a mission. Thus the longer tenures of father presidents in the middle decades of the eighteenth century no doubt were purposeful on the part of the missionary colleges.

That this was the case is also supported by the evolution of the apostolic colleges' records on missionaries and their tenures. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, friars were noteworthy if and when they reached the end of their *decenio*, their tenth anniversary of dedicated work in the missions. Records, mainly the decretals and *libros de difuntos*, show that the *decenio* was marked either as one for missions to the faithful or among the infidels, and the latter was not often noted for the first cohorts. As time passed, the counts of friars and accounting of their various assignments showed an increase in the number of friars in frontier missions who stayed on for a significant time period, and many died in missions with years of frontier experience behind them. In later decades of the century the *decenio* was still something to remark upon for any friar, but it appeared to be more common. Later statements in the decrees regarding the fitness of particular friars also supports that this was a concern; in other words, missionary colleges looked hard at their candidates for Texas and other frontier missions knowing that the men might often serve the rest of their ministry there without returning for reassignment elsewhere.

That frontier volatility I mention several places above is a key finding of this study. In chapter 4 and to lesser extent in Chapter 5, I explore the perspectives of the Franciscans' lived experiences in Texas in light of the evidence they generated for the archives and the findings of the other historians addressing the indigenous and political actors over the period. As I observed above, the historiographical turn since about 1970

has abandoned pretensions of Spanish hegemony over Texas in any concrete manner, and more recent studies have all but accepted that the Spanish actually lost much of their gains in Texas and New Mexico for that matter during their running battles with various Comanche sections. The stark realization which emerges once one releases the Euro-centric claim to hegemony and borders is that the Indians as a whole were dominant in Texas over the entire period of the Spaniards' missionary labor there. Seen from this perspective, it is surprising that any success attended such a small group as the Spaniards, which implanted itself tenuously on a few points of rivers, clearings in wooded areas, and some pestilent regions nearer the Gulf coast.

What emerges instead is a century-long collective angst among the missionaries who served in San Antonio and other missions. That angst is reflective of the battle between the formation the friars received as Franciscans first and then as elite missionaries ready to battle the devil for souls wherever they may be found, and their unmistakably real experience of failure to attract consistent attention among even the poorest of the indigenes in any predictable manner. As ethnohistorian Pekka Hämäläinen recently observed, the most dominant of the indigenous nations the friars interacted with in Texas, the Comanche, "forced the colonists to adjust to a world that was foreign, uncontrollable, and, increasingly, unlivable."²⁴ The result of such overwhelming cultural force against the more feeble Spanish presence was that the missionaries often felt deeply their losses as they piled up against Indians' rebuffs and rebukes of friars' efforts to convert them. And this compounded into an abiding angst that was a shared experience as well among most if not all of the missionaries reconsidered in my research.

²⁴ Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 16.

That angst also informed missionaries' reactions to their quotidian duties and the environments in which they performed these. The potential outlets for that collective unease were many. Some friars wrote explicitly about their hard feelings for the distant missions and the unpredictable life they led there. Others wrote indirectly about it, commenting in their letters on the aspects of collegial living that were absent from their routines in the missions, such as the importance of their role as confessors or the lack of time for study or discussions concerning ecclesiastical or theological matters. One gains a sense that many of the friars who were noted for their preaching felt wasted in the missions unless they happened to spend much time preaching among the non-indigenous settlers and presidio personnel; even then at least one friar wrote back to the college, and another to the Holy Office in Mexico City, that the local population was not worth their talents as they found the settlers engaged in vice and substandard lifestyles. Those among the friars whose idealism flourished as they moved into missions saw around them the products of their greatest imaginings: vast lands filled with countless savages all waiting to be tamed and reformed into true men, and a landscape that matched the depth and expanse of the human sea which they witnessed at various places in their peregrinations into and around Texas. For every idealist among the friars who dreamed in mendicant Technicolor of the glories to be had for the Order among these infidels, there existed other friars who saw in the poorly maintained missions, the pest-ridden postings, barbarous bands of indigenes, and brutal warfare between natives a miserable place in which to work. The latter friars kept up their contributions to the rhetoric addressed in Chapters 3 and 5, but they were more realistic than many of their more

enthusiastic brethren who welcomed the trials to be had in Texas as part of a greater landscape of romanticized missionary accomplishments.

