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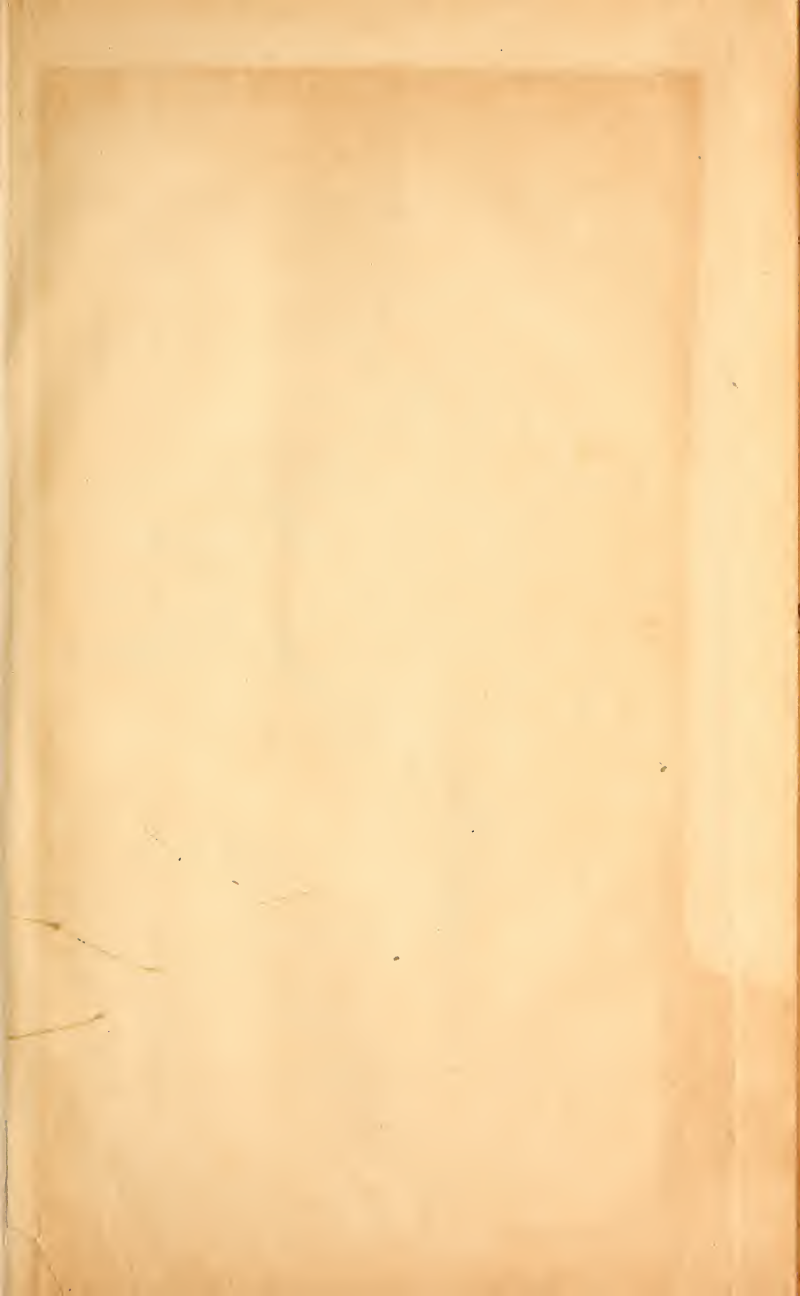






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BULLETIN  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

No. 98

ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY

HUMANISTIC SERIES NO. 6

DECEMBER 1, 1907

*The Beginnings of Texas*  
*1684-1718*

BY

ROBERT CARLTON CLARK

Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Philosophy  
in the University of Wisconsin, 1905.

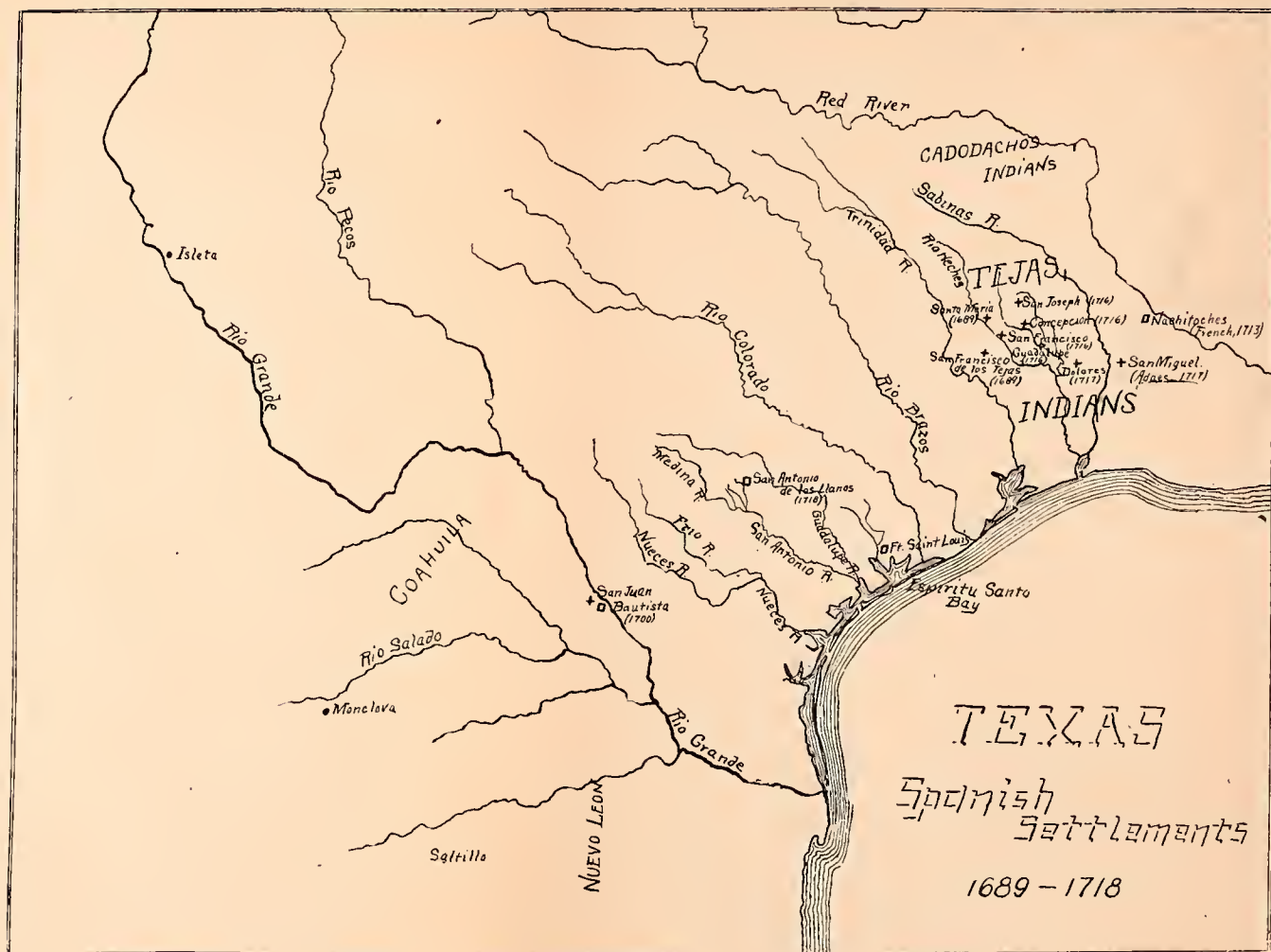


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Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

President Mirabeau B. Lamar.

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## PREFACE

Some years ago while a student in the University of Texas I began the study of early Spanish and French exploration and occupation of Texas. The University Library and the State Library offered excellent facilities for such a study, especially as they had begun to secure copies of the materials in the archives of Mexico. Up to that time Mr. H. H. Bancroft's *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, volume 1, had contained the best authoritative and the most extensive account of early Spanish occupation and settlement of Texas, an account based for the most part on materials to be found in the Mexican archives. Since the publication of the Bancroft history, however, two unused documents, Massanet's *Carta* and the *María Relación*, very significant for this period, had been brought to light, and Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, containing letters, journals, etc., bearing on the French exploration of Texas had been issued. A knowledge of these sources of information is essential to an understanding of the period.

With these materials available it seemed possible to tell the story of the "Beginnings of Texas" more fully and more truthfully than it had been told before.

Two monographs of mine published in volumes five and six of the *Texas Historical Quarterly*, covering a part of the period, have been revised and supplemented and incorporated into this larger work.

Especial acknowledgment must be made in this place to Professors George P. Garrison and Herbert E. Bolton of the University of Texas. It was at the suggestion of the former that this study was begun, and his counsel, encouragement and assistance have made its completion possible. He has also kindly read the manuscript and made many suggestions that have been adopted. Professor Bolton has loaned me copies of manuscripts made by him in Mexico, has read the manuscript, and his thorough knowledge of the sources has been invaluable to me in correcting errors of detail.

ROBERT CARLTON CLARK.

Eugene, Oregon, October 16, 1907.



## THE BEGINNINGS OF TEXAS

1684-1718

### I

#### INTRODUCTION

Texas was for about a century an organized province of Mexico, its affairs were administered by governors appointed by the viceroys of Mexico, and it was in all respects an integral part of Mexico. For this reason its history for more than a hundred years is wrapped up with that of other Mexican states; nor does it differ in many respects from the history of its neighbors across the Rio Grande. A history of the north Mexican states must include a history of Texas, and a history of Texas in some detail can but be considered an elaboration of the history of a territory that for a long time formed a part of a larger whole.

The exploration, settlement, and ultimate acquisition of Texas by the Spanish, though hastened by extraneous influences, was but the natural result of a northward extension of missions and presidios. It is true, as this thesis purposes to show, that this expansion was of too flimsy and artificial a character to give it an aspect of permanency, but the general purposes that led to the occupancy of the territory afterwards to be named Texas may, in their larger outlines, be found to resemble the motives that led the Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to press ever further northward in pursuit of their missionary and colonization schemes. While we shall thus be able to note marked resemblances between the especial efforts put forth to take possession of Texas and the general plan of the Spaniards to extend their dominion over all the lands to the northward, we shall, on the other hand, find that the position of the land to the north of the Rio Grande made it worth a more immediate acquisition and that there were other motives, apart from those formerly actuating the Spaniards, that led them at the end of the seventeenth century to begin those movements that were finally to acquire this new district and add it to the list of Mexican provinces.

The real beginnings of Texas, moreover, are to be found in these

earliest efforts of the Spanish to make good a title to a portion of a larger territory, to which they had hitherto had rather vague claims, by placing their outposts far to the north and east, and by the gradual filling in of the gap between these outposts and the presidios south of the Rio Grande with settlements of a more substantial character. The establishment of such a claim was not made in a day, nor in a year, nor by any one great military or colonizing expedition, but consisted of a series of efforts extending over several years, varying in their character and scope. The process by which something like permanency of occupation was effected was thus one of slow growth and easily traceable influences, but throughout we shall be able to discern a definiteness of aim and a tenacity of purpose that were in the end to bring about valuable results. A province with fairly determined boundaries was set up beyond the Rio Grande; a name, not to be changed, was early fixed upon the territory; fertile lands were discovered; a large field for missionary enterprise was opened to the view; and a line of missions and presidios was established that offered an obstacle to military or commercial aggression by their active neighbors to the eastward.

The years during which these beginnings may be said to have taken place extend from 1684 to 1718, and we shall find them divided into rather distinct and separate periods. The first of these includes the ill-fated enterprise of La Salle in 1684 and the several expeditions of the Spanish from 1686 to 1693, resulting in the establishment of missions among the Tejas Indians beyond the Trinity river; the second deals with the events leading to a revival of the interest of the Spanish in Texas, which led to renewed missionary zeal and military activity in 1716; and the third has to do with the movements that brought about a more permanent occupancy of Texas by the Spanish in 1718, the most important of which was the founding of San Antonio. The latter year marks the end of mere tentative efforts and is followed by the inauguration of a more determined policy of occupation. It thus forms a fitting close to a study of the beginnings of Texas.

While such a study as has been thus outlined must of necessity be largely narrative in character, yet at the same time its interest is rather to be found in the determination of the motives that actuated the Spanish during these years and in the results of their

activity. The purpose of this thesis, thus, is little more than to take out of the larger field of Spanish-American colonization and missionary effort that portion relating to Texas during the earlier years of its existence as a province of Mexico, and to say all that may be said with profit concerning its history during this time. While our study may in a measure have a one-sided aspect, inasmuch as it will in the main have to do with Spanish movements, yet, as these movements were so largely the result of French aggressions and commercial activity, it will also be necessary to relate with some detail the story of the enterprises coming from the side of Louisiana, and to show an interrelation of Spanish and French movements in the southwest at this period.

## II

### FORT SAINT LOUIS AND MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS TEJAS

The early explorers of the sixteenth century seem in a general way to have marked the physical outlines of the Gulf of Mexico. Among these may be especially noted Alonso Alvarez Piñeda, who in 1519 coasted the gulf and probably discovered the mouth of the Mississippi river. His map made at the time indicates some knowledge of the rivers between Tampico in Mexico and the Florida peninsula, and outlines the Texas coast.

It was not, however, until several years later that any real knowledge of the country east of the Mississippi was obtained. During the seventeenth century the rulers of New Spain slowly pushed their conquests northward and eastward. Along the frontier and limited upon the east by the Rio del Norte lay a vast undefined region known as Nueva Vizcaya, the eastern portion of which was unoccupied, except by a few outlying missions and presidios; and beyond this to the north lay still more extensive territories, unexplored, unknown, and nameless. Into this vast region lying eastward from the Rio Grande, a region which later became known as the Nuevas Filipinas, or Texas, there were, during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, many random or accidental excursions. The first of these chance explorations was probably made by Cabeza de Vaca, who, in the year 1535, with three companions of the ill-fated de Narvaez expedition, set out from the island of Malhado, somewhere off the coast of Texas, and after incredible hardships and dreary wanderings, finally, according to



his own story, came out at Culiacán on the Gulf of California. In 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, governor of Nueva Galicia, who had been charged with the conquest of the country of Cibola, crossed the northwestern corner of the State.<sup>1</sup> Moscoso, the successor of Ferdinand de Soto, probably led his men into the State from the east in 1543.<sup>2</sup> Governor Oñate of New Mexico in 1601 led a party some two hundred leagues across Texas, and again in 1611 he made an expedition to the east and discovered a river, which he called Colorado. His efforts were followed in later years by those of Solas, Vaca, Castillo and others; but their explorations accomplished little, further than to stimulate curiosity concerning the eastern plains, and to give a vague notion of the geography of the country and the Indian tribes that inhabited it.<sup>3</sup>

About the middle of the century, however, events began to trend toward a definite occupation of those lands. In the year 1661 Don Diego de Peñalosa, an adventurer from South America, became governor of New Mexico. While acting in this capacity he employed himself in making incursions into the lands east of the province. Whatever extent or importance his explorations may have had, they were sufficient to arouse in him a desire to undertake a conquest of the eastern lands; with a view to which, in 1664, he returned to Mexico, where he published extravagant accounts of the discoveries he had made, and endeavored to induce the viceroy to authorize further explorations and conquests. In this effort he was unsuccessful, and, becoming involved in a humiliating quarrel with the Inquisition, he was compelled to leave Mexico.<sup>4</sup> After many vicissitudes of fortune he turned up in France, where, in the year 1682, he made representations to Louis XIV and his ministers in the hope that he might interest them in his projects.

Meanwhile, there had been an uprising of the Indians in New Mexico and many Spanish and friendly Indians had been slaughtered. In 1682 General Otermin, governor of New Mexico, determined to abandon the pueblo Isleta del Norte and take with him the friendly Indians from that place and those who had taken

<sup>1</sup>Winship's *Coronado Expedition*, in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Report, 1892-93, pp. 329-613.

<sup>2</sup>Narrative of De Soto Expedition by the Gentlemen of Elvas, in *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part 3.

<sup>3</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, 1:382.

<sup>4</sup>Margry, *Notice sur le Comte de Peñalosa*, 3:39-44; Shea, *Peñalosa Expedition*, 8-23.

refuge there. With these Indians the *padres* founded three mission pueblos in the south. One of these pueblos, named Isleta,<sup>1</sup> was situated about twelve miles southeast of El Paso, on the eastern bank of the Rio Grande. Although this settlement is existing today, its establishment had no important influence, nor can it be considered as forming any beginning to Texas.

While Peñalosa was a petitioner at the court of France, another line of forces, the spiritual, was beginning to operate toward the opening up of the territory east of the Rio Grande. In the year 1683, while the Spaniards were resting at El Paso from the long and exhausting struggle with the Indians of New Mexico, a messenger came from the chief of the Jumana tribe, asking that missionaries be sent to his people, and bringing glowing accounts of the Tejas, which lay far to the eastward. In response to this request the governor of New Mexico allowed an expedition to be organized under Juan Domingo de Mendoza, the spiritual interests of the enterprise being entrusted to Father Nicholas Lopez. The company descended the Rio Grande to the junction of the Conches, from which point it advanced eastward beyond the Pecos, and, if we may trust the statement of Mendoza, penetrated to within twenty leagues of the nation of the Tejas. The expedition failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was organized, but it seems to have impressed deeply the imagination of both Father Lopez and Captain Mendoza. On their return they proceeded at once to the City of Mexico, where they urged the viceroy to undertake the conquest and christianization of those eastern lands; and when they failed to arouse in him sufficient interest, they sent memorials to the king of Spain, with descriptions and maps of the lands they had visited. These representations, assisted no doubt by the earlier and more extravagant statements of Peñalosa, aroused the interest of the court to such an extent that a royal order was issued to Father Alonzo Posadas to make report upon the explorations that had been made of the lands east of the Rio del Norte, of the nature and resources of those lands, and of the Indian tribes inhabiting them. In accordance with this order Father Posadas, in the year 1685, made what is apparently a full and truthful statement of all the explorations that had been made eastward from New Mexico,

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 190-191; Raines, *Bibliography of Texas*, xv, 160.

with such account of the geography of the country as, from his information, he was able to make.<sup>1</sup>

But the government of Spain was not yet ready to make a definite advance toward the occupation of the territory northeast of the Rio Grande. It required the incitement of an imminent menace to Spanish authority in those lands to call forth a positive effort. This threat of supplantation came with the effort of the French to establish a colony upon the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

It has already been noted that the Count of Peñalosa, after his failure to interest the viceroy of Mexico in his behalf, went to France with the hope of retrieving his fortunes.<sup>2</sup> Recounting his story of fabulous lands and wonderful cities, he endeavored to interest the king in an enterprise to establish a colony at the mouth of the Rio Bravo. In a memoir dated January, 1682, he set forth the "advantages that might accrue to the king and his people" from the establishment of such a colony.<sup>3</sup> In 1684 the Sieur de la Salle returned from America, where for several years he had been wandering in the valley of the Mississippi, bringing encouraging reports of the lands he had explored and new plans of conquest. In a series of memorials<sup>4</sup> he presented a program of territorial extension in the new world, which was strikingly similar to the plan already outlined by Peñalosa. It was an elaborate scheme of aggrandizement at the expense of Spain to start from a colony to be established near the mouth of the Mississippi. There is little doubt that La Salle and Peñalosa met<sup>5</sup> and compared plans and were inclined to assist one another. Peñalosa went so far as to abandon the idea of a colony at the mouth of the Rio Bravo. He proposed to proceed at once to the West Indies, organize a force of filibusters, and descend upon Pánuco—the northern outpost of the Spanish settlements upon the coast of the Gulf of Mexico—whence he would co-operate with La Salle in the conquest of the rich lands of Nueva Viscaya.<sup>6</sup>

Whether Peñalosa received any recognition of his proposed enterprise from the French government, it is unnecessary here to dis-

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, 1:387-390.

<sup>2</sup>Margry, 3:39-44.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 3:44-48.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:359-373; 3:15-36.

<sup>5</sup>Beaujeu á Cabart de Villermont, Margry, 2:428.

<sup>6</sup>*Memoire sur les affaires de l'Amérique*, Margry, 3:48.

cuss. For palpable reasons Louis XIV was willing to strike a blow at Spain in her American possessions; and the prospect of adding to the dominion of France the valuable mines of Sonora and Sinaloa was, to his active imagination, especially attractive. Accordingly, April 14, 1684, La Salle received his commission to conquer and govern that portion of North America extending from Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois river to New Biscay.<sup>1</sup>

It would be inconsistent with the purpose and limitations of this paper to give more than the briefest outline of the voyage and subsequent adventures of La Salle. Having received his commission he went to work to enlist his company and equip the expedition. For the transportation of his people to the new world he secured four vessels: the *Joli*, a ship of the royal navy of thirty-six guns; a storeship called the *Aimable*; the *Belle*, a frigate; and a ketch, the *St. Francis*. On the 24th of July, 1684, the ill-sorted company, consisting of two hundred and eighty people<sup>2</sup>—seamen soldiers, priests, artisans, women and children—embarked from the port of Rochelle; and eight months later, about the middle of February, 1685, after many hardships and misadventures, having missed the mouth of the Mississippi, it passed through the narrow channel between Matagorda Peninsula and Matagorda Island into the bay of Matagorda. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the events that followed—the landing upon the sandy shore of the bay, which the French called Bay St. Louis; the loss by criminal carelessness of the storeship *Aimable* with the provisions, arms and supplies that were on her; the departure of Beaujeu with those of the expedition who had become discouraged or dissatisfied; the settlement of the colony a few miles inland on the La Vaca river; the sickness, accidents, and misfortunes by which the company of two hundred was soon reduced to a few score; and La Salle's three painful efforts to pass overland to the Mississippi, ending with the tragedy of his murder by his own men.<sup>3</sup> The fate of the unfortunate persons who were left at the village of St. Louis, as it touches the enterprises of the Spaniards, will appear as we proceed.

<sup>1</sup>*Historical Collections of Louisiana*, 4:267.

<sup>2</sup>Winsor (*Cartier to Frontenac*, 310) says 280 persons *besides* seamen and soldiers, making the number about 400. Joutel (*Margry*, 3:92) says about 280 persons *including* seamen and soldiers.

<sup>3</sup>*Relation de Henri Joutel*, *Margry*, 3:91-534.

One incident only of La Salle's outward voyage is important for our purpose to mention; that is the capture of the ketch *St. Francis* by Spanish cruisers in September, 1684, off the island of Santo Domingo.<sup>1</sup> The capture of this vessel seems not to have aroused the suspicion of the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo,<sup>2</sup> and he made no report to the viceroy of Mexico. In the same month Andres de Ochoa y Zarate, commander of the fleet of Barlovento, took off the coast of Yucatan a French frigate armed as a privateer, the captain of which told of La Salle's enterprise to establish himself at the mouth of the Mississippi. This news was communicated to the viceroy, the Marquis de la Laguna. Alarmed by this intelligence, the viceroy sent Juan Enriquez Barroto to Habana with orders for the governor of that place to prepare a frigate under command of Barroto to examine the coast of the gulf and find out the purpose of the French. Barroto delayed a year in fitting out a vessel, and it was not until January, 1686, that he sailed out of the harbor of Habana; then passing along the shores of the gulf, he explored its bays and inlets but found no sign of the French.<sup>3</sup> The Conde de Monclova in January of the following year dispatched two brigantines to make a further search for the settlement of La Salle; but though they searched the coast as far as the Appalachicola and found in a lagoon the wreckage of two vessels, the village of St. Louis several miles inland escaped their notice. Not knowing what had happened to these brigantines and fearing them lost, the viceroy sent out on the 28th of June of this year two powerful frigates under command of Andrés Pez and Francisco Gamarra, from Vera Cruz, in search of them. They followed along the coast and found the wrecked vessels, but no evidence of a settlement. In the year 1688 Pez was again sent out, and though he made a thorough examination of the entire coast and entered

<sup>1</sup>Margry, 3:99.

<sup>2</sup>Morfi, *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*, MS., 85, says that the capture of this vessel did not rouse the suspicion of the governor of Santo Domingo and that he made no report to the viceroy of Mexico. It seems probable that he may have made a report directly to the home government.