That rhetoric, which I term as one of purpose and intentionality, is yet another significant finding. Like the pervasiveness of feelings regarding the volatility of their missions, the friars' rhetoric is another area in which more research should occur. As my research progressed I noted periods and places in which one might expect to see a shift in the rhetorical measure of either or both the colleges' leaders in Querétaro and Guadalupe de Zacatecas and the friars on the ground in the Texas missions. Instances of intense disappointment and marked failures abound for Texas, and yet these events did not produce what the historian might expect to see in terms of the rhetorical aspects of friars' written comments in both formal and informal communications. To name just a few of the more obvious times in which such comments should appear in large numbers, we may consider the stern rebukes by the Hasinai in 1693 and the early 1720s, when missions were curtailed in certain east Texas locations; dealings with Apaches in the mid 1720s at San Antonio de Valero and other missions near by; the horrible failures of the San Xavier (San Gabriel) missions in the late 1740s and early 1750s, including those moved to the Guadalupe River drainage; the "massacre" at San Saba; and the disheartening harassment by Comanches and succeeding flight of Apaches from San Lorenzo in the 1760s.²⁵

Yet the primary tones of discouragement appear in just two consistent ways over the whole of the century for any prolonged duration. The first of these appears late in the 1760s following the failures of missions to the Apaches that appeared to be a long-

²⁵ See the longer narratives of these events in Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, 7 vol. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936-1950), volumes II to IV.

standing pet project of many a Santa Cruz missionary, and this at the point where it became clear that the Santa Cruz college was to take over a significant number of abandoned Jesuit missions following that order's removal from New Spain. Once that reality accosted the college's personnel, their tone changed when referring to Texas, but only for enough time to remove their personnel and transfer their missions to the Zacatecan friars. Following that series of personnel moves and their justifications, the collective memory of the Santa Cruz personnel returned to its previous staunch tone of support and intentionality in missions, including those of Texas. The second break in the rhetoric belonged to the Guadalupe friars from Zacatecas, and it concerned the persistent issue many friars and their college's governing council had with the missionaries' constant involvement in the temporal management of missions in Texas. Apparently at the time this came to a head in the 1780s the discussions at the college had reached a boiling point, and the letters and memorials between the college and its missionaries reflected that deep-seated concern that such business relations were tampering with the friars' effective ministries in Texas (and elsewhere as such concerns applied). Again, following an intense exchange of ideas, including memorials written in scholastic arguments that would have made Ockham proud, the Guadalupe friars shelved their animosities towards the onerous quotidian workloads in these missions, and continued to produce brightly optimistic, yet conservative or traditional Franciscan statements of purposeful missionary labor in Texas, and this continued down to the end of the missions period in the years following Mexican independence from Spain. Like Alta California, the missions in Texas continued, though feebly, into the national period since many of

their missionaries as *criollo* priests felt no need to leave their native land once Spain lost its colonies in New Spain.

That the rhetoric of purpose in the Texas missions was maintained by both apostolic colleges' personnel is extraordinary to say the least. Neither college nor its personnel once deployed were obligated by history or their present circumstances to speak as cohesively about their missionary purposes as these men did. Their consistent refrain included essential ideas that reappear with few breaks over the long century between 1690 and the late 1820s. In this literature appear the friars' intentions to instill among their neophytes new allegiances to the friars' Roman Catholic godhead and their earthly king in Castile, and this by teaching the Indians at the frontiers to be civilized peoples inhabiting new towns in their territories. Friars noted that their own example was to encourage this transformation, aided by catechesis and other teaching, and by the instruction in temporal arts of survival. The enterprise was a shared one with other agents of the royal government, the military and civil government, but the friars were the understood leaders of missions and the Indians who dwelled within them. Lastly, the friars' understood themselves to be the elite bearers of a religiously-infused civilization to their protégés, for all others at that point in the history of New Spain were lacking in their achievement of mission work. This meant that new missions among baptized Indians in the settled sections of New Spain were also in order as the friars went forward to start new efforts among those considered to be infidels in the north. This composite statement of intent and status within the missionary ranks of the Church in the New World took many forms, but its contents and recurring nature mark it as a platform on which the

apostolic colleges' personnel built their vocational expectations over the long period of missions to Texas, and elsewhere for that matter.

The rhetoric that persisted and was tested in Texas was one more aspect of missionary theory and the maintenance of its praxis that the Texas missionaries shared with later cohorts working elsewhere in New Spain. The most significant examples may be found among the Fernandino friars in Alta California, who, as fray Font accused them, applied the lessons learned among hunter-gatherers in Texas to the peoples they found from San Diego northward to San Francisco Bay. Yet another place in which the Texas missionaries' ethos played a role was in the Pimería Alta late in the eighteenth century. In both locations friars from San Fernando college in Mexico City and Santa Cruz college in Querétaro maintained a consistency that first developed in the Texas experiments, and in both regions the missionaries adapted older forms of missions concepts to utilize, perhaps more effectively in the case of California, the tightly formed agricultural estate that was the Texas model and assigning to Indians roles that would transform them into estate workers in opposition to their former lives as primarily gathering peoples. Though their successes were lesser in Sonora and other parts of the Pimería, the letters and understandings of the missionaries' were reminiscent of those of Texas, and in some cases the personnel were of the same cloth in terms of training and experience as they went out from Santa Cruz to their assigned stations. Both mission regions benefited from the lessons learned from the earlier decades of testing approaches to reducing natives to missions in Texas and how these worked among bands expressing cultural traits that mirrored those to be found later in the northwest.

A word about the transmission of missionary theories and feedback on praxis is in order to substantiate the claims made above. While statements such as fray Font's are rare, the fact remains that the missionaries of the three most active colleges in the frontier missions were in constant contact one with the other, at least from the perspective of leadership and intercourse amongst themselves when dealing with both their own order's hierarchy and the imperial government vested in the viceroy in Mexico City. Several pieces of evidence prove this beyond the direct references to missionary methodology already noted. First, one of the salient pieces of content from many a letter used in this study is the location from which it originated. While most were written either in the colleges or, more prominently, in the missions, some of these writers showed that ordinary friars often traveled to Mexico City to deal with colonial officials for approval of missions, changes to missions' affairs, or to argue against the slanderous charges leveled by the colleges' enemies at different points over the long century. When attending to their missions' or college's business in the metropolitan center of New Spain, friars from both Santa Cruz and Guadalupe colleges stayed in the college of San Fernando and used that base as a quiet location in which to record their thoughts to send back to the colleges or to the vice regal government nearby. It appears that such stays were regular events, and thus provided an opportunity for leading friars from all three colleges to know one another, dine together, discuss matters of importance, and as Franciscans to attend choir together at San Fernando college. In addition, each college had its procurators in Mexico City for a period of each year and these men no doubt maintained contact as needed. Other friars journeyed from one college to the other in search of documentation, especially documents that would assist in their mandate to

record the colleges' histories in official chronicles; still other friars were consistently assigned to champion their most noteworthy deceased friars' causes in attempts to gain recognition for the institutes and works in the Americas. Such was the case with nearly every friar assigned over the eighteenth century to advance the cause of the Venerable fray Margil on behalf of Guadalupe college. With so many friars moving in and out of each others' colleges, there would be ample time to compare notes, study other college's methods and outcomes, and strategize together when confronted with new missionary endeavors.

Still another location for the diffusion of knowledge rests in the order itself and would have been focused on the hierarchy's highest position in New Spain, that of the commissary general of the colony. That many of the documents used for studies such as this may be found in the remains of the great archive of San Francisco el Grande, the head friary of New Spain in Mexico City, demonstrates that the Franciscans shared and collated their information across the colleges, which were directly responsible to the father commissary, and the provinces of the vice royalty. Knowledge of the actions taken by one college would be shared easily within the context of discussions at or with the headquarters at San Francisco el Grande; likewise, attendance there by missionaries arguing for privileges or support for missions in the northern reaches of New Spain would themselves bear knowledge as contacts and ideas were exchanged. In summary, both the sharing of contacts between the colleges and the way in which they communicated with the greater hierarchy of the order meant that there were multiple avenues for the dissemination of knowledge concerning missionary methods, targeted cultures or peoples, and the results obtained from any application of practical methods to

these. With this in mind it becomes quite clear that the Texas experiments before the 1760s most likely weighed heavily in debates on just how to approach new missionary assignments elsewhere in the closing decades of Bourbon governance in New Spain.