<sup>3</sup>Morfi, *Memorias*, libro VII. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*, 2:65, 70. These accounts are in substantial agreement. The Marquis Laguna also made report to his home government. Margry, 3:561, 570, gives letters showing that the French government learned from letters dated in May, 1686, from the French minister at Cadiz and others, that the Spanish had sent out vessels to hunt for La Salle.



the mouth of the Mississippi, he still found no evidence of the existence of a French colony.<sup>1</sup>

While these efforts were being made by sea to discover the settlement of the French, expeditions were sent also by land. By order of the viceroy, in 1685-86, the Marquis de Aguayo, governor of the New Kingdom of León, sent Captain Alonso de León with a company of fifty men to explore the coast northward from Tampico toward the Rio Bravo. Descending to the coast, León advanced to the Rio Grande, which he crossed with some difficulty, and proceeded northward to the mouth of another river, which he called Rio Solo; and being unable to cross this river on account of the lagoons at its mouth, he abandoned the enterprise, not having come near Espíritu Santo Bay, nor heard anything of the French. Not long afterward a similar expedition of two companies of cavalry under the command of Captain León proceeded up the coast to the Rio Bravo, crossed it, and advanced to the Rio Solo, and was again unable to go further. Having heard nothing of the French settlement, Captain León concluded that the report of its existence was unfounded, and made no further efforts in that direction.<sup>2</sup>

The rumors of French encroachments and the fear of an actual invasion also led the viceroy in 1687 to establish a strong fort further to the north towards the Rio Grande frontier. This presidio, placed in Coahuila and named after himself Santiago de Monclova, had one hundred and fifty families, containing two hundred and seventy persons capable of bearing arms against the French.<sup>3</sup> Such an outpost was important as forming a starting point for expeditions to the northeast and might serve as a barrier to French invasion.

<sup>1</sup>Morfi, *Memorias*, libro VII. Cavo, 2:70. Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal in Colección de Memorias*, 27:177. Joutel (Margry, 3:167) says that they saw a sail of what they supposed to be a Spanish vessel about the beginning of April, 1685. This must have been a ship sent out much earlier than any of those mentioned by Cavo, Barcia, Morfi and others. A contemporaneous mention of these events is found in the brief account given by Cussy, French governor of Santo Domingo, to Seignelay in a letter of May 3, 1688, Margry, 3:572. He says that the Spaniards have sent three times and have lost four vessels in the descent on the coast in their search for a French settlement on the Gulf. See also *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 7:210, for citation to other material to be found in Mexican Archives taken from the *Ensayo Chronologico Florida*.

<sup>2</sup>*Carta de Damian Manzanet*, *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 2:281.

<sup>3</sup>Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos*, 2:71.

At this time Fray Damian Massanet,<sup>1</sup> a missionary friar lately come out from Spain, was residing in the mission of Caldera in Coahuila. Learning that the governor desired to know of the presence of any Frenchmen who might be in the lands east of the Rio Grande, he made inquiries of the Indian converts at the mission, and at length learned from one of them that there were white men living among the northern tribes. A short time afterward an Indian of the Quems nation came to the mission, and upon being questioned, told Father Massanet that upon the coast to the north there was a village where were many white men with arms and large guns. He said also that he had been in that village and could lead the Spaniards to it.<sup>2</sup>

These facts being brought to the knowledge of Captain León, who had been made commandant of the presidio of Coahuila, Monclova, he undertook to make further investigations to determine the truth of the Indian's statements. By his order the Indian, Juan, who had first given information of the presence of the Frenchmen, went to a *ranchería* sixty leagues to the north to bring back a white man whom he had seen there. He succeeded in inducing the man to come to another *ranchería* nearer to the presidio of Coahuila, whither Captain León went with a company of twelve men and without difficulty brought him away. This man, Juan Francisco (Juan Enrique) was an old Frenchman, a native of New France;<sup>3</sup> he was probably an early deserter from La Salle's colony. He was brought to the viceroy, the Conde de Monclova, who at once called a *junta general* for the 23d of July, 1688, at which time it was decided to send Captain León to make further search for the French settlement.<sup>4</sup> For the new expedition it was provided that León should have a company of eighty men, forty from the presidios of Vizcaya and forty from the New Kingdom of León. Fray Damian Massanet was made chaplain of the company.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Spelled *Manzanet* in signature to *Carta* cited above and in body of the letter twice "Maçanet," and once "Macanet." In the diary that Massanet kept of León's third expedition and in other documents used the most common form of spelling is that followed here. Professor H. E. Bolton has found in Mexico other examples of the signature which have led him to believe that the correct form is "Massanet."

<sup>2</sup>*Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:282.

<sup>3</sup>Massanet says of "Cheblie," probably meaning Quebec.

<sup>4</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 175.

<sup>5</sup>*Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:283-84.

In September, 1688, the Conde de Galve became viceroy and determined to carry out the plans of his predecessor.

On the 27th of March, 1689, the force from Coahuila joined that from New León on the Sabinas, and the expedition set out. Three days later they crossed the Rio del Norte,<sup>1</sup> and guided by the Quems Indian, who professed to have been in the village of the French, advanced northeast. The country which they traversed was for the most part easy and hospitable, affording abundant water and forage. They passed over broad stretches of prairie, broken with occasional hills and varied with dense thickets of mesquite and thorny shrubs. On the prairies were vast herds of buffaloes, which afforded an abundant supply of meat for the company while it was on the march. They crossed and named the rivers Nueces, Sarco (Frio), Hondo, Medina and León (San Antonio), and on the 14th of April camped near the Guadalupe. Here Captain León called a consultation to determine the best plan of approaching the French village, which the guide informed them was not far distant. It was thought best, after deliberation, that a part of the company should advance to the village, while the rest went into camp at a spot agreed upon. Accordingly Captain León set out with sixty men to the southeast.<sup>2</sup>

When they had gone a short distance the rear guard captured an Indian. He conducted them to his *ranchería* where, upon inquiry, they learned that a few days before four white men had passed

<sup>1</sup>The Rio Grande.

<sup>2</sup>*Derrotero of León*, an incomplete copy in *Provincias Internas*, volume 182, Archivo General, furnished me by Professor H. E. Bolton, *Derrotero de la Jornada que hizo el General Alonzo de Leon para el descubrimiento de la Bahia del Espiritu Santo, y Población de Franceses, año 1689. Colección de Memorias*, 27:3. *Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:283. These are two contemporary accounts of this expedition. A third is *Carta en que se da noticia de un viaje hecho a la Bahia de Espiritu Santo*, May 18, 1689, French's *Hist. Coll. of La. and Fla.*, n. s., 293. This letter seems to have been written by León. He mentions a diary and a map of the expedition which he sent to the Conde de Galve. The letter is dated *Guahuila*, May 18, 1689, and the *Derrotero* of Massanet shows that Gen. León arrived there on May 15, 1689. The best secondary accounts are: Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 1716; Altamira, *Puntos del Parecer*, 1744; *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España*, 28:103; Altamira, *Testimonio de un Parecer*; Yoakum, *History of Texas*, 1:381; Morfi, *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*, MS., libro viii; Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, etc., 1772, in *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España*, xxvii; Cavo, *Los tres Siglos de Mexico*, 1736, 2:78; Villa-Señor y Sanchez, *Theatro Americano*, 1748, 306.

with a band of Tejas Indians,<sup>1</sup> going toward the north. They learned also that the village of the white men upon Espíritu Santo Bay had, about two months before, been plundered, and that all the people except a few who escaped, had been put to death by the coast Indians.<sup>2</sup> From the *ranchería* Captain León went on in pursuit of the white men of whom he had heard, until he came to another village of Indians, where he was informed that the white men had gone on across the San Marcos (Colorado) river. As he was already separated by a considerable distance from the rest of his company, and as he was told by the Indians that he would not be able to cross the San Marcos, he decided to abandon the pursuit and to send a letter by an Indian to the Frenchmen, assuring them of the kindly intentions of the Spaniards, and telling them to go on to meet him at the place where the village had been.<sup>3</sup>

Having dispatched this letter, Captain León resumed his march southward, and on April 22 reached the village and fort of St. Louis, near the La Vaca river. All there was deserted and silent. About the yard were scattered the contents of plundered houses: broken chests and boxes and barrels; the broken tackle of a ship; a great number of books with leaves torn and scattered, but bearing still the evidences of costly bindings; and broken cutlasses, and the stocks of many arquebuses with locks and barrels gone. On the prairie near by lay three dead bodies, one of which, from the fragment of a dress that still clung to it, appeared to be that of a woman.<sup>4</sup> The village consisted of five or six small houses of palisades, plastered over with mud, and covered with the skins of buffaloes; a larger house, where apparently animals were kept, and a wooden fort, made from the timbers of a wrecked vessel. The fort had four lower rooms, one of which had served as a chapel, and above these rooms was an upper story which had been used for

<sup>1</sup>Fray Francisco de Jesus María (*Relacion* MS., 112), after a residence of a year and three months at the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas, has this to say of the name Tejas: "I observe that the name Texias includes all the friendly nations; this name is common to all of them, though the language may be different. The friendly nations, which by another name are called Texias, are as follows:" He then mentions about forty-eight tribes, which with the nine tribes of Asinais constitute the Tejas Nations.

<sup>2</sup>*Derrotero de León*, 7.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 7; *Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:287.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

a storeroom. Scattered about the fort were several swivels and eight small guns of four or six pounds, some upon the floor and some upon their broken carriages. Upon the casing of the principal door of the fort was inscribed the year of its occupation, with other details of the history of the village.

Before setting out upon the return journey Captain León descended to the coast and explored the bay of Espíritu Santo.<sup>1</sup> Skirting the shore for many leagues, he saw the shattered spars and broken timbers of a wrecked vessel. On his return to the fort he found that the Indian messenger had arrived, bringing a letter from the Frenchmen. They asked the Spaniards to wait for them, saying that they would be on in a few days, that they were waiting for another Frenchman who was with some Indians farther away.

While waiting for them Captain León with a party of twenty men set out to the east and discovered the Rio de San Marcos (Colorado), which he explored almost to its mouth.<sup>2</sup> He then returned to the place where his company had gone into camp and found that the Frenchmen still delayed to come; whereupon he determined to go with a few men in search of them, sending the rest of the company on to the Guadalupe to await his return.<sup>3</sup> He accordingly set out with thirty men toward the country of the Tejas. After three days he rejoined his company upon the Guadalupe, bringing with him two of the Frenchmen; they were Juan Archbepe<sup>4</sup> (Jean L'Archevêque), a young man from Bayonne and one of the murderers of La Salle, and Santiago Grollet, a sailor, who had deserted La Salle on one of his early journeys in search of the Mississippi. The other two Frenchmen, Pedro Muni (Pierre Meusnier) and Pedro Talo (Pierre Talon), distrusting the Spaniards, preferred to remain with the Indians.<sup>5</sup>

From the captives the Spaniards learned more in detail the story

<sup>1</sup>*Derrotero de León*, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 13-14.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* León calls him Jacome, a native of Rochelle. Massanet writes the name as given before. Joutel (*Hist. Coll. La.*, 154-155) mentions seeing him among the Ceniz Indians on his journey from Fort St. Louis to Canada, 1687.

<sup>5</sup>*Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Baptiste Talon à leur arrivée de la Vera Cruz*, Margry, 3:610-617. In this is given the reason as stated here why the two Frenchmen remained with the Indians.

of the destruction of the little colony in Fort St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> Before the final catastrophe the smallpox had broken out among the villagers, reducing their number till there were scarcely more than a score left. La Salle had gone away with the ablest bodied of the men on a last toilsome journey in search of "the fatal river." Day by day the few men, women and children left upon the shore of Bay St. Louis waited while hope slowly failed them. Around them was the unending wilderness, pathless and inhospitable; before them stretched a waste of sand, beyond which spread out the wide, tantalizing expanse of the sea. Near the first of February, in the year 1689, the end came. They had been on friendly terms with the Indians around them, and suspected no evil. The savages came and went about the village, bartering for trinkets and professing friendship. But underneath this amicable pretension was a hatred which had existed since La Salle, soon after landing, had taken from them their canoes; they were biding their time. One day five of them came to the village under the pretext of trading. They stopped at a house apart from the others and began to barter noisily. Soon all the people of the village, willing to accept any diversion to pass the tedious days, came out and gathered around the savages, watching curiously. Other Indians came and joined the boisterous colloquy. When all the white people of the village were in the house or near it, a band of warriors rushed up from the river, where they had lain concealed, set upon the villagers, and killed them all except five, who were saved by the Indian women.<sup>2</sup> The five who were thus saved were the four children of the Canadian Talon, three boys and a girl; and a young man from Paris named Eustache Breman. The young Talons, before their rescue, had been compelled to see their mother killed before their eyes; their father had gone with La Salle on one of his early efforts to find the Mississippi and had never returned. After massacreing the villagers the Indians had plundered the huts and the fort, breaking open the chests and scattering their contents, carrying away whatever they fancied, and breaking up what they could not use. The four Frenchmen, L'Archevêque, Grollet, Meusnier and

<sup>1</sup>The account of the destruction of Fort St. Louis is given by León, *Derrotero*, 14-16; by the Talons, Margry, 3:612-617; by Barcia, *Ensayo Chronológico*, 294; *Carta que se ha noticia*, etc., *Hist. Coll. La.*, n. s., 203; Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 175 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup>*Interrogations faites à Talons*, etc., Margry, 3:613.



Talon had been absent from the village among the Tejas Indians when the savages fell upon it, but according to the story told by L'Archevêque and Grollet, as soon as they heard of the fate of the colonists they descended to the coast and examined the plundered houses. They found fourteen dead bodies upon the sand, which they buried. They said also that they found and destroyed a number of barrels of powder which the savages had overlooked.<sup>1</sup>

Captain León also brought back with him to the Guadalupe the chief, or governor, of the Nabedoches tribe, who was treated with much kindness by the Spaniards, and in response gave many evidences of kindly disposition. The chaplain of the company, Fray Damian Massanet, was especially impressed with the superior qualities of the savage chief and was zealous to win his good will, giving him many presents and other assurances of friendship.<sup>2</sup> The willingness and seeming sincerity with which the governor of the Tejas responded to these amicable advances encouraged the friar to make an effort to present to him the claims of the Christian religion. Making use of one of the Frenchmen as an interpreter, he urged the savage chief and his people to become Christians, offering, if they wished it, to send priests to their village to teach them; and when the chief expressed his willingness to have the priests come among his people, Father Massanet promised to return the following year at planting time. Thus upon the banks of the Guadalupe river the Tejas mission was conceived. The missionary fathers of Mexico already had their eyes turned with zealous longing toward this nation of superior savages; but events hitherto had not been favorable to the establishment of a permanent mission among them. Now by the chance co-operation of temporal circumstances an opportunity was to be offered that held a promise of success for the efforts of the priests.

On the 3d of May the chief of the Nabedoches, with his attendants, departed, and at the same time Captain León and his company recrossed the Guadalupe and set out upon their return march. They reached the presidio of Coahuila the 15th of the same month, whence the two Frenchmen, L'Archevêque and Grollet, were at once dispatched in charge of Captain Francisco Martinez to the City of

<sup>1</sup>See *Derrotcro de León*, 14-16, for the story of the Frenchmen.

<sup>2</sup>*Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 2:290-91.

Mexico. The viceroy provided them with suitable clothing, and the following year they were sent with Don Andrés Pez to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

The accounts of this *entrada* of Captain León were received in Mexico with much enthusiasm.<sup>2</sup> The story of the colony upon the shore of Espíritu Santo Bay, its establishment, unhappy experiences, and final destruction made an interesting narrative; but the interest of it was greatly increased by the suggestion of further and wider explorations and more important disclosures. Fray Massanet and Captain León, desirous from different motives to urge on a second expedition, gave the best account they could of the lands through which they passed. The *padre* told of a nation of docile and friendly savages, able and willing to receive Christianity; and Captain León seems to have strained the truth in his desire to push the political aspect of the enterprise. The latter brought reports of another French village of many houses among the Tejas Indians, thus stimulating the fears of the viceroy, while Massanet was appealing to his religious impulses.<sup>3</sup>

Conferences of the chief men of Mexico were called by the viceroy to deliberate whether any further steps should be taken in the matter. At these *juntas* León and Massanet were present to urge their opinions in regard to a second *entrada*. In a *junta general* of the 10th of September, 1689, it was determined to send out another expedition to the lands beyond the Rio Bravo. In its

<sup>1</sup>Massanet says that L'Archevêque and Grollet were dispatched to Spain the same year. Cayo, *Los tres Siglos*, 73, says they were sent in charge of Don Andrés Pez. There is reason to believe that they returned to Mexico in 1691, and served in the army in the Northwest. Bandelier gives evidence to this effect. *Vide* the Bandelier collection of copies of documents relative to the history of New Mexico and Arizona, *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid*, titles and numbers as follows: New Mexico, 1620-1729—No. 9, *Ynformacion de Juan de Arehebec y Antonia Guitiérrez, Viuda*, 1697; No. 12, *Ynformacion y diligencias matrimoniales de Pedro Meusnier y Lucía Madrid*, 1699; No. 45, *Inventarios autos de liquidacion participacion del caudal que quedó por la muerte del Capitan, Juan de Archibeque*, 1720. New Mexico, 1682-1793—No. 8, *Ynformaciones matrimoniales de Santiago Grollet*, 1699; No. 12, *Ynformaciones matrimoniales de Juan del Archibeque y Manuela Roybal*, 1719. In the *Gilded Man*, 289-301, Bandelier gives an interesting account of Jean L'Archevêque gathered from the old archives of Santa Clara, N. M.

<sup>2</sup>Besides his *Diario* Captain León wrote two letters, May 16 and October 19, to the viceroy in which he gave glowing accounts of the country, told of the desire of Indians for missions and of rumors of French settlements. *Vide* Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 179-181.

<sup>3</sup>*Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:293.



scope and purpose it was to be a marked advance upon the former expedition. The report that a French colony had actually been established on Spanish territory and the rumors of other settlements which were emphasized by León aroused apprehensions in the minds of the officials as to the safety of Coahuila and other northern provinces from French invasion and awakened them to the necessity of putting forth a vigorous effort to substantiate their claims to territory beyond the Rio del Norte. The fiscal pointed out the danger to be expected from a French alliance with the Indians; it might result in a French occupation of Coahuila. Such a prospect called for immediate action, and he advised the placing of a fort and settlement on the site of La Salle's abandoned colony. In another *junta* of November 18 it was determined that on account of the repeated decrees of the king to be zealous in hindering all French encroachments, Captain León should be instructed to inspect the bay of Espíritu Santo and its environs to ascertain if there were left any Frenchmen of those who had come out with La Salle, or others who had arrived since, and was to destroy the wooden fort built by the French upon the La Vaca. He was to be especially careful to propitiate all the Indian tribes between Coahuila and the district of the Tejas Indians and do everything in his power to win their friendship and alliance.<sup>1</sup> He was also specifically instructed to inquire of the Tejas Indians whether they would receive missionaries; and, if they showed themselves willing, he was to conduct Fray Damian Massanet, with such other Franciscans as Massanet should select, to the village of the Tejas, and assist him in establishing a mission there. For the undertaking León was to have one hundred and ten soldiers, twenty from the presidios of Coahuila, forty from Sombrerete and Zacatecas, and the rest from the New Kingdom of León. Father Massanet selected to assist him in the missionary work he was to undertake the three Franciscan *religiosos*, Fray Miguel Fontecuberta, Fray Francisco de Jesus María, and Fray Antonio Bordoy.<sup>2</sup>

On the 28th of March, 1690, the combined military and missionary expedition set out from the presidio of Coahuila. It was an

<sup>1</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 180 *vuelta* 181.

<sup>2</sup>The letter of Massanet contains the only contemporaneous account of this expedition and the founding of the mission San Francisco de los Tejas. Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 1716, 181 *et seq.*, has the best secondary account based on diaries and letters not yet discovered.

indiscriminate company of tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, miners, and other persons of adventurous turn, and little suited to the arduous business of opening a new country or making permanent settlements. Crossing the Rio Grande they advanced northeast, following a course similar to that of the former journey. At the Guadalupe the main body of the army stopped, while Captain León with twenty men descended to the coast. They found no evidence that the fort had been occupied since they were there before, though there were many signs of the presence of Indians in the vicinity. Father Massanet declares that he himself set fire to the dismantled fort, and as there was a high wind blowing in half an hour it was in ashes. Captain León and his party then went down to the bay and made a further examination of it, passing all along its shores, and exploring also the river upon which the Frenchmen had built their village.<sup>1</sup>

Having made a careful examination of the bay of Espíritu Santo, León returned to the camp on the Guadalupe, whence the entire company moved eastward toward the country of the Tejas, or Asinais. A small party which went on in advance encountered near the Colorado a band of Indians in whose company were two French youths,<sup>2</sup> Pedro Talo (Pierre Talon), a boy eleven or twelve years of age, and Pedro Muni (Pierre Meusnier), about twenty. It appears that these two boys, who had been the companions of L'Archevêque and Grollet, had heard of the approach of the Spaniards, and not wishing to fall into their hands had left the nation of the Tejas, and in their efforts to escape they encountered the advance guard of León's expedition and were made prisoners.

Captain León dispatched a messenger to the governor of the Tejas to announce the approach of the Spaniards, and in a short time he appeared with his attendants to welcome them. On the 22d of May the company arrived at the chief village of the Tejas, where they were entertained with much kindness at the house of the governor. As the savages still showed themselves willing to have missionaries remain among them, the friars, with the assistance of Captain León, set to work at once to select a site for their mission; and as soon as this was done, they began to cut and haul logs to build a chapel and a dwelling house for the priests. By

<sup>1</sup>*Carta de Manzanaet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:295.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 301.

the end of May the rude log church was finished, and on June 1 was consecrated with all solemnity.

The mission of San Francisco de los Tejas was situated four or five leagues from the Neches river. It stood in the heart of a savage wilderness, four hundred miles from the nearest settlement. Near it flowed a small stream and around it was a pleasant forest. The three friars, Miguel Fontecuberta, Francisco de Jesus María, and Antonio Bordoy, with Fontecuberta as president, were left to carry on the missionary work. They set themselves at once to learn the language of the Indians, making a list of their words and phrases and using the young Frenchmen as interpreters.<sup>1</sup> Only three soldiers were left to protect the mission, it being the opinion of Father Massanet that more would not be needed.<sup>2</sup>

The zeal which conceived this missionary establishment in the midst of an unexplored wilderness, and the self-sacrificing spirit of the holy men who undertook the well-nigh hopeless task of bringing the savage children of the forest to know and respond to the better impulses of the Christian religion are worthy of the highest commendation. But the wisdom of such an undertaking may well be questioned. It was based upon a confidence in the superior kindness of disposition and capability of this particular group of Indians, a confidence which subsequent events proved to be not well grounded. The Spaniards were yet to learn that the missionary fathers, howsoever patient and self-sacrificing they might be, could accomplish little toward bringing the Indians to respect the institutions and practices of civilization and Christianity without the constant assistance of the military to restrain the native impulses of the savage. To be successful the mission must advance with the presidio; this lesson the Spaniards had not yet learned. Moreover, the physical position of the mission of San Francisco was extremely unfavorable. Projected as it was a hundred leagues into the wilderness, remote and isolated, it had no natural source from which to renew its supplies of physical and spiritual strength. Its survival depended solely upon the persistence of a few priests and soldiers, sustained by the precarious favor of their savage beneficiaries, or the chance coming at long

<sup>1</sup>*Interrogations faites à Talons*, Margry, 3:614.

<sup>2</sup>Massanet gives in detail the dispute between himself and León concerning the number of soldiers to be left.

intervals of relief expeditions from the far distant settlements of Mexico. The insincerity of the friendship of the Indians, the weakness of the guard left to protect the friars, and the remoteness of the church of St. Francis from the outposts of civilization were sufficient almost to foredoom the mission to failure.