The friars who worked in Texas missions saw themselves as elites, to be sure, among their fellow humble brethren in the Franciscan networks in New Spain and the greater Spanish Atlantic empire. Missionaries in Texas were revivalists in the sense that they sought both to recall the past fervor of the charismatic Franciscan missionary endeavors of the sixteenth century and to renew the Church within New Spain while expanding its membership and the numbers of the king's vassals. As for their emphasis on the Indians' indoctrination into Spanish ways of formal religion, general religiosity, and normative forms of civilized living, the friars merely utilized what they knew best as an outcome of their formation in the Propaganda Fide college-seminaries and their upbringing as Spaniards either in Iberia or the American colonies. Their intents are not summarized within the sacramental framework entirely as other historians argued, but rather the friars recorded what they thought to be important in terms of understanding their own methods and outcomes in terms fitting eighteenth-century discourses on culture, religion, and frontier politics. And these ideas informed the experimental nature of the Texas missions, which in turn, through Franciscan networks in New Spain, informed contemporary and later missions elsewhere in the northern reaches of the kingdom. The friars' rhetoric on the purposes and intents of the missions remained the strongest testament to the tenacity of these friars' institute. The numerous failures in Texas provided a missions laboratory of sorts to late colonial, elite Franciscans from the apostolic colleges, and they persisted in their efforts for reasons of the consistency of

their vocational understanding and a belief in the value of extending the margins of belief when and where they could.

Appendix: Missionary Friars in Texas, 1690-1834

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Abad de Jesús María, José	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1759-1772
Aguilar, Juan José	Priest	1743	1765	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1765	1794-1801
Albadadejo, José	Priest	--	--	Cartagena	Guadalupe	--	1721-?
Alcivia, José Guadalupe	Priest	--	--	Santo Evangelio province	Santa Cruz	1724	1756
Alderete, Pedro	Priest	--	1756	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1756	1768-1784
Alegre, José	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1759-1762
Ignacio María Álvarez, Antonio	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1764-?
Amaya, Juan Salvador de	Priest	--	--	Jalisco province	Santa Cruz	1728	1728-1752
Amillano, José María de la Santísima Trinidad	Priest	--	1755	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1755	1768-?
Anda y Altamirano, Mariano de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1727-?
Anda y Altamirano, Mariano de San Joseph de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1748-1753
Anzar, Antonio de Jesús	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1820-1822
Aparicio, Francisco	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1759-1760
Aponte y Lis, Francisco	Priest	1688	--	Pontevedra (Spain)	Santa Cruz	1740	1748-1757
Cayetano del Aragón, Andrés de	Priest	--	1711	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1711	1737-1741; 1744-1750
Aranda, Miguel	Priest	--	--	Aragon	Santa Cruz	--	1753-1758
Arcayos, Tomás	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1762-1771
Antonio							
Arezorena, Bernardino	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1764-1766
Argüelles, Enrique	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	? – 1738
Arricivita (Arrizubieta), Juan Domingo	Priest	1720	1735	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1735	1750-1751

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
de							
Ávila, Manuel de	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	? – 1751
Baena, Ignacio	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1722-1725
Blanco, José	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1793-1794
María Ignacio Bordoy, Antonio	Priest	1657	--	Mallorca & Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1683	1690-1693
Borruel, José Cosmé	Priest	--	1722	Guadalupe college (and Zaragoza?)	Provincia de Jalisco; Guadalupe Santa Cruz	1722; again in 1736	1736-1738
Bustamente, Francisco	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1731
Bustamente, Ventura	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1822
Calahorra y Sáenz, José de	Priest	1699	1716	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1716	1746-1768
Camarena, Joseph María de Jesús	Priest	--	--	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	--	1787-1797; 1812-1816
Camargo de Santa Ana, Joaquín	Priest	1711	--	Michoacán province	Santa Cruz	1735	1738-1743
Camberos, Juan de Dios María	Priest	1720	1738; ordained 1749	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1738	1753-1764
Canal, Francisco	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	--
Cárdenas, José Mariano de	Priest	1742	1767; ordained 1772	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1767	1776-1780; 1782-1798; 1799-1800
Caro, Joseph Francisco	Priest	--	1747	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1747	1758-1761
Carrasco, Manuel	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1772-1773
Casañas de Jesús María, Francisco	Priest	1656	--	Catalonia	Santa Cruz	1683	1690-1693
Casas, Antonio	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1768
Castellanos, Francisco Xavier	Priest	1700	--	Santo Evangelio province	Santa Cruz	1725	1727
Castellanos, Manuel	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1716-1723
Chacón, Dimas María	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1750s-1765