On the 2d of June the army set out on its return march, following the road by which it had come. On the way Captain León learned that there were among the Indians of the coast three French children, and he determined to go to rescue them. He accordingly descended to La Bahía, and without much difficulty found the Indians with whom the children were. The savages had become so much attached to the white children that at first they refused to let them go, but at length they were induced to give them up in exchange for horses. These children were the brothers Robert and Lucien Talon and their sister Marie Madelaine. They were taken to Mexico and later were sent to Spain, whence the boys finally were sent to France.<sup>1</sup>

Rejoining his company at the Guadalupe, Captain León continued his return march. The remaining days of the journey were marked by no incident of importance. From the report of Father Massanet it appears that Captain León, upon setting out to return to Mexico, relaxed his control of his subordinates, allowing each one to do largely as he pleased. Thefts, quarrels, and fights were of daily occurrence; the animals were so carelessly attended that numbers of horses and mules were lost; the soldiers entered the houses of Indians along the way, prying about and in other ways making themselves exceedingly offensive; and when report of this conduct was brought to León he took no steps to punish the offenders or to prevent its happening again. With such incidents the march was continued to the Rio Grande. Here they were detained eighteen days on account of a rise in the river, and

<sup>1</sup>*Dictamen Fiscal*, 184. *Interrogations faites à Talons, etc.*, Margry, 3:617. Pierre Talon says that when he found that the Spaniards treated him kindly he told them that he had three brothers and one sister in the country. His older brother, Jean Baptiste, was not found until the next year, as will appear further on in this narrative. *Lettre du sieur de Boissieux*, 1698, Margry, 4:43. Boissieux, writing from Morlaix after an interview with Robert and Lucien, says: "They were purchased in the *Baye du Saint-Esprit* by the Countess de Galve, wife of the viceroy, and the girl is at this very time with the Countess."

succeeded in crossing at last only by compelling the horses to swim. One man was lost in making this passage.<sup>1</sup>

Upon his return Father Massanet gave glowing accounts of the Indian Nations<sup>2</sup> which they had encountered and the lands they had visited. To him the Indians appeared docile and the country admirably suited for the founding of missions; the Tejas and Cadodachos were the best organized for government, well inclined towards the Spaniards and desirous of being taught in the doctrine of the church. The better site for the founding of a mission, he thinks, would be on the river Guadalupe because of the fertility of the soil and the ease with which water could be drawn for the cornfields planted along its banks. For a new missionary enterprise he recommends that fourteen priests be sent out, as this number or more will be necessary in order to convert such a large number of "gentile Indians." He gives it as his opinion that no soldiers are necessary for the Tejas missions, but that it is very important to send carpenters and mechanics who may instruct the Indians in their trades. The soldiers who act as a guard for the friars should be ordered not to enter the houses of the Indians, and some boys should be sent to live and grow up with the Indians so that they might learn to love the land and become dear to the Tejas, as it has been seen that the French boys whom they found there were dearer to the Indians than their own children.<sup>3</sup>

### III

#### THE EXPEDITION OF DOMINGO TERAN

The successful establishment of a mission among the Tejas Indians stimulated both the political and the spiritual authorities of Mexico to renewed enterprise. The practical difficulty of maintaining such an establishment so far from any base of supplies was scarcely considered; but with a zeal that gave promise of a permanent achievement the rulers set themselves to formulate a program of further exploration and missionary effort. The acts of the viceroy had already received the royal approval, and in two

<sup>1</sup>*Carta de Manzanet*, Tex. Hist. Quar., 2:310.

<sup>2</sup>*Vide Velasco, Dictamen*, 183, for a list of tribes lying between Coahuila and the Tejas.

<sup>3</sup>*Velasco, Dictamen*, 183, 184.

*juntas*<sup>1</sup> held October 6 and November 28, 1690, in the City of Mexico, another expedition on a more extensive scale was planned. To command this third expedition Don Domingo Terán de los Rios was selected and made governor of Coahuila and Texas with a salary of \$2500 per year.<sup>2</sup> For the enterprise he was to have fifty soldiers;<sup>3</sup> and forty skilled seamen were to be sent by ship from Vera Cruz to bay Espíritu Santo to act in conjunction with him.

In the meantime, however, the Conde de Galve had, in September, sent out a frigate, commanded by Francisco Llanos, with instruction to explore and sound the bay of Espíritu Santo in order to ascertain if it could be fortified as a basis of supplies for the priests and soldiers in the province of Texas. Llanos set sail from Vera Cruz the 12th of October and arrived at the St. Bernard Bay the 24th of the same month. He sounded the channel leading into the bay, selected a site for a fort on one of the little islands, and reported that the best place for a settlement would be on the spot where the French had had their village.<sup>4</sup>

The instructions of the government for the equipping of the party and the prosecution of the enterprise, drawn up January 23, 1691, were minute and definite.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of the expedition as outlined was to be threefold. In the first place it was to be a missionary enterprise. All the strength and resources of the expedition were to be directed primarily to enlarging the mission already established and to establish eight other missions among the Indian tribes of the north—the Tejas, the Cadodachos—and it was especially commanded, as Massanet had recommended, that one be established on the Guadalupe. To this end peaceable and tactful methods were to be used in dealing with the savages, with the design of conciliating them and inclining them to receive favorably the efforts of the priests. The natives were not to be harshly used, nor impressed into service, and were not to be abused in their property or persons. The stamp of royal approval was given to this

<sup>1</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 184.

<sup>2</sup>*Ynstrucciones dadas por el Superior Gobierno, Colección de Memorias*, 27:16.

<sup>3</sup>Cavo, 2:78, gives the number of soldiers as five hundred, as does Villa-Sanchez y Señor, *Theatro Americano*, 2:338. Bonilla, *Breve Compendio*, Sec. 6, says fifty, which seems the more probable number.

<sup>4</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 184.

<sup>5</sup>*Ynstrucciones dadas*, etc., as cited above. Also, supplementary instructions given November 8, 1691.



feature of the enterprise by a royal decree, dated at Madrid, the 20th of September, 1690, and received by the viceroy in April, 1691, in which it was commanded that friars sufficient for the conversion of the Tejas and surrounding tribes be sent among them fully provided with everything necessary for the success of the missions.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, Governor Terán was to search the country to find out whether there were in it any Frenchmen or people of other nations of Europe, either in villages, smaller settlements or living among the tribes of Indians. It was thought that there were still several of the companions of La Salle scattered among the tribes of Indians, and there was a lingering suspicion that there might be another French village somewhere to the north. The instructions of the viceroy called, in the third place, for a thorough exploration of the lands to the north, especially those occupied by the nation of the Cadodachos; the examination of the rivers to determine their courses, directions, sources and mouths; and the observations of the various Indian tribes, their character, polity and form of religious belief.<sup>2</sup>

In order to carry out this extensive program the expedition was to be fully supplied with men, arms and provisions. The personnel was to consist of fifty soldiers, nine priests and such servants and attendants as were necessary; and in order the better to carry out the exploration of bays, inlets and rivers, forty men skilled in seacraft were to be sent, as already indicated, to St. Bernard Bay to join the overland expedition. To support this company and to supply the mission already established, as well as others to be established, there were to be taken abundant supplies of provisions, arms and munitions, large herds of horses and mules, and flocks of cattle, sheep and goats. The use and dispensing of the provisions and supplies were placed entirely in charge of Fray Damian Massanet, who was constituted by the viceroy commissary of the expedition; and only upon his order were these supplies to be appropriated and consumed, save such as were necessary for the immediate maintenance of the army. On the other hand, the military direction of the enterprise, the determination where it should go, what lands it should explore and courses follow, and the control of those who composed the company were, within the limits of his

<sup>1</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 184 *vuelta*.

<sup>2</sup>*Ynstrucciones dadas*, etc., 16-23.

very detailed instructions, to be left to the discretion of Don Domingo Terán de los Rios.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be remarked here that this third enterprise, as thus outlined in prospective, was far more extensive than either of the preceding ones. The first had been merely tentative and protective, sent out to ascertain the truth in regard to the reported French settlement. It had undertaken no occupation of the country, either political or religious. The second expedition was an advance on the first in that it provided for the establishment of missions among the Tejas Indians. It did not, however, attempt, or even purpose, a military occupation of the country; no garrisons were called for, and none established except the small guard left to protect the friars among the Tejas. Nor did it provide for any general or extensive spiritual conquest. The third expedition, however, in its scope, purpose, and equipment looked toward a general occupation of the lands to the northeast.

In accordance with the instructions of the viceroy the expedition was at once placed under way. The friars came up from the New Kingdom of León with the flocks and herds, and met the soldiers from Coahuila near the Sabinas, and on the 26th of May, 1691, the company of soldiers and friars, with numerous attendants and droves of horses, pack mules, cattle, sheep and goats, took up its march toward the east.<sup>2</sup> The young Frenchman, Pierre Meusnier, was in the company, and probably also his companion, Pierre Talon. They advanced along the route of the preceding expeditions until they came to the Rio Grande, where they were detained for several days by a severe tempest of wind and rain. At the Hondo, being led by new guides, they left the course they had been following and pursued their way as directly as possible toward the country of the Tejas.<sup>3</sup> They crossed the rivers considerably higher up, giving to them all new names. The country over which they passed was similar to that described in the preceding journeys; vast prairies, over which roamed countless buffaloes; dense thickets of mesquite and cat-claw, and numerous creeks and rivers, whose banks were lined with walnut, cottonwood, oak and elm.

<sup>1</sup>*Ynstrucciones dadas, etc.*, 16-23.

<sup>2</sup>Massanet, *Diario que hicieron los Padres Misioneros*, in *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, 27:98; Terán, *Descripción y diario demarcación, executada por el General Don Domingo Terán, etc.*, in *Ibid.*, 26; and Martínez, *Diario del Viage*, in *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>3</sup>Terán, *Descripción y diario, etc.*, 27.



On the 18th of June, near one of the branches of the Guadalupe, they were met by Indians, who brought letters from the friars at Mission San Francisco. From these Father Massanet learned that there had been a great deal of sickness among the natives, apparently a form of fever, from which many of them had died, and that also on February 5 of the year 1691, had died Father Fontecuberta.<sup>1</sup>

June 27th the company reached the Colorado and passed down it several leagues, being compelled on account of the rugged conformation of its banks to cross it three times. At the third crossing, on the eastern bank of the river, the company halted, while Captain Francisco Martinez, following the instructions of the viceroy, took twenty soldiers, two hundred and fifty horses and a number of baggage animals, and descended to the bay of Espíritu Santo to meet the expedition which was to come by sea from Vera Cruz. While the main party was in camp upon the Colorado, a number of Indians of the Tejas nation arrived, bringing report of several white men who had come among the Cadodachos,<sup>2</sup> and saying that these men lived in a village upon the bank of a river beyond the land of the Cadodachos.

On the 18th of July Captain Martinez returned, bringing with him two young Frenchmen whom he had rescued from the Indians. They were Jean Baptiste Talon and Eustache Breman,<sup>3</sup> two of the five youths who had been saved by the Indian women at the time of the destruction of La Salle's colony.<sup>4</sup> Martinez had remained at Espíritu Santo from the 6th to the 13th of July, and in that time had seen nothing of the sea expedition; he had passed along the shores of the bay, making fires to attract the attention of any persons who might be in the vicinity, and questioning the Indians, but was unable to learn anything of the expedition. Leaving a

<sup>1</sup>Massanet, *Diario que hicieron los Misioneros*, etc., 98-99.

<sup>2</sup>Probably Tonty and his men. They were among the Caddos about a year before this time. Tonty in his memoir, *Hist. Col. La.*, 1:73, says that they reached the Cadadoquis on the 21st of March, 1690.

<sup>3</sup>*Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Baptiste Talon*, etc., Margry, 3:613. In this Pierre says that his brother Jean Baptiste and Eustache Breman were left among the Indians when his brothers Robert and Lucien and his sister were rescued, and that they were found, not till almost a year afterward, by a third company of Spaniards.

<sup>4</sup>*Diario del Viage de'l Capitan Martinez*, MS. Capt. Martinez says there were two French boys and a little French girl. He secured the boys by threats and bribes but it seems that he was unable to induce the Indians to give up the girl.

letter with the Indians of the coast to be delivered to the Spaniards in the event of their landing, he then set out to return to the camp upon the Colorado to make report of his ill success.<sup>1</sup>

A disagreement now arose as to what course should be followed. It was the opinion of Governor Terán that another detachment of ten men should descend to the coast, the main company waiting meanwhile, and remain fifteen or twenty days on the lookout for the sea expedition. But to this Fray Damian Massanet and the other friars would not assent. It was their opinion that the company should proceed to the country of the Tejas, whence a party could be sent down to meet the seamen from Vera Cruz. As no agreement could be reached Governor Terán called a *junta* of the missionary fathers and principal officers of the company to decide the matter.<sup>2</sup> Father Massanet, speaking for the friars, stated their reasons for opposing a second descent to the coast. He urged that the Indians of that region were unfriendly, and that a party of ten men would certainly come to harm; that the country for many leagues in the vicinity of Espíritu Santo bay was a waste and would in nowise support men and horses; and that it was especially necessary for the company to proceed on the way to the land of the Tejas to relieve the wants of the friars and soldiers who had been for fourteen months without assistance, and were in great need.<sup>3</sup> Although this argument was not without force, the plan of Governor Terán would have been, without doubt, the wiser; it would have saved much time and needless traveling, and might have given an entirely different ending to the expedition. But the judgment of the chief officer was overruled, and it was decided to proceed on the way to the mission.

The expedition was delayed at the Brazos (called Rio de Espíritu Santo and San Geronimo) two days in crossing the floods, and another day at the Trinity. The friars became impatient at the slow progress of Governor Terán and from the Trinity went on in advance toward the mission. They were met outside the village of the Tejas by the Fathers Francisco de Jesus María and Antonio

<sup>1</sup>*Diario del Martinez*, 114. On July 9th the Indians told Martinez that five moons before a vessel loaded with maize had been wrecked on the coast.

<sup>2</sup>Terán, *Descripción y diario*, etc., 31.

<sup>3</sup>*Parceer del Padre Com. Fr. Damian Massanet y demás Religiosos Misioneros Julio 19 de 1691*, in *Colectión de Memorias*, 27:84-87. In this Father Massanet gives in detail the reasons for continuing the march.

Bordoy, who confirmed the report of the death of Father Fontecuberta, and of the fatal sickness among the Indians. In a single month as many as three hundred died among the tribes of the Asinais, and among all the friendly nations called Tejas some three thousand died the year 1690-91.<sup>1</sup>

The friars also gave an account of the work they had done in the year since Massanet had left them. They had continued their labors among the Asinais at Mission San Francisco, and at another mission established a few miles to the north upon a stream called Archangel San Miguel (probably the Neches). This second mission was built in June, 1690, and was the especial charge of Father Francisco de Jesus María; it was named Santísimo Nombre de María.<sup>2</sup> The labors of the fathers had not been without reward. They had succeeded in inducing a number of the Indians to receive baptism, among them the great Xinesi, head of the Asinais tribes. This chief, or governor, was baptized on his death-bed, but miraculously recovered, and, according to Father Francisco became "a very good Christian, for he has given me his word that he will do nothing other than what I tell him."<sup>3</sup> But the work of conversion had been necessarily slow on account of the numerical weakness of the missionary force, the difficulty of learning the native languages and the indifference of the Indians. The heaven was too small to lighten quickly so large and ponderous a loaf.

Governor Terán with the soldiers, flocks and herds reached the Nabedoché village August 4, and was introduced into it with much ceremony by the chief of the Nabedoches and chief men of the Asinais. Delivering the presents and messages which the viceroy had especially directed should be conveyed to the governor and captains of this nation, Terán proceeded with due formality to constitute, out of the lands of the Tejas tribes, a new province which he called "El Nuevo Reyno de Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana."<sup>4</sup> He then delivered to the friars the flocks, herds, provisions and other supplies which had been brought for the sup-

<sup>1</sup>*Relación de Fray Francisco de Jesus María*, MS.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 104-105. In Terán's *Diario* he mentions, on page 45, his arrival at Mission Santa María on his return from the sea. On his return from the country of the Cadodachos he speaks of stopping at this mission and continuing a league and a half to the southwest, till he arrived at Mission San Francisco. p. 61, 62.

<sup>3</sup>*Relacion de Fray Francisco*, 120-121.

<sup>4</sup>Terán, *Descripción y diario*, etc., 35.

port of the missions, and on the 24th of August set out to return to the bay of Espíritu Santo to meet the sea expedition, which Captain Martinez had failed to find.

Recrossing the Trinity, Brazos and Colorado lower down, he advanced as far as the Guadalupe, where he left the company under the command of Captain Martinez, and with a few men descended to the coast. He arrived September 8 on the La Vaca and found the company of seamen under Captain Gregorio Salinas de Varona awaiting him. It appears that they had landed on the shore of the bay July 2 and had been waiting ever since, though for some reason Martinez had been unable to find them. From this camping place of Santa Margarita<sup>1</sup> de Buena Vista, Terán dispatched to the viceroy letters and reports of the progress of the expedition. He was compelled to wait eighteen days while the sailors were unloading the arms and supplies from the ships. In the meantime he sent for Martinez to come down and join him; and at length, September 20, the combined forces set from Santa Margarita for the New Kingdom of Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana.<sup>2</sup>

The unfortunate results of the long delay soon became apparent. The company had hitherto been favored with fair weather and tolerably good roads; they had known little of the real hardships of exploring a new country. But henceforth the season was against them; the autumn rains set in; the rivers rose and inundated the valleys; the roads became muddy and well-nigh impassable, and what with the mud and swollen streams the expedition did not reach the mission until the 26th of October.

Whether during the two months of Terán's absence the friars had

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, *North Mex. States and Texas*, 1:404, locates Santa Margarita at the crossing of the Colorado. I am convinced that it was much nearer the bay, probably near where the village of St. Louis had stood. On his return Terán reached the Colorado on the 21st of August. He does not mention arriving at Santa Margarita. From the Colorado he travels twenty leagues to the southwest to the Guadalupe, then twelve leagues to the "River of the French," reaching it September 8th. He remains in this place, where he meets the sea expedition, until the 27th of September. He then resumes what he calls the "*Nueva Jornada Executada desde el Real de Santa Margarita de buena vista al la Nueva Montaña*," etc. He says (*Descripción y diario*, 41) that he left Santa Margarita on the 27th of September, and reached the San Marcos (Colorado) October 1st, having traveled twenty-nine leagues. From these details it is clear that Santa Margarita was near the bay of Espíritu Santo. See also Terán's *Descripción y diario*, etc., 73.

<sup>2</sup>Instructions to Gregario Salinas and Enrique Barroto April 13, 1691, *Provincias Internas*, volume 182, furnished me by Professor Bolton.

made any attempts to establish other missions it is impossible to ascertain. It seems probable, however, that they had confined their efforts to the missions already established, awaiting the return of the soldiers before undertaking to locate others as provided in the instructions of the viceroy. Indeed, Fray Massanet and his assistants, either because of the increasing practical difficulties of their work or the lack of proper support from the military, made no vigorous effort to carry out the elaborate missionary program, and soon it was almost lost from sight.

After resting his company for a week in the vicinity of the missions, Governor Terán was again ready to take up the march to the country of the Cadodachos. It was an exceedingly unfavorable time to set out on such a journey. The troublesome showers which had delayed the forces on their return from the sea were but a slight forewarning of the hardships they were soon to endure. The inexperienced adventurers had as yet felt only the milder hardships which are the common experience of pioneer explorers. Their easy passage, in the summer season, across the broad prairies of the southwest, where the supply of food for themselves and provender for their horses was abundant, had but poorly prepared them to undergo the severe privations of a winter journey through a dense, pathless forest. A wiser course would have been to wait in camp near the missions until the winter season was over; but Terán had apparently lost faith in the expedition, and was anxious to have it done with; so on the 6th of November he advanced southeast across the San Miguel, and thence northward toward the land of the Caddos.<sup>1</sup>

Each day the march became more arduous and painful. The endless stretches of forest and thicket afforded little pasturage for the beasts, consequently they were soon jaded, starved and unable to travel. Day after day the rain poured, swelling the creeks to rivers and making the rivers impassable. There were very many of these streams to be crossed, the largest of which they called El Grande del Nombre; many of them they were compelled to bridge, and where that was impossible, to cross on rafts. To add to the

<sup>1</sup>*Paso derrota y tanteo en la tierra que hice desde el día 6 de Nov. de 1691 al Nuevo descubrimiento de la Nación de los Cadodachos*, p. 47-61 of Terán's *Descripción y diario*. This is the diary of Terán from Nov. 6, 1691, to Jan. 1, 1692, and tells of the journey to the country of the Caddos. *Carta de Manzanaet in Provincias Internas*, volume 182.

difficulties of floods and bad roads, the weather turned cold, snow fell, and ice formed on the *arroyos*. The unseasoned explorers, ill clothed and poorly fed, were soon in no condition to go further; the cattle and baggage animals were dying of starvation and cold, and the whole company was brought to a standstill. Leaving Captain Gregorio Salinas de Verona in command, Terán took thirty men and the strongest of the animals and pushed on. Father Massanet and several seamen were in the party. At last, on November 28 they reached the great river of the Caddos (probably the Red river). There was for them little pleasure or enthusiasm in the discovery; they looked on it rather with a feeling of relief at the prospect of speedily having done with a disagreeable business. Their examination of the river and the country adjacent to it was hurried and imperfect. In a lagoon a few hundred yards from the river they found a canoe, which they transported to the main stream, and Terán and several of the seamen embarked in it and rowed several miles down the stream, sounding it and marking its windings. Terán also, the following day, crossed the river with Father Massanet and visited the Indians<sup>1</sup> on the other side, finding them friendly and disposed to receive Christianity. But no missionaries were left among them. The severity of the season and the lack of supplies necessary to equip a mission would have been sufficient to compel the postponement of missionary effort among the Cadodachos, even if the friars had been willing to remain under such unfavorable conditions.

Having carried out his instructions as best he could under the circumstances, Governor Terán returned to where he had left his main party and began the return march. The severity of the weather continued. The rain changed to sleet; the undergrowth of bushes and brambles became covered over with snow; the animals feeding upon the frozen shrubs grew leaner and more jaded, and one by one died. The soldiers were compelled at length to dismount, place the baggage on their saddle horses and go on foot. Food failed them until they had barely one meal a day. Men became worn out and lagged behind; a negro trumpeter strayed away, and though parties were sent out to search for him, he was not found. December 30 the wretched company reached the mission

<sup>1</sup>Rivera, *Declaración*, 83, says that the people were "larger, better featured, and more kindly disposed and affectionate than the Asinay."



of Santa María, where they remained a few days, and then moved on to Mission San Francisco.

The expedition was about to end in failure. Governor Terán had apparently had little heart in it since his first difference with the friars and had only persevered from a sense of obligation to the viceroy. The hardships which his people had been compelled to suffer, and to which they were little accustomed, had discouraged them, and had even cast a chill over the enthusiasm of the priests. Further differences arose between Massanet and the soldiers. Governor Terán, on the return march from the country of the Caddos, had promised the soldiers that if they would take their saddle horses to carry the baggage he would let them take fresh horses from those left at the mission for the march to the sea. But when they reached the missions, and were ready to set out upon their return to Espíritu Santo bay, Massanet refused to let them have the horses; nor would he even let them have a few cattle to support them until they came to the country of the buffaloes. Terán several times urged upon Father Massanet the necessity of providing the men with horses and cattle for the return journey, and when the commissary still refused, he sent the soldiers to take what they wanted.<sup>1</sup> Thus the breach between the two leaders of the expedition was widened. The missionary plan seems to have been abandoned entirely; and the missions already established were not in a flourishing condition. The friendliness of the Tejas was not unmingled with duplicity; while professing good will in order to secure the presents which the Spaniards frequently made them, they were constantly pilfering from the missions and stealing and killing animals.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, they attributed the disease and deaths among them to the influence of the new religion which they had professed, and began to rebel against it and to threaten the priests.<sup>3</sup> These difficulties were aggravated by the harshness and lack of tact which marked the dealings of the soldiers with the natives.

<sup>1</sup>Terán, *Descripción y diario*, etc., 61-63, gives details of this trouble between the soldiers and Massanet.

<sup>2</sup>Rivera, *Declaración*, 79. *Autos* of the Terán expedition are found in the Archivo General y Público, *Provincias Internas*, volume 182, taken under dates August 2-4, 1691, and March 7, 1692. These are given by the officers and men of the company and for the purpose of showing that Governor Terán had performed his duty properly. They furnish also important supplementary material. Through the kindness of Professor Herbert E. Bolton I have been permitted to use copies of these *autos*.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 79-80.

Indeed, to sum up the whole matter, the practical obstacles in the way of carrying out the missionary enterprise, together with the lack of harmony between the spiritual and the military leaders of the expedition, prevented the establishment of a single one of the eight missions that had been contemplated in the organization of the enterprise. A strong man, convinced of the importance of the work he was set to do, might have reorganized the shattered expedition, infused hope into it, compelled obedience from the soldiers, sought out and punished the offending Indians, and carried the undertaking through successfully. But Terán had neither the executive ability nor the address necessary to prosecute such an enterprise, and was apparently only anxious to get safely out of it in such a manner as to satisfy the viceroy that he had not been lax in performing the duty assigned him.<sup>1</sup>

Laying aside all unnecessary baggage in order that the horses and mules might pass more easily over the difficult roads, the company set out January 9 for Santa Margarita and the sea. The winter was not yet over, and the constant rains had raised the rivers until the country for miles along the way was submerged. The Trinity confronted them with a roaring torrent, which for thirteen days they were unable to cross. The Brazos stretched out before them like a sea of water, and when at last they succeeded in crossing they were compelled to go on for miles through water and mud. At the Colorado they met a relief party, which had been sent out by the viceroy, and from there went on with less difficulty, arriving at Santa Margarita on the 5th of March. The whole company of seamen and soldiers embarked on the schooner Santo Cristo, and on the 24th of March set sail from the bay Espíritu Santo for Vera Cruz, reaching<sup>2</sup> there April 15, 1692, a little less than a year after Governor Terán had set out from Coahuila.

It has already been suggested with perhaps sufficient clearness why this expedition of 1691 failed to accomplish the primary purpose for which it was sent out. The weakness and unwisdom of Governor Terán, the jealousy and headiness of Father Massanet,

<sup>1</sup>*Cartas de Manzanet in Provincias Internas*, volume 182. These are autograph letters and furnish further details of the quarrel between Massanet and Terán. One of them is in form of a petition asking for removal of Terán from his command and is signed by all the fathers.

<sup>2</sup>*Derrotero el Alférez Don Alexandro Bruno, Piloto de la Fragata Santo Cristo, de San Roman desde el día 27 de Marzo de año de 1692*, in *Colección de Memorias*, 27:76.



the failure of the military and spiritual forces to act in harmony, and the unusual hardships and privations which befell the untried company were sufficient to have brought a much less difficult enterprise to disaster. It is doubtful, however, whether even with the most favorable seasons and a perfect co-operation of priests and soldiers, the plan of the viceroy could have been carried through successfully. To form and to garrison properly eight or ten missions among the tribes of the Tejas and the Cadodachos would have required several hundred soldiers instead of the small number that composed Terán's company. It would have required also the establishment of some method of communication, at least reasonably sure and regular, with the distant towns and settlements of Mexico, whence supplies could be brought for the missions and presidios. But access to the lands of the Asinai and Caddos was, under the most favorable conditions, difficult. Remote, inland and confined by dense forests and treacherous rivers, they could be reached only by long and tedious overland marches. To make a number of religious settlements in a region so remote and inaccessible would have been a task of immeasurable difficulty; and to establish them upon a footing of tolerable security and permanence would have taxed the energies and resources of an expedition much more intelligently planned and wisely executed than was the unfruitful enterprise of 1691.

Father Francisco, in his letter to the Count of Galve, sets forth some of the difficulties encountered during the year and three months in which he was chaplain of the missions among the Asinai. The many superstitions of the Indians, the adverse influence of their medicine men, the evil conduct of the soldiers who had been left to guard the missions, the difficult task of learning the many languages or dialects, rendered it impossible to accomplish much good. He wisely suggests that thereafter a strong garrison should be placed with each mission; that the soldiers who form these garrisons be married men; and that they bring with them their families, and thus constitute villages around the missions. He insists that in order to convert them the Spaniards must set them a good example. "And so I beg your Excellency," he writes, "that you consider how this, as agreeable to the Lord, may not be lost by sending the criminals taken from the prisons, both unmarried and vagabonds, who, if they were turned loose among Chris-

tians, would do harm, and would here commit atrocities and prevent the ministers of the Lord, by their depraved life and bad example, from gathering the fruit of these souls."<sup>1</sup> In this pathetic appeal we are able to read the causes of the failure of these first missionary efforts, and to foresee the policy which the Spaniards were constrained later to adopt in their efforts to convert the savage tribes.

Of the subsequent history of the missions San Francisco and Santa María little can be told in detail. As has been indicated already, the Indians began to give trouble before the departure of Terán's company.<sup>2</sup> A small guard of a corporal and ten soldiers was left to protect the friars, but it was altogether inadequate; and what little assistance the few soldiers might have rendered in preserving the missions from injury was precluded by their lack of discipline and self-restraint. So great, indeed, were the difficulties and discouragements, that six of the friars who had come out with Terán's expedition refused to remain, and others, it seems, remained unwillingly. Massanet and the missionaries left with him continued their efforts at San Francisco and Santa María more than two years; but the work did not prosper. A general epidemic lasting from May to November, 1692, carried off a great number of the Indians and one of the priests; the medicine men attributed the disease and death to the water used by the priests in baptism, and made the work of the missionaries difficult; the Indians proved intractable and it was impossible to reduce them to pueblos; for two successive seasons the harvests were destroyed by flood and drouth; the missionaries lived in constant apprehension of a hostile outbreak among the Indians; the savages among whom they were laboring joined in with those from the coast country in carrying off the cattle and horses; the soldiers conducted themselves in a boisterous manner, setting a bad example to the Indians whom they were seeking to convert and at the same time angering them by their treatment of their women.<sup>3</sup>

In June of 1693 Gregorio Salinas arrived from Coahuila with provisions and other necessities for the missions; but his arrival

<sup>1</sup>*Relación de Fray Francisco*, 114-115. See, also, the Recommendations made by Salinas for the preservation of missions, *Provincias Internas*, volume 182.

<sup>2</sup>Terán, *Descripción y diario*, 46-47.

<sup>3</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 185 *vuelta*, from letter of Massanet of June, 1693.

had not the effect of encouraging the missionaries to persevere; on the contrary, several of them took advantage of the opportunity to return to Mexico. Massanet sent letters to the viceroy describing the condition of the missions, and setting forth their urgent needs. Three things are necessary, he urges, to secure the fruit of the missions: there must be a sufficient number of soldiers to command the respect of the Indians; the missions should be founded in a place suitable for cultivation; and the Indians should be compelled to live in pueblos.<sup>1</sup>

The government, however, was not in a mood to do anything. There was no longer any urgent political reason for maintaining settlements beyond the Rio Grande and the reports from the missions showed that the difficulty of maintaining them would be very great. The alarm of a French occupation had passed, and there was a disposition to postpone to some future time the occupation of the eastern lands. The report of Massanet, in which he described the difficulties of his situation as we have indicated was laid before a *junta general* on the 21st of August, 1693, and that body determined that the missionaries and soldiers should be ordered to retire and seek a more desirable spot in Coahuila for their missionary efforts.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime the savages were daily becoming more threatening. The *padres* heard of plots among them to drive them away or to kill them, and they constantly became more aggressive, continuing to carry off their cattle and horses. The principal chief of the Tejas informed Father Massanet that the Indians were tired of the Spaniards and were determined to drive them from their land. This decided the missionaries to depart, and they did so on the night of the 25th of October, taking away the ornaments and burying the swivel guns, bells and other iron things.<sup>3</sup> A little later, March, 1694, the viceroy formally ordered the abandonment of the province of Nueva Montaña, and Texas was left for twenty years to the undisturbed possession of the Indian tribes, to wait until another and more serious menace to their authority in the lands east of the Rio Grande should stimulate the rulers of New Spain to a saner and

<sup>1</sup>Captain Salinas makes like recommendations. *Provincias Internas*, volume 182.

<sup>2</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 188 *vuelta*.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 185 *vuelta*, from a letter of Massanet, dated February, 1694.

more determined effort to make good their title to that vast region by the fact of actual occupation.

The question may well be raised here, by way of conclusion, whether these several unsuccessful efforts to establish missions among the Tejas and Cadodachos were of any permanent value in the evolution of Texas. Without doubt they were. A certain amount of substance and energy must always be wasted in forcing civilization into an unbroken wilderness. Each new country has its peculiar difficulties, which only experience can teach how to overcome. Paths must be traced, mountains and valleys traversed, boundaries searched out, and coasts and rivers explored; and these things are seldom accomplished without lavish expenditure of men and means. That remote inland settlements are difficult to establish, and more difficult to maintain; that the organization of an extensive system of missions must be the slow work of years, and not the accomplishment of a summer campaign; that the conversion of even the most tractable of Indians must be a mingling of force with persuasion; and finally, that the mission could thrive only when it existed side by side with the presidio—these were the useful deductions from Fray Damian Massanet's costly experimenting. And there were other lessons of value. A more correct idea of the geography of Texas was obtained; the most important rivers were named and their courses determined; roads were marked out from Coahuila to the plains of Southwest Texas along which Spanish civilization could advance more surely; and the bay of Espíritu Santo became an easy and familiar landing place for later expeditions. All these facts were worth something when the time came at length to undertake seriously the task of opening the lands beyond the Rio Grande for settlement. These early missionary efforts, then, are not to be considered unimportant. The little log church of San Francisco and its companion mission by the Neches, although ephemeral and productive of no immediate good, in the larger outlook were eminently worth while; for they served as an admonition and a warning when, twenty years later, the friars came again to stretch their line of larger and more substantial churches from the Rio Grande to the Sabine.

## IV

## THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEJAS MISSIONS

On the return journey in 1693 four soldiers of Massanet's company deserted and turned back to live with the Indians. One of these was Captain Urrutia, who remained among the savages seven years, and brought himself so much in their favor that thirteen years after his departure they had not forgotten him, and upon occasion clamored for his return. Fray Hidalgo, one of the missionary friars, also returned later to live among the Asinais, where he continued his missionary work for several years, contemporary with Captain Urrutia's stay. He so endeared himself to the Indians that in 1714, when Saint-Denis appeared among them, they expressed a strong desire to have the good father return and resume his missionary work.<sup>1</sup> These individual efforts form the connecting link of interest in these lands for the next twenty years.

Upon the abandonment of the missions San Francisco and Santísima Nombre de María, Texas reverted to the undisputed possession of the savage tribes. For more than twenty years its history is a blank. In Spain the rulers and ministers were too much engrossed with foreign wars and domestic troubles during these years to give much thought to their colonies or to initiate new plans for further acquisitions. The fact that an interval of twenty-two years occurs in the dates of the official documents relating to Texas is significant, as showing how little during that time (1693-1714) these northern lands were in the thoughts and plans of the governors of Mexico. The fear of a French intrusion into Spanish territory, which in the years 1689-1691 had been strong enough to induce the viceroy to send a company of priests and soldiers exploring far into the interior of Texas, grew less and less as the years passed, and no further attempt was made by the French to claim or possess the territory between the Red river and the Rio Grande. The rulers of New Spain, satisfied with a potential ownership, fell into a state of indifference toward the northeastern

<sup>1</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 186; *Carta del Marqués de Aguayo*, in *Colección de Memorias*, 27:117. *Declaración de San Denis y Medar*, *Ibid.*, 123 *vuelta*. This *Declaración* will be found in French in Margry, 6:214 *et seq.* A comparison of the French and Spanish copies reveals no essential difference in the two. The Spanish version purports to be a translation from the French as given by Saint-Denis and Jalot.

lands. Out of this apathy they were brought at length by another positive menace to Spanish authority, nothing less, in fact, than the disturbing apparition of a Frenchman, M. Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, at the very gates of Mexico. It is the purpose in this chapter to relate in part the experiences of this adventurous French captain;<sup>1</sup> to indicate the course of events by which the French, moving westward from Louisiana, came into active rivalry with Spain; and to set forth how French enterprise and aggression, reaching out across the vast wilderness of Texas, and knocking at the barred doors of Mexico, aroused the Spaniards from their lethargy and set in motion their friars and soldiers to re-establish the missions among the Tejas Indians, and to make a permanent occupation of the lands east of the Rio Grande.

Although the Franciscan fathers made no further attempt for twenty years to bear the message of peace to the Tejas tribes, they were not idle; and among the Indians of Mexico the work of conversion went on apace. During the years from 1690 to 1700 the Jaliscan and Querétaro friars gradually pushed their missions northward with the advancing frontier. In the year 1698 two friars of Querétaro, Francisco Hidalgo (the same Hidalgo who had been with Massanet among the Asinai) and Diego de Salazar founded the mission of San Juan Bautista, of which Hidalgo soon took charge. San Juan had shortly to be abandoned on account of troubles with the Indians; but in January, 1700, President Salazar, with the assistance of Hidalgo and two other friars, Antonio Olivares and Marcos Guereña, rebuilt the mission upon a site farther north and nearer the Rio Grande. It was soon provided with a garrison, and formed the extreme outpost of Spanish civilization in this direction. Here for a time the advancing missionary wave was checked. The friars turned their eyes longingly northward across the wide plains of Texas, peopled with capable and friendly savages; but they could make no forward move without the assistance of the soldiers, and to all their urgent appeals and petitions the government of Mexico turned a deaf ear. Father Olivares ventured across the river, and proceeded as far as the Rio Frio, but accomplished nothing, save to stimulate his own mis-

<sup>1</sup>"Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis was a son of Nicholas Juchereau, sieur de Saint-Denis, who was ennobled for gallantry and wounds received at the defense of Quebec, in 1690. He was born at Quebec, September 18, 1676." Abbe Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Genealogique*, 328.



sionary zeal. From here also Fray Hidalgo set out alone for the country of the Asinais, where he lived and labored for several years.<sup>1</sup> Upon his return to Mexico he found the friars still waiting at the Rio Grande; the government still dilatory and indifferent; and no prospect in sight of an early advance of the missionary forces into the region north of the river. Impatient at the long delay, and burning with enthusiasm for the conversion of the Indians among whom he had lived so long, Hidalgo seems to have given up the hope of securing aid from his own government, and to have turned elsewhere to find the means of establishing missions among the tribes of the Tejas. With that mingling of craft with zeal which was not uncommon among the early missionary fathers, he turned in his extremity to the French of Louisiana.

If the Spaniards were slow in turning to account the discoveries of León and Terán, the French were hardly less tardy in following up the work of La Salle. For fourteen years their title to the vast region known as Louisiana rested in abeyance. At last the treaty of Ryswick in 1698 gave Louis XIV a rest from his exhausting European wars and an opportunity to turn his attention to extending the French possessions in the new world. The Mississippi valley seemed to offer an easy field for the establishment of colonies.

During the years immediately following the enterprises of La Salle petitions were addressed at different times to the French ministers, setting forth the advantages of a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1694 Henry Tonty, who had been for so long a time a companion of La Salle's in the Illinois country and who had in 1686 made a search for him far into Texas, laid before Villermont a proposition for following up the discoveries of La Salle. The mines of Mexico to be seized in time of war with Spain; the traffic in peltries; the lead mines on the Mississippi; and the danger of the English superseding the French in the Mississippi valley, were the inducements held out by Tonty.<sup>2</sup> Again in 1697 de Louigny, a captain of marine troops in Canada, and Lieutenant de Montet, commandant at Chicago, presented a memoir to the French court setting forth plans for continuing the discovery of the mines and establishments of the Spanish in Mexico by way of the Mississippi. This memoir proposed direct and aggressive

<sup>1</sup>*Declaración de San Denis*, 123 vuelta.

<sup>2</sup>Margry, 4:3.

action against the Spanish with the Mississippi as a base. By co-operation with the Indians the coast from the mouth of the river to Pañuco may be explored and an establishment at the mouth of the Rio del Norte river will furnish a convenient basis for pushing into the interior of Mexico and capturing the mines.<sup>1</sup> Later in this same year the Sieur de Remonville addressed a memorial to Count de Pontchartrain, the minister of marine, in which he shows the importance of establishing a colony in Louisiana. This project has in view more distinctly a commercial enterprise. A company of merchants will furnish all the funds necessary for the undertaking and they only ask from the government transports, escort and soldiers for the protection of the colony. It is proposed that this colony shall extend from the Spanish in Florida to the Spanish in Mexico. The fertility of the land, its richness of resources and the necessity of forestalling the English are put forward as inducements for such an enterprise.

These projects, however, do not seem to have met with a favorable consideration, but without doubt they had some influence in securing a successful hearing for a proposition of a similar character already proposed by Lemoyne d'Iberville. His plan, in common with those already mentioned, had in view the establishment of a settlement somewhere near the mouth of the Mississippi and the building of such fortifications as might be necessary for holding the country. In addition he proposed a careful exploration of the gulf coast from Florida westward as far as the site of La Salle's unfortunate settlement and the placing of a temporary settlement there if it should prove a suitable place for an establishment. The French government was now ready to give assistance to such an enterprise and to provide the necessary ships, men and equipment to insure its success. Reports of a company forming in England with designs of a similar nature to his own moved d'Iberville to hasten his preparations. By the 24th of October, 1698, everything was in readiness and he set sail from Brest. His route lay by the island of San Domingo, where he took on additional men and the escort of the *François*, a ship of war. On the 23d of January in the harbor of Pensacola he found two Spanish ships of war and learned that the colony there had lately been reinforced by 300 men from Vera Cruz on information received at that port

<sup>1</sup>Margry, 4:9 *et seq.*



concerning the plans of the French.<sup>1</sup> Exploring the coast d'Iberville reached the mouth of the Mississippi in March, 1699, where he established Fort Maurepas.<sup>2</sup> In May he returned to France. In his report to his home government he points out as among the advantages to be derived from the colony on the Mississippi that of having a convenient base for aggressive action against New Mexico and the provinces of northern Mexico and the east with which these states may be reached and seized in case of war between France and Spain. He thinks that in order to check the westward advancement of the French the Spaniards will establish themselves among the Asinais and at the Espiritu Santo bay, and asks for instructions as to the action to be taken against them if when he returns he finds them already occupying these places.

The motives that stand out most prominently in the French colonizing activity with reference to Louisiana at this period seem to have been fear of the English, a desire to forestall them and to establish an effective barrier to their westward progress; in the second place, to extend the boundaries of their colony as far to the westward as possible, to silently encroach upon Spanish territory and to be ready when the opportunity offered to seize the mines.<sup>3</sup> For the present, however, the government is careful to instruct d'Iberville on his second expedition to Louisiana that while the principal object in view is to push the explorations and to discover mines, he must be careful not to encroach upon the settlements already established by the Spanish and must avoid arousing their jealousy.<sup>4</sup>

In pursuance of these instructions exploring parties were sent up the river and its tributaries to form treaties of friendship with the neighboring tribes and to search out mines. One of these companies, led by Jean Baptiste de Bienville and Louis de Saint-Denis and consisting of twenty-two Canadians and seven Indians, set out in March, 1700, to explore the Red River country. They ascended the river to a village of Indians called Yactaches. There they learned that they were only two days' journey from the land of the Cadodachos and some Indians of the latter tribe, who happened to be at the village of the Yactaches (Yatassi), told the

<sup>1</sup>Margry, 4:96.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 4:21 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 4:323, 334, 340-46.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 4:351.

Frenchmen of a Spanish settlement five days journey to the west, where, they said, were men, women and children. Bienville and Saint-Denis did not, however, go in search of the reported settlement, but set out, May 18, to return to Mobile.<sup>1</sup> In August of the same year Saint-Denis was again directed to proceed as far westward as possible with twenty-five men, to gain knowledge from the tribes with which he met concerning New Mexico and the distance of Spanish mines, and to buy from the Caddos some Spanish slaves.<sup>2</sup> He ascended the river seventy leagues from its mouth to the country of the Nachitoches Indians, and thence a hundred leagues farther to the village of the Caddos. These Indians informed Saint-Denis that they had seen no Spaniards for more than two years.<sup>3</sup> In 1703 another company of Canadians, twenty in number, set out to discover New Mexico, and to see the fabled mines of that region; but of the success of the expedition we have no record.<sup>4</sup> It is probable also that about the year 1705 Saint-Denis led another party up Red river to the Nachitoches, and thence to the Asinais, and across Texas to the Rio Grande.<sup>5</sup>

Of the activity of the French in the settlement of the Louisiana territory, the Spaniards did not remain ignorant. The governor of Pensacola, who was better situated for observing the rival colony, appeared at Biloxi, March, 1700, and made formal protest against the French occupation of the gulf coast, declaring that "it is contrary to the good understanding existing between the two crowns that one should take a country belonging to the other," and begs that no further establishment be made until his king is informed. In March of the next year he further emphasized the superior claims of the Spanish to the territory occupied by the French, and asserted his surprise that it should still be held in the face of so just a right. He also from time to time sent warning to the viceroy of Mexico.<sup>6</sup>

D'Iberville, moreover, was anxious to take aggressive action against the Spanish and continually importuned his government

<sup>1</sup>*Journal de Bienville*, Margry, 4:432.

<sup>2</sup>Margry, 4:374, 463-4. *Journal Historique*, 34.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 5:421.

<sup>4</sup>*Letter of d'Iberville*, Margry, 6:180.

<sup>5</sup>In the *Declaración*, 125, Saint Denis states, under date of June 22, 1715, that it had been ten years since he traveled over the route from Mobile to the Rio Grande.

<sup>6</sup>Margry, 4:384, 420, 539. *Journal Historique*, 18.

to permit him to seize Pensacola. In 1701 he addressed a long memorial to his home government setting forth the advantages to the Spanish of a cession of Pensacola to the French. This memorial, accompanied by a formal request for the cession, was sent by the French minister, Pontchartrain, to the Spanish government. The king of Spain laid the matter before the *junta de guerra* for its advice. The council in its reply emphatically opposed the cession of Pensacola and rather guardedly laid down the grounds for the Spanish claim to the whole gulf shore. The territory, it asserts, from Florida to Mexico is one country and belongs alike to the Spanish crown. The bull of Alexander VI which assigned to Spain all the land discovered west of the 180th meridian has established her right to this territory, and in addition are the rights resulting from prior exploration of the land. The *junta* further recommends to the king that new settlements be established in order to hold the gulf. Thus while denying the right of the French to the land on which they had settled, the alliance between the two crowns was too close and the Spanish king too dependent upon Louis XIV to permit any attempt at an ejection of the intruders, and they were allowed to persevere in their task of exploring the rivers and of fixing themselves more firmly in the friendship of the Indian tribes.<sup>1</sup>

In September, 1712, the Sieur Antoine Crozat received a grant of a monopoly of the trade of Louisiana for a period of fifteen years. The document securing to Crozat this exclusive right of trade for the first time attempted to define the limits of Louisiana. The field of his operations, as set forth in the royal grant, was to be the country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and included between the English of Carolina on the east and New Mexico on the west.<sup>2</sup> But Crozat did not concern himself about territorial claims or boundary lines. He had interested himself in the affairs of the western world for very practical reasons; unhampered by competition he hoped to reap large profits from the trade of the Indians and from the mines which were still generally

<sup>1</sup>Margry, 4:550, 556.