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Chavira, Bruno	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1756-1757
Ciprián, Ignacio Antonio	Priest	--	1712	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1712	1731-1738; 1747-1749
Cortés, Tomás	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1777-1781
Coto, José del Rosario	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1770
Cubillos, Francisco Javier	Lay brother	--	1709	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1709	1716-1742
Delgadillo, José María Antonio	Priest	1769	1792	--	Guadalupe	--	1799-1806
Díaz de León, José Antonio de	Priest	--	1811	--	Guadalupe	--	1817-1834
Dura, Francisco	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1771-1772
Echevelar, Joaquín	Lay brother	--	1751	Guadalupe	Guadalupe	1751	1777-1778
Escobar, Joaquín	Priest	--	1754	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1754	1776-1781
Escobar, José María	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	1752?	1754-1772; 1774-1778
Espinosa, Isidro Felix de	Priest	1679	1696	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1696	1709; 1716- 1722
Espinosa, Phelipe de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1736-1737
Falcón, José Agustín	Priest	1737	1758	--	Guadalupe	--	1784-1785
Fellechea, Manuel María	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1816-1817
Fernández Cabriada, Gabriel	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1732
Fernández de Santa Ana, Benito	Priest	--	--	Santiago, Spain	Santa Cruz	--	1730-1749
Francisco Fontcuberta, Miguel	Priest	--	--	Mallorca	Santa Cruz	1683	1690-1691
Fragozo, Agustín	Priest	--	1733	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1733	1749-1757
Frejes, Francisco	Priest	1784	1801; ordained 1811	--	Guadalupe	--	1817-1819
Frias, Francisco	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1736
Gaitán, José Manuel	Priest	1769	1786	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1786	1800-1817
Gamarra, Francisco	Priest	--	1766	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1766	1774-1776; 1786-1790; 1800
Ganzábal, Joseph	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1744-1748; 1748-1752

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Francisco de Garavito, José	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1794-1801
Antonio de Jesús							
García, Anselmo	Lay brother	--	1753	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1753	1770
García, Antonio de los Angeles	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1776-1778
García, Bartolome	Priest	--	--	Valencia	Santa Cruz	--	1749-1767
García, Diego Martín	Priest	--	1733	Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	1733	1749-1754
García, Josef Antonio	Lay brother	--	1759	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1759	1783-1792, intermittent
García, Joseph María	Priest	--	--	Zacatecas Province	Guadalupe	1777	1787-1788
García Botello, Juan	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1776-1778
García de Suares, Juan Bautista	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1729
Garza, José Francisco	Priest	1741	1765	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1765	1773-1786; 1791-1793
Mariano de la Gómez, José Cayetano	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1767-1768
Gómez, Luis Gonzaga Mariano	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1786
González, Joseph Antonio	Priest	--	1706	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1706	1721-1734
González, Joseph Manuel	Priest	--	1765	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1765	1775-1787
González, Juan José	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1740; 1747-1756
Guadalupe, Joseph de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1743
Guerra, José de	Priest	--	--	Santiago, Spain	Santa Cruz, Guadalupe	--	1720-1721
Herice, Ignacio de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1722-1725
Herváez, Francisco de Jesús María	Priest	1760	1776	--	Guadalupe	--	1784-1785
Hidalgo, Francisco	Priest	1659	--	Los Angeles province (Spain)	Santa Cruz	1683	1690-1693; 1716-1726
Huerta de Jesús, José María	Priest	1776	1796	--	Guadalupe	--	1804-1811