<sup>2</sup>*Journal Historique*, 39. La Salle's discoveries and explorations offered as a more definite western boundary the Guadalupe river, and in 1714 a French writer makes "the river Madeline (Guadalupe), which is a short river flowing into Saint Bernard bay, and which consequently is neither the Rio Pañuco nor the Rio del Norte," the western limit of the province of Louisiana. See extract from *Memoire de Lemaire*, Margry, 6:184.

believed to exist everywhere in the New World. His factors were instructed to be diligent in their efforts to draw the trade of the Indians of the Mississippi and to search constantly for promising mineral deposits. Lamothe Cadillac, who had been appointed governor of Louisiana in 1710, did not reach his post on Mobile bay until 1713. He became at once the active agent of M. Crozat in his commercial enterprise. A few days after his arrival he received orders from the proprietor to approach the Spaniards with a view to establishing trade relations between Louisiana and Mexico.<sup>1</sup> In pursuance of these instructions, Cadillac dispatched a vessel to Vera Cruz to exchange merchandise for cattle and other necessities, and to secure, if possible, a free entry for French ships into the ports of Mexico. But neither in the smaller nor in the larger purpose was the envoy successful. The viceroy would suffer the vessel to come no farther than the roadstead, where it was permitted to take on only such supplies as were necessary for the return voyage. Nor would he listen to any proposition to open the ports of Mexico to French vessels, declaring instead that the ports of New Spain were closed absolutely to all foreign commerce.<sup>2</sup> Thus all hope of building up a profitable trade with Mexico by sea had to be abandoned. But a little later there came into the hands of Governor Cadillac a letter written by a Spanish priest, which set him to a different and more promising enterprise. This was to open an overland trade route across Texas to the northern provinces of Mexico.

It has been noted in a former paragraph that Fray Francisco Hidalgo, when he could no longer hope for aid from his own government in his long-cherished missionary enterprise, turned for assistance to the French of Louisiana. January 17, 1711, he inscribed a letter<sup>3</sup> to the governor of Louisiana, inviting his co-operation in establishing a mission among the Asinais Indians.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pénicaut, Margry, 5:495.

<sup>2</sup>The *Journal Historique*, 113, says this refusal was to gratify the English with whom the Spanish had made the Assiento Treaty, March 26, 1713.

<sup>3</sup>Hidalgo may have written this letter while he was living among the Asinais. *Vide* letter of Cadillac, Margry, 6:196, for statement of Saint-Denis, showing that he expected to find Hidalgo there.

<sup>4</sup>The date of this letter, January 17, 1711, is given in the passport (*Colección de Memorias*, 27:120 *vuelta*) which Cadillac furnished to Saint-Denis in September, 1713; its purport is given by Le Page du Pratz, 1:10.

He dispatched three copies of this letter by different routes toward the French settlements, hoping that one of them at least would come into the hands of some Frenchman.<sup>1</sup> In this hope he was not to be disappointed, for one of the letters at length found its way to Governor Cadillac. The proposition contained therein fell in well with Cadillac's policy of seeking more friendly relations with Mexico. He was entirely willing to assist the Spanish friars in rebuilding their churches among the Tejas if thereby he could secure a better commercial arrangement. Accordingly he prepared at once to send a tentative expedition overland to the Rio Grande.

The character of this expedition, it is well to remark, was purely mercantile. It intended no hostile incursion or assertion of territorial claims. In this respect it differed essentially from the plans set forth formerly by La Salle, Peñalosa and d'Iberville in their memorials to the crown. They had urged upon the king and his ministers the advantage of the Mississippi as a base for aggressive military operations against Mexico to the end of securing control of the valuable silver mines of Nueva Vizcaya. But Crozat was not a warrior, nor were his factors engaged to do the work of soldiers. They were traders merely, seeking a market for their goods, and willing, in pursuit of this object, to waive all nice questions of boundary lines and royal authority. Moreover, in 1713 there was a pressing need that a source be provided whence could be drawn a sufficient and regular supply of provisions for the growing colony of Louisiana. To secure this desirable end and to open the way for a profitable traffic in French merchandise with the markets of Coahuila and Nuevo León were the designs of Cadillac in responding favorably to the petition of Hidalgo, the Spanish priest.<sup>2</sup>

The undertaking was not an easy one. The way was long, the Indians were not always friendly, and the Spanish were jealous and suspicious. It required the energies of a man of tact, courage and experience. For this difficult and delicate task Saint-Denis, by reason of his long residence in the country, his friendly standing with the Indian tribes, his familiarity with the westward routes of travel, and his knowledge of the Spanish language, seemed eminently fitted. At the time he was in command of the old fort at

<sup>1</sup>Le Page du Pratz, 1:10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:9.

Biloxi, from which post he was called to Mobile to confer with the governor. He readily accepted the trust offered him and entered into a contract with Cadillac by which he agreed to take ten thousand *livres*' worth of merchandise from the public store, to transport it across Texas to Mexico, and to endeavor there to dispose of it.<sup>1</sup> The passport given to him was dated September 12, 1713, and set forth the objects of the expedition thus: "The Sieur de Saint-Denis is to take twenty-four men and as many Indians as necessary and with them to go in search of the mission of Fray Francisco Hidalgo in response to his letter of January 17, 1711, and there to purchase horses and cattle for the Province of Louisiana." Herein was indicated a desire to confer with Hidalgo, probably concerning the proposed mission among the Asinais, and a wish to open up commerce with the Spanish settlements to the extent, at least, of obtaining for Louisiana a supply of cattle and horses. For practical reasons the passport did not reveal an ultimate design of securing a general free trade treaty with Mexico; the experience of his ship in the port of Vera Cruz had taught Cadillac the un wisdom of frankly avowing his purpose. Hence, no doubt, it was deemed expedient that the formal statement of the objects of the expedition should mention only the purpose of obtaining the animals which were necessary to the life and comfort of the colonists, and which the Spanish, since they had them in abundance, would likely be glad to exchange for French merchandise. It may have been also in the mind of Cadillac that the establishment of a mission among the Tejas Indians would bring the Spaniards nearer to Louisiana, and thus facilitate trade between the two peoples. It is evident that the expedition did look further than the purchase of a few horses and cattle; the confessed motive was but a device to hide the ulterior motive, or rather, perhaps a feeler put out to try how much in the way of trade the Spaniards might be induced to grant.

It was probably in the latter part of September, 1713, that Saint-Denis set out from Mobile, with his men and goods, in five canoes. At Fort St. John, Biloxi, they halted while Pénicaut, our historian, with several other men, proceeded up the Mississippi to secure for guides some Nachitoches Indians who lived with a tribe on the eastern side of the river. They were detained at Biloxi

<sup>1</sup>*Patente, Colección de Memorias, 27:120 vuelta.*



several months, on account of the difficulties with the Indians,<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that the journey was not resumed until the following year.<sup>2</sup> At the village of the Tonicas, two leagues above the mouth of the Red River, the company halted again to collect provisions, and to induce the chief of the Tonicas and several of his men to accompany the party on the journey west.<sup>3</sup> From this point they propelled their canoes eighty leagues up the river to a village of the Nachitoches.<sup>4</sup> Here they built two storehouses wherein to bestow their merchandise, and leaving a guard of ten men to protect the new post, with an additional contingent of thirty Nachitoches, they proceeded to the village of the Asinais, where the Spanish had formerly had a mission. Hidalgo, who had written the letter, was not here, nor do they seem to have found any Spaniards at all. Here among the Tejas the journey seems to have been suspended, though the intention of prosecuting it farther was not entirely abandoned. They found among these Indians an abundant supply of horses and cattle,<sup>5</sup> so that, for the first purpose of the expedition, they had no need to proceed farther. For six months or more they seem to have carried on with the Indians an active exchange of French guns, beads, knives and cloth, for beasts and buffalo hides.<sup>6</sup> Of this traffic the post lately established on the Red River was naturally the center. Saint-Denis, during this time, returned to the Natchez on the Mississippi to give an account of his journey

<sup>1</sup>Pénicaut, Margry, 5:497.

<sup>2</sup>The Spanish governor of Pensacola, Don Gregorio Salinas de Varona, had heard rumors of this expedition before August 21, 1713, for on that date he wrote to the viceroy informing him that twenty Frenchmen and fifty Indians with six boats loaded with merchandise had set out from Mobile to introduce goods into Mexico. *Vide Dictamen Fiscal*, 127 *vuelta*, 191 *vuelta*, and *Junta de Guerra* August 22, 1715, in *Provincias Internas*, 181. La Harpe, in an extract from his journal, Margry, 6:193, says that Saint-Denis set out from Mobile August 23, 1714. The *patente* is dated September 12, 1713. Pénicaut has the expedition begin soon after the arrival of Cadillac at Mobile. Saint-Denis in his *Declaración*, dated June 22, 1715, does not give the date of his departure, but says that he set out from Mobile about a year and nine months before. It seems probable that he left Mobile in September, 1713, the detention at Biloxi preventing a real departure until some time in the early months of 1714. This view is sustained by the fact that he stopped six months or more among the Tejas Indians, and reached the Rio Grande before February 15, 1715.

<sup>3</sup>Pénicaut, Margry, 5:497.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 5:498.

<sup>5</sup>*Declaración de San Denis*, in *Colección de Memorias*, 27:124.

<sup>6</sup>*Carta del Capitan Domingo Ramón*, *Colección de Memorias*, 27:134 *vuelta*.



to the governor, after which he took more goods and repaired again to the country of the Asinais.<sup>1</sup>

The Frenchmen found that notwithstanding it had been more than five years since a Spaniard had been among the Asinais, some of them still adhered to the Catholic faith.<sup>2</sup> Among this number was Bernadino, their governor, probably the same Bernadino mentioned in León's and Terán's narratives.<sup>3</sup> The Indians earnestly urged Saint-Denis to ask the Spanish missionaries to return and establish missions among them, expressing a particular desire to see again Fray Hidalgo and Captain Urrutia. Bernadino and twenty-five of his men set out to accompany the party of Frenchmen to act as guides and to solicit in person a return of the missionaries to their village. On the bank of the San Marcos they encountered a band of two hundred hostile Indians from the coast country, the mortal enemies of the Asinais.<sup>4</sup> A fierce battle fol-

<sup>1</sup>La Harpe, Margry, 6:193. The fact that Saint-Denis's journey was not continuous from the time of his departure from Mobile to his arrival in Mexico has not, I think, been noticed by modern historians. Pénicaut's account makes the expedition continuous, but he may be thinking of only one phase of it. The *Declaración* takes no account of long stops, nor on the other hand does it account for the year and nine months on the road. The evidence on which I have based the statement above is as follows: Captain Ramón in a letter to the viceroy, written in July, 1716, commends Saint-Denis for the assistance he had given the Spaniards through his knowledge of the Indian language, saying: "For he once lived in this province six months on two occasions. He has given the Tejas eighteen or twenty French arquebuses, many beads, bugles, knives, ribbons, some clasp-knives, small pieces of blue and red cloth, and some coats; all of which the French have traded for some beasts the times they have entered this province." Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 192, calls attention to the inconsistency of these facts as given by Ramón and the statement of Saint-Denis in his *Declaración*, and states further that the governor of Pensacola had given notice, under date of October 20, 1715, "of what the French were publishing in Mobile: that they had reached the province of Coahuila and carried away a great number of cattle." The rumor would presumably have reached Pensacola in an exaggerated and twisted form, but the facts are in the main correct. It is to be understood, however, that they carried away the cattle from the country of the Asinais, and not from Coahuila. La Harpe, as cited above, says: "Saint-Denis, after this expedition to the Asinais, returned to the Natchez, 113 leagues, to the Mississippi, to give an account of his journey to M. de Lamothe. He took in this place the goods of which he had need and, having ascended the Red River with five Frenchmen, returned to the Nachitoches, and thence to the Asinais."

<sup>2</sup>Pénicaut (Margry, 5:499) mentions a woman named Angelica who had been baptized by a Spanish priest, and spoke the Spanish language well enough to act as interpreter.

<sup>3</sup>Bonilla, *Breve Compendio de los sucesos de texas*, 6 *vuelta*, says it was the "ancient governor."

<sup>4</sup>Bonilla, *Ibid.*, says: "Naturally, they must have been Apaches."

lowed, in which the Asinais were victorious, killing twelve of the enemy and wounding many others. They pursued the defeated savages to their *rancherías*, where they compelled them to make peace. All of the Asinais then, except Bernadino and three others, turned back home. The remnant of the party continued the journey, passing the San Antonio river, where was an Indian village. Saint-Denis remarked the spot, observing that it was very suitable for a village and worthy a good presidio.<sup>1</sup> At the end of about six weeks, during which time they had traveled one hundred and twenty leagues from the country of the Asinais,<sup>2</sup> they arrived at the presidio of Captain Diego Ramón, two leagues beyond the Rio Grande.

Saint-Denis presented to the commander of the presidio his passport, wherein was exhibited the object of the expedition. Here was a delicate question for Captain Ramón. The passport contained a distinct proposition for the Spaniards to enter into commercial relations with a foreign nation. As this was contrary to all precedent, and to the declared policy of his government, the commander did not feel competent to act without instructions from the viceroy. He therefore deferred his answer to Saint-Denis's proposition, and detained the Frenchman and his companions till he could communicate with a higher authority. He had certainly sufficient grounds for caution. The Frenchmen had traversed more than four hundred miles of Spanish territory without invitation or permission; they were trespassers on foreign soil. It is possible also that Ramón had received orders to be on the lookout for just such a party as this, since the governor of Pensacola, August 24, 1713, had written the viceroy that a company of Frenchmen would try to introduce merchandise into Mexico.<sup>3</sup> But though Captain Ramón felt himself bound to arrest the intruders till he should have instructions what to do with them, he accorded them the most courteous treatment while they were awaiting the return of the messenger who had been sent to the viceroy.<sup>4</sup> Saint-Denis, Péni-

<sup>1</sup>This was probably the spot where the mission and presidio of San Antonio were established a few years later. See p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Probably early in 1715, as Saint-Denis sent a letter to Cadillac dated February, 1715, telling him of their arrival at the presidio. Margry, 6:195.

<sup>3</sup>*Dictamen Fiscal*, 127 *vuelta*.

<sup>4</sup>Saint-Denis, in the letter cited above, says: "The captain does not dare to let us go without an order from the viceroy." Pénicaut, p. 501, says that the commander wrote to the governor of Coahuila for advice,

caut, Jalot and the surgeon he entertained in his own house, and provided quarters for the others.<sup>1</sup> February 15 Saint-Denis dispatched some of his men secretly to the governor of Louisiana to inform him of what had happened since their arrival upon the Rio Grande. He writes that while he might escape by stealth, he does not wish to do so, "as seeing a good fortune before my eyes and wishing to put my name in repute, I rejoice at all that may happen, for I fear nothing from these people or from Mexico." Lest, however, this good fortune shall in the end prove uncertain or elusive, he deems it prudent to bespeak for himself the good offices of the governor. "After all the risks I have run," he adds, "and the services which I have rendered the public, I flatter myself that you will serve as my patron, and that you will procure me some employment at Mobile."<sup>2</sup> After several weeks the governor of Coahuila sent a detachment of soldiers to convey the Frenchmen to his capital. Saint-Denis took with him only his *valet de chambre*, Medar Jalot, sending Pénicaut and the others back to the post on the Red River to await his return. From Monclova he was conducted to the City of Mexico, arriving there some time in June.<sup>3</sup>

The announcement that a party of Frenchmen had crossed the Rio Grande could have created no great surprise in the City of Mexico; for, as we have seen, the Spanish governor of Pensacola, Gregorio de Salinas, had previously sent warning that such an expedition was in progress. A council of war held February 7, 1714, had acted on this information and ordered that the governors of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León and Coahuila be instructed to use every effort to stop such *entradas*.<sup>4</sup> The viceroy had written to the governor of Mobile giving him to understand that he was apprised of the intention of the French, and warning them to refrain from entering territory that belonged to His

who sent in turn to inquire of the governor of Parral; and that after six weeks the former sent a company of soldiers to convey Saint-Denis to his capital.

<sup>1</sup>The fact that Pénicaut calls the commander Don Pedro Villescas after having been in his house for several months rather casts a shadow upon the truthfulness of his narrative.

<sup>2</sup>Extract from a letter of Saint-Denis to Cadillac, Margry, 6:495.

<sup>3</sup>Before the 22d, for his *Declaración* is dated June 22, 1715. La Harpe, and Pénicaut make the date of his arrival June 25th. Le Page du Pratz, 1:14, says June 5th. The latter date is no doubt correct.

<sup>4</sup>*Dictamen Fiscal*, 127 *vuelta*. *Junta de Guerra*, August 22, 1715, in *Provincias Internas*, 181.

Majesty, the king of Spain.<sup>1</sup> When, therefore, Saint-Denis reached the capital, the government was prepared to deal with him. He was called to several audiences with the viceroy, in which he was questioned concerning the object of his expedition. To all of these interrogatories he replied in careful conformance to the letter of his instructions: "That his governor had sent him to Father Francisco Hidalgo, and at the same time to see if he could get some beasts for Louisiana, for which they would pay in silver or in merchandise; but that not having found the father at the place from which he had written, and having heard that he was at the Rio Bravo del Norte, he had continued his course thither."<sup>2</sup> He was requested also to dictate a formal narrative of his journey, which should be taken down in writing and submitted, together with his passport, to the *fiscal*. This writing, it was intended, should be an exhibit of the purpose and events of the expedition, with a description and map of the route followed. But Saint-Denis discreetly refrained from making a more explicit statement of his intentions, and related only such events as would not tend to prejudice his case, concerning himself rather with describing in detail the different stages of his journey and the physical character of the country through which he had passed. With considerable tact he emphasized the "natural affection" which the Indians had for the Spanish and their desire to have the friars return and re-establish missions among them. He omitted to account for the year and nine months that had elapsed since he set out from Mobile; said nothing of the post established at Nachitoches, and forgot to mention the several months' sojourn of his party among the Asinais, and their lively trade in cattle. Evidently he would have made it appear to his inquisitors that the journey from Mobile to the Rio Grande had been continuous, and that nothing detrimental to their interests had occurred on the way.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Junta de Guerra, Memorias de Nueva España*, 27:211.

<sup>2</sup>Extract from a letter of Cadillac to his government, giving the substance of a message sent by Saint-Denis from the City of Mexico. Margry, 6:196.

<sup>3</sup>Governor Cadillac in a letter to his home government in 1716, implies a failure of Saint-Denis to follow instructions. The Spaniards are going to make an establishment at Bay Espíritu Santo "in order to exclude us, the letter of Saint-Denis makes known their alarm, to which he has contributed very much by not having followed his instructions." Margry, 6:198.

When the *declaracion* had been prepared, a translation of it, with the map and all the documents relating to the province of Texas, was submitted to Espinosa, the *fiscal*, in order that he might formulate therefrom a *dictamen* embodying his opinion and recommendations in the matter, to be laid before a *junta de guerra*. To this council,<sup>1</sup> called to meet August 22, 1715, Espinosa pointed out with much plausibility the results which would follow this French incursion.<sup>2</sup> The French had opened a route by which the commerce of the northern provinces might be diverted from its usual channels and eventually destroyed; they had laid out a road to Coahuila, and it would be but a matter of a short time till they discovered the mines of Nueva Estremadura, Nueva Vizcaya and Parral; and they had gained such a knowledge of the country and the ways by which it could be traversed as would enable them easily to carry on illicit trade with Mexico. In short, the commerce of the north was threatened with destruction; the valuable mines were liable to immediate discovery; and the province of Texas was in imminent danger of being possessed by the encroaching French. To guard against these dire contingencies, the *fiscal* recommended two measures to be put in effect at once; the governors of the northern provinces must be instructed carefully to prohibit the further entrance of the French upon Spanish territory, and the missions must be re-established upon the eastern frontier. To accomplish the latter object Olivares and Hidalgo and one other friar should be sent without delay into the country of the Tejas to found a mission for the purpose of instructing the heathen savages in the holy Catholic faith. Moral or religious considerations had little weight in fixing this determination; the principal argument in favor of a second missionary venture was that with the proper instruction the Indians would serve as a barrier against the further advance of the French. Watchfulness and constant activity alone could save Texas to the crown of Spain.

The council of war approved the recommendations of the *fiscal*, and drew up a plan by which they should be put into effect. The plan included three prescriptions. The governor of Parral, Nuevo León, Galicia and Coahuila should be instructed to prevent the

<sup>1</sup>*Junta de Guerra*, August 22, 1715, in *Provincias Internas*; an account of its proceedings.

<sup>2</sup>*Dictamen Fiscal*, 126 vuelta.

introduction of any goods into their territories by the French, and the sale of cattle to them; twenty-five soldiers and a captain should go, with a sufficient number of priests, and establish four missions among the Tejas Indians; and strict inquiry should be made concerning any French settlements in the country, and a watch kept upon the movements of the French of Louisiana, and information furnished the government promptly of any demonstrations hostile to the interests of Spain. It was provided also that in the organization of the missions two soldiers should be left to guard each establishment, and these soldiers were to confine themselves to their respective missions and to refrain from engaging in private business. Each soldier was to receive a salary of four hundred dollars and the captain five hundred, and each should be paid one year's salary in advance. Whatever supplies of provisions, munitions and other necessities were required for a successful prosecution of the enterprise were ordered to be furnished.<sup>1</sup>

Again the vice-regal government was ready to undertake the occupation of Texas; but, as in the former attempt, the impulse to such a movement was fear rather than inclination. It required the actual presence in the City of Mexico of Frenchmen who had traveled unhindered more than four hundred miles across Spanish territory to arouse the dilatory and indifferent officials to action. As long as they could be reasonably sure that a wide reach of unknown country lay between their frontier and the nearest European settlement, and that their mines were safely hidden from foreign eyes, they were well content to do nothing. Texas could remain an untenanted wilderness; the Tejas Indians might clamor in vain for the saving ministrations of the priests; and the Spanish title in the vast domain east of the Rio Grande could remain unasserted. But in a day, as it were, all was changed. Texas was no longer an unknown land; the commerce of the northern provinces could no longer with certainty be confined to its former southern paths; and the hidden treasures of the mountains were all but revealed to envious foreign eyes. Here was an emergency that demanded action, sufficiently imperative, indeed, to arouse the government of Mexico to set in motion its slow, cumbrous, mission-presidio process of occupation and colonization.

<sup>1</sup>Memoranda, lists, and orders for supplies are found in *Provincias Internas*, 181.



There may very well have been, however, other motives that led to the occupation of Texas at this time than those that appear in the official documents. The viceroy and other officials may not have been so opposed to commercial relations with the French as their official utterances would make it appear, and they may have really hoped to establish secretly a lucrative trade with the French of Mobile and to share in its profits. By moving closer to the French they would have a more direct line of communication and thus the trade would be facilitated. This view is given some weight by the fact that the Duke de Linares encouraged Saint-Denis to hope for a commercial alliance and treated him with much more favor than he deserved.<sup>1</sup> But it is more strongly borne out by the views of one close to the viceroy and apparently in a position to speak with knowledge of the situation.<sup>2</sup> This writer, whose name does not appear, under date of September 20, 1715, expresses his opinion concerning the expedition to the Tejas country in a letter from Mexico to M. Gallut, a former treasurer of the viceroy of Mexico and at this time in France. After telling of the coming of the two Frenchmen from Mobile he says that the viceroy has dispatched a captain and twenty-five soldiers to the Asinais, "in order, apparently, to hinder the transport of merchandise from Mobile into the interior, and after the arrival of the fleet it is his intention to send a garrison also to the bay of Saint-Esprit in order to have a port of entry for aid to the Tejas. But my opinion is that in place of putting a stop to commerce it is intended to shoot forth the deepest roots in order to facilitate the stream." He then proceeds to point out how easily the merchandise can be transported from Mobile to Espiritu Santo bay and from that point distributed into the interior country. He is so disturbed over a situation that seems to mean the utter ruin of all Spanish commerce in Mexico and an ultimate conflict between France and Spain that he suggests that distinct boundaries ought at once to be fixed between Louisiana and Mexico. "The boundaries between France and Spain in this continent demand a prompt adjustment, since the establishment at the bay of Saint-Esprit by Spain may open a battle ground between the two nations," as it is claimed by France

<sup>1</sup>Le Page Du Pratz, 1:15.

<sup>2</sup>Vide Margry, 6:211. *Traduction d'une lettre du Mexique, écrite à M. Gallut cy-devant trésorier du Vice-Roy du Mexique par un de ses amis, qui est actuellement auprès du dit Vice-Roy.*



also on account of La Salle's settlement. We thus see predicted what might well have been the outcome had France and Spain been more interested in extending their colonial possessions. During the next few years the prophecy is partly fulfilled by the struggles between the French of Louisiana and the Spanish of Mexico to establish themselves in the disputed territory.