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Hurtado de Jesús María, Joseph	Priest	--	1722	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1722	1725-1726; 1736-1737
Infante, José Díaz	Priest	--	--	Zacatecas Province	Guadalupe	1760	1761-1763
Isasi Isasmendi, Pedro Ignacio	Priest	1706	1723	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1723	1736-1750
Jaudenes, José Francisco	Priest	1767	1783	Valencia	Guadalupe	--	1791-1797
Jiménez, Roque	Lay brother	~1714	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1754-1782 ¹
Lanuzza, Ignacio	Priest	--	1757	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1757	1768-1777
María José Lava, Ignacio	Priest	1736	1755	--	Guadalupe	--	1768-1771
María López, José	Priest	1699	1716	--	Santa Cruz	1730	1756-1766
López, José Antonio	Lay brother	--	1794	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1794; again in 1802	1790s ²
López, José Francisco	Priest	1739	1759	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1759	1767-1794
Los Angeles, Juan de	Lay brother	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1724; 1754-1755; 1762
Lozano, José Francisco	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1793
Maleta, Pedro	Lay brother	--	--	Burgos	Santa Cruz	--	1718-1719
Manzano, Joaquín María	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1781-1782
Marentes, Manuel Mariano	Priest	--	1759	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1759; 1765	1767-1768
Margil de Jesús, Antonio	Priest	1657	1673	Valencia	Santa Cruz; Guadalupe	1683	1716-1722
Marmolejo, Ildefonso José	Priest	--	1726	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1726	1737-1747; 1755-1758
Marquéz, Joaquín	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	Rio Grande, 1749
Martínez, Juan Cipriano	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1737
Martínez de la Parra, Juan	Priest	--	1725?	San Diego province (Descalced)	Guadalupe	1728	1732
Mazanet, Damian de	Priest	1654	--	Mallorca	Santa Cruz	1683	1690-1693
Medina, Vicente	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1732-1733

¹ This lay brother was a conductor of supplies to the missions and was in Texas at varying times each year.

² Fray López was also a conductor of supplies to Texas.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Mendoza, Pedro de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1716
Montes de Oca, Luis de	Lay brother	1704	1723	Guadalupe (novitiate)	Guadalupe	1723	1726
Moctezuma, Joaquín	Priest	--	--	Santo Evangelio?	Guadalupe	1774	1776-1777
Moreno, José Francisco	Priest	1758	1779	Jalisco	Guadalupe	1781	1799-1800?
Muñoz, Pedro	Priest	1658	1684	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1684	1718
Muro, Miguel del	Priest	1791	1808	Zacatecas province	Guadalupe	1816	1817-1833
Noreña, Pedro	Priest	1745	1764	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1764	1774-1795; 1797-1811
Núñez de Haro, Miguel	Priest	1687	1706	Jalisco	Guadalupe	1711	1717-1755
Oliva, José Rafael	Priest	1745	1765	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1765	1786-1789
Ortiz, Francisco Xavier	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1745; 1756
Ortuño y Velasco, Manuel de	Priest	1702	1724?	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1724?	1729
Parra, Vicente Miguel de la	Lay brother	--	--	San Fernando college?	Guadalupe	1785	1792-1795 ³
Parras, Pedro	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1758-1765
Patrón y Guzmán, Agustín	Priest	--	1711	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1711	1716-1727
Pedrajo, José Manuel	Priest	1761	1781	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1781	1789-1797
Pérez de Mezquía, Pedro	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1716
Pita, José de	Lay brother	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1721
Portugal, Pedro Vital	Priest	1763	1789	--	Guadalupe	--	1793-1797?
Puelles, Francisco	Priest	1764	1781	--	Guadalupe	--	1793-1795
Puelles, José	Priest	1772	1789	--	Guadalupe	--	1797-1808
María de Jesús Ramírez de	Priest	--	1737	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1737	1751-1781
Arellano, Pedro de							
Ramírez de Prado, Joseph	Priest	1705	--	Michoacán province	Santa Cruz	--	1738-?

³ Served as a conductor of supplies to Texas.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Guadalupe Ramos, Antonio	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1771
Reyes, José Mariano	Priest	1741	1767	Santo Evangelio?	Guadalupe	1780	1782-1791
Reynoso, ?	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1768
Rivera, Buenaventura	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	Rio Grande, 1751-1754
Rodríguez de Jesús María, José Andrés	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1719-1721
Rojo, José Mariano	Priest	1745	1763	Zacatecas province	Guadalupe	1774	1789-1793
Rolán, Manuel	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1762
Romero, Anastasio de Jesús	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1756-1760
Sáenz, José María	Priest	1770	1792	--	Guadalupe	--	1792-1812
Sáenz de Gumiel, Juan Joseph	Priest	1724	--	Burgos	Santa Cruz	--	1765-1770
Sáenz de San Antonio, Matías	Priest	--	--	Santo Evangelio	Guadalupe	~1707	1716-1718
Sáenz Monge, Esteban	Lay brother	1701	1719	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1719	1731
Salas de Santa Gertrudis, José María	Priest	--	1764	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1764	1773-1785; 1786-1790
Salazar, Diego	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1720
Salazar, Esteban de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1766
Salazar, Francisco Xavier	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1758-1765?
Salvino, Luis	Priest	--	1754	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1754	1764-1766
San Buenaven- tura y Olivares, Antonio de	Priest	--	--	Zacatecas or Jalisco provinces	Santa Cruz	1699	1709; 1716- 1720
San Buenaven- tura y Santeste- ban, Andrés de	Priest	1730	1757	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1757	1768-1771
San Diego, Francisco de	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1716-1717
San José y Sandi, Nicolás de	Priest	1696	1713	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1713	1729
San Miguel, Francisco de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1757
Sánchez, Benito	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1716-1719;