The similarity between the advance movement, as outlined in the plan of the *junta de guerra*, and those of 1690 and 1691, is evident at once. In this instance, as in the former ones, fear of French encroachment furnished the incentive. Now, as then, a small body of soldiers was sent forth with a few friars to establish missions among the Tejas Indians, and to keep watch on the French; and now, as then, these establishments were to be far from any base of supplies, unconnected by any line of forts or settlements with the frontier presidios of Mexico, and dependent for existence on the good will of the natives. The disastrous ending of their former missionary efforts had taught the Spaniards little. The emergency was greater than in 1690 or 1691, but the energy put forth to meet it was less. The expedition, as planned, was upon a much smaller scale than that of Terán; the military and the spiritual contingents were smaller; fewer missions were contemplated; and there was to be no co-operative movement by sea. There was, however, a notable difference between this and the former expeditions, due rather to changed conditions than to any accession of intelligence or wisdom on the part of the Mexican government. In 1690 the French offered no real menace to Spanish interests. The elaborate plans of La Salle and Peñalosa had ended in the abortive colony of Bay St. Louis. For many years the French concerned themselves little about their territorial claims in the southern part of the western world, and the right of Spain to whatever lands she might desire was undisputed. But by 1715 a different state of affairs existed. The French were established at the mouth of the Mississippi. For several years they had been sending their traders westward to explore the country and traffic with the Indians, and were beginning to feel and to assert a paramount title to the lands discovered by La Salle. They stood upon the very threshold of Spanish territory, and were threatening at any moment to enter and take possession. With their rivals thus established, active, energetic and aggressive, the Spaniards could not, as in the former

instance, allow their missionary and colonizing enthusiasm to expend itself in a single ephemeral effort. They must follow up the first expedition with others. They must found not four missions, but as many as would be needed to secure them in possession of the country. Each mission must have, not two soldiers, but as large a garrison as was necessary to protect it from the savages and from the advancing French. They must secure and fortify a port on the Texas coast. They must be at all times active and vigilant. In this constant and growing necessity for watchfulness and activity on the part of the Spaniards of Mexico lay the best promise of a permanent occupation of Texas.

Moreover, the missionary program of 1715 differed in one significant respect from those of 1690 and 1691. If the Spanish had not brought many lessons out of the costly experimenting of Father Massanet, they had learned one of considerable value. The failure of the first missions among the Tejas had been due largely to the evil conduct of the soldiers. Unmarried men, and adventurers merely, they had been little disposed to settle down soberly and industriously to the routine of mission life, and instead of aiding the friars in their noble work, hindered them rather by their vicious lives. To prevent a recurrence of this evil it was determined, in the later movement, to send with the priests, as far as possible, only men of family, who would be more circumspect in their conduct, and who would go with the expectation of making homes for themselves in the new country. With wives and mothers in the company, and actual settlers equipped with agricultural implements—plows and hoes—and oxen, the expedition began to look, in a degree at least, like a sane attempt to occupy and colonize the eastern wilderness.

On the 30th of September the viceroy, the Duque de Linares, appointed Domingo Ramón captain of the soldiers and leader of the expedition. Saint-Denis must have made a favorable impression on the Spaniards, for he was offered a place in the company of Captain Ramón, which he accepted, receiving the title of *cabo camboyador*<sup>1</sup> (chief guide), at a salary of five hundred dollars a

<sup>1</sup>He was called also *conductor de viveres* (quartermaster), *Dictamen Fiscal*, 213. It is interesting in this connection to note the double part that Saint-Denis was playing. He accepted office under the Mexican government, receiving a year's salary in advance, to abet an enterprise which was in direct opposition to the interests of his own government.

year. If an answer was made to his proposition to open up trade in cattle, nothing of it appears in the record, and we can not be sure that he went so far as to broach the subject of a general commercial treaty. Apparently, in entering the services of Mexico he gave up the original object of his journey. It is possible, however, that he was merely shifting from one expedient to another.<sup>1</sup> The traffic in horses and cattle was to have been only an introduction to a larger trade. If he could accomplish his purpose more easily and directly by employing other means, he was willing to alter his plans accordingly. The establishment of the missions would bring the Spaniards nearer to the French, and would furnish a more convenient market for his goods. Moreover, by assisting in founding the missions he might reasonably hope to gain the friendship of the Spanish, and thus render it easier to carry out his plans of trade. The right of the French to the vast territory of Texas he seems to have been willing to waive, if thereby he might better his own material fortunes and those of his patron.

The defection of Saint-Denis to the service of the Spanish was no doubt influenced to an extent also by an *affaire de cœur* in which he became involved soon after his arrival upon the Rio Grande. While he was at the presidio of San Juan he fell in love with the granddaughter of the commander. The attachment was mutual, and nothing but the necessity that Saint-Denis was under of proceeding to the City of Mexico prevented a speedy consummation of their desires. As soon, therefore, as he could come to an understanding with the high officers of the government he returned to the presidio to celebrate his marriage with Doña María, and to await there the coming of Captain Ramón and his company.<sup>2</sup>

He had time to enjoy but a few weeks of conjugal felicity. Feb-

At the same time, under date of September 7, he wrote to the governor of Louisiana advising him that the viceroy was about to send a party to establish a mission among the Tejas. He asked that a brigantine be sent to Espíritu Santo bay, and declared that it would be necessary for the king of France to demand that the boundary of Louisiana be fixed at the Rio Grande. Margry, 6:196. Velasco, *Dictamen*, 196 *vuelta*.

<sup>1</sup>Le Page du Pratz, who had excellent means of knowing the truth, having written his *Histoire de Louisiane* with the memoirs of Saint-Denis before him, says (1:14): "The viceroy, the Duque of Linares, had naturally an affection for France, and promised to make a treaty of commerce as soon as the Spaniards should be settled at the Asinais." There is nothing in the Spanish documents to support such a statement.

<sup>2</sup>Doña María was the granddaughter of Diego Ramón, and the niece of Captain Domingo Ramón.

ruary 17, 1716, Captain Ramón set out from the Villa de Saltillo, leaving behind six soldiers as an escort for the friars who were to come later.<sup>1</sup> On the 3d of March the *padres* overtook the company and they all proceeded northward toward the presidio of the Rio Grande, halting at several villas and missions along the way. As a result of the bad financial policy of paying in advance, six of the soldiers deserted before they came to the river, taking with them their horses and the money they had received.<sup>2</sup> Supplies of all kinds, such as goats, meal, corn, etc., were collected along the road. At the Mission de la Punta Padre Hidalgo and three other friars joined the party.<sup>3</sup> They arrived April 18 at the presidio of the Rio Grande, where Diego Ramón, the father of Captain Domingo Ramón, was in command. Here they halted for a day to collect more provisions. The 20th was consumed in putting across the river more than a thousand head of cattle and goats. They were delayed at the Rio Grande until the 27th, waiting for the friars, who had been detained by the illness of Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus, chief of the Zacatecas friars. Here Isidoro Felix de Espinosa, president of the missions around San Juan, joined the company as director of the Querétaro friars.

Captain Ramón, while they were in camp at the river, made a list of all the persons in his company. The religious party consisted of five friars, one lay brother and one lay friar,<sup>4</sup> besides Espinosa and Hidalgo already mentioned. Captain Ramón, his son, and Lieutenant Diego (grandson of the elder Diego Ramón), and twenty-two soldiers formed the military escort. Of these soldiers five were married, and one married *en route*. The Frenchmen in the party were Saint-Denis, Jalot and one other. In addition to the military and religious contingents there were two men

<sup>1</sup>Captain Ramón, in his *Derrotero* (*Colección de Memorias*, 27:135 *vuelta et seq.*), and Espinosa in his *Diario, Provincias Internas*, 181, carefully detail the events of this *entrada*.

<sup>2</sup>Velasco, *Dictamen*, 214. *Informe dado por Domingo Ramón*, *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>3</sup>Le Page Du Pratz (1:17, 20) speaks of a jealousy that existed between Olivares and Hidalgo, and says that the latter besought Saint-Denis to prevent Olivares from going on the expedition, on account of his jealous and turbulent disposition. Olivares did not go, as will appear later.

<sup>4</sup>Their names were Benito Sanchez, Manuel Castellanos, Pedro de Mendoza, Gabriel Vergara, Matias Sanchez de San Antonio, Gabriel Cubillos (lay friar), Fr. Domingo (lay brother). *Derrotero de Ramón*, 141 *vuelta*. *Diario de Espinosa*. Counting Margil there were ten friars.

with their families and thirteen unmarried men, who were going out apparently as prospective settlers and traders. These, with seven married women, one girl, two children, a negro and five Indians, constituted the company, which counted a total of sixty-five persons.

On the 27th of April, Father Margil being still unable to travel,<sup>1</sup> the company set out from the Rio Grande. Saint-Denis, acting as guide, led the way over the northern and more direct route, afterwards known as the Old Presidio Road. The details of the journey need not detain us. On the 5th of May they halted to celebrate the marriage of Lorenzo Mercado, a soldier, and Anna Guerra. They camped on the 14th of the same month at some springs, to which they gave the name of San Pedro.<sup>2</sup> These springs were at the source of the San Antonio river. Captain Ramón noted the spot as one most suitable for the building of a city, and Father Espinosa sees in it a suitable one for a mission.<sup>3</sup> They found the Colorado swollen by recent rains, and crossed it with difficulty, after ascending some four leagues. Beyond the Colorado they found buffaloes in abundance, and from them easily provided meat to supply the entire company. After they had crossed the Brazos, which they called the San Xavier, they found the Indians becoming more numerous, for they were approaching the country of the Tejas. Everywhere the natives manifested great joy when they learned that the Spaniards were returning to live among them. Captain Ramón, in his *Derrotero*, has much to say of the beauty of the country. The Guadalupe river, he thinks, more beautiful than can be imagined. There were lakes filled with fishes; game of all kinds in abundance; streams bordered with umbrageous trees; vines in profusion, loaded with half-ripe grapes; pastures with grass so luxuriant that the horses could hardly be made to travel through it; valleys flanked with cedars, willows, sycamores, live oaks, walnuts and lofty pines; and fields of watermelons and maize, from which the Indians, in token of their friendship, brought ripe melons and young corn.

Saint-Denis made himself useful to Captain Ramón as an inter-

<sup>1</sup>He must have recovered quickly and overtaken the company before or shortly after it came to the Tejas Indians, for he was there soon after the arrival of the party.

<sup>2</sup>Espinosa, in *Diario*, counts seven springs close together.

<sup>3</sup>*Diario de Espinosa*, May 14.

preter, and his great influence with the Indians was helpful in securing for the Spaniards a kindly reception.<sup>1</sup> He went on in advance of the company to the Tejas tribes, where, according to the plan, the first mission should be established, and gave notice of the approach of the Spaniards, returning soon at the head of a mounted delegation of chiefs. Captain Ramón received them with proper ceremony, the flaunting of banners and the firing of guns, and when they had all smoked the pipe of peace the Indians led the way to their village. On the way thither they met a larger body of natives, who came to meet them, bearing gifts of maize, watermelons and tamales, which they heaped together in a pile before the Spaniards. Captain Ramón, with reciprocal courtesy, ordered cloth, dishes, hats and tobacco to be distributed among the Indians. Then by means of an interpreter he addressed them, telling them that the Spaniards had come to look after the welfare of their souls, and to bring them to a knowledge of the Holy Law and to a recognition of the authority of King Felipe V, who, by the hands of the Duque de Linares, viceroy of New Spain, had sent them these gifts as a token of his love. He instructed them, also, for the good of the government of their people, to select from their number one who should be their captain general. The Indians thereupon withdrew to confer together, and in a short time sent forward the youngest of their great chiefs as the one whose rule they could the most easily endure. To him were given the *baston* and Captain Ramón's own jacket as insignia of his rank and office.

When these courtesies and ceremonies were finished the journey was resumed. On June 20 they came to the spot where the first mission of San Francisco de los Tejas had been established by Father Massanet in 1690. Captain Ramón, the friars, and some of the Indian chiefs set out to find a site for the new mission. They selected a spot four leagues farther inland than the original mission, because it was the choice of the Indians themselves. On the 3d of July the new mission of San Francisco was established upon the site selected, in the village of the Nacoches, the chief of three tribes for whom this mission was to be the religious center. Father Hidalgo, the only representative of the friars who more

<sup>1</sup>*Carta de Ramón*, 134 *vuelta*; Saint-Denis is especially commended as being "obedient and faithful to our nation."



than twenty-five years before had worked among the Tejas, was placed in charge of the mission. Other missions were soon afterward established. The second, Purísima Concepción, was placed at the pueblo of the Asinais, nine leagues northeast from the first; and the third, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, was nine leagues southeast from Concepción, in the village of the Nacogdoches. These three missions stood on the road by which the French had made their incursions into Texas and were thus intended to guard against further trespass. A fourth, called San Joseph, was established among the Noaches, seven leagues northeast of Concepción. Later, when the Spaniards discovered the presence of the French on Red River, they built two other missions still farther east and southeast, among the Adays and Ays. The one among the Adays, founded in the spring of 1717,<sup>1</sup> and called San Miguel de Linares, was only eight leagues from the French post at the Nachitoches. The one among the Ays was called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.<sup>2</sup> In all this work of building churches and dwelling houses for the religious Captain Ramón found the Indians very diligent and skillful and pleased to give assistance. Concepción was nominated the capital of the missions founded and to be founded by the Zacatecas friars, with Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus as president. Of the six missions already mentioned, three, namely, Concepción, San Miguel de Linares, and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, were placed in his charge. Of the other three, and of all others that should be established by the Querétaro friars, Fray Isidore Felix de Espinosa was made president. It was agreed between the two presidents that each religious fraternity should draw its converts from the tribes in its own immediate territory, that there might be no conflict.<sup>3</sup>

An Indian captain general was chosen by the community of Indians for each mission, and his election approved by Captain Ramón. In like manner a governor and an *alcalde* were chosen for each pueblo; a treasurer was appointed from the friars at each mission, and a garrison was left for the protection of each establishment. Thus a sort of polity was created under Spanish control. The

<sup>1</sup>*Journal Historique*, 140, gives date January 29, 1717.

<sup>2</sup>*Representación hecha por Antonio Margil de Jesus*, in *Colección de Memorias*, 27:223.

<sup>3</sup>*Representación hecha por los Padres Misioneros*, *Colección de Memorias*, 27:163. *Representación hecha por el Capitan Domingo Ramon*, *Ibid.*, 160. *Diario de Espinosa*, under dates July 1-16, 1716, gives an account of the founding of the four missions.



motive was not more religious than political. Here were six missionary settlements planted in the heart of the Indian country. They were widely separated, and each stood in the center of a populous tribe. Thus the Spaniards endeavored to occupy and control as much territory as possible. They could not, of course, expect with a few scattered and feeble garrisons to resist a determined advance of the French; but they could, from their several posts, maintain a watch upon their enemies, and keep the home government informed of their movements. And in the meantime the work of converting the natives to the Christian religion and the Spanish allegiance could go on. Within reach of the missions were some four or five thousand Indians. To convert these, and to discipline them so that they might be effectively employed in the event of a conflict with their rivals, was the task the Spanish priests and soldiers set themselves to accomplish.

The significant facts may be briefly summarized by way of conclusion. The Saint-Denis expedition, from the viewpoint of the French, was a business enterprise growing out of the commercial policy of Antoine Crozat and his agent, Cadillac; it was in no sense military or political, but sought merely to secure for the French of Louisiana a freer and more profitable trade arrangement with Mexico. The same business motive no doubt led Saint-Denis, when he failed in his first effort, to accept service with the Spanish and to assist to introduce their friars and soldiers into territory which might, with much justice, have been claimed as French. The missionary and colonizing expedition of 1716 was the immediate result of the presence of Saint-Denis and his companions in Mexico; the rulers of New Spain were again brought to fear that the French would supersede them in the lands east of the Rio Grande. Both in its plan and purpose, as well as in the motive which occasioned it, the *entrada* of Captain Ramón resembled those of León and Terán, respectively, in 1690 and 1691. But there were two notable differences. The presence of women in the company, and of men equipped for active settlement, gave it the aspect of a permanent colonizing enterprise. The elements which in the earlier effort at settlement had offended and irritated the Indians were at this time, to a great extent, absent; and instead of being jealous and hostile, the natives were constantly friendly, and willing to assist the Spaniards in whatever way they were required. But the most important

difference lay in the changed attitude of the French. Instead of an abandoned fort and a few refugees scattered among the Indian tribes, Captain Ramón found the rivals of Spain settled upon Red River, and facing aggressively westward. To have withdrawn again would have meant surely to abandon Texas to the French. Moreover, to make permanent the missions established among the Tejas tribes it was necessary to go further, to extend the sphere of occupation, and to make a greater show of strength. To this end a mission and a presidio were soon to be established upon the San Antonio river, a half-way house between the remote settlements on the Neches and Sabine, and the outlying settlements of Mexico; to facilitate communication by sea with the home government, a post was to be established on San Bernard bay; and in order that they might better control the Indians and repel the advance of the French, the garrisons of the several missions were increased to an effective force. This time there was to be no retreat.

## V

### THE FOUNDING OF SAN ANTONIO

With the expedition of Captain Ramón and the re-establishment of the Tejas missions the Spanish manifest a more settled policy concerning the acquisition of the land between the Rio Grande and the Red river and their activity is marked by wiser and more vigorous measures than had characterized it in the past. It was soon observed that the force of Ramón was insufficient to maintain the missions established, much less to push forward the work of conversion, to keep the Indians peaceably inclined, and to extend the sphere of Spanish influence. To get an effective hold upon the country a new basis for operations must be established nearer to the source of supplies than the far distant Neches mission. Since their first occupation of the Tejas lands the Spaniards had felt the need of a port on the adjacent coast, and, as we have seen, in the expedition of Terán, they made use of the Espíritu Santo bay as the port best suited for the entry of their vessels. The freight charges on goods brought overland from the City of Mexico to supply the missions made the cost of the bare necessities almost prohibitive. Apparently, then, the wisest plan would have been to select some harbor as near as possible to the missions and there

establish a well fortified post. While such a plan was again debated they were, as ever, slow to hit upon this most expeditious course. Their method of extending their jurisdiction by the use of the mission and presidio, a method to which they clung with great tenacity, precluded the selection of a district for an establishment that was so thinly populated by Indians as the coast country, and by Indians decidedly hostile to the encroachments of the white man. When now they were confronted with the necessity of choosing a location for a settlement nearer the Rio Grande they determined on other inland missions and presidios, and the headwaters of the San Antonio river, which Saint-Denis had pointed out as a spot well adapted for the establishment of a city, was selected as the site for the first of a line of presidios extending to the Tejas missions. With the establishment of this settlement, which was to form the center of Spanish activity during the succeeding century, we may consider that Texas has assumed the character of a Spanish province. Such a date will form a fitting close to a study that deals primarily with the beginnings of the state, and it will be the purpose of this chapter to relate with some detail the events leading up to the founding of this the first permanent settlement.

Captain Ramón with his small company of soldiers soon felt the difficulties of his position. It is true that the Indians had received him with open arms and given every assurance of friendship, but the former experiences with these Indians as well as his knowledge of Indian character made him aware of the precarious nature of this friendly feeling. The *pádr*es Margil and Espinosa were soon made to see that the friendship and good will of the Indians, prerequisites to their conversion, were only to be obtained and retained by a generous distribution of gifts, and they at once began to insist that the home government furnish *limosnas* in abundance.<sup>1</sup> The presence of the women and children had given the Indians greater confidence in the permanence of the residence of the Spaniards among them, but such a residence was likely to become irksome as soon as its benefits ceased to be forthcoming. At the same time the existence of a French fort among the Natchitoches on the Red River gave Ramón cause for uneasiness, as he found among the Indians guns, knives and other merchandise of French manu-

<sup>1</sup>*Representación hecha por los Padres Misioneros, Colección de Memorias*, 27:163.

facture, evidencing the existence of a lucrative trade from that quarter, so opposed to the ostensible desires of the vice-regal government, and of an influence among the savages detrimental to Spanish interests. While Saint-Denis had thus far proved himself faithful and had been of invaluable assistance in dealing with the Indians, and Ramón was loud in his praises of his conduct, yet his influence among the Indians might be turned against the Spaniards should his trading designs be opposed. Besides he had given proof that he had not relinquished his plans by his departure for Mobile. very soon after the arrival among the Tejas, with the avowed intention of securing goods for further trading purposes. The difficulties of maintaining his position at a distance of 300 leagues from the nearest settlement soon became apparent to Captain Ramón and led him to make formal recommendations to the viceroy of the things necessary for the maintenance of the mission and presidios and to bring about the subjection of the Indians.<sup>1</sup> Under date of July 22 he states that it will be impossible to preserve the missions against the attacks of the Apaches and other hostile Indians, as he has only been able to place eight soldiers in the four missions, and some of these are always sick. Twenty-five more men should be at once added to his company and the pay of each soldier should be increased to \$450 a year because of the very high price of provisions and other necessary things, due to the high freight rate from Saltillo.<sup>2</sup> He further advises that an annual appropriation of at least \$6000 should be made for the missionary work and to secure the conquest of the country. His report received the endorsement of the resident missionaries and was to have an influence in determining the action of the authorities in Mexico.

There were, however, other influences besides the importunities of Ramón and *padres* Margil and Espinosa that were brought more directly to bear upon the officials and induced them to continued activity in dealing with the province beyond the Rio Grande. The first of these to be noticed is the personal solicitation of Fray Antonio Olivares, who had unwillingly been left out of the Ramón expedition.

Fray Diaz, guardian of the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de

<sup>1</sup>*Carta de Ramón, Memorias, etc., 27:134 vuelta; Representación hecha por Captain Ramón, Ibid., 159.*

<sup>2</sup>Fifteen cents on a pound of flour, from Saltillo.

Querétaro, and superior of the friars from this college who had been sent to the Tejas Indians, received reports in September, 1716, telling of the happy beginnings among the far away Tejas Indians and of the further needs of the work. Diaz, impressed with the importance of maintaining with dignity the missions already established and of extending the missionary activity to other tribes, decided to send a worthy emissary to the City of Mexico to press the adoption of measures looking to these ends. Fray Antonio Olivares, experienced in missionary work among the Indians and familiar with its needs, acquainted with the tribes and country beyond the Rio Grande, and primed with a well worked out plan for founding a mission of his own, was chosen as the one best suited to present the matter to the authorities. On his arrival in the City of Mexico Olivares was received most favorably by the viceroy, who requested him to present his plans in writing. In letters addressed to the viceroy he described the land beyond the Rio Grande and affirmed that at very little cost large numbers of the Indians might be brought into the pale of the church and under the obedience of the king. As a site for a mission he proposed a location on the San Antonio river some thirty leagues from the Espíritu Santo Bay. His representations met with favorable consideration by the government and he was asked to furnish a list of the things necessary for the founding of the mission. In his reply Olivares outlines his plans and gives in minute detail the equipment necessary for the successful establishment of the mission. The mission San Francisco Solano, which he had founded in the northern part of Coahuila among the Indians of the nation Jarami, is to be transported to the site of the new mission. The Jarami having resided in this mission for some time are skilled in the cultivation of the soil and in serving the missionaries. For this reason they will be of valuable assistance in pacifying the savage Indians and teaching them more peaceful pursuits. The Indians in the neighborhood of the San Antonio river, estimated to be about three thousand in number, will be collected into a pueblo. For carrying out this design there will be needed a garrison of ten soldiers; the paraphernalia for the church, provisions for the support of the missionaries, maize and wheat for the support of the Indians and for planting; eight beeves, thirty-seven cows, three bulls, and about one hundred each of sheep and goats; tools for building the church and houses;

cooking utensils, presents for the Indians, including different colored cloths, a dozen and a half hats for the Indian chiefs, beads of all colors, rosaries, knives, hatchets and tobacco. Very soon Father Olivares was appointed as founder and missionary for the proposed mission and a speedy fulfillment of his desires seemed about to be consummated.<sup>1</sup>

Before the arrival of Olivares at the City of Mexico, however, events had been shaping themselves towards a more vigorous activity relative to the province across the Rio Grande. The reports of Captain Ramón and *padres* Margil and Espinosa had reached the capital and had shown the viceroy the need of immediate and more extensive measures for taking a firmer hold upon the Texas land, and, too, disquieting rumors of preparations in France for the establishment of a large colony at the mouth of the Mississippi had disturbed the Mexican authorities. They believed that such an enterprise was for "no other end nor motive than to introduce themselves to the Tejas and to trade their goods" in the northern provinces.<sup>2</sup>

The treaties of Utrecht in 1714 had given peace to Europe and made it possible for both France and Spain to take a more active interest in their colonial possessions. In addition the death of Louis XIV in 1715 had freed the Spanish king from the French influence that had more or less governed Spanish policy for the preceding fifteen years and had left that government hostile to French encroachments both at home and in the colonies. An unexpected vigor was manifested by the Spanish government for the next few years both in home affairs and in her dealings with her colonies. This increased vigor of administration was shown towards Mexico by a change in governors. The Duke of Linares was succeeded on August 16, 1716, by the Marquis de Valero, a man of more distinct Spanish sympathies and more inimical to the French than his predecessor. His accession to office was marked by immediate steps towards counteracting French commercial activity in the north and toward a more extended missionary and military occupation of the province of Texas.

Preparatory to taking definite action the viceroy called on the

<sup>1</sup>*Cartas del Antonio de Olivares, Colección de Memorias, etc., 27:165 vuelta, 169.*

<sup>2</sup>Espinosa, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 171 vuelta.



legal department for a complete report concerning the province of Texas and an opinion concerning the best method of pushing the Spanish occupation in that direction. Two reports, in the form of *dictámenes fiscales* were given in response to this request. Each of these reviews the events connected with the Spanish occupation of Texas from 1689 to the date they were written, November 30, 1716. The longer one of the two, signed Velasco, gives a detailed account of these events and is probably the most important single source of information for the period.<sup>1</sup> After such a detailed narration of preceding events these reports point out the reasons for further and immediate action looking toward a more complete occupation of Texas and the ways and means by which such action may be taken. As these writers reflect the official spirit of the period it will not be amiss to summarize in some detail their opinions and projects.

The first point to be noticed in such a summary is the change in the official attitude toward Saint-Denis and his commercial schemes. At the beginning of the year 1716 the then viceroy, Duke of Linares, while recognizing the menace offered to Spanish commercial interests by the opening up of a trading route through Texas and Louisiana, did not think it amiss to use the services of Saint-Denis in erecting a line of missions and presidios that would offer a hindrance to such a trade. It may even be doubted, if we may trust the French sources of information,<sup>2</sup> that Linares had any serious intention of putting a stop to the trading ventures of Saint-Denis. Until the reports came in from Captain Ramón of the evidence of an active trade between the Indians of the Texas tribes and the French and the establishment of a post among the Nachitoches on the Red River in order to facilitate this trade, the

<sup>1</sup>The first of the *Dictámenes* is written by Joseph Antonio de Espinosa, civil fiscal of the *audiencia*. The other is signed by Velasco, *fiscal de hacienda*. *Colección de Memorias*, etc., 27:171-209. These *dictámenes* form very important sources for the period under survey because they are written with the letters, diaries, etc., descriptive of the former *entradas*, before their authors. Some of this material is to be found in volume 27, *Colección de Memorias*, but other letters are mentioned which are not contained in this collection, some of which are found in volumes 181 and 182 of *Provincias Internas* in Archivo General of Mexico, e. g., letter of León, written May 16, 1689, another of Massanet, February 17, 1694, others by Saint-Denis and the governor of Pensacola, pp. 178, 188, 196.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 93.



authorities in Mexico had not been in a position to judge the situation correctly nor to estimate the true extent of Saint-Denis's commercial schemes. They have now also learned through the messengers who have come from Ramón that Saint-Denis has gone on to Mobile to procure 18,000 *pesos* worth of goods. It has further been discovered that while accepting a position and salary from the viceroy and before leaving the City of Mexico<sup>1</sup> he had written the governor of Mobile requesting him to send ships to take possession of the Espíritu Santo bay in order to gain control of the Indians and to furnish a base for the trade with the Spanish provinces. It is now also believed that Saint-Denis falsified in his *declaración* in making his journey a continuous one, without any long stops, whereas, in fact, there was a period of two years between his first departure from Mobile and his arrival at the Rio Grande, which leaves many months not accounted for in his statement.<sup>2</sup> So little inclined are these officials to place any faith in Saint-Denis they believe his marriage with the niece of Captain Ramón to have been for no other purpose than to win the favor of those who can be of assistance to him in his trading operations.<sup>3</sup>

It may next be noticed that while the fear of French encroachment on territory and commerce is still the motive for pushing on the occupation of the Texas country, the character of this menace is better understood and more intelligently set forth than heretofore. It is pointed out that if the French do not actually intend at once to occupy the region from the Nachitoches to Coahuila they are using every effort to establish a trade with the provinces of northern Mexico and by currying favor with the soldiers in the presidios of these provinces they will find it an easy matter to introduce large quantities of their goods into New Spain. It is with such an object in view that the French have showed themselves solicitous that missions be established nearer them among the Texas Indians. Moreover, it is easy to be seen that by maintaining the post already founded among the Nachitoches and by making a settlement on the bay of Espíritu Santo, which they regard as

<sup>1</sup>See p. 62 note; *Dictamen*, 196.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 57, where this point is discussed, and *Dictamen*, 199.

<sup>3</sup>They wish even to convict him of dishonesty in his statements that there is an abundance of cattle and horses in the province of Texas; that the governor of the Texas is named Bernadino; and that the Indians live in pueblos, none of these statements being borne out by the testimony of the messengers who have just come from that province.

within their own territory, the French will be able to gain over the Indians of the coast, especially the hostile Apaches, and thus cut off all communication between the province of Texas and Mexico, and, when they think it to their interest, destroy the missions founded in that country. This estimate of the situation overstates the immediate danger to be apprehended from the movements of the French, but shows what might easily happen should the French adopt a more vigorous policy.

Aside from this desire to forestall the French, however, there remains in view that motive which has ever dominated the Spaniards in their conquests—the desire to bring into the fold of the church the heathen nations. Ample authority for carrying this work forward is to be found in the royal decrees of 1690 and 1692, which especially command the conquest of the province of Texas and the conversion of its inhabitants to the holy faith. An additional reason for renewed activity is that a land reputed to be abounding in minerals, naval goods, castors and other things valuable in commerce is well worth a conquest for the Spanish crown.

The reasons and authority for definite action having thus been indicated it remains to suggest tenable plans for carrying on to a successful conclusion the work of occupation and conquest. Having a comprehensive understanding of what must be done to obtain a firm hold on so extensive a territory the *fiscal* outlined plans, that, had they been carried out promptly and in all their details, would have meant the undisputed possession of the Texas country by Spain. First in importance is the recommendation of an early occupation of the Espíritu Santo bay. Only in this way can the French be prevented from establishing themselves there. The advantages of such an occupation are obvious. The French will be forestalled and stopped from the introduction of their goods into Spanish territory; the erection of a well fortified post within fifty or sixty leagues of the Texas missions and only a three or four days' voyage by water from Vera Cruz will make it possible to furnish supplies to the missions at a much reduced cost of transportation, to send reinforcements quickly in case of war, and to supply the Texas presidios with artillery that it is impossible to send five hundred leagues by land. Thus the province of Texas will be placed on a sure basis. While recognizing that the establishment of this post should be the foremost object in any policy

dealing with this territory a reluctance to make so great an expenditure without special royal order moved the Mexican officials to postpone the project until it might receive such sanction.

As a more feasible undertaking and one that can be carried out without very great cost, it is determined to found a mission and presidio on the San Antonio river at the site and in the manner proposed by Padre Olivares, with him in charge of the missionary work, assisted by two other priests of his own selection. Such an establishment will furnish an easier means of communication with the Texas missions and pending the erection of a fortified post on the bay will serve to check the commercial enterprises of the French.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note a far-reaching scheme set forth by the *fiscal* for securing a means of communication and co-operative action between Texas and Florida. Gregorio Salinas, governor of Santa María de Galve, in Florida, has reported to the viceroy an alliance that he has celebrated during the past year with an Indian chief who claims to rule over more than fifty tribes extending westward as far as the Red river. By establishing a post among the Cadodachos, who lie just to the north of the Texas tribes and bordering on those with whom Salinas has made this alliance, it will be possible to cultivate a friendly intercourse with these nations and thus have an important source of food supply and an easy line of communication with Santa María de Galve. These warlike nations can also be used to great advantage in case of a war with the French. A more practicable reason for placing the outpost among the Cadodachos at an early date, however, is to be found in the need of preventing the further advances of the French and of having a convenient point for observing their movements.

These proposals were laid before a *junta de guerra* called by the Marquis de Valero, December 2, 1716.<sup>2</sup> It was determined by that council to erect missions and presidios on the San Antonio river and among the Cadodachos Indians and the men and necessary supplies for this purpose were provided for. It was further de-

<sup>1</sup>The *fiscal* has in mind a site for the proposed mission about twenty or thirty leagues from the bay, between it and the Texas missions. The place selected by Olivares and where the mission was founded lay to the northwest of the bay some fifty leagues.

<sup>2</sup>*Dictamen*, December 7, 1716, in *Provincias Internas*, 181, mentions this *junta*.

cided to at once send orders to Captain Ramón to reconnoiter the Nachitoches country, take whatever Frenchmen he might find there and send them to the City of Mexico after demolishing the fort.<sup>1</sup> As commander of the expedition to be sent out to carry out the erecting of the proposed missions and presidios, it was determined to select a "person of authority and zeal in the royal service as well as in the salvation of souls," experienced in dealing with Indians and liberal and kind in his treatment of them. The viceroy announced as his selection for this service Don Martin de Alarcón,<sup>2</sup> sergeant major and for more than ten years the protector of the natives in Masapil, with the title of lieutenant general of the province of Texas and Nuevas Filipinas, and a salary of 2500 *pesos* a year. This council further decided to send not less than sixty married soldiers, as nearly as possible all Spaniards,<sup>3</sup> in order to avoid the difficulties encountered in the early *entradas*; and Indians skilled in the cultivation of the soil, carpenters, smiths, masons and weavers, the latter to teach the Indians to cultivate and weave the hemp and the wool of the sheep. It is also ordered that a place be selected as a capital for the province in which there shall be erected strong houses of stone for the soldiers' quarters.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Junta de Guerra y Hacienda y Diciembre 2 de 1716. Colección de Memorias, 27:209.*

<sup>2</sup>*Relación de los Empleos, Meritos y Servicios del Sargento Maior Don Martin de Alarcón. Colección de Memorias, 27:235-248.* This document is a compendium, drawn up in the City of Mexico in 1721, of various testimonials of the valiant service rendered by Alarcón during a long residence in Mexico. It was in all probability compiled in answer to the accusations made by the *religiosos* in 1719 of his lack of zeal and mismanagement. Alarcón had been an *aventuro* in the royal navy (*Breve Compendio*, Sec. 8); a distinguished soldier in Oran; captain of a company of infantry in Valencia; and *alcalde mayor* of the Villa of Tacoma y Zamora. In 1691 he was made sergeant major of the militia of Guadalupe by appointment of the Conde de Galve. Two years later he served in a like capacity in Nueva Galicia, where he was also *alcalde mayor* of San Miguel. Viceroy Montañez in 1696 named him *capitan a guerra* and protector of the natives of Masapil. While thus employed he founded San Estevan, between the provinces of Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, which soon grew to be an important pueblo with a population of more than three thousand Indians. He seems to have served continuously in this section until receiving the appointment as governor of Coahuila and Texas. Alarcón is highly commended for the services rendered in all these employments by the councils of the town where he served as *alcalde*, by the testimony of various *religiosos*, and by governors of the various provinces.

<sup>3</sup>No *mulattoes, mestizos* or *coyotes*. *Dictamen*, 203.

<sup>4</sup>A large number of recommendations, lists of supplies necessary, orders for equipment, etc., are to be found in *Provincias Internas*, 181.

In order to avoid any extra drain on the royal treasury there is adopted the expedient of taking ten soldiers each from certain presidios in New Mexico and the northern provinces. Those presidios that have from fifty to a hundred soldiers and that are situated in a peaceful neighborhood are named as the ones from which these soldiers may be drawn. The guard of eight soldiers for the mission on the San Antonio river is to be taken from the Presidio del Norte.

Thus at the end of the year 1716 everything seemed in readiness for a new expedition.<sup>1</sup> By decrees of December 10 and 14 of this year the viceroy made formal provision for it by setting aside 4000 pesos and ordering the necessary supplies and equipment. But with characteristic Spanish procrastination the expedition was slow about getting under way. Scarcely has provision been made for the new *entrada*, one of the objects of which is to prevent the further commercial activity of the French, when Saint-Denis again enters Mexico bent on establishing a trade. In April, 1717, he has arrived at the presidio on the Rio Grande and by the middle of May he is in the City of Mexico. It will now be necessary to trace the activity of this enterprising Frenchman.

In the meantime Saint-Denis had returned to Louisiana. Soon after their arrival among the Asinais, accompanied by Lieutenant Ramón and two other Spaniards, he had left the company of Captain Ramón and hastened on to Mobile to procure a new supply of merchandise for trading purposes. By the end of August he had reported to Governor Cadillac at Mobile.<sup>2</sup> Cadillac seems to have been well pleased with the account given by Saint-Denis of his expedition to Mexico. And to the governor it must have seemed that he had accomplished all he had undertaken. The advent of the Spaniards but brought them closer to the French and made it easier to open up a trade with them. The viceroy had not refused to make a trade arrangement and seems even to have encouraged Saint-Denis to hope that one might be concluded when the Spaniards were established among the Asinais.<sup>3</sup> So, pleased with the

<sup>1</sup>*Directorio y Instrucciones*, etc., 230.

<sup>2</sup>*Journal Historique*, 129.

<sup>3</sup>Du Pratz, 14. Of course, any such formal commercial treaty between the governor of Louisiana and the governor of Mexico as Du Pratz has in mind would not have been possible because the commercial policy of Spain prohibited all intercourse between foreigners and the colonies without express permission from the home government. But smuggling was

success that had attended Saint-Denis on his former expedition, Cadillac proposed to him to undertake another trading enterprise into Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Saint-Denis, ever ready for new adventure, readily consented to undertake a new expedition. So sure was he that he would be able to open up a lucrative trade with Mexico he determined to take with him a large quantity of merchandise.<sup>2</sup> The factors who had charge of the goods of Crozat not being willing to give him merchandise, even on the security of the governor, the latter found it necessary to form a company of the principal men of the colony in order to secure the goods he desired for Saint-Denis's expedition.

This expedient did not please Saint-Denis, who saw that some of the members of the company would accompany him, whereas, he believed that the success of the venture depended on the position he had established for himself, both with the captain of the presidio on the Rio Grande and the officials in the City of Mexico. To avoid confiscation the goods must seem to be his own. Unable to do any better, however, he was compelled to accede to the formation of a company.<sup>3</sup> By this means he was able to secure from the Crozat company merchandise to the value of 43,200 *livres*. In October, with his associates, Saint-Denis set out from Mobile. By the end of November they had reached the fort at the Natchitoches. Here Saint-Denis parted from his companions and proceeded on to his Spanish friends among the Asinais Indians, where he was joined by the other members of his party in January, 1717. They passed the winter here and did not resume their journey until some time in March.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime the governor of Louisiana had sent a sergeant and six soldiers to hold the island in the Red River at the Natchitoches, where, it will be remembered, Saint-Denis had built a sort

carried on extensively just at this period and the trade of Mexico was largely in the hands of the English. So it is very probable that there may have been some sort of mutual understanding between Saint-Denis and Linares. See Wilhelm Roscher, *The Spanish Colonial System*. Translation by E. G. Bourne, 28, 36.

<sup>1</sup>La Harpe, du Pratz, and the *Journal Historique* are in substantial agreement and are followed for the narrative here.

<sup>2</sup>Du Pratz, 16.

<sup>3</sup>Graveline, de Liry, la Fresniere, the Beaulieu brothers and Derbanne were his associates. La Harpe, 200.

<sup>4</sup>*Relation par le Sieur Derbanne*, Margry, 6:202.



of storehouse.<sup>1</sup> From the Asinais Saint-Denis, taking with him a part of the merchandise, went on ahead of his associates to the Rio Grande. The latter followed more slowly with the rest of the goods. By the 6th of April he had reached the Presidio del Norte. Although Saint-Denis announced the merchandise which he had brought with him to be his own, he was not able to dispose of it, for Capitan Ramón had received orders to detain him and seize his goods.<sup>2</sup> Hoping to secure the release of his goods from the Mexican authorities he set out on the 15th of April for the City of Mexico. We have seen that the officials at the capital were aware of his intention to bring back goods from Mobile and not at all confident as to his good faith. They were pronounced in their determination to prohibit all commerce and this had led to the order to Ramón to stop Saint-Denis. The latter must have felt that the seizing of his goods was due to the change in viceroys, but his former success in extricating himself from a like embarrassing position gave him confidence in his ability to do so again. He could even feel himself in a stronger position now than he had been two years before, for he had made influential friends among the officials, had secured the good will and unfailing confidence of the missionary fathers, and by his marriage had put himself in a position to strongly support a declaration of Spanish citizenship. In truth he was still an officer in the Spanish service, or his year of service had but recently expired. He might well feel that he had a grievance worthy of prompt rectification.

<sup>1</sup>Pénicaut, 536, says that Tissenet, an ancient Canadian officer, who understood very well the savage languages, was the sergeant in command of this post.

<sup>2</sup>The *Journal Historique*, 138, and La Harpe, 200, are agreed in saying that Saint-Denis went to the city to secure the release of his goods. Du Pratz, 1:19, says that he hoped to save the goods from confiscation by announcing them to be his own and to win the friendship of the Spaniards by judiciously distributing presents among them, that the indiscretion of his associates caused these measures to fail and in order not to lose the whole purpose of his journey he made haste to set out for Mexico. Bonilla, Sec. 8, says that he was brought a prisoner to the capital by order of the viceroy. The French accounts are in substantial agreement and are also agreed in fixing his arrest shortly after his arrival in Mexico. The *Derbanne Relation*, Margry, 6:202, the only contemporaneous account, says that when he, Derbaune, and his companions arrived at the presidio on the Rio Grande, April 22, they found that the goods brought by Saint-Denis had been seized and that he had departed for the City to secure their release. As the relation is in the form of a diary it is to be considered the better authority.

With this purpose in view Saint-Denis reached the City of Mexico about the middle of May. His friend, the former viceroy, Duque de Linares, was too sick to do more than recognize him and recommend him to his successor.<sup>1</sup> The viceroy seems at first to have received him well and to have assured him that his goods would be restored, but later for some reason<sup>2</sup> had him thrown into prison. He had opportunity, however, to present petitions for his release to the *audiencia*, the sovereign council of Mexico, and his case was soon referred to the home government.<sup>3</sup> As grounds for his release Saint-Denis could urge that there is nothing illegal in a Spanish citizen bringing his effects to the country nor in seeking to sell his goods to citizens of Mexico, a country in which he had declared it to be his intention to settle. He had done good service to his adopted country in assisting so effectively in establishing the missions among the Texas Indians and so far had given no evidence of ill-faith.

It is interesting to note in this connection how firmly Saint-Denis had at this time established himself in the good graces of the church authorities and how tenacious has been his good reputation among Mexican historians. The missionary fathers in their reports of the *entrada* of 1716 uniformly accorded him great praise for his services. Fray Francisco Hidalgo, in a letter written April 19, 1718, from the mission San Francisco de los Tejas, begs the viceroy to send Saint-Denis, for whom the Indians have especial affection and whom they promise to join when he comes with his wife. There will be no difficulty in doing this for "he is a man of good blood, a vassal of our king, much attached to his service and married with a Spanish woman."<sup>4</sup> This regard of the church for Saint-Denis persists until a very late date and seems to be reflected in the *Breve Compendio* of Bonilla. He writes<sup>5</sup> in 1772: "The conver-

<sup>1</sup>Du Pratz, 18. The Duque de Linares died June 3, 1717. Du Pratz says that Valero was as much opposed to the French as Linares had been favorable to them.

<sup>2</sup>La Harpe, 201. Du Pratz, 19. The latter states that Olivares took this opportunity to revenge himself for the disappointment that he had long cherished for not having been appointed to a position in the *entrada* of 1716 and that Alarcón co-operated with him in discrediting Saint-Denis with the viceroy.

<sup>3</sup>Professor Bolton, *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 7:198, speaks of finding in the Archivo General of Mexico letters signed in Saint-Denis's own hand.

<sup>4</sup>*Colección de Memorias*, 27:228.

<sup>5</sup>Sec. 8.

sion of the heathen of the north would have been completely accomplished had not Don Luis de San Denis fallen into misfortune. This man, worthy of eternal remembrance, facilitated the *entrada* of the Spanish into Texas; his kindly manner quieted the Indians, and he gave the most consistent proofs of his fidelity."

After languishing in rather close confinement until December, Saint-Denis was released, contrary to the wishes of the viceroy, by order of the *audiencia* and given the freedom of the city. Captain Ramón had forwarded his goods on to Mexico and they had been seized by the government. Having secured their release and disposed of them to advantage, Saint-Denis left the City of Mexico in September, 1718, and was back in Mobile by April, 1719, where he was later joined by his wife.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime the associates of Saint-Denis had arrived with the remainder of the merchandise at the presidio of the Rio Grande. In order to avoid its confiscation they turned it over to the priests to sell for them. The good fathers sold the goods little by little to the merchants of León for a good price, so that by September, 1717, when Derbanne and his companions learned of the arrest of Saint-Denis they had received their money and were ready to return to Louisiana. Although the enterprise had not proved an entire failure the risks of such a trade were too great to tempt its repetition. Just as he is departing from the Presidio del Norte, Derbanne records in his diary the arrival of Alarcón to enter on his duties as governor of Coahuila and his intention to go to the Asinais country in December.<sup>2</sup>

The further adventures of Saint-Denis are not connected with this history nor does it seem that his second trading venture stirred up the officials of Mexico to any greater activity. As we have seen

<sup>1</sup>A royal order, dated January 30, 1719, according to Bonilla, advised the settlement of Saint-Denis and his wife in Guatemala, but by this time he was well on his way toward Mobile. La Harpe says that Saint-Denis by threats to bring savages and destroy the Spaniards secured his release. Du Pratz's account, which is probably a true one, has him stealing out of the city by night, forcibly dismounting a horseman and thus making his escape. For a most romantic account of Saint-Denis which claims to be authentic and in part the relation of Jallot, his *valet-de-chambre*, and one upon which Gayarre, in his *Romance and History of Louisiana*, and Miss Jones in her novel of which Saint-Denis is the hero, have not been able to improve, see the Pénicaut *Relation* in Margry, vol. 6.

<sup>2</sup>*Derbanne Relation*, Margry, 6:210.

everything seemed prepared for Alarcón's *entrada* at the end of 1716. But for some reason Alarcón had been slow about collecting his company. Whether it was his own or the government's fault is hard to determine. It seems, however, that he desired a larger equipment than the viceroy was willing to allow, and it may be that while begging for a larger force and getting together soldiers from widely distant posts he was unavoidably detained. However this may be, his expedition was not given up but only postponed for a time.