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Santa María y Mendoza, Pedro de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1721-1728 1716-1718
Santa María de los Dolores, Miguel de	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1768, 1784
Satarain, Marcos	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1756
Sedano, Francisco	Lay brother	--	1750	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1750	1768, 1771
Sepulveda, Juan María	Priest	1782	1808	--	Guadalupe	--	1810-1815
Sevillano de Paredes, Miguel	Priest	--	--	San Miguel, Extremadura	Santa Cruz	--	1726-1727
Silva, Bernardo de	Priest	--	1753	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1753	1766
Silva, Francisco Xavier de	Priest	--	1737	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1737;	1749
Silva, Manuel Julio de	Priest	1737	1754	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1754	1791, 1793- 1796
Solís, Gaspar José de	Priest	--	1728	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1728; 1742; 1748	1767-1768
Solorzano de Escorbuto, Antonio	Priest	1732	1761	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1761	1804-1808
Sosa, Mariano de Jesús	Priest	1774	1794	--	Guadalupe	--	1804-1812
Suarez, Juan	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1725
Tejada, José Román	Priest	--	--	Michoacán province	Guadalupe	1787	1789-1794
Tello, ?	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1759
Terreros, Alonso Giraldo de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1758
Urioste, Domingo de	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1716
Vallejo, Bernardino	Priest	1761	1777	Jalisco province	Guadalupe	1781	1789-1820
Vallejo, Francisco	Priest	--	1716	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1716	1724-1747; 1750-1761
Valverde, Acisclos	Priest	1715	1731	Córdoba?	Santa Cruz	1743	1750-1773
Varela, Benito	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1755
Vasconcelos, Mariano Antonio de	Priest	1748	1770	Guadalupe college	Guadalupe	1770	1777-1783; 1785-1787

<i>Name</i>	<i>Status OFM</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Habit</i>	<i>Novitiate & Theologate</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Entered College</i>	<i>Tenure in Texas</i>
Velasco, Mariano	Priest	1760	1781	--	Guadalupe	--	1793-1794
Vergara, Gabriel de	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1716-1733
Viana, Mariano	Priest	--	1728	Santa Cruz college	Santa Cruz	1728	1733-1760; 1760-1764
Francisco de los Dolores y Villagra, Manuel del	Priest	1745	1764	--	Guadalupe; Santa Cruz	--	1783-1787
Voceta, Francisco Javier	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1768
Zalazar, Marcos	Lay brother	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1764
Zapata, Diego	Priest	--	--	--	Guadalupe	--	1721-1723
Zarate, Joseph	Priest	--	--	--	Santa Cruz	--	1766-1769

Sources: Habig, *Alamo Chain of Missions*; Habig, Biographical dictionary, in Leutenegger, *Zacatecan Friars in Texas*; Arricivita, *Apostolic Chronicle*; Guadalupe college censuses, 1776, 1789, 1799, 1804 (CAT Box 120, Folder 13; OSMHRL, ACZ 13: 1601-1603, 1673-1678, 1683-1688); *Misioneros que florecieron en la Prov.a. de Texas de este Colegio*, no date, CAT, Box 116, Folder 1; Bexar Archives; Roster of Santa Cruz college, 1728, BNAF 53/1121, f.f. 1-8; *Informaciones*, ACQ, Legajos 1-8; AGN Provincias Internas, vol. 182, 183, 236, and Misiones, vol. 21; Gómez Canedo, *Primeras exploraciones*; Díez, *Empleos apostólicos*; Espinosa, *Crónica de los colegios*; *Libro de Recepción I Profesión de los Novicios de este Collegio de Nra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas* (OSMHRL, ACZ 4:5905-6081).

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