In the meantime, however, to relieve the necessities of the soldiers and missionaries at the Texas missions a detachment of fifteen soldiers and a few priests with supplies of food, ammunition and things necessary for the churches had been sent out. They reached their destination in the spring of 1717 and also brought with them the order for Captain Ramón to make a reconnoissance of the country of the Nachitoches. In pursuance of this command Ramón made an expedition to the Red River and the site of the French post. There he found only two Frenchmen, but thought it best to found a mission as close as possible to the point of entrance of the French into Spanish territory, so returning westward eight leagues he spoke to a tribe of Indians called the Adays and received permission to found a mission, which was named San Miguel de Linares. A little further, on his return road, he founded the sixth mission, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, as already described, among a more populous nation called the Ays.<sup>1</sup> This completed for a time the founding of missions, and it would seem that enough had been founded to fully engage the limited resources and tax to the utmost the strength of the missionaries. For with at the most only two priests to a mission, and in some only one, it would be difficult to make much progress in the conversion of the Indians. But looking forward to the coming of Alarcón the *padres* at the beginning of 1718 were quite cheerful and gratified with the results attained and pleased with the outlook for the future, as is shown by the letter of Espinosa to his superior in February. "We are all well, glory to God, and very contentedly working in His vineyard, which, although so uncultivated, has regaled us with 100 baptisms, in peril of death and disease. The Indians are much

<sup>1</sup>See p. 67.

pleased with us and give good hope of joining us; we only need a capitan who will encourage the cause."<sup>1</sup>

By March, 1718, the preparations for Alarcón's expedition were so well under way that formal instructions were drawn up for his guidance. These instructions are most minute and could hardly have been more carefully worked out had they been intended for a most important and dangerous mission to an unknown and unexplored country. All the families, provisions and cattle are to be collected at the presidio on the Rio Grande preparatory to setting out. When this has been done he is instructed to set out over the best traveled roads, to keep in advance scouts, and to have at least four Indian guides. At the end of each day's journey he must take a careful census of the people and cattle to see that none have been lost and have careful diaries kept by different members of the company. When the San Antonio river is reached, in conjunction with the missionaries, especially Father Antonio Olivares, he shall select a site for one or two missions. For the support of the missions he shall leave the necessary food, cattle, tools, etc., and a guard of ten soldiers. He is further instructed to collect the Indians of the neighborhood into a village, conciliate them with gifts, and treat them in an affectionate manner. These Indians are to be free from all taxation for ten years and all tribute and service which may not be voluntary. It is added, however, that they may contribute anything necessary to the sustenance of the *padres* and public necessities, since this contribution will tend towards their "spiritual and temporal profit." The villa to be established on the banks of the San Antonio, in proximity to the missions, must consist of not less than thirty inhabitants, citizens and soldiers, who shall have accorded to them all the privileges in lands, waters and pastures which the royal laws have granted.<sup>2</sup>

When the missions and colony have been established as directed Alarcón shall proceed as quickly as possible with the supplies of food and ammunition destined for the missionaries and soldiers among the Texas. After carrying out this direction he is instructed to explore carefully the San Antonio, Guadalupe and San Marcos rivers, observe how far they may be navigable, and select sites for two strong colonies to be established later for the purpose

<sup>1</sup>*Colección de Memorias*, 27:224.

<sup>2</sup>See Roscher, 6, for the treatment of the Indians and the laws governing them.

of repelling all foreign invasion or commerce. The garrisons left at the various missions shall be under the immediate command of the missionary father in charge of the mission so as to avoid any evil conduct on the part of the soldiers. The instructions show a comprehensive understanding of what is necessary to make a permanent acquisition of this province of Texas. Well fortified establishments must be maintained, the number of actual settlers who will make permanent homes must be gradually increased, and later on the military organization must be maintained independently of missionary efforts. A line of settlements, extending to the distant missions and presidios on the Trinity, Neches and Red rivers must be perfected so that easy communication may be had with them and constant assistance be given them.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after receiving these instructions General Alarcón got his expedition under way. His long delay had caused the far distant Texas missionaries to grow impatient and to doubt his zeal in the cause. In their letters written in this year they hint very strongly that he cares more for his own worldly interests than he does for the conversion of the Indians.<sup>2</sup> But the delay of Alarcón does not seem of his own making, as he did not receive his instructions until March, and from this it seems that the authorities at Mexico had not been ready to order his departure. In the preceding August he had formally assumed the joint government of Texas and Coahuila and had only been awaiting the opportunity to begin the expedition.<sup>3</sup> The company of Alarcón was made up as recommended by the *fiscal* and as provided for by the council of war and the instructions. There were some fifty persons, including soldiers, missionaries, mechanics and families that were to be used in founding the missions and villa on the San Antonio, besides the Indians that Olivares was transferring from the mission San Francisco Solano.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Directorio o Ynstrucciones para el Viage a la Provincia de Texas. Colección de Memorias*, 27:228 vuelta.

<sup>2</sup>*Carta del Padre Espinosa*, February 26, 1718. *Colección*, etc., 27:224.

<sup>3</sup>The authorities for the Alarcón *entrada* are: *Relación de los Empleos*, etc., *Colección de Memorias*, 27:246. *Puntos del Parecer*, *Ibid.*, 28:105. *Historia de Talamantes*, MS. *Testimonio de un Parecer*, 391. *Breve Compendio*, Sec. 8. *Carta de Olivares*, June 22, 1718, *Provincias Internas*, 181.

<sup>4</sup>*Relación de los Empleos*, 247, says twenty-seven persons and seven families. A list sent to the viceroy June 22, 1718, by Olivares gives names of 35 officers and soldiers, six married. *Testimonio de un Parecer*, 391, says that Alarcón was ordered to go with fifty soldiers, master-carpenters, stone-masons, and blacksmiths, stock and everything needful to settle in



In the valley of the San Antonio river, near its head waters, probably at the spot pointed out by Saint-Denis as a suitable place for a city, "in the most pleasant place"<sup>1</sup> in the province of Texas, was founded *San Antonio de los Llanos*. This establishment consisted of a village named Villa de Bejar and a mission called, in honor of the viceroy, San Antonio de Valero. The villa soon had as many as thirty families and the mission a large number of *Indios reducidos*. By the efforts of Alarcón the Indians of the neighborhood were reduced to a peaceful condition and he was able soon to go on to the Texas missions, leaving the villa and mission of San Antonio with "all the comforts and conveniences that could be desired."

With the founding of this little colony on the river of San Antonio we have the real beginning of the permanent occupation of Texas. This at least was destined to have a continued existence and to furnish a basis for further occupation. It was far enough within the interior to be safe from any sudden attack by the French and not far enough from the base of supplies in Mexico to make its existence as precarious as that of the missions on the Trinity and Neches rivers. Only with the settlement of San Antonio can we consider that the Spanish occupation of Texas has been placed on a permanent footing. The six missions east of the Trinity river, with their small quota of missionary fathers, a few soldiers and an occasional Spanish or half-breed family were ever threatened by hostile Indians or the encroachments of the French. Their permanence was in no way assured and they were in constant need of supplies of food and protection. But a settlement at San Antonio made it possible to maintain them. The farthest east of the missions established at this period, San Miguel de los Adays, was to remain for more than fifty years the guide post, the boundary line between Spanish and French territory; for more than a hundred years it was to mark the eastern limits of the Spanish province of Texas; and finally its establishment was to influence the determination of the eastern boundary of the Texas of today. The

the said province of Texas. Bonilla, Sec. 8, makes a like statement. The *Historia* says that Olivares had already removed "the Jomanes Indians and everything belonging to the Mission of San Francisco Solano," before Alarcón made his *entrada*. *Provincias Internas*, 181, gives a list of Alarcón's company made at Monclova September 18, 1717.

<sup>1</sup>*Relacion de los Empleos*, 247.

province of Texas, as the Spanish thought of it in 1718, was given no well defined limits. It included in a general way the land occupied by the several tribes of the Texas nation, together with that of the Cadodachos. The writers of our period do not attempt to assign the province definite boundaries, but it is clear that they do not apply the name to land west of the Texas Indians. It is therefore possible to say that by the province of Texas in 1718 was meant the territory east of the Trinity and extending with very indefinite limits to the north and east. It was not until later years that the name Texas was to be made to apply to all the territory between the Rio Grande and the present eastern boundary of Texas. San Antonio may thus be looked upon as the connecting link between Coahuila and the province of Texas, for it was soon to become the center of missionary activity in the region beyond the Rio Grande and to be looked upon as the capital of the province of Texas.

## SOURCES AND AUTHORITIES

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES

C. W. Raines, *Bibliography of Texas*, is still a very helpful guide to the materials for early Texas history. Complete titles and rather full descriptions are given. Its lack of any systematic arrangement makes it difficult to use and much material has been brought to light since its publication.

The bibliographical notes found in the chapters dealing with Texas in H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, have served to reveal the whereabouts of a large amount of source material. These notes, taken all together, form a fairly complete bibliography for the sources and literature upon which this thesis has been based. However, many important French documents and not a few valuable Spanish ones escaped Mr. Bancroft's drag-net.

A description of the material to be found in the archives of Mexico and especially of the *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, with titles and lists, is given by Professor George P. Garrison in *The Nation*, 72:430. The work of revealing the character of the sources to be found in the Archivo General, thus begun, has been carried farther by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, in *Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General de Mexico*, in the *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 6:103; 7:196. The lists of documents and descriptive matter given by Professor Bolton are an invaluable guide to the student of this period, and he has revealed the existence of a storehouse of material well worth further exploitation.

The bibliographical notes appended to Miss Elizabeth H. West's English translations of Bonilla's *Breve Compendio* in the *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 8:3-78, and of León's *Derrotero* in the *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 8:199-224, furnish a clue to much valuable material and especially to the cartography of the period.

The French sources that have been of most value in the preparation of this thesis are sufficiently described in a general way by A. M. Davis, *Critical Essay on Sources of Louisiana History*, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 5:63-74.

## EARLY SECONDARY WORKS

*Spanish*

The secondary works written in Spanish are quite numerous and some exist only in manuscript form. Those that have been put into type and that are of only slight importance for early Texas history are Andrés Gonzales Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida* (1733); Pedro Andrés Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mejico* (1836); and Joseph Antonio Villa-Señor y Sanchez, *Theatro Americano* (1745-48). These works contain but meager accounts of the events of Texas history.<sup>1</sup> One of the valuable early ecclesiastical authorities is Isidore Felice de Espinosa, *Cronica Apostolica* (1746). Extracts from this made by Talamantes are found in volume 43 of *Colección de Memorias*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Espinosa gives a detailed history of the Franciscan colleges of Mexico and the activity of their priests in founding missions in Texas. His account is in the main reliable and manifestly based on the original materials. A good brief narrative of the events of this period is Antonio Bonilla, *Brève Compendio de los sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia de Texas*, etc. (1772). This deals entirely with Texas history and is based largely on the *Testimonio* of Altamira. The author has, however, made some use of the original sources.<sup>3</sup>

A more valuable work than the *Compendio* because more complete is Padre Juan Agustin Morfi, *Memorias para la Historia de Texas* (1783), which Bancroft describes as "the standard authority for Texan history down to this date, though never published." The *Memorias* is based on a very extensive use of the sources. Of León's first expedition to the San Bernard bay almost as much detail is given as is found in the diary of León. It has proven serviceable to me by helping to fill out one or two gaps in the original materials.

Until late years the chief authority for the history of Texas in the early mission period and the sole dependence of a number of historians of Texas history has been Marqués de Altamira, *Testimonio de un Parecer* (1744).<sup>4</sup> It exists in an abbreviated form as

<sup>1</sup>For description of these see Raines' *Bibliography of Texas*.

<sup>2</sup>Copies of this are in the University of Texas and the Texas State libraries.

<sup>3</sup>An English translation of the *Compendio* by Miss Elizabeth H. West, *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 8:3-78, has appeared since the completion of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup>For full title and copy of original manuscript see Yoakum, *Texas*, 1:381.

*Puntos del Parecer*, MS. in *Colección de Memorias*, vol. 27. The *Testimonio* is a much more reliable authority than one is led to believe by reference to the works based upon it. Its errors in detail are not numerous but its value for our period is greatly diminished by the discovery of the original sources upon which it is based.

The most valuable of these early manuscript documents is Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal* (1716). It serves as a secondary authority for the years 1688-93, written with the major part of the original diaries, letters, etc., before the author, and as a first-hand source for the events of 1715-16. Many of the documents on which the narrative portion of the *Dictamen* is based are either lost or not yet brought to light. It is the most serviceable of the 'secondary accounts and of itself forms the most trustworthy authority for the years covered by it.<sup>1</sup>

Among other secondary authorities whose work exists only in manuscript are Marques de Casafuerte, *Expediente formado sobre las variaciones y mutaciones*, etc. (1760); Jose Peredo, *Memorias Acerca de los limites de la Luisiana*, etc. (1770); Jose Antonio Pichardo, *Quadernos trabajados*.

### French

The secondary authorities and primary sources for La Salle's ill-fated colony are well described by Justin Winsor, *Critical Essay on Historical Sources for Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle*, in his *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. 4. The French writers whose works have been serviceable for the later years of our period are quite fully described by A. M. Davis as cited above. Those that have been of service to me are Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France* (1744),<sup>2</sup> which follows the Pénicaut *Relation*; *Journal Historique de l'établissement des Français a la Louisiane*; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (1758); Pénicaut, *Relation ou Annales*, etc. (1699-1721).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Colección de Memorias*, vol. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Charlevoix seems to rely entirely on Pénicaut for his account of the Saint-Denis expeditions. Shea's notes to the English translation are untrustworthy though he had excellent material at his disposal.

<sup>3</sup>Full title and description given in Margry, 5:689.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Spanish*

The collections of documents in Spanish are sufficiently described by Professor Garrison and Professor Bolton in papers cited above. The source of most of the original material that has formed the basis for this thesis is *Documentos para la Historia Ecclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas*, libros I and II, forming volumes 27 and 28 of the larger *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*. The documents contained in this collection that have been of service to me have been cited by their full titles in the foot-notes to this work and their character and value is there sufficiently indicated. They are in the form of diaries, letters, *dictámenes fiscales*, and reports of *juntas de guerra*. Some of the more important ones are the *Derrotero* of León, diaries of the Terán expedition, the passport and *Declaración* of Saint-Denis, diary of the Ramón *entrada*, *dictámenes fiscales* of Espinosa and Velasco, report of a *junta de guerra* December 2, 1716, *cartas* of Aguayo, Ramón, Olivares, Espinosa, Hidalgo, instructions for the Alarcón expedition, and a relation of the services of Alarcón.

There are three valuable documents not included in the *Colección de Memorias*. One of these, used by Barcía, Parkman and others, is *Carta en que se da noticia*, etc. (May 18, 1689).<sup>1</sup> This letter gives a description of León's expedition to the San Bernard bay and an account of the destruction of La Salle's colony. It was probably written by León. A second important letter and one of the chief sources for the early Texas *entradas* is Fray Damian Massanet, *Carta a Don Carlos Sigüenza y Gonzales*.<sup>2</sup> It is the only known authority for the first two expeditions of León in 1686-87 and the founding of the mission San Francisco de los Tejas. It also gives an account of León's third *entrada*. A no less important document of the period and existing only in manuscript is Fray Francisco de Jesus María, *Carta y Relacion al Conde de Galve* (August 15, 1691). This letter was written after a year's residence at the mission San Francisco and gives a full account of the customs, form of government, etc., of the several tribes included among the Texas Indians. It is of special value to one making a study of the

<sup>1</sup>French, *Hist. Col. La. and Fla.*, n. s., 2:293.

<sup>2</sup>English translation and facsimile of original in *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, 2:253-312.



Indians of Texas. Neither the *carta* of Massanet nor that of María were used by Bancroft.<sup>1</sup>

### French

The chief source for contemporaneous material from the side of the French has been Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1879-1886). The character of that which has been of service here has been sufficiently indicated in the foot-notes. The documents that have been of most service are *Relation de Henri Joutel* (3:91); memoirs of Peñalosa, La Salle, D'Iberville; *Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon*; letters of Bienville and Cadillac, telling of Saint-Denis's expedition; extracts from letters of Saint-Denis and his *Relation*; the diary of Derbanne, one of his associates in his second expedition; extracts from the journal of La Harpe; and the *Relation* of Pénicaut in its most complete form. In this thesis the effort has been made for the first time to interrelate and compare these French sources with the Spanish materials described under the preceding head and its value in large measure depends on the success with which this work may have been performed. A complete understanding of the period is not otherwise obtainable.

Pénicaut had first-hand knowledge of the first expedition of Saint-Denis, as he accompanied him as far as the Rio Grande in 1715, and he claims to have based his account of the subsequent activity of Saint-Denis on the story of Jallot, the latter's *valet-de-chambre*. Further, he was resident in Louisiana from 1698-1721, and is thus to be considered a contemporary of Saint-Denis. He also claims to have kept a journal upon which he based his *Relation*. He ought, therefore, to have been able to give a reliable account, yet his work is so filled with errors of dates and names—mistakes that can be detected by comparison with other French sources and the Spanish materials—and is withal so fanciful that it is difficult to know how much reliance to place in him. At least he must no longer be allowed to pose as the chief authority for early Louisiana history and for the expeditions of Saint-Denis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>These letters are from the Ramírez collection and the originals are now in the library of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

<sup>2</sup>Margry, 5:689, says there are three manuscripts for this *Relation*. After staying several months in the house of Captain Ramón in the Presidio del Norte, Pénicaut calls him Vilesea. He gives a most improbable account of Saint-Denis's love affair and makes it the center of many

Two much more trustworthy sources are the journal of Benard de la Harpe and the *Journal Historique*. The latter is probably written by Beaurain and is founded largely on La Harpe and Le Sueur. The accounts in each of the Saint-Denis expeditions vary but slightly in detail and are in the main reliable. The *Journal Historique* contains the *Relation* of Derbanne.<sup>1</sup>

The work of another contemporary of Saint-Denis is Le Page du Pratz. He made use of memoirs of Saint-Denis in preparing his *Histoire*, and it contains information not to be found elsewhere. I have been inclined to accept the statements of du Pratz as worthy of belief even though they may not be corroborated by other sources for he is entirely in accord with the Spanish contemporary authorities where it is possible to check him up.<sup>2</sup>

#### MODERN WORKS

The best modern works dealing with this period in a general way are Professor George P. Garrison, *Texas* in the American Commonwealth Series, and H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, the chapters in volume 1 dealing with Texas.

romantic escapades. In the *advertissement au lecteur* he says: "I do not give this work to the public as an invented tale but as a sincere and true relation of the events of which I have been an eye witness during 22 years that I have lived in Louisiana. An indication of the truth of all that which I insert is that I report the events year by year. This relation contains also the 'histoire galante' of one of the first French officers of Louisiana with the daughter of a captain of Spanish cavalry of the frontiers of Mexico, which I have learned particularly from his valet-de-chambre who was my friend." Margry, 5:375.

<sup>1</sup>The English translation in French, *Hist. Col. La.*, vol. 3, is untrustworthy. It may, however, be based on a defective MS.

<sup>2</sup>An English translation in two volumes (London, 1763) has many important omissions. Du Pratz says (1:178), "That which has not been told here will some day be found in the memoirs which will be published and which actually exist in manuscript, such as those of St. Denis and some others which I have used."

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# THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS BULLETIN

## GENERAL SERIES

1. *The University of Texas Record*, vol. v, no. 2, March, 1904.
2. *Annual Notes*, 12 p., March, 1904.
3. *Some Wholesome Educational Statistics*, by W. S. Sutton. 22 p. illus. March, 1904. 10 cents.
4. *Changes of Study in Law Pursued in the University of Texas*, by J. C. Townes. 16 p. March 1904. Out of print.
5. *Work Concerning the Progress of the University*, by Wilson Williams. Reg. Mar. 3 p., 1904. Out of print.
6. *The University of Texas Record*, vol. v, no. 4, July, 1904.
7. *The Consolidation of Rural Schools*, by Una Beddoke and G. T. Fawcett. New edition, enlarged by A. C. Ellis. 85 p. illus. Nov., 1905. 25 cents.
8. *The Profits of Power and Their Control*, by T. H. Montgomery, Jr. 5 p., November 1904. Out of print.
9. *Letter to Alumni Regarding the Proposed Law School Building*. 2 p. December, 1904. Out of print.
10. *Plans of the University of Texas*. 42 p., illus., n. b. 20 cents.
11. *What Should be Done by Universities to Foster the Professional Education of Teachers* by W. S. Sutton. 24 p. 1905. 15 cents.
12. *The University of Texas Record*, vol. vi, no. 1, February, 1905.
13. *Recent Graduates*, by A. C. Ellis and Hugo Kuehn. 119 p., illus. pl. June, 1905. 20 cents.
14. *The University of Texas Record*, vol. vi, no. 2, September, 1905.
15. *The Teaching of Agriculture in the Public Schools*, by A. C. Ellis. 16 p. illus. December, 1905. 25 cents. Out of print.
16. *A Study in School Supervision*, by Carl Hartman. 180 p. 1907. 50 cents.

## HUMANISTIC SERIES

1. *The Texas Influence Over a Study in American Diplomatic History (1825-1904)*, by C. H. Baberich. 31 p. March, 1904. 25 cents. Out of print.
2. *The Evolution of "Caveat" as an Intellectual Obligation of the Civil Law*, by Samuel Peterson. 24 p. January, 1905. 25 cents. Out of print.
3. *De Witt's Academy*, by Elmer E. Fether. 90 p., 2 sept. 1906. 35 cents.
4. *Some Fundamental Principles Applied to Municipal Government*, by Samuel Peterson; and *Rains Price Graduates*. 78 p. June 1905. 15 cents.
5. *The Gravelog in the Poetry of Robert Browning*, by Lyle E. Campbell. 11 p. April, 1907. 25 cents.
6. *The Consequences of Time*, by R. C. Clark. 76 p., chap. December, 1907. 75 cents.

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## SCIENTIFIC SERIES

1. *Contributions from the Zoological Laboratory of the University of Texas*. Reprints from various journals, 1904-9. Out of print. Later contributions appear in the General Series.
2. *Test of a Vertical Triple Expansion High-Pressure Pumping Engine in Operation at the Texas Works, San Antonio, Texas*, by A. G. Smith. 52 p., ill. pl. June, 1905. 25 cents.
3. *Vegetation in the Border Country in Texas*, by W. L. Bray. 24 p., pl. June, 1905. 25 cents.
4. *Observations on the Habits of Some Solitary Species of Bees*, by Carl H. Hartman. 72 p., pl. July, 1905. 25 cents.
5. *The Protection of Our Native Birds*, by E. H. Mendenhall, Jr. 30 p. October, 1906. 25 cents.
6. *The Austin Electric Railway & Steam*, by members of the Senior Class in Electrical Engineering, 1906. 123 p., illus. pl. 1906. 50 cents.
7. *Distribution and Adaptation of the Vegetation of Texas*, by W. L. Bray. 198 p., pl. map. November, 1906. 35 cents.
8. *A Sketch of the Geology of the Olmos Country*, by J. A. Udden. 161 p. April, 1907. 50 cents.
9. *The Clays of Texas*, by Heinrich Ries. In press.

## REPRINT SERIES

1. *A Semitic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Vowels*, by H. W. Fay. From the American Journal of Philology, 25:300-323 and 26:172-203. 377-407. March, 1903. Out of print.
2. *Contributions from the Zoological Laboratory of the University of Texas*. From various journals, May, 1906. Out of print.
3. *Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit Index Abbrevs.*, by F. W. Fay. From various journals. November, 1907. Out of print.
4. *Epithes and Acrometis*, by C. Yelick. From the Southern Science Board Review, October-November, 1907. 8 p. 10 cents.

## MEDICAL SERIES

1. *Yellow Fever, a Popular Lecture*, by James Carroll. 32 p. June, 1902. 15 cents.
2. *The Cure of the Insane*, by Dr. M. L. Graves. 16 p. 1902. 25 cents.
3. *The 1906 Epidemic of Yellow Fever in Texas, and the Lessons to be Learned from It*, by Dr. G. F. Taber. 22 p. June, 1905. 15 cents.

In addition to the bulletins named above are the following:

- a. The Official Series, which includes catalogues, Regent's Reports, and administrative bulletins.
- b. About 25 bulletins issued before March, 1901, when the Division Education began.
- c. The University of Texas Record, formerly, but no longer included in the General Series. Numbers of the Record have been issued from two to four times a year since December, 1898, and those are in the General Series. It is of special interest to alumni, ex-salutants, and friends of the University, and will be mailed regularly to those who request it.

Requests for bulletins should be addressed to the University of Texas Bulletin, Austin, Texas. Exchanges should be addressed to the University of Texas Library.



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